

Charles University

Faculty of Arts

Department of Sinology

Theory and History of Asian and African Literature

Dissertation

Mgr. Martin Blahota

The Sinitic Nexus:

Becoming Asian in the Chinese-language Literature of Manchuria under Japanese Rule

Sinitický nexus:

Asianizace v čínskojazyčné literatuře Mandžuska pod japonskou nadvládou

Dissertation supervisor Prof. PhDr. Olga Lomová, CSc.

2022

© 2022 Martin Blahota

All rights reserved.

I hereby declare that I have written this dissertation independently, using only the mentioned and duly cited sources and literature, and that the work has not been used in another university study program or to obtain the same or another academic title.

In Prague on July 7, 2022

Mgr. Martin Blahota m.p.

The Sinitic Nexus:
Becoming Asian in the Chinese-language Literature of Manchuria under Japanese Rule

Abstract

This dissertation analyzes modern Chinese-language literature produced in Manchuria under Japanese rule during the 1930s and 1940s. The protagonists in this literature identify not only with Manchuria, China, and Japan but also with East Asia. In my readings, a sense of belonging to China or East Asia, but more often to the latter, is one of the main sources for the cultural identities of these protagonists. In this study, I conceptualize the identities represented in the Chinese-language literature of Manchuria as a complex combination of entangled identities that I call the “Sinitic nexus.” I argue that the “Asian” element of this nexus of identities is constructed by Asianism, or the pan-national discourse of “Asia.” While thus far, the significance of “Asian” identities in the Chinese-language literature of Manchuria has been overlooked both in scholarship on this literature and in the intellectual history of Asianism, I focus on it to reveal the complexity of this literature from a fresh perspective that goes beyond naturalized categories such as nation and the dichotomy of the colonizer and the colonized, and also to show how Asianist thought was creatively reproduced in literature through narratives of “Asia.”

In this study, I examine the work of three Chinese-language writers who were active in the semicolonial setting of Manchukuo (1932–45), a satellite state of the Japanese empire, and argue that their short stories and novels represent diverse configurations of the Sinitic nexus. Xiao Song’s protagonists seek to deny their “Chinese” identity in favor of an “Asian” identity. Some of Gu Ding’s protagonists have no national identity at all and identify only with “East Asia.” Jue Qing, by contrast, portrays protagonists whose “Chinese” identity is reinforced through their essentialized understanding of “Asia.” I argue that the narratives of “Asia” in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo resonated with the official ideology of the satellite state in various ways. By analyzing the identification process in this literature and setting the stories in question in their sociohistorical context in its full complexity, I offer new interpretations of these works as political acts that in some cases legitimized the state but in others subverted the official ideology. In this dissertation, I engage in dialogue primarily with studies on colonial modernity in East Asian literature. By emphasizing the sophisticated and

ambiguous role of Asianism in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo, I explore colonial modernity in East Asian literature from a new perspective. My discoveries also seek to contribute to a reassessment of writers who produced complex and intriguing works that have been marginalized in scholarship for political reasons.

Keywords: cultural identity, Asianism, Manchukuo literature, modern Chinese literature, Jue Qing, Xiao Song, Gu Ding

Sinitický nexus:

Asianizace v čínskojazyčné literatuře Mandžuska pod japonskou nadvládou

Abstrakt

Tato dizertační práce analyzuje moderní čínskojazyčnou literaturu publikovanou v Mandžusku pod japonskou nadvládou ve třicátých a čtyřicátých letech dvacátého století. Protagonisté této literatury se identifikují nejen s Mandžuskem, Čínou a Japonskem, ale také s východní Asií. Sounáležitost s Čínou a východní Asií, ale zejména s druhou zmíněnou entitou, považuji za jeden z hlavních zdrojů kulturních identit těchto protagonistů. V této studii identity reprezentované v čínskojazyčné literatuře Mandžuska konceptualizuji jako komplexní kombinaci do sebe zamotaných identit, kterou nazývám „sinitický nexus.“ Podle mých poznatků byl „asijský“ element tohoto nexu identit konstruovaný asianismem, tedy pan-národním diskurzem „Asie.“ Zatímco doposud byl význam „asijských“ identit opomíjen jak ve výzkumu čínskojazyčné literatury Mandžuska, tak v intelektuálních dějinách asianismu, já jej chci vyzdvihnout, abych komplexnost této literatury nahlédl z nové perspektivy, která překonává zažitě kategorie jako je národ nebo dichotomie kolonizátor/kolonizovaný, a také abych demonstroval, jak kreativním způsobem bylo asianistické myšlení reprodukováno v literatuře skrze narativy „Asie.“

V této studii se zabývám díly tří čínskojazyčných spisovatelů, kteří tvořili v semikoloniálním prostředí Mandžukua (1932–45), satelitního státu Japonské říše. Jejich povídky a romány chápu jako reprezentaci rozličných konfigurací sinitického nexu. Xiao Songovi protagonisté popírají svou „čínskou“ identitu ve prospěch „asijské.“ Někteří Gu Dingovi protagonisté vůbec národní identitu nemají a identifikují se výhradně s „východní Asií.“ Naopak Jue Qing vytvořil protagonisty, jejichž „čínská“ identita je umocněna skrze esencionalizované chápání „Asie.“ Ve zkoumané literatuře tyto narativy „Asie“ různými způsoby rezonovaly s politickou ideologií Mandžukua. Analýzou procesu identifikace v této literatuře a jejím zasazením do společensko-historického kontextu docházím k novým interpretacím děl této literatury, která považuji za politické akty, jež v některých případech existenci státu legitimizovaly a v jiných naopak státní ideologii podvracely. V této dizertační práci vedu dialog především se studii koloniální modernity v literatuře východní Asie.

Důrazem na sofistikovanost a rozporuplnost role asianismu v čínskojazyčné literatuře Mandžukua zkoumám koloniální modernitu východní Asie z nové perspektivy. Svými objevy chci také přispět k přehodnocení spisovatelů, kteří vytvořili komplexní a fascinující díla, jež byla doposud badateli marginalizována z politických důvodů.

Klíčová slova: kulturní identita, asianismus, literatura Mandžukua, moderní čínská literatura, Jue Qing, Xiao Song, Gu Ding

Table of Contents

1	Introduction	10
	Hybrid Identities and Allegory in Literature of Semicolonial Manchukuo	20
	Modern History of Imperialism in Manchuria and Cultural Politics	33
	Semicolonial Literature of Manchukuo	44
	Literature Review and Chapter Outlines	50
2	Chinese or Japanese “Asia”? Reimagining a Region in Terms of Nation, Pan-Nation, and Race, 1839–1945	55
	Asia and <i>Kōdō</i> in Japan	58
	Asia and <i>Wangdao</i> in China	62
	Asia and <i>Wangdao</i> in Manchukuo	68
	Asia and <i>Kōdō</i> in Wartime East Asia	75
	Conclusion	81
3	Opposing Western and Japanese colonialism with Asianism: Jue Qing	83
	Becoming Asian and Rebellious	91
	Becoming Confucian but Not Modern	100
	Criticizing Western Colonialism in “Devil”	114
	Dreaming of an Asianism Critical of Japanese Colonialism	123
	Conclusion	137
4	Becoming a Loyal Asian Fellow But Not Japanese: Xiao Song	140
	Fleeing from China Proper to Manchuria	144
	Painfully Losing One’s Chinese Home	149
	Yearning for a New Asian Home	156
	Becoming a Loyal But Critical Asian Fellow	164
	Conclusion	171
5	Becoming Asian instead of Communist: Gu Ding	173
	A Devoted Communist Turned Asianist	177
	Declaring Asianist Spiritual <i>Tenkō</i>	184
	The Birth of East Asians	190
	Embracing Japanocentric Asianism as a Religion	195
	Conclusion	201
6	Conclusion	203
	Bibliography	211

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Olga Lomová, not only for all her feedback on this dissertation but mainly for the support, trust, and valuable advice she gave me throughout my doctoral studies. Her amazing enthusiasm for academic work has also been a constant source of inspiration for me. Furthermore, I would like to thank those who were involved in guiding my research during my stays abroad. In the beginning, Liu Xiaoli of East China Normal University in Shanghai helped me significantly by introducing me to the field of Manchukuo literature research. I then had the privilege of working under the guidance of Liu Liu Shu-chin of National Tsing Hua University in Hsin-chu. Finally, I was fortunate enough to work on the final draft of my thesis under the supervision of David Der-wei Wang of Harvard University. Without the help of these scholars, who selflessly supported me even during the difficult times of the pandemic and the war in Ukraine, this dissertation could not have been produced.

In addition, I would like to thank all the scholars and friends who have contributed to my research by teaching seminars, sharing materials, helping with translation, leading inspiring debates, and so forth: Dušan Andrš, Josef Hrdlička, Ondřej Klimeš, Marcel Koníček, Lukáš Kubík, Jitka Malečková, and Marína Tkáčová in the Czech Republic; Cai Pei-jun, Hsiang-Ying Sasha Chen, Chen Shi, Jiang Lei, Hsiang-Ling Lee, Liu Heng-Hsing, Reinhard Luo Shibo, Ōkubō Akio, Qian Chunhua, Shimomura Sakujirō, Torsten Weber, Xie Chaokun, Zhang Lei, and Zhang Lu in East Asia; and Lei Ying, Liu Dong, Dingru Huang, Jonghyun Lee, and Zhuang Jun in the United States.

I would especially like to thank those who read parts of this dissertation and provided me with invaluable comments, namely Peng Hai, Lukáš Kotyk, Petr Roubal, Ronald Suleski, Karen Thornber, and Nobuko Toysawa. I am also very grateful to Nicholas Orsillo, who proofread the bulk of this thesis and also provided me with many great insights.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my parents, Pavlína Blahotová and Jiří Blahota, who supported me unconditionally during my studies. I would especially like to thank my wife, who stood behind me during my numerous trips abroad and long-term stays in China, Taiwan, and the United States. Tereza, thank you for your patience and sense of humor, which gave me the strength to keep going every day.

For Pavlína Blahotová, Jiří Blahota, and Tereza Blahotová Kostková

1 Introduction

This dissertation analyzes modern Chinese-language literature produced in Manchuria under Japanese rule during the 1930s and 1940s to shed light on the combination of East Asian cultural identities that I call the “Sinitic nexus.” Building on Stuart Hall’s theory of cultural identity,¹ I borrow the word *Sinitic* from contemporary scholar of Korean language and culture Ross King, who has emphasized the supraregional significance of the East Asian cultural formation, which has for centuries centered around Literary Sinitic (or Classical Chinese, Ch. *wenyan* 文言, Jpn. *kanbun*, Kor. *hanmun*),² to highlight how substantial the imagined cultural heritage of East Asians is in constructing this nexus of identities. I use the word *nexus* to suggest that it is a specific form of hybridity, a complex merging of several unfinished identities that form entangled relationships. In this dissertation I primarily focus on the interplay of “Chinese” and “Asian” identities in different cases of the Sinitic nexus represented in the literature of Manchukuo (Ch. *Manzhouguo* 滿洲國, Jpn. *Manshūkoku* 滿洲國), a satellite state of the Japanese empire that existed between 1932 and 1945 in Northeast China with the capital city of Xinjing 新京 (Jpn. *Shinkyō*). My aim is to understand the complexity of the identity-formation process in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo to interpret this satellite state’s literature from a fresh perspective beyond the dichotomies of colonizer vs. colonized and collaboration vs. resistance.

It was a general trend that in their essays, Manchukuo’s Chinese-language writers contemplated not only their relationship to Manchuria, China, and Japan but frequently also to East Asia, Asian spirituality, the harmonious coexistence of different East Asian ethnicities, and so on. Sometimes, the protagonists in their stories and novels identified with the East Asian region as well. In this dissertation, I am particularly concerned with the works of

¹ Stuart Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” in Stuart Hall, David Held, and Anthony G. McGrew, eds., *Modernity and Its Futures* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 273–316.

² For a definition of Literary Sinitic, see Victor H. Mair, “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 3 (August 1994): 707–51. For Ross King’s argument, see his “Introduction: Koh Jongsok’s Infected Language,” in Koh, Jongsok and Ross King, eds., *Infected Korean Language, Purity Versus Hybridity* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014), 2.

prominent Manchukuo writers Jue Qing 爵青 (1916–62), Xiao Song 小松 (1912–?), and Gu Ding 古丁 (1916–64), in whose essayistic work and fiction identification with East Asia was particularly pronounced. Although we might expect to find an “obsession with China” in the Chinese-language literature of the 1930s,³ the stories of these authors are more indicative of an obsession with East Asia, although they also touch upon identification with China. In my readings, a sense of belonging to China or East Asia, but more often to the latter, is one of the main sources for the cultural identities of the protagonists in these tales. Some identify with China and Asia at the same time, and see both entities as virtuous counterparts to the corrupt West. Others seek to deny their Chinese identity in favor of an Asian identity, or, conversely, to protect their Chinese identity from being too dominated by Asianization.

How can we understand such pervasive identification with the East Asian region in these essays and stories? What meanings did the authors assign to notions such as East Asia or Asian spirituality? And what can their identities tell us about Manchukuo and East Asia in the 1930s and 1940s? I seek to answer these questions by interpreting Manchukuo literature in the context of modern East Asian history and the social and intellectual discourses⁴ with which this literature was in dialogue. My emphasis on the historical context emanates from my persuasion that “historical questioning”—a phrase I borrow from Raymond Williams,⁵ who famously used historical questioning to analyze literary modernism—is crucially important for our understanding of any cultural politics and production. This is especially true of cultural politics and literature in the first half of the twentieth century in Manchuria, which is often described by scholars as a contested borderland that due to the intersecting interests of several powers, above all, China, Russia, and Japan, became what famous historian of Asia Owen Lattimore has called a “cradle of conflict.”⁶

Reading Jue Qing’s, Xiao Song’s, and Gu Ding’s essays and short stories within the sociohistorical context of Manchukuo reveals that one of the main discourses that structured these writers’ identification with the region was the discourse of “Asia,” commonly called

³ Chih-tsing Hsia, “Obsession with China: The Moral Burden of Modern Chinese Literature,” in *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 533–54.

⁴ In this dissertation, I understand *discourse* broadly as an ordered and structured order of meanings within which people conceptualize their world and themselves. See Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 112.

⁵ Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (London; New York: Verso, 1989), 31.

⁶ Owen Lattimore, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932).

Asianism (or pan-Asianism),⁷ which had been circulating in East Asia since the nineteenth century under various names, such as *Yazhou zhui* 亞洲主義 in Chinese and *Ajiashugi* 亜細亜主義 in Japanese. In this dissertation, my conception of Asianism is based on studies by Craig A. Smith and Torsten Weber, who have recently made significant contributions to our understanding of this discourse.⁸ Craig A. Smith, who has primarily explored how Chinese nationalism developed hand-in-hand with the Chinese version of Asianism, has loosely defined Asianism as “a call of the countries of East Asia to unite in the face of Western imperialism.”⁹ Torsten Weber, who has focused above all on Japanese Asianism, has pointed out that when Asianism emerged, it was based on the dichotomy of the monolithic “East” and the monolithic “West,” and it established a counterdiscourse to Western Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said,¹⁰ by “essentializing” Asia and “othering” non-Asia, especially the West.¹¹

Both Smith and Weber understand “Asianism” not only as a discourse but also as a concept functioning within discourses following the methodology of conceptual history defined by Reinhart Koselleck, in which *concept* refers to a fundamental idea that is strong enough to direct thought in a particular discourse, yet contradictory enough to encompass a range of meanings.¹² Both Smith and Weber consider “Asia” to be a concept, too. They argue that Asianism as a concept, Asia as a concept, and other concepts and ideas associated with the notion of the Asian alliance in opposition to the imperialist West are instrumental in the discursive construction of the East Asian region, that is, in the discourse of “Asia.”¹³ In this dissertation, I accordingly think of Asianism as falling into several categories. In some contexts I conceive of Asianism as a discourse, in other contexts as a concept, and in yet other

⁷ Following the example of Takeuchi Yoshimi and Torsten Weber, I use the terms *Asianism*, *pan-Asianism*, and *Greater Asianism* largely synonymously. See Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan. Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony, 1912–1933* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 24, n. 10. I prefer the term *Asianism* in this text because it is closer to the common period usage in Japanese and Chinese sources and because the latest studies in English by Weber and Smith adopt it.

⁸ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism, 1894–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2021); Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan. Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony, 1912–1933* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁹ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 1.

¹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 1–28.

¹¹ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 1–12.

¹² Definition by Timothy Cheek quoted in Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 4.

¹³ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 4–7. Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 7–10.

contexts I define it as loosely as Asianist thought, ideas of Asian solidarity, imaginations of an Asian union, and so on.¹⁴ Since, unlike historians Smith and Weber, I primarily engage with works of fiction, I put more emphasis on the narrative representation of cultural identity. Thus, I also speak of the narrative of “Asia,” the Asianist narrative, and so on. Following Stuart Hall, I understand that discourse constructs identity, which is unified by a narrative of the self. This narrative, in turn, can be told in literature, and it is thus a representation of identity.¹⁵

Just as Reinhart Koselleck has demonstrated that the concepts he explored register the transformation of experience over time and in a particular sociohistorical context,¹⁶ numerous scholars have pointed out that the meaning of the concept of Asianism shifted over time and place, too. At the beginning of the twentieth century politicians and intellectuals in East Asian countries embraced Asianism as an idealistic and productive concept that emphasized the ancient civilizational connection between Japan, Korea, and China, and sometimes also India, prior to the arrival of European colonial powers.¹⁷ As demonstrated by Torsten Weber, in the 1910s and 1920s Asianism functioned as a complex political concept that was redefined and used by internationalist, socialist, and other liberal thinkers in Japan and China.¹⁸ However, in the same period some Japanese politicians and ultra-nationalist thinkers, who mostly inclined toward a fierce anti-Westernism, used tropes from the Asianist narrative to promote Japanese imperialism in Korea and China. Eventually, ideas of Asian alliance were used as a key component of official wartime Japanese ideology that legitimized the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, which began in Manchuria in 1931. As a result, after World War II, ideas of Asian alliance were discredited and became taboo in East Asia.¹⁹ And it took many decades for researchers to rediscover that before 1937, Asianism was a much more complex concept than most scholars thought.²⁰

¹⁴ In this respect, I follow the example of Craig A. Smith, who refers to Asianism this way in his study *Chinese Asianism*.

¹⁵ Stuart Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” 277; 293.

¹⁶ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: on the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 4.

¹⁷ Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui, “Introduction,” in Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui, eds., *Beyond Pan-Asianism: Connecting China and India, 1840s-1960s* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2021), 4.

¹⁸ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 5–6.

¹⁹ Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History. Overcoming the Nation, Creating a Region, Forging an Empire,” in Sven Saaler and Victor J. Koschmann, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 16.

²⁰ For example, Torsten Weber has persuasively challenged the “dismissal of Asianism *in toto* as (semi-)official Japanese ideology.” See his *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 5–6.

From the late nineteenth century onward, various intellectuals and politicians pursuing different agendas called for an Asian alliance in East Asia and their Asianist imaginations interacted in various ways with the discourses of Japanese and Chinese nationalism and of the yellow and Yamato races. For example, when Japanese proponent of Asianism Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覺三 (1863–1913) wrote in 1902 that “the glory of Europe is the humiliation of Asia! The march of history is a record of the steps that lead the West into an inevitable antagonism to ourselves,”²¹ he contributed to a specific debate on Asianism that resonated with the specific sociohistorical context and discourses of the Japanese nation and the yellow race that dominated Japanese society at the time. Now let us compare this statement with the famous speech on Asianism given in 1924 by “the father of the [Chinese] nation” Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866–1925) to counter Western imperialism in China:

We advocate Greater Asianism in order to restore the status of Asian nations. Only by the unification of all the nations in Asia on the foundation of benevolence and virtue can all the Asian nations become strong and powerful.

我們要講大亞洲主義，恢復亞洲民族的地位，只用仁義道德做基礎，聯合各部的民族，亞洲全部民族便很有勢力。²²

Although at first glance it may appear that Sun Yat-sen’s speech expresses similar sentiments as Okakura’s quote, the resonance of this speech with Chinese nationalism in the given historical context reveals that Okakura’s and Sun’s conceptions of Asianism differed greatly.

The role of Asianist thought became even more complicated after the Mukden Incident (Ch. *Jiu yi ba shibian* 九一八事變), which initiated the Japanese invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931. When the Japanese Kwantung Army established the state of Manchukuo in China’s Northeast in 1932, it legitimized the existence of this state through an ideology based on the ideas of Asian solidarity. Thus, at that point, Asianism for the first time became part of an official ideology.²³ In the following years predating the collapse of Manchukuo in 1945, many local Chinese intellectuals embraced the status quo and, in the spirit of the enlightenment ethos of the New Culture Movement (*xinwenhua yundong* 新文化運動, 1917–

²¹ Okakura Kakuzō, *The Awakening of the East* (Tokyo: Seibunkaku, 1940), 3. The original version was written in English.

²² Sun Yat-sen 孫中山, “Da Yazhou zhui” 大亞洲主義 [Greater Asianism], in *Guo fu quan ji* 國父全集 [The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen], vol. 3 (Taipei Shi: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1989), 541.

²³ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 267–9.

23) in China, sought to contribute to the development of society with those Asianist ideas that they saw as beneficial.

For example, when in his 1939 essay Jue Qing called for a revitalization of Asian culture, which he said had been humiliated by vulgar Western modernity, complaining that “dance and brass music from the outskirts of Paris became more popular than the culture of the East” (東方的文化反不如由巴黎下級市街傳出的舞法和銅樂被人歡迎),²⁴ his statement, which was apparently meant to help society cleanse itself of “spiritual pollution,” clearly echoed the essentialist understanding of “Asia” not only within Asianist thought as such but also within the official ideology of Manchukuo. Discussing Japanese wartime literary works that disseminated Japan’s official ideology, which encompassed, among other things, the ideas of Asian solidarity, Annika A. Culver refers to such works using Barak Kushner’s term *unofficial propaganda* and to their authors using Louise Young’s term *unofficial propagandists*.²⁵ Culver has argued that Japanese writers active in Manchukuo “fought an ideological soft war of suasion in support of Japan’s imperialist expansion in, and development of, Asia.”²⁶

However, my analysis of Manchukuo’s Chinese-language works includes writers who may have been at one point considered unofficial propagandists but at other times did not fit that description. For example, as I demonstrate in Chapter 3, after 1941 Jue Qing concluded that society would be better served by creating a caricature of one of the central ideas of Manchukuo ideology, the Asianist concept of ethnic harmony, and thus by turning the ideology on its head. To use the words of Louis Pierre Althusser, who, in short, argued that literature conveys to the reader knowledge of the ideology of the world in which the writer lives,²⁷ Jue Qing continued to allude to the ideology, but he created an “internal distance” from it and thus presented it to the reader through a critical perspective.

In this dissertation, I argue that Manchukuo writers treated similarly not only the Manchukuo ideology but also the Asianist ideas as such and also ideas within other discourses, which they not only parroted but also parodied, inverted, or ridiculed in their narratives. Thus,

²⁴ Jue Qing 爵青, “Qingchun maodu zhi er” 青春冒瀆之二 [Youthful Blasphemy No. 2], in *Ouyangjia de renmen* 歐陽家的人們 [People of the Ouyang Family] (Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1941), 116. Originally published in 1939.

²⁵ Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 4–5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷ Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 221–7.

I demonstrate that fictional works, in which these narratives are told and which have so far received only limited attention in an intellectual history of Asianism, research in the Japanese language included,²⁸ were an ideal medium for the creative treatment of Asianist imaginations.

Why do I call the identity combination represented in the works of Manchukuo writers the *Sinitic nexus*? This term is rooted in the period discourse of the first half of the twentieth century when East Asian affinities were constructed primarily culturally (hence *Sinitic* as in “Literary Sinitic”) but also through other discourses (hence *nexus*), such as the discourse of race, as illustrated by the notion *same script/culture, same race* (Ch. *tong wen tong zhong*, Jpn. *dōbun dōshu* 同文同種), which Japanese and Chinese Asianists frequently used to refer to East Asian commonalities.²⁹ Nonetheless, my conceptualization of the *Sinitic nexus* does not refer to outdated racial concepts but to the historically grounded significance of the Literary Sinitic (or Classical Chinese)³⁰ for the construction of culture in East Asia, as today’s leading scholars understand it.

For example, Ross King has noted that despite the decline of the use of Sinitic characters in East Asia and the division of this space into modern nation-states, Literary Sinitic still has an enormous impact on the contemporary Korean language and culture. Following Sheldon Pollock’s concept of the *Sanskrit cosmopolis*, King has proposed to call this cultural area the *Sinographic cosmopolis*, a term emphasizing the supraregional and political significance of the cultural formation centered around Literary Sinitic.³¹ To give

²⁸ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 130, note 73. In the English language, Asianist conceptions in Rabindranath Tagore’s (1861–1941) work and their reception were studied. See Stephen N. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China, and India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). Scholars of Chinese literary studies have rarely focused on Asianism apart from Susan Daruvala, who has briefly analyzed this discourse in the literary work of Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967). See Susan Daruvala, *Zhou Zuoren and an Alternative Chinese Response to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000). Annika A. Culver drew attention to the importance of Asianist thought in Japanese literature of the war period, but she did not focus on it systematically. See Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*. I mention the studies of the few researchers who have analyzed Asianism in literature throughout this dissertation.

²⁹ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 3.

³⁰ Following the invention of Chinese characters in the thirteenth century BC, Literary Sinitic (or Classical Chinese) spread cultural knowledge not only in China but, since the early centuries AD, throughout the whole of present-day East Asia. Until the advent of nationalism, one of the symptoms of the modern era, an interconnected space existed for approximately two millennia in modern-day China, Japan, North and South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, where literary, philosophical, religious, and other texts written in Literary Sinitic functioned as tools for transmitting learning. Zev J. Handel, *Sinography: The Borrowing and Adaptation of the Chinese Script* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 1–11. Note that Chinese characters are the only writing system invented *ex nihilo*, without knowledge of any previous concept of writing, that is still in use today.

³¹ Ross King, “Introduction: Koh Jongsok’s Infected Language,” 2.

another example, David Der-wei Wang has stressed the enduring importance of Sinitic script (*wenzi* 文字) for our understanding of the literature (*wenxue* 文學), culture (*wenhua* 文化), and civilization (*wenming* 文明) of the whole of East Asia.³²

Moreover, my conceptualization of the Sinitic nexus does not evoke imperialist projects, such as the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere (*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken* 大東亞共榮圈) in East Asia by the Empire of Japan in 1941, as would be the case if I were to employ a term like “East Asian nexus.” Indeed, ideas of Asian solidarity still raise many controversies in East Asia today. While nationally-motivated disputes between China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are notorious, Asianism, as redefined, for example, by politicians in the authoritarian People’s Republic of China, also raises concerns in East Asia.³³ Thus, historical relevance coupled with sensitivity to the contemporary sociohistorical context of

³² David Der-wei Wang 王德威, “Hua-yi zhi bian: Huayu yuxi yanjiu de xin shijie” 華夷之變：華語語系研究的新視界 [Sinophone/Xenophone Studies: Toward a Poetics of Wind, Sound, and Changeability], *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue* 中國現代文學 no. 34 (December 2018): 3–23.

³³ As Torsten Weber has pointed out, Asianism often continues to divide rather than unite Asian cultures. In China, Japanese Asianism is today sometimes in overly simplified terms equaled with Japanese militarism and fascism. In Japan, revisionist circles still use it to whitewash Japanese wartime aggression. In fact, they use it in the same way it was used in Japanese wartime propaganda, that is, as the ideological basis of Japan’s “righteous” fight against Western imperialism in the name of “liberating Asia.” At the same time, they deny Japanese aggression and claim that throughout the empire, and especially in Manchukuo, different ethnicities lived side by side in harmony. The Japanese revisionist’s new Asianism also retains the anti-Westernism of the past. See Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 326–8.

Despite these controversies, Asianism has reentered official politics in East Asia. In recent decades it has been reinvented especially in the authoritarian People’s Republic of China (PRC). In 2006, the top proponent of the Chinese Communist regime, the politician and diplomat Wang Yi 王毅 (b. 1953), announced the concept of “New Asianism” (*Xin Yazhou zhuyi* 新亞洲主義), which is based directly on the Chinese Asianism and anti-Westernism of the early twentieth century. Since 2013, drawing from Wang Yi’s concept, the Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Xi Jinping 習近平 (b. 1953) has promoted the global strategy One Belt One Road often in language of Asianism, especially when calling for establishing a “Community of a Common Destiny” (*mingyun gongtongti* 命運共同體) in Asia. Analysis of the relationship between Xi Jinping’s “Community of a Common Destiny” and the changing order in Asia see in Stephen N. Smith, “Community of Common Destiny,” *International Journal* (Toronto) 73, no. 3 (2018), 449–63. However, Xi Jinping uses Asianist rhetoric to place China into the center of Asian countries between China and Europe and his strategy, unlike Wang Yi’s, does not involve Japan. Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 250–2.

Additionally, Asianism is also used today in East Asia as a more liberal alternative to nation-centered approaches for promoting deeper collaboration among East Asian people, who, in spite of all the divisions, still feel close to each other due to their imagined common cultural heritage. Some contemporary intellectuals and scholars build on Chinese Asianism and take the first Chinese president Sun Yat-sen’s 孫中山 (1866–1925) discourse of “Asia” as the point of departure. For example, since 1999 the Chinese scholar Sun Ge 孫歌 (b. 1955), originally from Northeast China, has called for redefining Sun Yat-sen’s Asianism as a source for promoting solidarity with other Asian nations and concern for the oppressed.³³ Furthermore, the Taiwanese Confucianist Huang Chun-chieh 黃俊傑 (b. 1946) has used it to warn China not to emulate the Japanese expansionism of the past, and the Japanese Shindō Eiichi 進藤榮一 (b. 1939), leader of the International Academic Society for Asian Community, has since 2006 called for establishing an East Asian community centered around the weaker and smaller nations belonging to ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 328–31.

East Asia makes my concept appropriate for use in current research also on other local and temporal East Asian spaces than Manchukuo.

Besides narratives of “Asia,” this dissertation addresses above all the colonial narratives mirroring how Chinese intellectuals in Manchukuo perceived Japanese colonialism, or semicolonialism, with which the concept of “Asia” was intimately connected. For example, Jue Qing’s writings from the mid-1930s portray Chinese intellectuals who at that time saw Japan as a true ally of China in the “Asian” struggle against Western colonialism. Some of Gu Ding’s writings reveal the ways in which intellectuals who were originally staunch opponents of imperialism identified with the Japanese-led imperialist regime in the second half of the 1930s through Asianism. Xiao Song’s stories reveal that for some intellectuals, the idealized perception of the semicolonial regime as the embodiment of harmonious coexistence of East Asian ethnicities endured even after the upheavals of the early 1940s. In contrast, Jue Qing’s works from the first half of the 1940s resonate with the strong disillusionment with the reality of this informal colony that pervaded society in Manchukuo, especially after the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, when the regime finally ceased to hide the fact that Manchuria was being Japanized under the label of Asianization. In this dissertation, I address how these transformations of colonial narratives reflected the identification process of writers and the protagonists in their works.

Thus, my research on the Sinitic nexus of identities in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo brings the literary world of Manchukuo into the English-language debate on colonial modernity in East Asia, where it has so far been overlooked. In this dissertation, I engage in dialogue primarily with two publications that have examined colonial modernity in East Asian literature, namely Shu-mei Shih’s *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937* (2001) and Nayoung Aimee Kwon’s *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (2015). Shih’s study aims to decolonize literary modernism and demonstrate the specific character of Chinese literary modernism. According to Shih, Chinese modernism is a distinctive kind of non-Western modernism because Chinese intellectuals, like those in other countries with colonial experience, suffered from anxiety and paranoia under the colonial oppression of the West. However, at the same time, Chinese modernism differs from modernisms in Western colonies because it emerged in interaction with Japanese modernism, and, above all, because it was produced in what Shih views as a semicolonial cultural formation.³⁴

³⁴ Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 21–5.

Kwon's study follows the recent trend of investigating the specific features of modernity formed by Japanese (semi)colonialism in the Empire of Japan in contrast to that formed by Western (semi)colonialism in East Asia. Specifically, Kwon emphasizes the "asymmetric" yet "intimate" colonial relationship between the Koreans and the Japanese, which is based on the confluences of Korean and Japanese cultures. She demonstrates that in Japan the representation of the modern colonial subject resembled a conundrum especially due to the intimate relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in Japan that significantly blurred the line between the self and the Other.³⁵

By exploring the double subjection of East Asian intellectuals to Western and Japanese imperialisms, both of these studies shed light on various aspects of identification as represented in Manchukuo literature, where writers were similarly subordinated to the hegemonic power of the West and Japan at the same time. Both *The Lure of the Modern* and *Intimate Empire* also note that ideas of Asian solidarity were part of the cultural formation of East Asia, but they only marginally address their significance. For Shih, this is because she fears that "to overemphasize the solidarity between the Japanese and the Chinese or the 'positive' role Japan played for China runs the risk of parroting the very justifications used by Japanese imperialism."³⁶ Kwon discusses how the Japanese-language literary works of Korean writers reflected Asianist ideas in more detail, but she, like Annika A. Culver, treats Asianism primarily as part of Japanese imperialist ideology.³⁷

Both these studies, which explore various ways of grappling with issues of identity in the colonial and semicolonial settings of East Asia, have inspired me greatly. However, in this interdisciplinary study of literature and intellectual history, I put more emphasis on Asianism, which, in light of the most recent scholarship, I understand as a concept that writers used more sophisticatedly than simply to legitimize Japanese colonial rule, sometimes even to criticize it. I thus explore colonial modernity in East Asian literature from a new perspective.

³⁵ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 1–16.

³⁶ Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 19.

³⁷ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 155–8.

1.1 Hybrid Identities and Allegory in Literature of Semicolonial Manchukuo

Now that I have briefly discussed the topic of my dissertation, in this section I will elaborate on the methodology I use to analyze Jue Qing's, Xiao Song's, and Gu Ding's stories. But first let me make a few remarks on the political formation of Manchukuo. In this dissertation, I consider the political formation of Manchukuo to be "semicolonialism." I draw here mainly on Shu-mei Shih, who in her study of cultural politics in the quasi-colonial China of the 1920s and 1930s, *The Lure of the Modern*, addressed the triangular imperialist relationship between the West, Japan, and China, a perspective that is also appropriate for Manchukuo. Shih has expanded on the notion that China not be considered a colony but a semicolony, especially because this term corresponds with the fragmentation of colonial rule in China that emanated from the multiplicity of colonial powers present in Chinese coastal cities, where they established a complex system of unequal treaties, and from their inter-imperialist rivalry. As a result of competition among eighteen foreign powers, which in Shih's view exempted them from any sense of colonial benevolence, their rule was often even more reckless than in some formal colonies.³⁸

Manchukuo was created in 1932 as a product of informal imperialism in China³⁹ but it was controlled by a single power, Japan. However, the introduction of compact colonial control failed. At the beginning, Ishiwara Kanji 石原莞爾 (1889–1949), a Kwantung Army colonel who was the most authoritative figure behind the 1931 military occupation of Manchuria, planned to annex Manchuria directly to the empire. However, when about four days after the Mukden Incident annexation proved impossible due to the Japanese government's disapproval⁴⁰ and international pressure, he had to resort to his backup plan of establishing a client state with a semblance of independence,⁴¹ which was eventually founded on March 1, 1932. As Peter Duus has noted, the main problem the Kwantung Army faced was

³⁸ Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 31–3.

³⁹ Peter Duus, "Japan's Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937: An Overview," in Peter Duus et al., eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), xxiv.

⁴⁰ Ishiwara and his colleagues from Kwantung Army circumvented the Japanese government, which they saw as overly moderate. This behaviour has been described as a form of sub-imperialism. See W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 190.

⁴¹ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 37.

to legitimize “imperialist expansion in a world where colonialism was no longer legitimate.”⁴² The circumstances of the post-Versailles world order dominated by Wilsonian rhetoric and anti-imperialist tone forced the Kwantung Army to present the founding of Manchukuo as the fruit of the will of the 30 million people of Manchuria,⁴³ and Manchukuo had to be institutionally built in a very different manner than “the old colonial states” of Taiwan and Korea.⁴⁴ Thus, a state emerged whose colonial control remained fragmented in many respects. Following Shih’s practice of labeling fragmented colonialism in China as semicolonial and her notion that its fragmentation was a consequence of “informal imperialism,” in this dissertation I refer to Manchukuo as an *informal colony*, a term that is interchangeable with the broadly popular but overly loaded *puppet state*.⁴⁵

Just as the fragmentation of colonialism did not translate into greater benevolence in China, semicolonial Manchukuo was infamous for various kinds of malevolent relationships between the Chinese and the Japanese, especially for the cruel oppression of the Chinese by the Japanese colonizers. True, in pre-1990s historical studies, historians of East Asia often took an overly schematic view of the East Asian historical context and regarded Manchukuo simply as a place where the local inhabitants were cruelly oppressed by the Japanese, describing, for example, that “enslaved and feudal” Manchukuo was “culturally lagging behind China for about fifty years,”⁴⁶ which did not correspond to reality. However, the corrupted nature of Sino-Japanese relations in Manchukuo is illustrated also by recent historical analyses. Such studies give us a much more nuanced picture of life in Manchukuo but state clearly that it was “a place with the most brutal political rule and economic

⁴² Peter Duus, “Introduction / Japan’s Wartime Empire: Problems and Issues” in Peter Duus, Ramon Hawley Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), xix–xx.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield 2003), 60.

⁴⁵ The term *informal colony* has already been used to refer to Manchukuo in several studies. For example, see Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 12.

⁴⁶ For example, see Liu Zhiming 劉芝明, “Dongbei san nian lai wenyi gongzuo chubu zongjie” 東北三年來文藝工作初步總結 [A Preliminary Summary of the Literary and Artistic Work in Northeast China in the Past Three Years], in Zhongguo wenxue yishu gongzuozhe daibiao dahui 中國文學藝術工作者代表大會, ed., *Zhonghua quanguo wenxue yishu gongzuozhe daibiao dahui jinian wenji* 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會紀念文集 [Commemorative Essays of the Chinese National Literature and Arts Workers Congress] (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1950), 323. Liu’s essay is representative of Manchukuo’s image in the PRC in the late 1940s.

plundering” among the Japanese-occupied areas in China,⁴⁷ a “military fascist” regime led by the Kwantung Army using dictatorial practices,⁴⁸ or, regarding the arbitrary imprisonments in Manchukuo and numerous cases of forced labor leading to death, even “an Auschwitz state or a concentration-camp state.”⁴⁹

How was it possible that in such an environment some Chinese people in Manchukuo identified with the idea of a Japanese-led Asian alliance, as I suggested above? At this point, I would like to emphasize that in my dissertation I do not address identification that applies to all layers of society. Analyzing how not only intellectuals but also factory workers or illiterate peasants in Manchuria experienced the occupation would be too broad a topic for my research, and thus, I must leave it up to my colleagues to study such things. In this study, I focus solely on identification with Asia among writers in Manchukuo, who all belonged to the educated elite and thus had “cultural capital,” as Pierre Bourdieu calls their access to knowledge through education, travels abroad, and so on.⁵⁰

Although these writers, unlike the rural population, were able to turn their cultural capital into money that made life in the informal colony more comfortable,⁵¹ they could not evade the regime’s persecution, as evidenced, for example, by the 1936 Heilongjiang Min Bao Incident (*Heilongjiang Min bao shijian* 黑龍江民報事件), in which a number of leftist intellectuals, including the journalist and writer Jin Jianxiao 金劍嘯 (1910–36), were executed in Qiqihar.⁵² How was it then possible that some of Manchukuo’s intellectuals called

⁴⁷ Xie Xueshi 解學詩, *Wei Manzhouguo shi xin bian* 偽滿洲國史新編 [New History of Manchukuo Puppet Regime] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2015), 1. This is an authoritative study of Manchukuo’s history in the contemporary PRC.

⁴⁸ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 60. Duara is a respected historian of Manchukuo in the West.

⁴⁹ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 4. Yamamuro’s study is representative of research on Manchukuo’s history in Japan.

⁵⁰ I draw on John B. Thompson’s definition of Bourdieu’s “cultural capital:” “One of the central ideas of Bourdieu’s work, for which he is well known among sociologists of education, is the idea that there are different forms of capital: not only ‘economic capital’ in the strict sense (i.e. material wealth in the form of money, stocks and shares, property, etc.), but also ‘cultural capital’ (i.e. knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications), ‘symbolic capital’ (i.e. accumulated prestige or honour), and so on.” See Thompson’s “Editor’s Introduction” to Pierre Bourdieu’s *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 14. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 122–34.

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 132.

⁵² Jin Boying 金伯英 and Jin Hui 金輝, “Qiantan ‘Heilongjiang Min bao’ yu ‘Min bao shijian’” 淺談《黑龍江民報》與“民報事件” [A Brief Talk on Heilongjiang Min bao and the Min Bao Incident], *Heilongjiang shehui kexue* 黑龍江社會科學, no. 59 (2000): 70–2.

the Japanese “devils” (*guizi* 鬼子, *e'mo* 惡魔), “dwarfs” (*woren* 倭人), or “barbarians” (*huren* 胡人), while others at the same time admired Japanese culture as if Japanese oppression did not exist at all and considered the Japanese “East Asian brothers” (*Dongya xiongdi* 東亞兄弟), “compatriots” (*tongbao* 同胞), or “comrades” (*tongzhi* 同志)? And that a single Chinese writer in Manchukuo could take several such positions in the course of his or her literary career and sometimes even call the Japanese “compatriots” and “devils” concurrently, as I demonstrate in Chapter 3 with the example of Jue Qing?

While existing research in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo still addresses such divided loyalties predominantly in the framework of binary categories, such as colonizer vs. colonized and collaboration vs. resistance,⁵³ in this study I answer these questions by analyzing identification of Manchukuo’s Chinese-language writers and their protagonists with Manchuria, China, Japan, and Asia, and exploring the (Sinitic) nexus of their identities. The principal objects of my research are the primary sources of Manchukuo’s Chinese-language literature that I have collected during my research stays in China, Taiwan, and the United States, mainly essays, short stories, and novels. Some of these works have not yet been examined, and some of the essays and short stories studied here were not even known to exist.⁵⁴ I have selected the prominent writers of Manchukuo, Jue Qing, Xiao Song, and Gu Ding, because they are representative of the Chinese-language literary scene in this informal colony as a whole, and their works feature strong narratives of “Asia.”

My analysis of these sources is based on methods of Western postmodern and postcolonial studies that are suitable for overcoming the binary approach to the study of identities and colonial literature. I assume, as is commonly accepted in contemporary scholarship, that the modern conception of the individual subject and its identity, which

⁵³ For example, the 2019 collective monography edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, *Manchukuo Perspectives*, has provided us with the contrasting experiences in Manchukuo of not only Chinese and Japanese writers but also Korean and Russian ones. This publication has inspired me greatly as it contains chapters that address the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in innovative ways by exploring, for example, hybrid identities and transnationality. However, most of the chapters, including the Introduction, stick to the colonizer vs. colonized dichotomy and reinforce the collaboration vs. resistance dichotomy by comparing Manchukuo writers with those in Nazi-occupied Vichy France. See Annika A. Culver’s “Introduction: ‘Manchukuo Perspectives,’ or Collaboration as a Transcendence of Literary, National, and Chronological Boundaries,” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives. Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 3. As I will note below, scholars of East Asia have long called for a more substantial rethinking of the polarized dichotomy of collaboration vs. resistance. For example, see Tani E. Barlow, “Introduction: On ‘Colonial Modernity,’” in Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 20.

⁵⁴ I deduce that these works were not known from the fact that they were not listed in current bibliographies of the writers in question, and no scholar has mentioned their existence.

emerged with the advent of modern age and individualism, is always incomplete and “decentralized,” and we can therefore hardly understand the opposition of such a subject to an object simply in binary terms.

Stuart Hall has listed five modern decentralizations indicating that modern identity is always contradictory and fragmented: Karl Marx’s (1818–83) rejection of the universal essence of man, Sigmund Freud’s (1856–1939) “discovery” of the unconscious, Ferdinand de Saussure’s (1857–1913) insistence that the individual is not the master of the language he speaks, Michel Foucault’s (1926–84) insight that the modern subject is “individualized” by disciplinary power, and various accents of feminist critique, such as the rejection of the separation between the “personal” and the “political.”⁵⁵ On this basis, Hall has noted:

Thus, rather than speaking of identity as a finished thing, we should speak of identification, and see it as an on-going process. Identity arises, not so much from the fullness of identity which is already inside us as individuals, but from a lack of wholeness which is “filled” from outside us, by the ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by others.⁵⁶

The Sinitic nexus is a fusion of this modern fragmented subject’s national, pan-national, and other identifications, and in this dissertation I focus primarily on the nexus of “Chinese” and “Asian” identities. Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the Sinitic nexus, I will first define what I mean by national identity, which is one of the cultural identities most often investigated by scholars.

According to Hall, an individual in the modern world is born into a nation-state with an imagined national culture, which is the source of meanings for national identity. In other words, national culture is the discourse that produces the “nation” with which the individual identifies.⁵⁷ Hall thus emphasizes that national identity is not innate but constructed by discourse. Moreover, it is formed and transformed within representation. In Hall’s analysis, national identity is represented primarily as placed between past and future through the narrative of the nation, which is told, for example, in literature. This narrative, which is often symbolically grounded by the idea of pure people or “Volk,” binds people to the past and provides

⁵⁵ Stuart Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” 281–91.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 291–3.

a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or represent, the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation.⁵⁸

Only most recently have scholars defined “Asian” cultural identity as it is constructed in the discourse of “Asia” succinctly. For example, Craig A. Smith has called it a “metanational identity related to key concepts of race, civilization, Confucian tradition, and a strong connection to geographic region.”⁵⁹ In this dissertation, I understand Asianism as pan-nationalism and I refer to Asian identity as pan-national. Following Louise L. Snyder, who views pan-nationalisms as forms of enlarged nationalisms,⁶⁰ I understand Asian identity as an extension of national identity as defined by Hall. In this sense, constructions of national and pan-national identities are analogical in their temporal anchoring in the mythic past and in other aspects of the narratives that represent them but pan-national identity relates to a broader geographical formation, and at its center does not stand the idea of an ethnically pure nation but of a pure population of an entire region, in our case the East Asians or Asians.

But how does this pan-national identity relate to the national one, in our case especially the Asian one to the Chinese one? Craig A. Smith has already aptly addressed this relationship:

The hegemony of nationalism in the twentieth century dictated that most Asianists—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, Indian, Vietnamese, or from any other Asian nation—employed this concept [of Asianism] to save or raise their nation, to make it strong and able to resist external threats. The power of twentieth-century capitalism formulated the space of the nation-state through nationalism. In comparison, religious, spiritual, cultural, or civilizational discourse was less able to determine formulations of social space. However, as these discourses combined with Asianism and nationalism, they affected a creation of a self in contrast with a perceived West.⁶¹

Thus, we can observe that at the time Manchukuo was established, the identification with “Asia” interacted in East Asia with national identities but also others. The East Asia described

⁵⁸ Ibid, 293.

⁵⁹ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 2.

⁶⁰ Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 4.

⁶¹ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 5.

here by Smith evokes the cultures of hybridity as defined by Hall, in which transitive identities, as well as other combinations, emerge as a result of globalization and migration.⁶² For example, Salman Rushdie wrote that he celebrated such combinations in his book, *The Satanic Verses*:

The Satanic Verses celebrates hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, songs. It rejoices in mongrelization and fears the absolutism of the Pure.⁶³

This Rushdie's discussion of hybridity corresponds well to the last sentence of Craig A. Smith's excerpt above, in which Smith precisely defines the combination of discourses that construct the combination of identities, which I call the Sinitic nexus, that is, a nexus of East Asian cultural identities, be they national, pan-national, or identities produced by discourses of culture, religion, race, and so on. However, in his study that primarily investigates how Asian identity contributed to the formation of Chinese national identity, Smith saw no need to give that combination a specific name. Neither did Weber, who speaks of "regional identity,"⁶⁴ introduce his own conceptualization, nor Prasenjit Duara, who in his study examined Manchukuo as an example of nation-state building and mentioned that this state cultivated, among other things, "transnational identities."⁶⁵ I will explain a few paragraphs later that my new conceptualization of the Sinitic nexus was prompted by the different material I am examining, namely the allegorical character of this identity combination as represented in fiction.

But before that, I will make a few remarks on the impact of semicolonialism in Manchukuo on the decentralization of identity, which is often represented in Manchukuo literature as a hybrid identity torn by loyalties to the subject's own nation or pan-nation and colonizer. To address such issues, in this dissertation I reflect on the concept of colonial cultural identity as discussed by authors of postcolonial studies. These scholars start from the assumption that colonial environment forms a hybrid culture, which is the source of hybrid

⁶² Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," 310–1.

⁶³ Quoted in Hall's study, *ibid.*, 311.

⁶⁴ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 18.

⁶⁵ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 251.

identity.⁶⁶ One of the main studies on which I base my understanding of the colonial dimension of Manchukuo literature and the Sinitic nexus is Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*. In this study, Fanon bases his discussion on the various effects of hybrid culture on the colonized subject on the theory of psychoanalysis. The fragmentation of identity represented in Manchukuo's literature is illuminated above all by Fanon's analyses of colonial neurosis, which he portrays as the result of colonial educated elites' inferiority complex to the "white civilization,"⁶⁷ and their desire to gain equal status with the white members of French society. The impossibility of achieving an equal position because of their "black skin" leads such intellectuals, whose identity is situated somewhere inbetween the colonizer and the colonized, to pathological behavior:

The Negro's behavior makes him akin to an obsessive neurotic type, or, if one prefers, he puts himself into a complete situational neurosis. In the man of color there is a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence. ... the Negro, having been made inferior, proceeds from humiliating insecurity through strongly voiced self-accusation to despair.⁶⁸

Among the prominent theorists of such hybrid identity is also Homi Bhabha, whose notion of "colonial mimicry" illustrates well the ambivalence of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. According to Bhabha, colonial mimicry is

the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.⁶⁹

And it is this ambivalence, in Homi Bhabha's view, that makes colonial mimicry a discourse that appropriates the other, but at the same time provides a space for subversion, because by unsettling the clear distinction between the colonizer and the colonized, it destroys the "narcissistic" authority of the colonizer.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 38.

⁶⁷ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto, 1986), 4–5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁶⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 86.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 90.

Since the 1990s, scholars of East Asia have warned against the mechanical application of traditional postcolonial theory to the specific East Asian setting, where the situation was often semicolonial, and have called for overcoming the conventional categorizing of knowledge into “strictly opposed pairs (self/other, state/nation, colony/metropole).”⁷¹ Many scholars, such as Shu-mei Shih and Nayoung Aimee Kwon, have heeded this call, basing their analyses on the studies of Franz Fanon and Homi Bhabha, which unsettle this binary. In this respect, I build on both *The Lure of the Modern* and *Intimate Empire* but my treatment of Fanon’s and Bhabha’s methods differs on one point. Namely, both Shih and Kwon, following Fanon and Bhabha, deconstruct the binary relationship between the colonizer and the colonized but remain grounded in the framework of nationalism. For example, Shih, in her chapter on Shanghai modernism, speaks of “hybridization of Chinese and foreign cultures,”⁷² and sees the culture of Shanghai and the protagonists’ identities in Shanghai literature as hybridities combining nationally defined China and foreign countries, especially the West. In the same vein, Kwon points out that the modern subject suffers from anxiety out of “fear of losing this requisite nation-state status through colonial subjection,”⁷³ and discusses mainly hybrid identities inbetween the Korean and the Japanese.

This is, of course, a perfectly legitimate approach, and I use it myself in this thesis from time to time. In most cases, however, I follow those analyses by Fanon and Bhabha that address the hybridity defined by the discourse of race, that is, between the black and the white, as in Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks*, and between the colonized and the white, as in *The Location of Culture*, where Bhabha speaks of “the ambivalent world of the ‘not quite/not white.’”⁷⁴ Such heterogeneous treatment of Fanon’s and Bhabha’s texts is possible because the texts themselves are ambivalent and deal with the hybridity of both nationally and racially defined identities.⁷⁵ In fact, it is for this hybridity that these post-colonial studies are particularly suited to illuminate the Sinitic nexus, which encompasses identities constructed by multiple discourses.

⁷¹ Tani E. Barlow, “Introduction: On ‘Colonial Modernity,’ 1–7.

⁷² Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 234.

⁷³ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 12.

⁷⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 92.

⁷⁵ For example, Bhabha, who like Fanon primarily addresses the racially defined white colonizer, calls colonial and postcolonial society “international culture.” *Ibid.*, 38.

But why did writers in Manchukuo create protagonists with hybrid identities in their works? Following Fredric Jameson's theory on the interpretation of literature written in countries that have suffered the experience of colonialism,⁷⁶ I understand these writers as intellectuals who, in an environment dominated by semicolonialism (be it Western or Japanese), had no choice but to assume the role of *political* intellectuals. Their texts, in turn, were always *political* acts, which, unlike the texts written by intellectuals living in Western capitalist countries, could have serious consequences for the lives of these intellectuals.⁷⁷ Specifically, I regard Manchurian Chinese intellectuals as following the tradition of Chinese intellectuals in China proper,⁷⁸ who, in the atmosphere of political violence and anti-imperialist mobilization that ensued after the May Fourth Movement of 1919, had to combine their cultural mission of enlightenment with a political agenda.⁷⁹

Since Jameson understands the hitherto history of the whole world on a Marxist basis as an unfinished story of the opposition between the oppressor and the oppressed, in his theory on literary interpretation he views all works of literature as not only pure cultural artifacts but also socially symbolic acts, which have an unconsciously political meaning: "everything is 'in the last analysis' political."⁸⁰ Particularly political, according to him, is the literature of colonized countries, which found themselves in a constant life-and-death struggle with Western imperialist culture since the advent of modernity, and thus the position of their intellectuals differed fundamentally from the position of intellectuals in the West. Namely, Jameson argues that when colonized intellectuals experienced feelings of inferiority to the colonizer, it was not merely a psychological matter but also a cultural and social one that needed to be addressed at the collective level:

⁷⁶ Fredric Jameson speaks about "Third World" literatures. But the term "Third World" has been abandoned in current research, and so I replace it with the phrase Jameson used to define the term, as the literatures of the "countries which have suffered the experience of colonialism." Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism, *Social Text*, no. 15 (Autumn, 1986): 67.

⁷⁷ Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature," 74–6.

⁷⁸ In this dissertation, I understand "China proper" as defined by Mark C. Elliott: "'China proper' refers to the territories of the Chinese heartland, i.e., those centered along the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers, as well as the southeast coast. This includes all of modern-day China except for Qinghai, the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and the three provinces of the Northeast (Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang), and possibly also Yunnan and Guizhou provinces." See Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 376.

⁷⁹ Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 9–10.

⁸⁰ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Routledge, 1983), 4–5.

When a psychic structure is objectively determined by economic and political relationships, it cannot be dealt with by means of purely psychological therapies; yet it equally cannot be dealt with by means of purely objective transformations of the economic and political situation itself, since the habits remain and exercise a baleful and crippling residual effect.⁸¹

On this basis, Fredric Jameson argues that all texts written in countries with colonial experience are to be read as *national allegories* aimed at removing the cause of oppression: “the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society.”⁸²

Jameson has himself pointed out the simplification of this hypothesis, which has been criticized by scholars.⁸³ Given that we are aware of literary programs in the colonial world that advocated art for art’s sake, such as the one declared in 1939 in the Manchukuo journal *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 (Journal of Art and Literature),⁸⁴ I do not accept this statement literally either. Building on the theories of Fanon and Bhabha discussed above and my own findings on the Sinitic nexus, I assume that the colonizer can be resisted through various discourses, such as the discourses of culture, race, nation, or pan-nation, and I thus find allegorical readings in Manchukuo literature that are not necessarily defined in terms of nation. Moreover, some of these allegories are hybrid because the texts under review may represent identities constructed by a combination of discourses. In general terms, however, I draw on Jameson’s justification for reading the literature of colonized intellectuals allegorically as a socially symbolic act, and I find his assumption that underlying the allegories is the writer’s attempt to remove the cause of collective oppression to be illuminating.

In fact, it is the allegorical potential of the protagonists in Manchukuo literature that has led me to newly conceptualize the complex cultural identity of East Asia, the representation of which I analyze in this dissertation. The Sinitic nexus is represented, for example, in one of Xiao Song’s short stories in which the main male protagonist, an art school

⁸¹ Fredric Jameson, “Third-World Literature,” 76.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 69.

⁸³ For example, Aijaz Ahmad rightfully criticized Jameson’s hypothesis for its binary opposition of the “first” and the “third” world. See Ahmad, Aijaz’s “Jameson’s Rhetoric of Otherness and the ‘National Allegory,’” *Social Text*, no. 17 (Autumn, 1987): 3.

⁸⁴ Liu Chao, “From Radical Nationalism to Anti-modernism: The Intellectual Dilemma of Wenxuan Writers,” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 143–4.

student, shoots his girlfriend in the head (see Chapter 4). Following Jameson's theory of literary interpretation, I understand the character of the girl as an allegory of China, or the male protagonist's Chinese self, and the male protagonist as an allegory of the Sinitic nexus embodied by the Chinese intellectual who tries to free himself from his Chinese identity and embrace an Asian identity in a semicolonial environment. As for the neurosis experienced by the main protagonist, I interpret it as a symptom of his being torn between ethnic/national (Chinese) and pan-national (Asian) identities within the Sinitic nexus.

At this point, I will not detail what political message Xiao Song was sending with this short story in 1934 and will instead point out the differences between my sources and those analyzed by historians. As I have noted, historians such as Craig A. Smith and Torsten Weber, who have referred to the interactions between East Asian regional identity and national and other identities, have not proposed their own conceptualization of this identity combination. I believe that their sources, that is, mostly political speeches, essays on Asian art, and the like, did not really necessitate a new distinct conceptualization, and in their cases such a conceptualization would be rather unhelpful. However, when this nexus of identities transforms into a protagonist such as the artist with a gun in Xiao Song's short story, a protagonist who most importantly represents a person with a psychology that manages to capture the effects of the colonial culture's hybridity on the experience of the colonized intellectual, this specific nexus of East Asian identities becomes far more palpable.

Smith's and Weber's studies have demonstrated that the relationship between East Asian identities and national ones was complicated, in some cases harmonious, in others strained. But the character of the art school student who tries to completely eradicate his Chinese self in favor of an East Asian identity vividly illustrates that these identities could be in stark conflict, that is, they could be mutually exclusive. Thus, we cannot simply view national (for example, Chinese) identity as an element of the broader pan-national (East Asian) identity. Quite the contrary, Chinese and East Asian identities, although decentralized and unfinished, are two distinctive self-constructed identities with which a subject identifies simultaneously within his or her nexus of cultural identities. To grasp and succinctly articulate this combination, which I explore through its representation in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo, and to produce a conceptualization suitable for application to other East Asian literatures past and present, I propose a new conceptualization and call it the Sinitic nexus.

Now I will make a few final remarks on methodologies. In this dissertation, I also apply the theory of Aesopian language developed by Lev Loseff to interpret allegorical meanings hidden in literature subjected to censorship. In the study *On the Beneficence of*

Censorship Loseff examines basic methods used by Russian writers to bypass censorship in both the Tsarist and Soviet eras. He argues that when an author wishes to transmit a taboo message, mainly an anti-government political statement, to the reader, he or she creates an ambiguous text that aims to baffle the censor. Fundamental elements of such texts are “screens” and “markers.” Screens are stylistic devices used to conceal a hidden message (they may take the form of a segment that is agreeable to the censor or which distracts the censor’s attention), whereas markers draw the reader’s attention to the hidden message and open up a space for reading between the lines.⁸⁵ By drawing screens and markers from an area of knowledge with which only learned readers are familiar or with which the censor is believed to be unacquainted, the author allows a limited circle of readers access to the allegorical meaning. Loseff argues that in political Aesopian language, which I identify primarily in the works of Jue Qing and Xiao Song, allegory, parody, intertextual references, inconsistencies, and puns are the most common rhetorical figures that function as screens or markers.⁸⁶ This method allows me to locate hidden meanings, which I use to explore the protagonists’ identities, which can sometimes be read allegorically.

However, I do not understand the works under examination only as a representations of hybrid identities, which can be read allegorically as direct political commentaries. I also draw inspiration from Lei Ying’s recent paper “Lu Xun, the Critical Buddhist,” in which the author discusses the hitherto neglected intellectual links of Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936), the leading figure of *modern* Chinese literature, to (*traditional*) Buddhist thought. Building on Peter Eli Gordon’s comparative analysis of Franz Rosenzweig’s (1886–1929) and Martin Heidegger’s (1889–1976) thought,⁸⁷ Lei Ying demonstrates that Lu Xun, in both his essayistic works and fiction, engaged in a debate with the Buddhist thinker Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無 (1871–1943), whom he never met or addressed directly. This debate was facilitated by their belonging to a shared intellectual horizon, or “the same constellation of thought,” which made their ideas resonate with each other even though Lu Xun’s predilection for Buddhism was not necessarily systematic or even self-conscious.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Lev Loseff, *On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature* (München: Sagner, 1984), 51.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 53–121.

⁸⁷ Peter Eli Gordon, *Rosenzweig and Heidegger: Between Judaism and German Philosophy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

⁸⁸ Ying Lei, “Lu Xun, the Critical Buddhist: A Monstrous Ekayāna,” *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 3, no. 2 (2016): 402–3.

In this dissertation, I accordingly understand the stories by the Manchukuo writers under examination as contributing to the debate on Asian solidarity not only in the case of Jue Qing and Gu Ding, who elaborated quite extensively on their Asianist ideas in their essays, but also in the case of, for example, Xiao Song, whose early stories quite possibly resonated with Asianist thought rather unconsciously. Thus, while I conceptualize the identity represented in their works as a complex nexus of identities, among which I focus primarily on the “Chinese” and “Asian” ones, I conceive of these authors’ gradual identification with Asia, which I locate in their distinctive contributions to the Asianist debate, as their “becoming Asian.”

1.2 Modern History of Imperialism in Manchuria and Cultural Politics

To interpret semicolonial literature in Manchukuo, we must understand the basic historical background. In this section, I will focus primarily on the history of imperialism and cultural politics in Manchuria, present-day Northeast China (Ch. *Dongbei* 東北).⁸⁹ But first of all, let me briefly comment on Manchuria’s position vis-à-vis China. Although originally the Manchus did not call this place *Manchuria* (Ch. *Manzhou* 滿洲, Jpn. *Manshū*), the name that for the first time appeared as a toponym in a 1808 map by the Japanese scholar Takahashi Kageyasu 高橋景保 (1785–1829),⁹⁰ they considered the area to the West of the Changbai Mountains their “homeland” already since the inception of the Qing empire (1644–1912) in the seventeenth century.⁹¹ During the Qing dynasty the Jesuit mapping of Mukden in the early eighteenth century contributed to fostering the Manchu identity by upholding the idea that Manchuria was the “home” of the Qing and a territory distinct from the rest of the empire

⁸⁹ In Northeast China, the use of the widely used term “Manchuria” was prohibited by the authorities in the late 1940s. See Sun Wenliang 孫文梁, “‘Manzhou’ yu ‘Dongbei’ de mingcheng jiqi yu Manzu de fazhan guanxi” “滿洲”與“東北”的名稱及其與滿族的發展關係 [The Development of the Relationship between the Names ‘Manchuria’ and the ‘Northeast’ and Manchus] (CCP: Neibu wenjian, n.d). I am grateful to Norman Smith for providing the document.

⁹⁰ Ma Wei 馬偉, “‘Manzhou:’” cong zuming dao diming kao” “滿洲”：從族名到地名考 [Manchu: from a Name of an Ethnicity to a Toponym], *Dongbei shi di* 東北史地, no. 3 (2013): 62–7. I wish to thank David Wang and Ronald Suleski for their comments on this point.

⁹¹ Mark C. Elliot, “The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (August 2000), 607–8.

south of the Great Wall.⁹² The Qing emperors ruled the Manchurian homeland separately from the rest of the empire, and to protect it from Chinese and other foreign immigration, they sealed off the northern part of Manchuria from the rest of the empire. However, in response to the threat of Russian and Japanese expansion into Manchuria, at the end of the nineteenth century the Qing lifted the ban on Chinese migration, sparking the massive inflow of peasants from overpopulated North China. This wave of migration comprised one of the largest and most rapid colonization movements in the twentieth century. As a result, the demographic Sinicization of Manchuria led also to the cultural and linguistic Sinicization of the Manchus and to the integration of the region into China proper.⁹³

Whereas during the years of the Qing empire many Manchus began identifying as loyal citizens of the Chinese state, some Chinese nationalists, for example, those led by Sun Yat-sen, saw Manchus mainly as the descendants of those who had invaded and subjugated China. In effect, Sun Yat-sen originally did not consider Manchuria a proper part of China and even had a secret plan to lease it to the Japanese to receive financial support for his revolutionary troops.⁹⁴ After the bloody anti-Manchu Xinhai Revolution of 1911, these plans were dropped.⁹⁵ However, as a result of the chaos following the dissolution of the Qing empire, Manchuria gained autonomy and was governed independently of other parts of China by various warlords, the most powerful of whom was Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (1875–1928) in the 1920s. Zhang, who was a former bandit without any education, unsuccessfully attempted to install himself as the ruler of all China. What made him hostile to some rivals in China proper was that he belonged to the militarists of the “old faction” who did not embrace modern ideas of Chinese nationalism, in particular, the idea that individual leaders throughout China should work together to create a nation-state.⁹⁶

⁹² Ibid., 619–24.

⁹³ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 41–9. For more on this wave of migration, see Thomas R. Gottschang and Diana Lary, *Swallows and Settlers: The Great Migration from North China to Manchuria* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020).

⁹⁴ Shao Dan, *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland: Manchus, Manchoukuo, and Manchuria, 1907–1985* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 87.

⁹⁵ For an account on atrocities against Manchus during the Xinhai revolution in Chinese cities like Xi'an and others see Shao's analysis. Ibid., 69–73.

⁹⁶ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 24–5.

This history of “autonomous” Manchuria was closely intertwined with the history of foreign *imperialism* and *colonialism*⁹⁷ in China. In the nineteenth century, the Qing empire was coerced into the unequal treaty system, described by scholars as “informal imperialism,” in which powers led by Britain forced China to open its market. The essence of the informality of this imperialism was that territorial gains were not the necessary object of the powers’ policy, as was the case in the formal version of imperialism in other areas.⁹⁸ Russia was the first foreign power to assert strong and direct, though informal, influence over Manchuria. After the Russians seized the Amur region in 1860, they were able to use the unequal treaty system to gain access to Manchuria in 1895. In 1897 they started to build the Chinese Eastern Railway through northern Manchuria including a station in Harbin, and in 1898 they obtained a concession in southern Manchuria, the port of Lüshun, also known as Port Arthur, at the tip of Liaodong Peninsula.⁹⁹

In Japan, plans to expand to Manchuria had existed since the 1880s, when it was considered primarily a strategically important area for the defense of Korea, whose colonization was planned at that time.¹⁰⁰ At this point, Japan was eager to join the unequal treaty system in China for the sake of prestige,¹⁰¹ but above all for practical reasons, mainly to gain international recognition and revise their own unequal treaties with Western powers.¹⁰² Japan succeeded and established the foundations of its informal empire in China after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, and expansion into Manchuria began to materialize especially after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, when the Russian-occupied Liaodong Peninsula,

⁹⁷ Jürgen Osterhammel has defined imperialism as the broader concept of the two; it comprises “all forces and activities contributing to the construction and the maintenance of transcolonial empires,” whereas colonialism is frequently a manifestation of “imperialism” and refers to “the relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders,” who often rule from a distant metropolis and in their superiority reject cultural compromises with the colonized population. Furthermore, imperialism implies international politics, in which colonies are pawns in geopolitical “global power games.” See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*, translated by Shelley Laura Frisch (Princeton: M. Wiener Publishers; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 15–22.

⁹⁸ Peter Duus, “Japan’s Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937: An Overview,” in Peter Duus et al., eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), xiv–xx.

⁹⁹ R. K. I. Quedsted, *Sino-Russian Relations: a Short History* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 81–2.

¹⁰⁰ Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 24.

¹⁰¹ In the late nineteenth century, Japanese and Chinese elites shared a goal to transform their countries into militarily strong ones following the example of the Western powers. At this time, it was generally understood that a military power needs to have not only armed forces but also overseas bases and colonies. See Akira Iriye, *China and Japan in the Global Setting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 8–16.

¹⁰² Peter Duus, “Japan’s Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937,” xx.

including the port of Lüshun and the city of Dalian, was transferred to Japan to become the Kwantung Leased Territory (*Guandong zhou* 關東州, Jpn. *Kantō-shū*). Furthermore, the Japanese established the South Manchuria Railway Zone (*Mantie fushudi* 滿鐵附屬地, Jpn. *Mantetsu Fuzoku-chi* 滿鐵附屬地), which stretched along all the railways in southern Manchuria. Both territories, which were protected by the Kwantung Army, provided ground for administration and also Japanese educational institutions.¹⁰³

While the Russian impact on Manchuria waned gradually,¹⁰⁴ the Japanese informal empire in Manchuria developed mainly around the Russian-built railways in southern Manchuria was gaining momentum, which even increased after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, when Manchuria became a buffer zone.¹⁰⁵ As a result, the number of the Japanese in Manchuria gradually increased not only in the directly colonized Dalian but also in many other cities and towns along the railways. Also the seat of the militarist Zhang Zuolin, Fengtian, which developed most rapidly after 1910, when the Japanese colonial company Mantetsu 滿鐵 (The South Manchuria Railway) constructed the Shenyang (later Fengtian) station, was a semicolonial city controlled in the 1920s by Zhang together with the Kwantung Army and Mantetsu.¹⁰⁶ As a result, at the point of full-scale Japanese invasion in 1931, Manchuria was much less “Chinese” than many scholars have wrongly assumed because co-existence with the Japanese began in this frontier zone long before the occupation of Manchuria on September 18, 1931.¹⁰⁷

In the 1920s, Manchuria’s importance for Japan grew further as Japanese army strategists increasingly considered Manchuria to be a storehouse of resources necessary for successfully conducting future wars, and they hoped to solve the problem of Japanese overpopulation by acquiring Manchurian land, which they planned to cultivate and use for the

¹⁰³ Francis C. Jones, *Manchuria since 1931* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1949), 15–43.

¹⁰⁴ For more on the declining position of the Russians in Manchuria, see Blaine R. Chiasson, *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria’s Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918–29* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Peter Duus, “Introduction / Japan’s Wartime Empire: Problems and Issues” in Peter Duus, Ramon Hawley Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), xiv–xvii.

¹⁰⁶ Ōkubō Akio 大久保明男, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue* 偽滿洲國和漢語作家和漢語文學 [Chinese Writers and Chinese Literature in Manchukuo] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 2.

¹⁰⁷ Rui Hua, “Local Nation, Frontier Manchuria: The World of Multiple Cultural Systems and Intellectual Collaboration in Manchukuo, 1900–1938” (Master’s thesis, University of British Columbia, 2013), 1–3.

production of foodstuffs.¹⁰⁸ However, these Japanese ambitions conflicted with the rise of Chinese nationalism in Manchuria. When the Japanese Kwantung Army assassinated the “old marshal” Zhang Zuolin in 1928 due to signs of rebellion against Japan, his son, the “young marshal” Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901–2001), who received a modern Chinese-nationalist education in Fengtian, came to power and proved to be even more dangerous for the former Japanese allies of his father.¹⁰⁹

As part of the unification efforts that were ongoing in China, which Peter Duus has described as a “systemic crisis of informal imperialism in China,”¹¹⁰ Zhang Xueliang nominally acknowledged the rule of the Republic of China over Manchuria in 1928, and Republican flags were flown for the first time in major Manchurian cities. As a result of the heightened Chinese nationalism that was endorsed in Manchuria in places such as anti-Japanese school textbooks, in 1929, boycotts of Japanese goods became widespread in Manchuria. In response, the Kwantung Army, in collaboration with local Japanese settlers, began to devise strategies for protecting Japanese colonial investments in key companies such as Mantetsu.¹¹¹

When Manchukuo was established in March 1932 and the new five-colored flag was introduced, Puyi 溥儀 (1906–67), the last emperor of the former Qing dynasty who had been dethroned in 1912, became not the president but the “chief executive” (*zhizheng* 執政) of the government composed of other Qing loyalists, most of whom were Chinese, and local Chinese militarists. This government declared its reign period as Datong 大同 (Great unity). Despite being presented as a sovereign state that even claimed to embody noble ideals of Asianism and multiculturalism (see Chapter 1), Manchukuo was since its inception a product of “disguised imperialism”¹¹² that the Kwantung Army ruled “de facto as a colony.”¹¹³ To

¹⁰⁸ Peter Duus, “Introduction / Japan’s Wartime Empire,” xv–xvii.

¹⁰⁹ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 21–5.

¹¹⁰ Peter Duus, “Japan’s Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937,” xxiv.

¹¹¹ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, translated by Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 11–3.

¹¹² Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 60. In contrast to Taiwan and Korea, where direct Japanese colonial rule continued, in the early years of Manchukuo, which were called the “initial state-building phase” (*jianguo chuqi* 建國初期), the Kwantung Army placed Manchu and Chinese leaders into the highest positions. The policies that were devised by the army or the Japanese government, were, however, implemented by Japanese advisors. Peter Duus, “Introduction / Japan’s Wartime Empire,” xxxv–xxxvi.

¹¹³ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*, 19.

manifest independence from Japan, the government and state institutions were initially organized following the model of the Republic of China. But the powers did not actually buy its independence, and the Lytton Commission sent by the League of Nations found Manchuria “unalterably Chinese” in 1932.¹¹⁴ As Prasenjit Duara has aptly noted, the main justification for Manchuria’s Chineseness was not some old-age claim but the simple fact that during the previous several decades, which witnessed the imperialist contest between Russia and Japan over Manchuria that I have described, the abovementioned massive wave of migration from North China brought to Manchuria millions of Chinese settlers, who contributed to integrating the region into China.¹¹⁵ In 1931 they made up about 90 percent of Manchuria’s 34 million inhabitants, whereas Mongols made up 6 percent, Manchus, 3 percent, and Koreans, Russians, and the Japanese, the rest.¹¹⁶

However, when, after the publication of the Lytton Report in October 1932, Japan left the League of Nations, it did not need to feign Manchukuo’s independence so vehemently anymore. Consequently, on March 1, 1934, when the Kangde 康德 (Abundant Virtue)¹¹⁷ era of the new Empire of Great Manchuria (*Da Manzhou diguo* 大滿洲帝國) was announced, an imperial system that imitated the Japanese one was implemented to facilitate Japan’s control over Manchukuo. Puyi, who finally became emperor again as he had long wished, was assigned a clearly subordinate role not only to the Japanese emperor but also to the commanding officer of the Kwantung Army.¹¹⁸

After July 7, 1937, when Japan launched a full-scale attack on China proper in what became known as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (*Qiqi shibian* 七七事變), the politics and economy of the entire Japanese empire switched into wartime mode. To further unify the empire and thus strengthen its warfare capabilities, the inhabitants of the Japanese colonies of Taiwan and Korea were Japanized within the *kōminka* 皇民化 movement, which strived to make “true Japanese” out of the colonized. Above all, the colonial subjects were forced to

¹¹⁴ League Of Nations (Lytton Commission), *Situation in Manchuria: Report of the Lytton Commission of Inquiry* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1932), 125.

¹¹⁵ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 42.

¹¹⁶ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 23.

¹¹⁷ *Kang* refers to one of the greatest Qing rulers, the Kangxi Emperor 康熙帝 (1654–1722), and *de* to the temple name of the Guangxu Emperor 光緒帝 (1871–1908), Puyi’s uncle. See Bill Sewell, *Constructing Empire: the Japanese in Changchun, 1905–45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019), 34.

¹¹⁸ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 104–63.

adopt Shintoism, which had attained the status of state religion in Japan, at the expense of indigenous religions, and the national language, Japanese, to the detriment of various indigenous languages, including Korean and Chinese.¹¹⁹

At the same time, Manchukuo transitioned from the “initial state-building phase” to the “integration of Japan with Manchukuo” phase.¹²⁰ However, because at the center of Manchukuo ideology was the Asianist concept of “ethnic harmony” (Ch. *minzu xiehe* 民族協和, Jpn. *minzoku kyōwa*), which was supposed to ensure equality between the Han (who made up the majority of the population), Manchus, Japanese, Koreans, and Mongolians in the state (more details in Chapter 1), the Chinese language remained the official language in Manchukuo until the end of the war, including the language of media, education, and literature. It was officially called *Manchurian* (*Manyu* 滿語)¹²¹ in the sense of “national” language of Manchukuo, even though the existence of the Manchukuo nation was never officially endorsed. To avoid confusion, when speaking about the language of the authors I analyze in this dissertation, I will still call it “Chinese”. Thus, literature written by Chinese authors in the Japanese language did not emerge in Manchukuo. In this respect, the cultural policy in Manchukuo resembled that of semicolonial China proper, as discussed by Shu-mei Shih, rather than Taiwan and Korea, where the Japanese language was imposed on the colonized. But in contrast to the case of China in the 1920s and 1930s, where preservation of the Chinese language can be explained by the fragmentary structure of colonial power caused by the multiplicity of colonial powers,¹²² in Manchukuo it was rather the result of the abovementioned “disguised” character of colonial rule.

Nonetheless, what Yamamuro Shin’ichi called “the wholesale Japanization of Manchukuo”¹²³ began with Japanization of the legal system and ended with the transformation of the whole bureaucratic structure along the lines of Japan. At this time,

¹¹⁹ Chou Wan-yao, “The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations,” in Peter Duus et al., eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 41–55.

¹²⁰ Xie Xueshi, *Wei Manzhouguo shi xin bian*, 295–6.

¹²¹ For political reasons, the Chinese language was called *Manchurian* in the sense of “national” language of Manchukuo, even though the existence of the Manchukuo nation was never officially endorsed.

¹²² Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 34–5.

¹²³ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 179–81.

moreover, Japan began to colonize Manchuria with settlers.¹²⁴ If we add the increased extraction of raw materials that were needed for the war, at this point, Manchukuo was ruled following the same principles the Western powers applied in governing their colonies.

Following the 1937 invasion of China proper, the Japanese proclaimed a new policy for East Asia, the New Order in East Asia (*Tōa shin chitsujo* 東亜新秩序). The eruption of the Pacific War in December 1941 was foreshadowed by the founding of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken* 大東亜共栄圏) in 1940, which expanded the sphere to include Southeast Asia. The forming of this sphere prefigured the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, which was conducted to thwart American efforts to prevent a Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia.¹²⁵ These events marked the beginning of the third and final phase of Manchukuo's development, in which nearly all policy in Manchukuo was aimed at supporting Japan's war effort. According to Yamamuro Shin'ichi, at this point, the formal status of Manchukuo as a Japanese colony was confirmed by the fact that its production of iron, steel, coal, and foodstuffs was managed directly by the Japanese government in Tokyo.¹²⁶

Overall, we can see that from the late nineteenth century onward, the nature of imperialism in Manchuria evolved, moving from an "informal" type to a much more formalized model in 1931, becoming even more formal in 1937 and 1941, respectively. Colonialism in Manchuria progressed from the initially acknowledged colonialism on the Liaodong Peninsula to a "disguised" form in Manchukuo after 1931, and to a gradually less "disguised" form thereafter. As a result of this development, waves of migrants from a variety of countries came to Manchuria and dominated different parts of the region at different times, until eventually all ethnic groups ended up under the "disguised" rule of the Japanese Empire.

How did Chinese intellectuals perceive the fragmentary structure of Japanese semicolonialism in Manchuria? Now I will make a few comments on cultural politics in Manchuria in comparison with cultural politics in semicolonial China proper in the 1930s, as discussed by Shu-mei Shih. Shih has noted that in China proper the fragmentary nature of

¹²⁴ Since 1935, initially especially young colonists from poor regions of Japan were sent to Manchuria. Even though they often came with high ideals of cultivating the wilderness for the good of the locals, they frequently used intimidation or force to acquire land from Chinese peasants and sometimes looted local villages. Ronald Suleski, "Northeast China under Japanese Control: The Role of the Manchurian Youth Corps, 1934–1945," *Modern China* 7, no. 3 (July 1981): 351–63.

¹²⁵ W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 227–32.

¹²⁶ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 183–5.

domination in the mind of the Chinese intellectual led to a split understanding of the concept of “the West,” that is, a distinction “between the metropolitan West (Western culture in the West) and the colonial West (the culture of Western colonizers in China).” In short, the Chinese intellectual, whose attitudes were as a rule forged by the May Fourth enlightenment project, often adored the West. And his or her desire to emulate the West often displaced his or her need to criticize colonial domination, including that of Japan, which often functioned as a mediator for Western knowledge.¹²⁷

In this respect, the situation in Manchuria was similar but compared to China proper, there was a stronger Japanese cultural influence due to the long-standing Japanese presence. In the whole of East Asia, including China proper and Manchuria, local intellectuals consumed and “transcultured” modern Japanese literature for decades, and Japan was thus seen as a main source of cultural capital.¹²⁸ However, given the widespread availability of schools operated by Mantetsu in the vicinity of the railways in Manchuria, knowledge of the Japanese language and Japanese culture in general was even more widespread there than in China proper.

When we contemplate how Manchukuo’s Chinese intellectuals perceived the Japanese occupation, we thus need to take into account that, in line with Shih’s argument, their understanding of “Japan” was split, and their reservations about the occupation were often displaced by a desire to emulate the Japanese empire they admired. However, that does not imply that Manchurian Chinese intellectuals did not have a well-developed Chinese national consciousness in the early 1930s. While the concept of the Chinese nation, which did not yet have a firmly anchored nation-state, was different from the one of today (which developed in China proper in response to the Mukden Incident),¹²⁹ as a result of Zhang Xueliang’s program of nationally minded modernization, the writers I discuss in this dissertation clearly considered themselves ethnically Chinese, and understood the Japanese as a different nation, although they also identified with Asia and were in the same boat with the Japanese vis-à-vis the Western colonizers.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 35–6.

¹²⁸ Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 20.

¹²⁹ In the 1920s, Chinese thinkers of all political backgrounds emphasized the heterogeneity of the Chinese nation and China as a state that they often understood as a federation. It was the Japanese invasion in 1931 that led them to reconsider their attitudes and emphasize the unity of the Chinese nation. David Der-wei Wang, “Hua-yi zhi bian,” 8–13.

And how did Manchukuo regime treat Chinese intellectuals? Now I will make a few remarks about literary censorship. Conventionally, scholarship emphasized the heaviness of censorship that was imposed on Manchuria by the Japanese after the occupation. The orthodox interpretation by Chinese scholars can be represented by Lü Qinwen:

To dissipate and destroy national consciousness of the people in the Northeast, Japanese imperialists called China proper ‘a foreign country’ and sealed the Northeast off from the interior (*neidi* 內地) tightly. Importation of newspapers, journals, and books from the interior was forbidden. Inspections and burnings were underway all over the Northeast. According to the records of the puppet Ministry of Culture and Education, only from March to June 1932, in less than a hundred days, they burned more than six million copies containing national consciousness.¹³⁰

However, without denying the onset of censorship of the new regime, I would like to emphasize that it was not a simple matter of introducing censorship, but rather of exchanging one system of censorship for another. While most scholars avoid mentioning the original censorship, I would like to point out that under Zhang Xueliang, there was censorship in Northeast China (just as under KMT, there was literary censorship in Shanghai in the 1930s¹³¹), which was directed mainly against left-wing writers, as evidenced, for example, by the memories of Xiao Jun 蕭軍 (1907–1988).¹³² Furthermore, recent scholarship has demonstrated that also censorship corresponded to the fragmented nature of semicolonialism in Manchukuo. It has been noted that mostly it was rather self-censorship than official censorship that tied the writers’ hands, and that censorship developed dynamically in Manchuria with a varied intensity at different stages. For example, during the second half of

¹³⁰ Lü Qinwen 呂欽文, “Dongbei lunxian qu de wailai wenxue yu xiangtu wenxue” 東北淪陷區的外來文學與鄉土文學 [Foreign Literature in the Northeast Occupied Territories and Native Soil Literature], in Yamada Keizō 山田敬三 and Lü Yangming 呂元明, eds., *Zhongri zhanzheng yu wenxue* 中日戰爭與文學 [Sino-Japanese War and Literature] (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1992), 128.

¹³¹ Censorship in Shanghai in the 1930s was directed mainly against left-wing literature. The closure of journals and shops selling unsuitable literature occurred, for example, in 1931 and 1934 throughout the city, including the International Settlement. French, Paul. “Censoring Lady Chatterley in Shanghai: The censorship of Western culture and entertainment in the Shanghai International Settlement, 1940/1941.” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China* 77, no. 1 (2017): 202.

¹³² As far as I know, literary censorship under Zhang Zuolin and Zhang Xueliang has not yet been explored. Xiao Jun noted that an anti-militaristic work, such as his first personal essay, the 1929 “Nuo...” 懦…… (Coward...), could not be published in a Chinese-language newspaper with a Chinese owner in Northeast China without the author facing an investigation. See Xiao Jun 蕭軍, “Wo de wenxue shengya jianshu” 我的文學生涯簡述 [A Brief History of My Literary Career], in *Xiao Jun quan ji* 蕭軍全集 [The Complete Works of Xiao Jun], vol. 1 (Beijing: Huaxia chu ban she, 2008), 19.

the 1930s, “cultural control had been relatively lax and did not intrude into all dimensions of cultural production.”¹³³

Norman Smith has most aptly described the dynamics of censorship in Manchukuo. He has pointed out that while the Manchukuo government made significant efforts in 1936 and 1937 to control public opinion, it lacked personnel and resources to enforce censorship of literature extensively. Later, when Japan allied itself with Germany and Italy in September 1940, cultural control in Manchukuo intensified dramatically. In February 1941, through the State Propaganda Office, the government announced the “Eight Abstentions” (*ba bu* 八不), which under the threat of imprisonment forbade in literature rebellious tendencies, criticism of national policy, exclusive use of darkness to depict the life in the state, the use of decadent thoughts as the main point, “abnormal” sexual desire, excessive cruelty, and exaggerated descriptions of the “entertainment districts.” Manchukuo cultural functionaries perceived all these topics potential criticism of the regime. For example, portraying of gay and lesbian love¹³⁴ or adultery in their eyes denigrated cultural ideals of Manchukuo and Japan.¹³⁵

In March of the same year, the “Gangyao yiwen zhidao” 綱要藝文指導 (Summary of Guidelines to Art and Literature) aiming at fundamentally transforming the role of arts and culture in the state was issued. The guidelines dictated the adoption of the Japanese literary traditions and organizations as models for the new Manchukuo’s “independent” literature.¹³⁶ Shortly afterwards came mass arrest of writers in December 1941 known as the Harbin Left-Wing Literature Incident, (*Ha’erbin zuoyi wenxue shijian* 哈爾濱左翼文學事件). During the incident, more than 160 people were arrested and more than 20 executed.¹³⁷ Consequently, many important Manchukuo writers fled to Beijing, where they continued to publish.¹³⁸

¹³³ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 224.

¹³⁴ It is well-known that “abnormal” sexual desire was often portrayed in modern Japanese literature. Japanese influence can probably be traced to stories that describe not only homosexual love but also pedophilia, necrophilia, and other “abnormal” manifestations of love that have appeared in Manchukuo’s Chinese-language literature. See Ōkubō Akio, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue*, 72.

¹³⁵ Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 44–50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹³⁷ Feng Weiqun 馮為群, “Shi Hanjian wenxue haishi kang Ri wenxue” 是漢奸文學還是抗日文學 [Is It the Literature of Traitors to China or Literature of the Anti-Japanese Resistance?], in Feng Weiqun, ed., *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 東北淪陷時期文學國際學術研討會論文集 [Collection of Papers from the International Symposium on Literature of the Enemy-Occupied Northeast] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1992), 102.

¹³⁸ Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 54. Although Beijing was also occupied by the Japanese, surveillance of writers there was looser than in Manchukuo. *Ibid.*

But even as censorship became commonplace in Manchukuo, due to the language barrier and the limited resources the government spent on cultural control, surveillance still had only limited success in altering the content of literature in Manchukuo and left writers leeway to express subtle criticism of the regime. Because censorship was not applied comprehensively, Chinese-language journals typically blended news celebrating Manchukuo and the Sacred War in the front sections with socially critical literature in the back.¹³⁹ As a result, some of the most subversive works to date were published in Manchukuo's official literary journals in 1943 and 1944.¹⁴⁰

Thus, we can conclude that censorship was very fragmented in Manchukuo for the whole period of its existence. Censorship in Manchukuo developed in line with the intensification of colonial control, which, especially after 1937, led to vital changes in Manchukuo's ideology, as I demonstrate in Chapter 1, as well as to new dynamics in Manchukuo writers' nexus with the regime. And this nature of semicolonialism contributed to the emergence of a multifaceted and complex literary field of Manchukuo literature that was, in some respects, reminiscent of wartime literary fields in Beijing and Shanghai, where, in Edward Gunn's words, flourished "a kind of literary anarchy."¹⁴¹

1.3 Semicolonial Literature of Manchukuo

In this section, I will define the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo. But first, I will briefly discuss the Manchukuo literary scene as a whole. Given the fragmentary nature of colonialism and the informal colony's official ideology that included the Asianist concept of "ethnic harmony," linguistically diverse literature emerged in Manchukuo. Unlike in Taiwan and Korea, where writers were banned from using their mother tongue in the 1940s and allowed to publish only in Japanese, the Manchukuo government supported periodicals in local languages until the end of the war. Thus, many works in Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Korean were published. In Japan, Manchukuo, and later in other occupied Chinese

¹³⁹ Ibid., 51–52.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 56.

¹⁴¹ Edward M. Gunn, *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 9.

territories, these works were called “Manchurian literature” (Ch. *Manzhou wenxue* 滿洲文學, Jpn. *Manshū bungaku* 滿洲文學).

The Chinese- and Korean-language branches of “Manchurian literature” were strongly influenced not only by their native literary traditions but also by Japanese literature. This was a result of the transculturation of Japanese literature that has been widespread in East Asia since the beginning of the twentieth century, when this process was initiated by Chinese and Korean writers. Thus, it cannot be considered a direct consequence of imperialism.¹⁴² In fact, the Japanese government began to support the export of Japanese literature only in 1937 as part of the spread of war propaganda.¹⁴³ To unify the empire, the Japanese government began to promote the Asianist concept of “Greater East Asian literature” (Ch. *Da Dongya wenxue* 大東亞文學, Jpn. *Dai Tōa bungaku* 大東亞文學), which was to draw mainly on modern Japanese literature, for it was Japan, according to the assumptions of the Japanocentric Asianists, which was the only country in the region where the essential spirit of Asia was preserved.

This cultural policy included establishment of writers associations throughout the Japanese empire, and culminated in the Greater East Asian Writers’ Congresses (Ch. *Da Dongya wenxuezhe dahui* 大東亞文學者大會) held in 1942 (Tokyo and Osaka), 1943 (Tokyo), and 1944 (Nanking), which were attended by leading Japanese authors, such as Kume Masao 久米正雄 (1891–1952), Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–83), and Yokomitsu Riichi 橫光利一 (1898–1947), and writers from formal and informal colonies, including Jue Qing, Xiao Song, and Gu Ding.¹⁴⁴ Manchukuo was an essential part of the Greater East Asian literary scene. Just as Manchukuo functioned as a testing ground for future economic and political reforms in Japan, it also assumed a vanguard role in the field of literature. Namely, the Association of Manchurian Writers and Artists (*Manzhou wenyijia xiehui* 滿洲文藝家協會) was established in July 1941, while the Japanese writers’ association followed its example

¹⁴² Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 20.

¹⁴³ Marlene J. Mayo, “Introduction,” in Marlene J. Mayo and Thomas Rimer, eds., *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920-1960* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 15.

¹⁴⁴ Faye Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 2.

only one year later when the pressure on the politicization of literature increased after the attack on Pearl Harbor.¹⁴⁵

The fact that “Manchurian literature” was an important part of “Greater East Asian literature” is furthermore evidenced not only by the active participation of Japanese, Chinese, and Russian Manchukuo writers in these congresses but also by a number of translation volumes that intended to present “Manchurian literature” to Japanese readers. For example, between 1942 and 1944, the later Nobel Prize winner for literature Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899–1972) edited two volumes in a planned series called *Manshūkoku kakuminzoku sōsaku senshū* 滿洲国各民族創作選集 (Selected Works by Each of the Ethnicities of Manchuria). In the preface to the first volume, he suggests that the state of Manchukuo is the first example of putting the ideal of Greater East Asia into practice.¹⁴⁶

This dissertation focuses on the Chinese-language branch of “Manchurian Literature,” which was written mainly by the Han Chinese and Manchus. In Manchukuo, the Han Chinese were officially designated as Manren 滿人 (Jpn. *Manjin* 滿人, “Manchurians”), while Chinese from the rest of China were called Zhinaren 支那人 (Jpn. *Shinajin*, “Chinese”); however, the Chinese themselves often avoided such designations. The 2.7 million officially registered ethnic Manchus were officially called Manzhouzu 滿洲族 (Jpn. *Manshūzoku* 滿洲族), but they were mostly understood to fall under the Manren category as well. At that time, the Manchus were already almost completely Sinicized in terms of language and cultural practices, and, thus, Manchu-language literature from Manchukuo is not known.¹⁴⁷

The Chinese-language branch of *Manzhou wenxue* (Manchurian literature) was officially called *Manxi wenxue* 滿系文學 (Jpn. *Mankei bungaku* 滿系文学, meaning literally “Manchurian system literature”). To clearly define what literature I am referring to, and to avoid confusing readers who often misunderstand the term Manchurian literature as Manchu-language literature, in this dissertation I call it “the Chinese-language literature of

¹⁴⁵ Ōkubō Akio 大久保明男, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue* 偽滿洲國和漢語作家和漢語文學 [Chinese Writers and Chinese Literature in Manchukuo] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 126–34.

¹⁴⁶ Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成, “Senja no kotoba” 選者のことば [Editors’ Words], in Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎 et al., eds., *Manshūkoku kakuminzoku sōsaku senshū* 滿洲国各民族創作選集 [Selected Works by Each of the Races of Manchuria], vol. 1 (Tokio: Sogensha, 1942), 5. For more on the position of “Manchurian literature” within Japan’s culture sphere, see Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 168–92.

¹⁴⁷ Zhang Quan 張泉, *Zhimin tuo jiang yu wenxue lisan* 殖民拓疆與文學離散 [Colonial expansion and literary diaspora] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 120–38.

Manchukuo.” Regardless of the high rate of illiteracy in the countryside, since about ninety percent of Manchukuo’s more than forty million inhabitants were ethnically Chinese around 1940, Chinese-language *Manxi wenxue* made up the bulk of the multilingual *Manzhou wenxue*.¹⁴⁸

Manchukuo’s Chinese-language literature was thus not a “minor literature,” which has been defined by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as created by a minority in a major language,¹⁴⁹ for example, by Czech Jews in the German language or, as Nayoung Aimee Kwon has demonstrated, by Koreans in the Japanese language.¹⁵⁰ Nor can Manchukuo’s Chinese-language authors be seen as “minor authors” of the Lai He 賴和 (1894–1943) kind, who can be understood as such due to his linguistic experimentation and writing in Taiwanese as a kind of “minor” Chinese language.¹⁵¹ Even though some Manchukuo authors experimented with language, such as Gu Ding 古丁 (1914/16–64), whose mixing of Chinese with Japanese vocabulary and syntax in the 1940s can be understood as a “hybrid language,”¹⁵² in general I am speaking of a literature written in the language that was a dominant literary language in Manchuria, that is, the standard modern Chinese. Thus, in terms of language, Manchukuo literature was clearly following the tradition of modern Chinese literature since the New Culture Movement initiated in China proper.

The Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo drew on the modern Chinese literature emerging from the New Culture Movement in other aspects as well, even though in the 1920s, writers in Manchuria usually considered the Northeastern literary field to be several years behind the trends in the center due to the relative remoteness of Manchuria from China proper. The first short stories in modern *baihua* 白話 (vernacular) were published already in 1919 in the Fengtian newspaper *Shengjing shibao* 盛京時報 (Shengjing Times) and the Dalian *Taidong ribao* 泰冬日報 (Taidong Daily) but it was only after 1924 when they appeared in

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 120–2.

¹⁴⁹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, translated by Dana B. Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 16.

¹⁵⁰ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 44.

¹⁵¹ Pei-yin Lin, *Colonial Taiwan: Negotiating Identities and Modernity through Literature* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 71.

¹⁵² Miya Qiong Xie, “Linguistic Hybridity, Transnational Connectivity, and the Cultural Territorialization of Colonial Literature: The Case of Gu Ding,” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives. Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 83–102.

greater numbers. These stories dramatized themes that were typical of modern Chinese literature in general, such as longing for free marriages, the liberation of women,¹⁵³ and the cruelty of militarists and bandits.¹⁵⁴

Modern Chinese-language literature published in China's Northeast from the 1920s to 1949, however, stands out for various specific features that reflect the cultural particularity of this borderland region, for example, its society formed by modern mass migration or the extremely cold environment.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, scholars in the PRC and Taiwan refer to this literature as "Northeastern literature" (*Dongbei wenxue* 東北文學). Scholars in the PRC usually emphasize the patriotic contribution of this literature to modern Chinese literature, considering the greatest works of this literature to be the works of Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, and other writers of the so-called Northeast Writers Group (*Dongbei zuojiaqun* 東北作家群), that is, writers who emigrated from Manchukuo to Shanghai in the first half of the 1930s, where

¹⁵³ For example, Zhu Lingxiu's 朱灵修 1921 short story "Niang a, cuo teng le wo le" 娘啊--错疼了我了 (Mum, You Loved Me Wrongly) recounts the story of a young girl whose mother expressed her love to her daughter by forcing her into an arranged marriage. When the daughter ends up beaten by her aggressive drunk husband, she just sighs to her mother, "Mum, you loved me wrongly." See Zhu Lingxiu 朱灵修, "Niang a, cuo teng le wo le" 娘啊--错疼了我了 [Mum, You Loved Me Wrongly], in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919-1949* 東北現代文學大系 [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919-1949], vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 [Short Stories] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 45-6. Yue Linge 岳麟阁 adapted a similar plotline in 1929. In his short story "Liulang" 流浪 (The Vagrant) he describes a woman who ends up on the street out of the fear that her violent drunk husband will kill her. See Yue Linge 岳麟阁, "Liulang" 流浪 [The Vagrant], in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919-1949* [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919-1949], vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 東北現代文學大系短篇小說卷 [Short Stories] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 100-2.

¹⁵⁴ Bai Changqing 白長青, "Daoyan" 導言 [Introduction], in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919-1949* 東北現代文學大系 [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919-1949], vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 [Short Stories] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 5-7. For example, Mu Rugai's 穆儒丐 (1884-1961) novel *Xiang fen ye cha* 香粉夜叉 (Powdered Demon), which was serialized from 1919 to 1920 in *Shengjing shibao* and is sometimes considered the first modern Chinese novel, presents a love story thwarted by a militarist. See Gao Xiang, "Daoyan" 導言 [Introduction], in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919-1949* 東北現代文學大系 [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919-1949], vol. 6, *Changpian xiaoshuo juan* 長篇小說卷 [Novels] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 2-5. This topic often reappeared during the 1920s. Remarkable is, for example, Jin Shaotian's 金绍田 1928 macabre short story "Dulou" 髑髅 (The Skull) about a dead soldier whose spirit returns home to say goodbye to his wife and his son called "Victory" (*Ying* 英). Most striking in this story is the opening motif of "the god of the night who spread his wings and covered everything," including the soldier's skull, which was being nibbled by stray dogs. The last sentence, "The god of war was happily smiling," conveys a strong sentiment of pacifism that was almost omnipresent in the Manchurian literature of the 1920s. See Jin Shaotian 金绍田, "Dulou" 髑髅 [The Skull], in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919-1949* 東北現代文學大系 [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919-1949], vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 [Short Stories] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 94-6.

¹⁵⁵ For a discussion on the locals' and foreigners' perception of Manchuria during the twentieth century, see Norman Smith's "Introduction," in Norman Smith, ed., *Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2017), 3-15.

most of them published nationally oriented anti-war literature.¹⁵⁶ Other scholars regard the influence of foreign literature, especially Japanese and Russian, as the most distinctive feature of Northeastern literature.¹⁵⁷ All of these scholars view Chinese-language Manchukuo literature as part of Northeastern literature. After the end of the Cultural Revolution (*Wenhua da geming* 文化大革命, 1966–76), within the context of a renewed interest in regional identities in China reflected in literature, scholars have revived the notion of Northeastern literature to refer to contemporary literature of that area.

The careers of many writers demonstrate the continuity of Northeastern literature. Some of those who were active in the 1920s fell silent after the Japanese occupation, others continued. For example, Jia Xiao 笏嘯 (1911–?), who in the late 1920s followed the tradition of Manchurian anti-militarist writing, became a prominent leftist writer in early Manchukuo.¹⁵⁸ Some writers even used the Japanese occupation to boost their careers. For example, Xiao Jun, who was a soldier before the occupation and published only occasionally, began writing for a living in Manchukuo. When the sociopolitical situation changed in 1945 again, some writers associated with Manchuria managed to continue their literary careers, particularly in the PRC. In addition to emigrants such as Xiao Jun, this applies to some left-inclined writers who stayed in Manchukuo, such as Guan Monan 關沫南 (1919–2003). These authors in turn directly influenced contemporary writers of Northeastern literature such as Chi Zijian 遲子建 (b. 1964) and Shuang Xuetao 雙雪濤 (b. 1983).

Furthermore, the terms *Literature of occupied territories* (*Lunxianqu wenxue* 淪陷區文學) and *The period of Japanese rule literature* (*Rizhi shiqi wenxue* 日治時期文學), which are sometimes used in the PRC, are relevant to define Manchukuo literature. These terms rightly emphasize the connection between Manchukuo literature and the literatures of other Chinese areas occupied by Japan, such as Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai. Literary scenes in these areas are comparable to that of Manchukuo not only in terms of coping with a similar official ideology and censorship system, but also in terms of the officially encouraged collaboration between their writers. For example, the frequent publication of Manchukuo literature in Beijing and, in turn, of Beijing literature on the pages of Manchukuo literary supplements, was the product of collaboration between Manchukuo and North China (*Huabei*

¹⁵⁶ For example, see Bai Changqing, “Daoyan,” 1–3.

¹⁵⁷ For example, see Lü Qinwen, “Dongbei lunxian qu de wailai wenxue yu xiangtu wenxue,” 127–41.

¹⁵⁸ For basic information on Jia Xiao, see Ōkubō Akio, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue*, 72–5.

华北) writers' associations that was organized in the abovementioned state-sponsored Greater East Asian Writers' Congresses.

The Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo was published in literary supplements of five major daily newspapers in Xinjing (Changchun), Dalian, Fengtian (Shenyang/Shengjing/Mukden), and Harbin, as well as in dozens of journals, some specialized in literature. Hundreds of authors published everything from poetry, short stories, and novels to drama. The most fruitful phase of Chinese-language "Manchurian literature" is considered the period around 1939, which Smith calls a literary renaissance in Manchukuo.¹⁵⁹

Manchukuo's Chinese-language literature was diverse as attested to be the existence of various genres from confessional literature through realist fiction to proletarian literature. Focusing on narratives of "Asia" inevitably leads me to select certain works from this wealth of diverse body of work; however, due to the pervasiveness of Asianist thought in Manchukuo, I have the opportunity to investigate the Sinitic nexus in the works of the most accomplished Manchukuo writers, who can be seen as representatives of Manchukuo literature as a whole.

1.4 Literature Review and Chapter Outlines

How the works of Chinese-language Manchukuo literature represented East Asian identities and contributed to the debate on Asian solidarity has not yet been explored. However, as the topic of Asianism has been gaining prominence within the field of intellectual history in recent years, I had the opportunity to examine Asianist thought in other regions than Manchuria. As the titles of these studies indicate, in the initial phase of interest in this topic, scholars focused predominantly on Japanese Asianism. However, recently they began to reflect on the significance of this thought in other Asian countries, too, especially in China and India: Eri Hotta's *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945* (2007), *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* edited by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (2007), Torsten Weber's *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan: Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony, 1912–1933* (2018), Craig A. Smith's *Chinese Asianism, 1894–1945* (2021), and *Beyond Pan-Asianism: Connecting China and India, 1840s-1960s*, edited by Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui (2021). These studies allowed me to

¹⁵⁹ Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 43–9.

explore different conceptualizations of Asianism and the basic threads of Asianist thought, and since they primarily analyze historical sources, they left room for me to investigate how Asianist ideas resonated with belles-lettres.

As for understanding Manchuria itself, I could rely on a number of historical studies and works of literary history. Most historical works, especially those published earlier, approach Manchuria from the perspective of a single nation or ethnic group. For example, Louise Young's *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (1998) and Yamamuro Shin'ichi's *Manchuria under Japanese Domination* (2006) treat Manchukuo as an informal Japanese colony, Rana Mitter's *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (2000) and Xie Xueshi's *Wei Manzhouguo shi xin bian 偽滿洲國史新編* [New History of Manchukuo Puppet Regime] (2015) as an informal Japanese colony from the Chinese perspective, and Shao Dan's *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland: Manchus, Manchoukuo, and Manchuria, 1907–1985* (2011) from the viewpoint of the Manchurian ethnic group.

Most of the studies of literary history I have drawn on also investigate Chinese-language Manchukuo literature from the perspective of a single, hence Chinese, nation. These include, for example, Okada Hideki's *Bungaku ni miru "Manshūkoku" no isō 文学にみる「満洲国」の位相* [The "Manchukuo" Period in Literature] (2000), Norman Smith's *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation* (2007), Zhang Quan's *Zhimin tuo jiang yu wenxue lisan 殖民拓疆與文學離散* [Colonial Expansion and Literary Diaspora] (2017), and Ōkubō Akio's *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue 偽滿洲國的漢語作家和漢語文學* [Chinese-language Writers and Chinese-language Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime] (2017). All of the history and literary history studies mentioned above have been invaluable in helping me navigate the significance of Manchukuo to the various nations of East Asia and how Japanese domination of Manchukuo was inscribed in the local writers' Chinese national consciousness. Moreover, given the multiethnic nature of Manchukuo that these studies addressed in one way or another, they have also provided me with a number of insights into other peoples' perspectives.

In the new millennium, an increasing number of studies have begun to appear that disrupt the single national perspective on Manchukuo history and literature. Among historical works, this is most notably the *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (2003), in which Prasenjit Duara analyzes how Manchukuo was constructed as a modern nation-state and touches on the function of Asianist thought in legitimizing this state

by conceptualizing its historical context as “East Asian modern.”¹⁶⁰ Most recently, an important contribution to the study of Manchukuo literature has appeared, the 2019 collective monography *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, which has provided the contrasting experiences in Manchukuo of not only Chinese and Japanese writers but also Korean and Russian ones. This publication includes a number of chapters on Chinese-language Manchukuo literature by scholars from China, Japan, and the West and indicates the field’s current state. Since this publication includes chapters that address linguistic hybridity, transnational connectivity, identity transformation, acculturation, and even Asianism¹⁶¹ (albeit only its Japanese version as reproduced in the Japanese-language literature of Manchukuo), this publication has been a major source of my insight into the ways literature in Manchukuo represented identities constructed by Manchurian hybrid culture. These studies of history and literature demonstrate different approaches to grasp colonial modernity in East Asia in all its complexity. However, none of them addresses how the hybrid identity of Manchukuo’s colonized Chinese-language writers and protagonists was formed in the space *inbetween* cultures, races, and above all nations and pan-nations. My dissertation strives to fill this gap.

This dissertation consists of five chapters, including the Introduction. In Chapter 2, I discuss the reimagining of East Asia as a region from 1839 to 1945 to shed light on the evolution of the main identities that compose the Sinitic nexus, and thus provide the background for the following literary analyses. Specifically, I review the redefinitions of the political concepts of *kōdō* 皇道 (imperial way, Ch. *huangdao*) and *wangdao* 王道 (kingly way, Jpn. *ōdō*) within the changing nationalist, pan-nationalist (Asianist), and racialist debates. Within this discussion, I focus on the main proponents of Asianism in Japan and China and trace the development of the main threads of Asianist thought. I particularly emphasize the transformation of ideas of Asian solidarity in the early 1930s, when they became part of the ideology of Manchukuo and the Japanese empire. Finally, I highlight the function of these ideas after 1937, when they began to serve to disguise the Japanization of East Asia.

In Chapter 3, I analyze the literary work of Jue Qing, one of the most talented writers in Manchukuo, who remains somewhat mysterious to this day. First, by discussing Jue Qing’s essays, I demonstrate his strong intellectual links to Asianist thought. Next, I argue that his

¹⁶⁰ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (2003).

¹⁶¹ Ying Xiong, “Utopianism Unrealized: Ōuichi Takao’s Literary Translation in Manchukuo,” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 64–79.

short stories “Ha’erbin” 哈爾濱 (Harbin) and “E’mo” 惡魔 (Devil) can be seen as his specific contributions to the debate on Asian solidarity, and I analyze their protagonists’ different forms of the Sinitic nexus of identities to provide innovative readings of these tales. Namely, I interpret the short story “Harbin” as an Asianist critique of Western colonialism. As for the short story “Devil,” I read it as a complicated literary work that contains, in addition to a reading critical of the West, a condemnation of Japanese colonialism. I argue that in “Devil” Jue Qing subtly opposes not only Western but also Japanese colonialism by identifying with a specific non-imperialist Asian alliance.

Chapter 4 studies how the literary works of another prominent Manchukuo writer, Xiao Song, who began to express his Asianist sentiments shortly after the Mukden Incident, shed light on what I call “idealistic Asianism” and on a different form of a hybrid identity combination than the one represented in Jue Qing’s works. Specifically, through an analysis of five of Xiao Song’s relatively short tales, which have thus far been almost wholly neglected, I demonstrate that unlike Jue Qing’s protagonists, who were inclined toward a Sinocentric Asianist worldview in the early Manchukuo period, Xiao Song’s protagonists were gradually “becoming Asian” by suppressing their “Chinese” identity and embracing the “Asian” one instead. However, I also use the case of Xiao Song to demonstrate that notions of Asian solidarity were used not only as unofficial propaganda but also to criticize the semicolonial regime in a disguised way.

In the last chapter, I analyze the representation of the Sinitic nexus in the literary works of Gu Ding, the leading figure of the Chinese-language literary scene of Manchukuo. First, I focus on Gu Ding’s early essayistic and fictional work to discuss his conversion from communism to Japanocentric Asianism, to which he remained faithful until the last days of the war. Next, I examine Gu Ding’s novel *Xinsheng* 新生 (New Life) and the short story “Shanghai waijing” 山海外經 (Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas) to demonstrate how he embedded ideas of Japanocentric Asianism and radical anti-Westernism into these works. Specifically, in his works of unofficial propaganda, I explore his protagonists’ specific East Asian identity, which I understand as a juxtaposition to the imagined West. I argue that Gu Ding’s works contributed to the discrediting of Asianism in Manchuria and China towards the end of the Pacific war.

In my Conclusion, I briefly discuss how after the war, narratives of “Asia” were pushed into oblivion together with literature of Manchukuo. Subsequently, I summarize what I have found about the representation of the discourse of “Asia” in Manchukuo literature and

the combinations of identities it constructed. Finally, I suggest further potential directions for future research.

2 Chinese or Japanese “Asia”? Reimagining a Region in Terms of Nation, Pan-Nation, and Race, 1839–1945

Before we proceed to my analysis of the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo and various narratives of “Asia” in this literature, in this chapter, which opens my dissertation, I discuss the most recent findings on the shifts in the meaning of “Asia” within the discursive construction of the East Asian region in Japan and China. I focus here on the concept of “Asia” within the Japanese and Chinese political discourse from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of World War II.

I begin with this chapter, which draws primarily on secondary sources, in order to define the key concepts of Manchukuo’s Asianist ideology, such as the political concepts of *kōdō* 皇道 (imperial way, Ch. *huangdao*), *wangdao* 王道 (kingly way, Jpn. *ōdō*), and “ethnic harmony” (Ch. *minzu xiehe* 民族協和, Jpn. *minzoku kyōwa*) that I subsequently use in my literary analysis. Existing monographs on the history of Asianist thought have not dealt in detail with these concepts in the context of the long-term development of Asianism. Thus, I have supplemented the existing studies on Asianism with discoveries from a wide range of research articles and my observations. Since Asianism became taboo after World War II in both Japan and China, many of the insights presented here are new even to specialists in Japanese or Chinese history. Moreover, as I aim to provide a background for analyses of the Sinitic nexus’ representation in the literature of Manchukuo, I emphasize the diversity of discourses with which the discourse of Asianism interacted. Thus, in my following discussion, I pay greater attention than existing studies on Asianism to discourses of nation, mainly “Japanese” and “Chinese,” and discourses of race, primarily the “yellow” and “Yamato” races.

In this dissertation, I assume, in accordance with Rebecca Karl, that regions are by no means self-evident geographical units that exist ahistorically¹⁶² but are constructed, or

¹⁶² Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia. China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (1998): 1098.

imagined, in a similar fashion to nations¹⁶³ or national geo-bodies.¹⁶⁴ In the premodern period, the region we now call East Asia was organized in a more or less Sinocentric system, in which dynasties in China maintained their central political position through the tributary system and their cultural position by way of various knowledge transmitted by the Literary Sinitic.¹⁶⁵ When open conflict with Western imperialism broke out with the First Opium War (1839–42) in China, local rulers and thinkers began to view the region in a new perspective, conceiving it in the context of the wider world. The empires and kingdoms of today's East Asia responded to this conflict by adopting nationalism and seeking to build nation-states in their defense. As a result, the tributary system disintegrated, and nominally sovereign modern states emerged in the region, first the Empire of Japan (1868), and later the Republic of China (1912), among others.

In addition, responding to the threat of Western imperialism, some thinkers and politicians in the region began to embrace the ideas of Asian alliance. Even though some imaginations of “Asia” included countries like the Philippines and India, in the given period it was the present-day East Asian countries like China, Japan, North and South Korea, and Taiwan that formed the geographic core of the imagined region, with Taiwan and Korea being often understood as part of Japan since the turn of the century.¹⁶⁶

All pan-nationalist movements, such as pan-Slavism, pan-Americanism, and so on, can be understood as modern phenomena intimately related to nationalism. When nationalism of a well-established nation-state develops into a supranational form, they emerge in the form

¹⁶³ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

¹⁶⁴ Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1994), 17.

¹⁶⁵ As for Sinocentric conceptions of East Asia, for example, Joshua A. Fogel has advocated calling this region the *Sinosphere*. Fogel has articulated the Sinosphere as a model of intraregional relations that should be able to reflect all the region's political and cultural complexities. Specifically, he has likened the Sinosphere to Bohr's model of the atom. In Fogel's Sinosphere, various peripheries, such as modern Japan or extinct states such as Changpa, buzz around the core that is formed by different historical Chinas, for example, those of the Qin (221–206 BC) or Qing (1636–1912) dynasties. Because Fogel assumes that there must always be some version of traditional Chinese territory at the center of his model, he considers the end of the Qing dynasty to be when the Sinosphere was in decline and the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) to be the point of its disintegration. Joshua A. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 5–6. As for the role of Literary Sinitic, see Ross King, “Introduction: Koh Jongsok's Infected Language,” 2.

¹⁶⁶ The question of Korea was often avoided or played down in the political discourse by Japanese thinkers and politicians. Moreover, the Chinese often silently accepted Japanese domination over the Korean peninsula, as was the case of Liang Qichao at the end of the nineteenth century. See Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 47.

of an enlarged nationalism.¹⁶⁷ Correspondingly, ideas about Asian commonalities developed initially hand-in-hand with Japanese nationalists' visions of Japanese expansion to the Asian mainland. However, for specific historical reasons, in the late nineteenth century, Japanese Asianism conflicted with the predominant doctrine of Japanese nationalism, and it became a peripheral concept in the Japanese political discourse. By contrast, prominent Chinese reformers, who wished to use Japanese help to emancipate China from Western imperialism, embraced the core ideas of Japanese Asianism. For that reason, at the turn of the century, early Asianism had a more vital impact on real political reform in China than in Japan.

However, as the Japanese expansion to the mainland, especially to Korea, continued in the early twentieth century, ideas of Asian solidarity began to gain significance and became an essential part of Japanese imperialist ideology, which ultimately endorsed expansion to China. While the founders of the modern Chinese state had supported Asianist conceptions as emancipatory, at this point, most Chinese national leaders, resisting Japanese expansion, began to view Asianism as a hostile ideology that solely served Japanese hegemony in the region. But Japanese military superiority broke their defiance and in 1938 led to establishing the New Order in East Asia. When the Japanese prime minister declared this new political concept, he couched it in the language of Japanocentric Asianist rhetoric. As a result, in addition to supplanting the old order established by the Anglo-American powers as the prime minister claimed,¹⁶⁸ Japan temporarily succeeded also in shifting the imagined center of East Asia from China to Japan.

To explore this colossal redefinition of East Asian regional identity that took place over the course of approximately one hundred years, in this chapter I focus on the modern regional construct of "Asia" with regard to the development of modern Japanese and Chinese political concepts of *kōdō* and *wangdao*, respectively, which defined the ideal rule of the state. Furthermore, I explore the racial constructs of the "yellow race" and "Yamato race," which also significantly contributed to redefining Asian regional identity. While the racial concepts were imported from the West, the political concepts were excavated from domestic traditions; all of them were adopted and redefined by local intellectuals and reformists in the second half of the nineteenth century, when nationalism was becoming the main political force in the region. With the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931, and later, in 1937, at the time of

¹⁶⁷ Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 4.

¹⁶⁸ Peter Duus, "Introduction / Japan's Wartime Empire," xxiii.

the full-scale Japanese attack on China, all these concepts needed to be reimagined with a new political agenda in mind. Analyzing the shifts in meanings and usages of these concepts demonstrates how the regional construct of “Asia,” which was embraced in the nineteenth century as a part of pan-national efforts to emancipate the East Asian region from Western imperialism, ended up forming the core of the political rhetoric of a new hegemony.

2.1 Asia and *Kōdō* in Japan

The term *Asia* was allegedly introduced to Japan in the early seventeenth century from the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci’s (1552–1610) “A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World” (*Kon yo ban koku zenzu* 坤輿万国全図), which was printed in 1602 in China.¹⁶⁹ Ricci’s geographical delimitation of Asia was similar to how we understand it today. Specifically, he considered Asia everything on the continent to the East from the Don River, the Black Sea and the Red Sea.¹⁷⁰ However, “Asia” long remained a rather neutral geographical notion that had no significant political or cultural implications in Japan.¹⁷¹ “Asia” gained political meaning particularly after the “opening” of Japan in 1854, when the threat of Western imperialism forced the Japanese to take one of two attitudes toward Asia: they could either suggest joining other Asian countries in a defensive alliance against the West or propose themselves joining the Western system of international relations. After the restoration in 1868 and under Western military pressure, the Meiji government chose the path of achieving national independence through Western-style modernization. As a result, Meiji became the first government in East Asia to succeed in reforming the traditional political system.¹⁷²

Japan thus embarked on a path of “Europeanization,” which was accompanied by a denial of Japan’s similarity with other Asian countries in terms of culture, race, and the like.

¹⁶⁹ Matsuda Kōichirō 松田宏一郎, “‘Aja’ no ‘tashō’sei: Ajiashugi izen no Ajiaron” 「亜細亜」の「他称」性-アジア主義以前のアジア論 [The foreign-imposed character of ‘Asia:’ Asia discourse before Asianism], in Nihon Seiji Gakkai 日本政治学会, ed., *Nihon Gaikō ni okeru Ajiashugi* 日本外交におけるアジア主義 [Asianism in Japan’s foreign policy] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 41.

¹⁷⁰ Kenneth Ch’en, “Matteo Ricci’s Contribution to, and Influence on, Geographical Knowledge in China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59, no. 3 (September 1939): 328.

¹⁷¹ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 63–4.

¹⁷² Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History,” 4.

The most important concept that Japan lacked compared to the European powers was the *Japanese nation*. Early Meiji leaders judged that during the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) Japan was weak in comparison with the West not only in economic and military terms but also because ordinary people did not have a strong national identity and did not understand the emperor as the central symbol of the Japanese nation.¹⁷³ For this reason, the Japanese elites felt threatened by the West not only from without via military might, but also by Christian missionaries, whose activities they saw as an attempt to break up the Japanese community from within as part of colonial encroachment.¹⁷⁴ To create a compact national community that would be resistant to missionary activity, during the 1860s and 1870s, the Japanese formulated the concept of *kōdō* (imperial way), which was based on Shinto theology. Christopher Ives notes that the Japanese based on this concept a moral and political philosophy or ideology that “represented the nation as a patriarchal family and the emperor as the national father who embodied a cultural essence that had been transmitted down through the ages in an unbroken lineage from the Shinto sun goddess Amaterasu.”¹⁷⁵

Besides state Shinto, other constructs such as Confucian education, national symbols, sites, and royal ceremonies were part of the *kōdō* ideology, which can be understood as a modern “invention of tradition.”¹⁷⁶ While in the beginning, it was more a diverse civic moral code, *kōdō* gradually established itself as an imperial ideology taught in schools that supported Japanese nationalist-motivated expansionism.

In addition to the discourse of nation, the Japanese also introduced the new discourse of race. Western science, whose methods and knowledge the Japanese imported in their modernization efforts, lumped the Japanese (along with the Chinese and others) into the category of the “Mongol race.” This concept, which originated in eighteenth-century Europe and spread in the nineteenth century as part of anthropology, was associated with the equally newly constructed notion that Asians have yellow skin. When this racial concept was imported into Asia in the nineteenth century, the Japanese and Chinese partially accepted it; they rejected the association with the Mongols, but due to the positive connotations of the color yellow in Chinese culture, where it is associated with the figure of the emperor, they

¹⁷³ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 14.

¹⁷⁴ Trent E. Maxey, *The “Greatest Problem:” Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), 4.

¹⁷⁵ Christopher Ives, *Imperial-Way Zen*, 14.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15–6. The term “invention of tradition” was coined by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. See their *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

often began to identify as “the yellow race.”¹⁷⁷ Thus, East Asian elites appropriated Western ideas about differences between the races as well as the ensuing prejudices, which they adapted to suit their own ends.¹⁷⁸ It is important to note, though, that the new Asian discourse of race also involved a significant element of “sameness,” expressed, for example, by the term *dōshu* 同種 (“the same race”, Ch. *tongzhong*), which sometimes denoted the interconnection of oppressed people in non-Western global space regardless of their possible racial differences.¹⁷⁹

The Europeanization of Japan, which resulted in the majority of Japanese elites beginning to identify Japan as a Western country, was, nonetheless, accompanied by distancing from its Asian neighbors, especially China, and ultimately from Asia as a whole. Fears that the West would treat Japan the same way as “backward” China and the other Asian countries led the government and most intellectuals to base the process of self-identification not on commonality with, but on difference from Asia. This trend culminated in the well-known 1885 essay “Datsu A Ron” 脱亜論 (On Leaving Asia), in which the prominent Japanese thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1834–1901), who had originally promoted an Asian union led by Japan, wrote:

“My country does not have time to wait for the enlightenment of our neighbors so that we can together revive Asia. On the contrary, we must leave their company and proceed together with the civilized nations of the West, without treating China and Korea in a special way because they are our neighbors but only approach them in the same way as the Westerners do.”¹⁸⁰

Thus, in the formative period of Japanese nationalism, Asia became “the spatial and temporal object through which the Japanese defined themselves.”¹⁸¹ In the late nineteenth century, when the xenophobic “Yellow Peril” discourse flourished in Europe and the United States, Japanese distancing from Asia culminated with many Japanese intellectuals beginning to

¹⁷⁷ Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 1–8.

¹⁷⁸ For example, the Chinese scholar Kang Youwei proposed a reorganization of the racial hierarchy. He considered only the “dark” race to be inferior, while he put the “yellow” and the “white” on the same level. See Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow*, 129.

¹⁷⁹ Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia,” 1101–4.

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 64–6.

¹⁸¹ Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 77.

oppose labeling the Japanese as members of the “yellow race” by pointing out that only Chinese and Mongols were actually “yellow.”¹⁸²

During the Meiji period, the Asianist narrative promoted by Asianists, most of whom were Japanese nationalists who, contrary to the dominant trend, opposed Japan’s excessive Westernization, was clearly on the periphery of the main political discourse. Nevertheless, Asianism still had strong Japanese proponents, who became vital in spreading the idea of Asian unity to China, India, and other corners of the continent.

Japanese Asianists had been calling for union with their Asian neighbors, especially China, since as early as the 1850s to defend against Western oppression, or oppression by the “white race,” as the Asianists, who mostly embraced the concept of the “yellow race,” often called this oppression. Thus, Asianism represented the antithesis of government policy. Furthermore, Asianism functioned as a romantic critique of modernization, calling for a “return” to essentialized Asian values and culture. However, like the majority of Japanese nationally minded thinkers and politicians pushing for cooperation with the West, most Japanese Asianists considered China backward, and thus most of them took for granted the Japanese leadership of a potential Asian alliance. Since the 1880s, proponents of Japanese Asianism began to coordinate their activities, and to start cooperation with China they established Asianist societies such as Kōa-kai 興亞會 (Society for Raising Asia).¹⁸³

In the spirit of enlarged nationalism, as pan-movements were described by Snyder, the early Japanese Asianists considered the Chinese, whom they saw as racially, culturally, and linguistically related, to be suitable targets of Japanese expansion, which was supposed to strengthen Japan’s position in the fight against Western colonialism. Besides Sugita Teiichi 杉田定一 (1851–1929), the most important of them was Tarui Tōkichi 樽井藤吉 (1850–1922), who in response to the increasing “Europeanizationism” of Japan published the 1891 “Treatise on the Great Union of the East” (*Dai Tō Gappō Ron* 大東合邦論) written in Literary Sinitic. In this text, he called for a Japanese union with Korea out of fear that “white people wish to exterminate us yellow people.”¹⁸⁴

It was in the same decade, that is, the 1890s, that the usage of the term *Ajiashugi* 亜細亞主義 (Asianism) was recorded for the first time, and at the turn of the century, it was

¹⁸² Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow*, 135.

¹⁸³ Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History,” 3–5.

¹⁸⁴ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 67–8.

already introduced to China from Japan. The concept of Asianism was considered analogous to pan-Americanism and other pan-nationalisms. At the same time, in Japan, the idea of an “Asian Monroe Doctrine” also emerged, which, following the slogan “America for the Americans,” under the slogan “Asia for the Asians,” called for an end to the interference of imperial powers such as Russia and Britain in the affairs of the “yellow race.” The main proponent of this doctrine, politician Kubota Yoshirō 久保田興四郎 (1863–1919), pointed out that his goal was not to emphasize the cultural commonalities of Asian nations but to launch a geopolitical program aimed at saving the region.¹⁸⁵ Thus, already at this point, distinct forms of discourse affirming “Asia” were beginning to take shape in Japan.

However, most Japanese intellectuals and politicians still embraced the image of Japan as a *kōdō* empire with a nation obedient to the emperor, whose governance was far closer to modern European countries than to the “chaotic” countries of Asia. Moreover, worried about tarnishing Japan’s reputation in the West, where fears of a “Yellow Peril” under Japanese leadership were spreading fast, the Meiji government persecuted Asianists and banned their writings, including those of Tarui.

2.2 Asia and *Wangdao* in China

In this section, I will review the origins of the concept of *wangdao*, which was to become one of the crucial elements of ideology in Manchukuo and was sometimes represented in Manchukuo literature.

While before the 1890s, Chinese thinkers considered China superior to Japan due to Japanese cultural borrowings from China,¹⁸⁶ after the success of the Meiji reforms, the Chinese began to regard Japan as their role model. Thus, facing Western imperialist encroachment, in the late nineteenth century Chinese leaders attempted to reform the Qing empire (1644–1912) following the Japanese example. The most prominent of them was the political thinker Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), who designed reforms that tried to address a problem similar to one faced earlier by the Japanese, namely, that the Chinese were not loyal to the state and were prone to conversion to Christianity. Kang sought to create a

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 72–9.

¹⁸⁶ Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia,” 1102.

modern religious-cultural system that would allow China to compete with Christian missionaries linked to the Western colonial invasion. He proposed a system based on Confucianism and, unlike the Japanese, who placed the emperors at the heart of the nation, centered the national cult on Confucius.¹⁸⁷ Wang Ban has noted that at the core of Kang Youwei's political and moral vision, which he summed up in his writings such as the 1897 *Kongzi gaizhi kao* 孔子改製考 (Study of Confucius as Reformist) and *Datong shu* 大同書 (Book of the Great Unity),¹⁸⁸ was the Confucian concept of *wangdao* (kingly way), which represents the ideal of a benevolent government.¹⁸⁹

The concept of *wangdao*, which is understood in China as the opposite of the negative conception of government, *badao* 霸道 (hegemonic way), is based on Confucian texts, which traditionally formed the basis of education in the East Asia. Originally, *wangdao* was addressed in the classic book *Mengzi* 孟子 (Mencius), in which Mencius (372–289 BC) advises the king that he will achieve a righteous rule of *wangdao*, which embodies Confucian benevolence in practice, if he treats other people with empathy and respect.¹⁹⁰ During the Han dynasty (202 BC–220 AD), the Confucian philosopher and politician Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) defined *wangdao* as a concept of social order and control that emphasized benevolence and morality in the relationship between the ruler and the subject. Dong stated that *wangdao* is formed by “three bonds” (*san gang* 三綱), that is, the relationship between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife.¹⁹¹ At the end of the nineteenth century, at a time when the tributary system was falling apart for good, Kang Youwei revitalized the concept of righteous rule for the purposes of modern government in an interconnected world. He proposed the idea that the person's moral responsibility toward the family and the monarch should be expanded to enable a member of the local community to become a citizen of the world.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Wei Leong Tay, “Kang Youwei, The Martin Luther of Confucianism and his Vision of Confucian Modernity and Nation,” in *Secularization, Religion and the State* (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Center For Philosophy, 2010), 103–6.

¹⁸⁸ Kang worked on the *Datong shu* in the years around the reforms. See Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 59. The book was published in its entirety much later.

¹⁸⁹ Ban Wang, “The Moral Vision in Kang Youwei's Book of the Great Community,” in Ban Wang, ed., *Chinese Visions of World Order: Tianxia, Culture, and World Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 90–102.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95–7.

¹⁹¹ Fung Yu-Lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 42–3.

¹⁹² Ban Wang, “The Moral Vision in Kang Youwei's Book of the Great Community,” 97.

Kang Youwei was traditionally understood by scholars mainly as a national reformer who sought to save China through reforms in the wake of the lost First Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), when China was facing unprecedented threats of Japanese imperialism.¹⁹³ However, recent studies, especially the one by Craig A. Smith, have revealed the fact that has so far been neglected or in some cases deliberately concealed—namely, that Kang had strong intellectual links to Asianist thought.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, it seems that it was the new concept of “Asia” in opposition to the West that fundamentally shaped Kang’s new understanding of the world and the role of China in it at the turn of the century. And based on these recent findings Kang Youwei’s concept of *wangdao* should be understood as the essence of not only Chinese but also Asian governance. Apropos, Kang was not the only one to use *wangdao* to indicate the essence of Asian justice in contrast to the *badao* of the West at this time. The same notion was put forth, for example, by the Japanese diplomat to China, Nanbu Jirō 南部次郎 (1835–1911), in the 1880s.¹⁹⁵

Like the Japanese, the Chinese initially ignored the imported term *Asia*. After the First Opium War, new maps appeared in China that significantly remapped China’s place in the world, and in some cases, referred to Asia as *Yaxiya* 亞細亞. However, the notion of Asia did not become truly significant until the turn of the century, when Chinese political activists realized that the threat of Western imperialism connected China with other Asian countries such as Japan, India, and the Philippines. At this point, however, Asia was usually referred to as *Yazhou* 亞洲.¹⁹⁶ Specifically, these Chinese reformers’ Asianism became evident primarily in their efforts to create a union between China and Japan, which was to ensure the defense of East Asia against Western colonialism. In some cases, they also considered wider regional cooperation. Kang Youwei, for example, reflected on cooperation with India, which he considered the cradle of Asian civilization. At the same time, however, in most cases, he used

¹⁹³ For example, see Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895–1980* (New York: The Viking Press, 1981), 1–26.

¹⁹⁴ In fact, this applies also to other thinkers of that time, such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), Zhang Binglin, Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866–1925), Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), and others. Scholars have also noted that Kang’s reform proposals calling for building a united world community were directly opposed to the idea of a nation-state. Wang Hui, “From Empire to State: Kang Youwei, Confucian Universalism, and Unity” in Ban Wang, ed., *Chinese Visions of World Order: Tianxia, Culture, and World Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 59–60.

¹⁹⁵ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan’s Confrontation with the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 33–4.

¹⁹⁶ Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia,” 1100–1.

the fate of India as a warning of how China could end up.¹⁹⁷ At the end of the day, Japan was simply a more suitable partner not only due to its cultural and geographical proximity but especially due to Japan's success in defending against Western imperialism.

While elder statesman Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901) turned away from Japan after the 1895 humiliation of China at Shimonoseki and allied himself with Russia, Kang Youwei began to campaign for Meiji-inspired reforms, and just two years after the lost war he called for a union with Japan using typical rhetoric highlighting Japan's racial unity with China, which he borrowed from Japanese Asianists.¹⁹⁸ Shortly after that, in 1898, the publishing house founded by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao published one of the founding texts of early Japanese Asianism, namely, Tarui Tōkichi's abovementioned "Treatise on the Great Union of the East" in Literary Sinitic. Although Tarui's main focus was on the unification of Japan and Korea, Liang Qichao, in a preface that secured the book's popularity but was later excluded from his collected works for political reasons, called for an alliance between Japan and China:

"The yellow and white races are becoming like ice and coal. ... We must have political reform. In order to protect our race we must not be timid but must ally!"¹⁹⁹

According to some researchers, Kang Youwei's proposals for the creation of a federation during the Hundred Days' Reform (1898), which are reflected in his *Datong shu*, were an effort inspired by Tarui's ideas to create a federation between China and Japan. These plans, which are indirectly evidenced in many other period texts,²⁰⁰ were then thwarted by the

¹⁹⁷ Mangalagiri, Adhira, "Slave of the Colonizer: The Indian Policeman in Chinese Literature," in Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui, eds., *Beyond Pan-Asianism: Connecting China and India, 1840s–1960s* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2021), 32.

¹⁹⁸ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 23–5.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 46. In the conclusion of the preface, Liang expressed concerns about Japanese imperialism, but he clearly saw it as secondary to the threat of the extinction of the yellow race caused by the whites.

²⁰⁰ Kang described the planning of the federation with Japan in his recollections of the Hundred Days' Reform in his 1899 *Wo shi* 我史 (My History). Furthermore, during the reforms, Kang's supporters sent petitions to the emperor calling for the federation. One of these petitions made a clear call for Japan and China to "unite as one country" following the example of Austria-Hungary. See Craig A. Smith, "Constructing Chinese Asianism: Intellectual Writings on East Asian Regionalism (1896–1924)" (Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2014), 69–79. Kang's dream of a Japanese-Chinese alliance is also recorded in his 1899 text "Mutangji" 木堂記 (Record of the Wood Cottage). See Eric Han, "I am Japan's Kang Youwei, You are China's Inukai Tsuyoshi': A Case of Idealism in Sino-Japanese Relations at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 24 (2017): 6.

intervention of Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后 (1835–1908), who halted implementation of the reforms.²⁰¹

As Craig A. Smith has pointed out, dreaming of supranational federations at a time when empires such as Austria-Hungary were falling apart and the nations of the world were fighting for their independence was somewhat naive.²⁰² And Kang’s reformist efforts failed, after all, and he had to go into exile. However, these plans demonstrate, among other things, the importance of the imported concepts of pan-movements and race at that time, which emphasized the idea of a conflict between the “East” and the “West” and between the “white” and “yellow” races, and at the same time, reinforced notions of cooperation between “Asians” or “the yellow.”

Asianist ideas continued to have a significant impact in China, though. Sun Yat-sen, who contributed greatly to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911, was convinced all his life of the inevitability of a war between the “white” and “yellow” races, and he emphasized the Chinese affiliation with the “yellow race” even in his essential speech on Chinese nationalism, “Sanmin zhuyi” 三民主義 (The Three Principles of the People).²⁰³ Undoubtedly crucial to Sun’s understanding of “Asia” as a modern region and of Asian reciprocity were his stays in Japan, where he helped Philippine revolutionaries fight Western colonizers in 1899 and 1900.²⁰⁴

Sun, like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, had been friends with Japanese Asianists since the late 1890s, and these Japanese friends significantly contributed to the success of the Xinhai Revolution of 1911. In the early years of the Republic, in 1912 and 1913, he delivered several Asianist speeches revealing that at that time he was seriously considering the creation of a united Asia. Although Sun had traditionally been described as an anti-Confucianist,²⁰⁵ in these speeches full of phrases about Sino-Japanese cultural and racial commonalities, such as “same script/culture, same race” (Ch. *tong wen tong zhong*, Jpn. *dōbun dōshu*), which he borrowed from the Japanese Asianist discourse, he praised righteous Confucian governance as a model for all humanity.²⁰⁶ In a 1913 speech, Sun stated that China was unable to defend

²⁰¹ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 46–9.

²⁰² Craig A. Smith, “Constructing Chinese Asianism,” 79.

²⁰³ Michael Keevak, *Becoming Yellow*, 130.

²⁰⁴ Rebecca E. Karl, “Creating Asia,” 1106–7.

²⁰⁵ For example, see Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 89.

²⁰⁶ Craig A. Smith, *Chinese Asianism*, 151–64.

itself against the Western powers and maintain peace on its own, and that was why all the Chinese wanted Japan to intervene. He was aware of the dangers of Japanese imperialism but considered Europeans to be a much greater threat.²⁰⁷ It was not until he returned from a visit to Japan in 1913 that Sun reconsidered his alliance with Japan and began to speak of it as a partnership of equal nation-states. After the Twenty-One Demands of 1915, by which Japan strived to greatly extend their control over China, the Asianist discourse almost disappeared from Sun's speeches and articles.

As it has been well documented by Craig A. Smith, although Sun Yat-sen became more critical of Japan, he continued to believe in an Asian future even after 1915. This belief was reflected in his famous 1924 speech on Asianism given in Kobe, in which Sun highlighted Japan's role as a regional leader, whose victory in the Russo-Japanese War he said inspired countries across Asia and gave them hope that it would be possible to get rid of European colonizers. But he also made a clear statement on nationalism in his speech, demonstrating how he understood the relationship between nationalism and Asianism toward the end of his life: only if strong independent nation-states arise in Asia can they work together to form an Asian union that can stand up to the West. In this speech, which would later influence the Asianism of the collaborationist Chinese regimes in Manchuria and Wang Jingwei's 汪精衛 (1883–1944) Nanking, he described the West as the hegemonic *badao*, opposed by *wangdao* symbolizing Eastern civilization, which materially lags behind the West but is morally superior to it. Moreover, according to Sun, Eastern civilization could cure the flaws of Western civilization so that the world could head toward the ideal of *datong* 大同 (great unity).²⁰⁸

To conclude this section, we can summarize that in contrast to the oldest pan-nationalism, pan-Slavism, which started out as a cultural movement of minor Slavic nations, and only later was appropriated by Russia to become an aggressive ideology of Russian expansion,²⁰⁹ Asianism originated on periphery of Japanese nationalism and Chinese leaders adopted it despite the obvious threats of Japanese expansion. It was the aversion to Western imperialism and Japan's successful defiance that led Chinese leaders to overcome differences

²⁰⁷ Ibid. It was not only Sun Yat-sen but the whole Kuomintang that made an effort to form an alliance with Japan. This is evidenced by Asianist articles published in the early years of the republic by the Kuomintang newspaper *Min li bao* 民立報 (People's Stand). For example, in 1913, they announced their intention to create a China-Japan Alliance, which was to merge the governments of the two states in the future. Ibid., 261–2.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 164–75.

²⁰⁹ Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms*, 17–27.

with rival Japan since the beginnings of modern reforms and to consider the wider East Asian region as a basic unit of defense against Western imperialism. They considered *wangdao* an exemplary model of governance. As my overview demonstrates, the modern concept of *wangdao* moral politics put forward by Kang Youwei, Sun Yat-sen, and other reformers was a vision of an ideal Asian government that contrasted with the Western political order.

It should therefore be noted that the concept of *wangdao*, like *kōdō*, is an invented tradition. However, unlike the nationally colored *kōdō*, the modern concept of *wangdao* was, right from its inception, rooted in the pan-nationalist discourse. While *kōdō* was associated from the beginning mainly with the new concept of Japan as a nation-state, *wangdao* was redefined in conjunction with the emergence of new conceptualizations of the “yellow race” and “Asia.”

2.3 Asia and *Wangdao* in Manchukuo

In this section, I will discuss how the concept of *wangdao* was redefined in Manchukuo. As Torsten Weber has aptly pointed out, the late 1920s were not the best times for proponents of Asianism. Continuing Japanese aggression provoked strong nationalist and anti-Japanese sentiments in China. Ideas about Asian union facing the Western threat seemed impossible also in the light of the bloody suppressions of strikes in Korea and of the last indigenous people’s revolt in Taiwan. As a result, the existing Asianist debates came to a halt. However, they reemerged soon in relation to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931. After this event, Asianism for the first time became an official ideology. Infamously, it was used in relation to Manchukuo to justify Japanese military expansion into China.²¹⁰

First of all, it should be noted that Japanese strategists’ plans on conquering Manchuria in order to gain resources necessary for the successful conduct of future wars were, already since late nineteenth century, often rooted in an Asianist narrative that understood East and West as opponents that were heading toward a major conflict. Before 1931, when the Japanese Kwantung Army eventually occupied Manchuria, the Japanese Asianist movement had undergone a major transformation. While the ideas of the early Asianists such as Sugita Teiichi, Tarui Tōkichi, Kubota Yoshirō, and Okakura Kakuzō had been rather peripheral in

²¹⁰ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 267–9.

Japan or were directly suppressed by the Japanese government, from the 1910s onward, Asianism gradually became a key concept in the political discourse. In 1915, the former governor of Taiwan, Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857–1929), became the first prominent Japanese politician to promote Asianism – “Greater Asianism” (*Dai Ajiashugi* 大亜細亜主義), in his case – as a doctrine to support Japanese colonial expansion into China, having especially Mongolia and Manchuria in mind.²¹¹

Along with the weakened presence of European powers in Asia during World War I, various forms of Asianist conceptions spread throughout Japan, ranging from those supporting the imperial mission to those that opposed it from liberal and cosmopolitan positions. The most influential were, however, those of ultra-nationalist inclination. For example, in his 1916 *Dai Ajiashugi Ron* 大亜細亜主義論 (On Greater Asianism), Kodera Kenkichi 小寺謙吉 (1877–1949) formulated the antithesis of the “Yellow Peril,” the “White Peril” thesis, which called for “revenge against the whites” under Japanese leadership. In his opinion, to save East Asia from the oppression of the white race, Japan needed to rule over China, which he saw as racially and culturally related.²¹²

The fascist thinker Kita Ikki 北一輝 (1883–1937) was very influential, too, especially among young officers in the Japanese army. In his 1919 *Nihon kaizō hōan taikō* 日本改造法案大綱 (Outline of Plans for the Reconstruction of Japan), Kita proposed the transformation of Japan into a national socialist country that could revive Asia and resist Western imperialism.²¹³ After the humiliation of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, where the racial equality clause proposed by Japan was rejected by the Western powers, and even more so, after 1924, when the United States adopted the racist Immigration Act, even the thus far pro-Western Japanese began to embrace Asianism.²¹⁴ In this period, Ōkawa Shūmei 大川周明 (1886–1957) became the most influential Asianist ideologue in Japan with his fierce anti-Westernism and prediction of an inevitable war between Japan and the United States.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Ibid., 81–6.

²¹² Ibid., 140–4.

²¹³ Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, 62–3.

²¹⁴ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 179–81

²¹⁵ Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 112.

Ishiwara Kanji followed the logic of a sacred war against the West as well. Ishiwara first encountered Asianism in his youth, when he met the abovementioned Nanbu Jirō, who elaborated on the Japanese version of the Asianist understanding of *wangdao*.²¹⁶ However, his ultra-nationalism was framed above all by the fascism-inclined Asianism of Kita Ikki and Ōkawa Shūmei. For Ishiwara, the occupation of Manchuria was necessary for Japan to prepare for the “Final War” of the East against the West.²¹⁷ Ishiwara divided the world into two halves, the dominant and aggressive West, after World War I led by the United States, and the equitable East, led by Japan, which he, at the same time, considered “the most rational country” in the world. In accord with his faith in Nichiren Buddhism, he believed that the conflict between Japan and the United States would bring about the end of all wars, the golden age of human history, and create a society synthesizing the best of East and West. To be sure, because Ishiwara felt that Japanese culture was spiritually superior to Western, this highest level of world civilization was supposed to reflect predominantly Eastern spirituality.²¹⁸

When Ishiwara transferred to Manchuria in 1928, he found himself in the environment of growing Chinese nationalism. In this context, Ishiwara developed a detailed version of his plans to eliminate the threat of Chinese nationalism and, at the same time, to rebuild Manchuria into a storehouse of natural resources and a Japanese base for the Final War.²¹⁹ It was with these intentions that he, along with colleagues such as Itagaki Seishirō 板垣征四郎 (1885–1948), led the occupation of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army on September 18, 1931 despite opposition of the government in Tokyo. Thus, as several scholars have pointed out,²²⁰ Asianist ideas of an unavoidable cultural and race war between East and West were among the decisive factors that led to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

As I have noted in Introduction, when Ishiwara’s plans to annex Manchuria directly failed, he had to resort to establishing a state that pretended to be independent. To develop an ideology that could legitimize the military conquest and creation of a new state, Ishiwara

²¹⁶ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan’s Confrontation with the West*, 33.

²¹⁷ Prasenjit Duara, “Between Empire and Nation,” in Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in The Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 69.

²¹⁸ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan’s Confrontation with the West*, 49–57.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 93–6.

²²⁰ For example, see Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War*, 6–8.

established close cooperation with representatives of local Japanese military and settlers' organizations. Together, they came up with an updated idea of *wangdao* state.

As we have seen, *wangdao* had already been applied in China and sometimes in Japan for decades as a modern neo-Confucian concept criticizing Western modernity and upholding an (invented) traditional Asian form of ideal government. Following Sun Yat-sen's famous 1924 speech on Asianism, this concept was discussed also in the context of Manchuria. For example, in 1928, the militant Asianist Ōkawa Shūmei visited Zhang Xueliang in Manchuria and advised him to establish a state based on *wangdao* instead of the Three Principles of the People (*san min zhuyi* 三民主義).²²¹ Although Zhang eventually allied with Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975), the idea of a *wangdao* state that would help revive Asia and liberate oppressed people throughout the world was further promoted by the Majestic Peak Society (*Daiyūhōkai* 大雄峯会), which continued to spread Ōkawa's ideas in Manchuria.²²² A *wangdao* state had also been proposed by some local Chinese leaders prior to the Mukden Incident. For example, the local leader and landowner Yu Chonghan 于冲漢 (1871–1932), who had collaborated with the Japanese since the Russo-Japanese War, felt endangered by Zhang Xueliang's Chinese nationalism and modernization program. Therefore, due to his preferences for regional autonomy, he proposed, independently of the Kwantung Army, the establishment of a *wangdao* state in cooperation with Japan.²²³

Another important actor who had a say in creating the ideology of this new state that was to become a symbol of "new Asia" was the Japanese paramilitary organization the Manchurian Youth League (*Manshū seinen renmei* 滿洲青年聯盟), which was established in 1928 to fight Chinese nationalism and promote independent Manchuria.²²⁴ As members of an ethnic minority, young Japanese settlers understood that they could survive in Manchuria only in union with other minorities. Therefore, in addition to establishing a *wangdao* state, they advocated the ideal of "ethnic harmony" (*minzu xiehe* 民族協和, Jpn. *minzoku kyōwa*, sometimes expressed also as *wuzu xiehe* 五族協和, Jpn. *gozoku kyōwa*, "harmony of the five

²²¹ Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People formed a basis of the Republic of China ideology.

²²² Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 67–9.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 55–61.

²²⁴ Lincoln Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought: the Case of Tachibana Shiraki, 1881–1945* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 51.

ethnicities”), calling for the eradication of all ethnical or racial discrimination.²²⁵ Their demands, obviously based on Sun Yat-sen’s republican ideals of the Three Principles of the People, which stressed suppressing ethnic, political, and social inequalities,²²⁶ were supposed to ensure equality between the Han (who made up the majority of the population), Manchus, Japanese, Koreans, and Mongolians in Manchuria.²²⁷

Yet another interest group that strongly affected the ideology of the new state comprised the Qing loyalists around Puyi, the last emperor of the former Qing dynasty who had been dethroned in 1912. Even though efforts to reinstall him on the throne failed, including the 1917 Dingsi Restoration (*Dingsi fubi* 丁巳復辟) attempt supported by Kang Youwei, he never lost faith in the possibility of restoring the monarchy. Thus, Puyi’s allies continued to promote his restoration to the Kwantung Army also in 1929. In the spring of 1931 the army finally agreed. While Puyi dreamed of reviving the Qing dynasty, the Japanese army planned to use him solely to legitimize the occupation of Manchuria and avert international criticism.²²⁸

At the end of the day, it was the Japanese sinologist, journalist, politician, and Asianist Tachibana Shiraki 橘樸 (1881–1945),²²⁹ since the late 1920s working for Mantetsu and the Kwantung Army, who was able to synthesize the ideas and interests of the various actors in Manchuria to form a serviceable ideology for the new state in an attempt to gain both international recognition and support from the local population.²³⁰ When the establishment of an “independent” state was decided in September 1931, he defined *wangdao* as a concept within an ideology that strived to realize the Confucian ideal of a society of *datong* (great unity) and that represented the essence of Asia. As a result, *wangdao*, together with the

²²⁵ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan’s Confrontation with the West*, 145.

²²⁶ Sun, Yat-sen 孫中山, “Xiugai zhangcheng zhi shuoming” 修改章程之說明 [Explaining the Amending of the Party Constitution], in *Guo fu quan ji* 國父全集 [The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen], vol. 3 (Taipei Shi: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1989), 215–19. These ideals were also prefigured by ideology of the short-lived utopian Asianist state that emerged in the Jiandao region between Korea and Manchuria in 1920. See Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism,” *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 111–2.

²²⁷ Shao Dan, *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland*, 141.

²²⁸ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 93–9.

²²⁹ Tachibana lived in China for years. He began to study Chinese society already in 1906, and from 1925 onward was an active commentator on Chinese politics in the Japanese-language press. He was known for cherishing Sun Yat-sen’s Confucianist and Asianist views expressed in his Kobe speech in 1924. Lincoln Li, *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought*, 16–37.

²³⁰ Prasenjit Duara, “Between Empire and Nation,” 68.

multicultural ideal of “ethnic harmony” advocated by the Manchurian Youth League, became the basic principle of the new state that was to become a new basis of Asianism.²³¹

On March 1, 1932, the new Manchukuo government issued the “Manzhouguo jianguo xuanyan” 滿洲國建國宣言 (The Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation), which reflected this ideology informed by various interest groups, assessed by Tachibana, and approved by Ishiwara. Manchukuo was defined as an heir not only to the Qing dynasty but also to the whole long Chinese monarchic tradition beginning with the rule of the “Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties.” It clearly put the monarchic tradition over the republican, as the proclamation called the period since 1912 “a twenty-year-long experiment” led by xenophobic militarists that could lead only to the perishing of the people of Manchuria and Mongolia. The declaration emphasized that “wangdaoism” (*wangdao zhuyi* 王道主義) shall be based on the observance of Confucian ethics (*lijiao* 礼教), which, in turn, was linked to modern concepts of ethnic and social equality: “in addition to the original Han, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese, and Koreans, other nations can live here as equals.” Ultimately, Manchukuo was to “protect the ancient glory of East Asia” and, in turn, become a role model for world politics.²³²

To be sure, these lofty ideals remained only on paper. In fact, the Kwantung Army had tight control over Manchukuo since its inception, and the sense of superiority and racism of Japanese leaders, soldiers, and settlers became notorious.²³³ On the ground, the Japanese not only cruelly suppressed any Chinese resistance, but they also provoked the Shanghai Incident of January 1932, in which around 40,000 people were killed or injured, to divert the attention of China and the Great Powers away from Manchuria, where the new state was to be created.²³⁴ Furthermore, behind the new ideological concepts were often different intentions than what the new government claimed. For example, in a 1935 essay, which was originally published in Japanese, Lu Xun tellingly implied that one of the main reasons that the Japanese invaders applied Confucian ideology in their Manchurian puppet regime was to suppress resistance by invoking Chinese traditional filial piety to the ruler, whoever that may be.²³⁵

²³¹ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 74–80.

²³² Manchukuo Government 滿洲國政府, “Manzhouguo jianguo xuanyan” 滿洲國建國宣言 [The Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation], *Manzhou bao* (March 3, 1932): 1.

²³³ For a detailed account of how these lofty ideals diverged from reality, see Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, Chapter 5, 198–218.

²³⁴ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 46.

²³⁵ Lu Xun 魯迅, “Wangdao” 王道 [Kingly Way], *Xi bei feng* (January 15, 1937): 3.

Nonetheless, the new image of Asia that was born with the establishment of Manchukuo became extremely important in the two following decades. Manchukuo, which Asianists not only in Japan but also in many other Asian countries understood as the first case of Asianism in practice, drew many Japanese who had been skeptical of Asianism from nationalist standpoints closer to the idea of identifying with the region.²³⁶

When we compare this new image of Asia with the earlier ones, we find noteworthy that, first of all, the occupation of Manchuria, which was propelled by Ishiwara and his Japanocentric views of Asia, paradoxically culminated in a Sinocentric narrative of a region due to external pressures. The Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation clearly implied that the originally Confucian *wangdao* was the true essence of Asia, and did not mention the Japanese *kōdō*. Furthermore, the founding principles of the new state, such as *wangdao*, “ethnic harmony,” and Datong, were evidence of the clear legacy of Kang Youwei and Sun Yat-sen’s early Chinese Asianism.

Second, when Asianism was put into practice, its racial aspect disappeared. Neither the State-Founding Proclamation nor other documents from the early period place the “yellow” and “white” races against each other as Asianist thinkers so often had done in the past. Obviously, the state, which heralded the idea of “ethnic harmony,” could not openly fuel racism at the same time. Furthermore, the fact that the more than 200,000 Russians living in Harbin comprised part of Manchukuo’s population at the time of the state’s founding had to be considered.²³⁷ Indeed, some propaganda posters from Manchukuo, which include Russians as one of the core five ethnicities of the state that deserve equal treatment,²³⁸ prove that the concept of “ethnic harmony” was not reserved only for people of the “yellow race” but was, in theory, universal.

As a result, with the Manchukuo founding-state ideology emerged the new idea of Asia, which presented the region as morally and politically loyal to its predominantly Sinitic traditions that were seen as superior to modern concepts imported from the West, such as republicanism. However, due to various external and even internal pressures that accompanied the new state’s founding, instead of calling for racial war against the white

²³⁶ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 301.

²³⁷ For more on the specific position of the Russians in Manchuria, see Blaine R. Chiasson, *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria’s Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918–29* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

²³⁸ Olga Bakich, “Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin,” 62.

oppressors, this official Manchukuo Asianism emphasized ethnic and racial equity and peace throughout the world.

2.4 Asia and *Kōdō* in Wartime East Asia

During the war, the Sinocentric concept of a peaceful and harmonious Asia, which was forged under the pressures Manchukuo faced in its early days, inspired many idealists, especially in Japan but also in other Asian countries, who continued to believe in creation of an Asianist paradise on Earth until the end of the war and sometimes even longer.²³⁹ However, in the official ideology of Manchukuo and Japan, this notion was soon replaced by the idea of an Asia led by Japan into a war against Britain and the United States. This Japanocentric hegemonic Asianism culminated in November 1943, when the leaders of Japan and its Asian puppet states and allies, including Manchukuo, Wang Jingwei's China, Burma, Thailand, and the Philippines, met in Tokyo at the Greater East Asian Conference (*Daitō-A kaigi* 大東亜会議) to foster their coalition in the fight against Western influence in Asia.²⁴⁰

Thus, at the end of the war, there was almost nothing left of the Sinocentric Asianism, which was officially declared to be the “state-founding spirit” of Manchukuo. This further redefinition of Asian regional identity, which began with a process that I call de-Sinicization and continued with Japanization, can be illustrated by the development of ideology in Manchukuo. According to Yamamuro Shin'ichi, the ideal of *wangdao* in Manchuria first “froze” and subsequently was replaced by the central ideal of Japanese nationalism, *kōdō*.²⁴¹ At the conceptual level, this shift marked the final redefinition of “Asia,” which now clearly had Japan at its center.

There were two main factors behind the beginning of the de-Sinicization of the conception of Asia in Manchukuo. First, the Japanese government had increasingly less reason to disguise its rule over the informal colony. As Prasenjit Duara has noted, while in the beginning, the army, in cooperation with local Japanese settlers and Chinese elites, imprinted Manchukuo with certain signs of sovereignty and authenticity to suppress international

²³⁹ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 5.

²⁴⁰ Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History,” 12.

²⁴¹ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 87.

criticism and Chinese resistance, gradually the appointed Chinese officials in the Manchukuo government became mere puppets of a military fascist regime.²⁴² When Japan left the League of Nations and later used Manchuria as a military base for an attack on the China proper, there was no longer a need to advocate Manchuria's independence through a Sinocentric ideology.

The second main factor was the considerable success of Manchukuo's early Asianism in Japan, where it was thoroughly Japanized and then traveled to various parts of the empire and returned to Manchukuo as well. In the early 1930s, Manchukuo representatives, such as the ambassador to Japan, Bao Guancheng 鮑觀澄 (1898–1975), claimed on their travels around Japan and other Asian countries that at home they were putting Asianism into practice. Sometimes they also argued that the idea of *wangdao* was essentially the same as the Japanese *kōdō*.²⁴³ While thus far most Japanese nationalist ideologues had considered *wangdao* a foreign element incompatible with pure Japanese *kōdō*, as a result of the importation of Asianism from Manchuria, some began to change their attitudes.²⁴⁴ According to Torsten Weber, it was the occupation of Manchuria that enabled Asianism to eventually flourish in Japan. Only when the Asian Other, who had still been associated with dissenting attitudes towards Japan, became controlled by Japan, this Other began to seem friendly. Thus, it was not until Asia became subordinated that most Japanese could begin to identify with Asia.²⁴⁵ Consequently, many Japanese soldiers, officials, and idealists began to move to Manchuria, believing that they were going there to build a “new Asia,” or even an “Atlantis of the twentieth century.”²⁴⁶ And with them, the concept of Asianism, which had become Japanocentric in the meantime, returned.

The Manchukuo form of official Asianism was de-Sinicized soon after the founding of the state. While the rhetoric of the Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation of March 1932 was strongly Sinocentric, as early as the summer of 1932, Manchukuo's Chinese identity was weakened in line with the ideas of Ishiwara, who claimed that Manchuria had never been Chinese but always belonged to Asians in general and that its occupation did not represent

²⁴² Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 253.

²⁴³ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 303.

²⁴⁴ Roger H. Brown, “Visions of a Virtuous Manifest Destiny: Yasuoka Masahiro and Japan's Kingly Way” in Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 141–2.

²⁴⁵ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 305–6.

²⁴⁶ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 5.

aggression but a unique experiment in creating a state that would ensure the harmonious coexistence of different Asian ethnic groups.²⁴⁷

When the fascist mass organization Concordia Association (*Manzhouguo Xiehehui* 滿洲國協和會, Jpn. *Manshūkoku Kyōwakai* 滿洲国協和会, sometimes called Manchukuo's only political party, although formally it was not) was founded on July 25, 1932, it was emphasized that in the past the non-Chinese dynasties of Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Qing ruled here and that Manchuria also used to belong to the Jurchen (*Sushen* 肅慎) and Goryeo (*Gaoli* 高麗) ethnic groups. The inaugural manifesto of Concordia, which was responsible for spreading official ideology and propaganda in Manchukuo, furthermore stressed that this “abundant soil of East Asia” was protected from “greedy Russians” by Japan, which allowed ethnic groups to collaborate here with one another. Only in this way, it stated, was it possible for “the real peace of East Asia to illuminate the East,” that is, for Eastern civilization to develop.”²⁴⁸

Manchukuo's Chinese identity was additionally weakened after March 1, 1934, when Manchukuo adopted an imperial system and became even more closely associated with Japan. Even though both *wangdao* and *ethnic harmony* remained the main official principles of the state ideology, leading figures such as the Japanese ambassador to Manchukuo, Koiso Kuniaki 小磯國昭 (1880–1950), hailed the 1934 founding of the monarchy by emphasizing the Asian commonality of Manchuria and Japan by saying that “from now on, the two countries of Japan and Manchukuo will always support each other and advance as a single country.”²⁴⁹ This phase of de-Sinicization was succeeded by the open Japanization of Manchukuo that began in 1937 as part of the Japanization of the whole Japanese Empire following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Prior to the invasion of China proper, the Japanese government led by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿 (1891–1945) took advantage of the Asianist ideology that circulated from Manchukuo to Japan, where it became compatible with *kōdō*, to legitimize Japan's further expansion. Konoe's think tank called Shōwa Research Association (*Shōwa Kenkyūkai* 昭和研究会) began to develop a new

²⁴⁷ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West*, 160–7.

²⁴⁸ Concordia Association, “Manzhouguo Xiehehui juxing chenglishi zai Xinjing guowuyuan zhong” 滿洲國協和會舉行成立式在新京國務院中 [Manchukuo Concordia Association Held the Founding Ceremony in the State Council in Xinjing], *Manzhou bao* 26 (July 1932): 4.

²⁴⁹ Koiso Kuniaki 小磯國昭, “Manzhou diguo xin di jiwei shuhuai” 滿洲帝國新帝即位述懷 [Reflections of Empire of Manchukuo's New Emperor's Accession], *Manzhou bao* (March 1, 1934): 2.

Asianist ideological framework intended to gain support for further expansion into China and confrontation with the West.²⁵⁰

As William G. Beasley has noted, unlike the previous rhetoric of the Japanese government, which was mainly negative about Western liberalism, individualism, and communism, this think tank grounded their rhetoric in a positive assessment of traditional Eastern civilization as opposed to Western civilization. Adapting Asianism to the new nationalist needs, they placed the righteous Japanese *kōdō* as the antithesis of the Western *badao*. On November 3, 1938, with this language that entitled Japan to liberate the whole of Asia from the hegemonic West, the Japanese government trumpeted the New Order in East Asia.²⁵¹ The Japan-centered geopolitical rhetoric of Asianism, which had been proposed already by Gotō Shinpei and was now reinforced by the founding of Manchukuo under the motto of liberating Asia, was used by Japan to legitimize “liberating” the whole of China, which became the main aim of Japanese politics at the time.²⁵²

As I have noted earlier, after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, imperial subjects in Taiwan and Korea were forced to adopt Japanese language and Shintoism within the *kōminka* movement. And this Japanization of the empire, which transformed anew the image of Asia, was once again accompanied by a redefinition of racial ideology. While thus far the Japanese expansion had been legitimized by claiming Japanese cultural or civilizational superiority, since the inception of the *kōminka* movement, it was supported by claims that the Japanese “Yamato race” (*Yamato minzoku* 大和民族) to which the subjects were forced to assimilate, was superior.²⁵³ The concept of a “Yamato race,” which had already been embedded in the Meiji constitution, constructed the Japanese nation as a family-state based on blood kinship.²⁵⁴

In turn, this newly redefined Japanocentric Asianist discourse, which revolved around the notions of *kōdō* and the Yamato race, was used during wartime to legitimize not only the

²⁵⁰ Chihiro Hosoya, “Retgression in Japan’s Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process,” in James William Morley and George M. Beckmann, eds., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), 86–9.

²⁵¹ William G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, 204–7.

²⁵² James B. Crowley, “Intellectuals and Visionaries of the New Asian Order,” in James William Morley and George M. Beckmann, eds., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 322.

²⁵³ Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 370.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 366.

New Order in East Asia but also the founding of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere in 1940. To be sure, this wartime Japanese regionalism was partly inspired by Nazi theories of race and the economic theory of *Grossraumwirtschaft*.²⁵⁵ However, these concepts differed in various ways from the German model and also echoed the former Sinocentric system of regional order. At the center was now Japan instead of the “Middle Kingdom” of China.²⁵⁶

Regarding the Japanese wartime coalition with Nazi Germany, it is noteworthy that with the new emphasis on the “Yamato race,” together with notion of commonalities of the “yellow race” also the animosity towards the “white race” disappeared. In addition to the evident fact that Japan was now allied with the nation that claimed to represent “white race” par excellence, Japan obviously adopted the Nazi hostility towards the West, which they defined, as Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit have put it, as a symbol of materialist modernity of a mechanical civilization contrasting with the clean and spiritual organic nation, as the Nazis and also the Japanese nationalists saw themselves.²⁵⁷ Thus, the opponents were no longer “white,” now they were Anglo-American, and represented the most developed capitalist countries in the West.

This new Japan-centered Asianist and anti-Western rhetoric was introduced to Manchuria around 1937 when integration of Japan with Manchukuo began. While this “wholesale Japanization of Manchukuo” started with the Japanization of taxes and law, Japanese colonial control of Manchukuo also required a new state-founding ideal. Thus, around 1937 the *wangdao* principle was substituted in Manchukuo official ideology with *kōdō*, although *wangdao* was never officially dismissed.²⁵⁸ Even though Manchukuo was not included in the *kōminka* movement and indigenous languages remained in use until the end of the war, Shintoism was promoted in Manchuria only slightly later than in other parts of the empire. The Manchukuo emperor Puyi, who embraced Asianist rhetoric after his first official visit to the Japanese emperor in 1935, made Shinto the state religion of Manchukuo in 1940 and established the National Foundation Shrine enshrining Amaterasu Ōmikami (the sun

²⁵⁵ Kevin M. Doak, “The Concept of Ethnic Nationality and Its Role in Pan-Asianism in Imperial Japan,” in Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 174–9.

²⁵⁶ Sven Saaler, “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History,” 12.

²⁵⁷ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 13–47.

²⁵⁸ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 176–88.

goddess) at his temporary imperial palace.²⁵⁹ Consequently, all inhabitants of Manchukuo were forced not only to be loyal to the Japanese emperor and his *kōdō* but also to revere Amaterasu. By 1945, 295 Shinto shrines had been erected in Manchuria.²⁶⁰

In this context, it is not surprising that, besides *wangdao*, the “ethnic harmony” rhetoric was abandoned in Manchukuo. To propel the immigration of Japanese farmers from Japan to Manchukuo as part of what Louise Young calls the official imperial program of “racial expansionism” of the “Yamato race” to the continent, the concept of “Yamato race,” which was now openly described as superior, was incorporated into the concept of “ethnic harmony” by claiming that, for example, the “Yamato race” was “the head of the five races.”²⁶¹ Even though the concept of “ethnic harmony” was still officially advocated by Concordia and some other Manchukuo institutions, after 1937 and especially after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the principle of “ethnic harmony” became a nonsensical phrase, and Manchukuo’s ethnic groups were lumped into a single “independent nation” that was granted lower status than the Japanese.²⁶² Moreover, in some cases, the Chinese inhabitants of Manchukuo were openly described in racist terms by the Japanese as a “dirty race” that needed to be taught how to follow basic hygienic rules. These notions of the Chinese were used by Japanese propagandists, in stark contradiction to the logic of the former state-funding principle of “ethnic harmony,” to highlight the differences between the Chinese and the Japanese and reinforce the racial hierarchy in Manchukuo.²⁶³

Thus, when *kōdō* replaced *wangdao*, the superiority of the “Yamato race” substituted “ethnic harmony,” and Shinto shrines began appearing over the state of Manchukuo, which was still understood as a realization of the Asianist utopia by many Asianists throughout the region, it became hard to doubt for anybody in Manchuria that Asianism could mean anything else than Japanization.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 162–6.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 212–4.

²⁶¹ Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 360–70.

²⁶² Shao Dan, *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland*, 152.

²⁶³ Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 371–2.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the construction of East Asia as a region by exploring reimaginings of key concepts related to discourses of nationalism, Asianism, and race that were dominant in the period's political discourse in China and Japan, which competed for symbolic dominance over the region.

In the beginning, it was a Confucianist ideal of *wangdao*, borrowed from classical Chinese thought, that was reimagined to stand at the center of the new regional identity of "Asia," supported by the imported notion of the "yellow race." However, after 1931, this ideal was used to cover up the Japanese colonization of China, and a new version of *wangdao*, this time called "Asianism in practice," emerged in Manchuria, now deprived of its former racial connotations. From 1937 onward, *wangdao* was replaced with the ideal of *kōdō*, which had originated in Japan as a key concept in Japanese nationalism. By synthesizing this nationalist principle with Asianist rhetoric, yet another vision of "Asia" emerged. Now the Japanese stood at the center as representatives of the "Yamato race," which allegedly needed to expand to the continent. While the former Asianism was based on Confucianist rhetoric that all people of the region could easily associate with, the new Japanocentric concept of "Asia" violently thrust upon East Asian inhabitants invented traditions such as state Shinto that were utterly foreign to them. Thus, we can conclude that in the late 1930s, the discourse of Japanocentric Asianism emerged in East Asia that endorsed Japanese nationalist expansion. Although some elements of Sinocentric Asianist rhetoric continued to be applied in this political discourse, its rhetoric as a whole did not follow the original logic of discourse of "Asia" based on commonalities of East Asian people. While in early Manchukuo, Asianist ideology was betrayed by the real state of affairs, in late wartime Japanese empire, Asianist discourse was betrayed by discourse of Japanese supremacy.

This process of reconceptualizing "Asia" was rather complex and took many decades. Some of those involved in this process found their cultures, nations, or races in great danger of perishing due to Western imperialists invading the region. Many of them were idealists who had good intentions. Those who affirmed regional collaboration in the early phase of Asianism used "Asia" as a means of resistance to the overly Westernizing politics in Japan and rigidly traditionalist politics in China. Thus, in this period, the region was "made" by the threat of Western imperialism and efforts to defensively self-strengthen beyond the limits of single nations, which seemed too weak to face the West.

Subsequently, Asianism became an official ideology used to legitimize the colonization of Manchuria and China, and suppress local resistance. Thus, since the 1930s, the region was forged “from above” by the members of the Japanese army and government, who claimed that they were striving to emancipate Asia from Western domination. However, this regionalist rhetoric in fact became a tool of a new hegemony, which, as Yamamuro Shin’ichi notes, aimed to “civilize” the Other following the same logic applied by Western imperialist states in their *mission civilisatrice*.²⁶⁴ In the early phase of Manchukuo, Asianism served to disguise this mission. But in the end, when Japan began to equate Asianism with Japanization during the war years, Asianism was used to disguise the fact that Asianist rhetoric had in fact been discarded, and what used to be “Asia” became “Japan.”

²⁶⁴ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 180.

3 Opposing Western and Japanese Colonialism with Asianism: Jue Qing

In this chapter, I examine how the literary work of one of Manchukuo's leading writers, Jue Qing 爵青 (1916–62), responded to the intellectual debate on Asian solidarity. To this day, Jue Qing and his stories remain enigmatic. In my view, though, many of the mysteries associated with him and his work can be cleared up if we do not overlook his intellectual links to Asianist thought. Therefore, I first discuss how Jue Qing's essays and speeches elaborate on ideas of a shared Asian spirituality. In turn, I analyze how the narrative of "East Asia" is told in his literary works, which in my readings represent not only the protagonists' ethnic or national identities but also the complex East Asian identity combination that I call the Sinitic nexus. My main contribution to research on Jue Qing's work and colonial modernity in East Asia in this chapter is situating his work in the context of Asianist debates, which allows me to examine the identities of his protagonists from a fresh perspective and reinterpret the political messages of his stories.

I will begin with a demonstration of Jue Qing's Asianist ideas about Eastern spirituality and the importance of Manchukuo to the East Asian community. The essay in which Jue Qing perhaps most clearly described his Asianist worldview was published in February 1943 in the journal *Qilin* 麒麟 (Unicorn) after his return from the first Greater East Asian Writers' Congress in Tokyo and Osaka, where he was one of five delegates representing Manchukuo. Inspired by his visit to the congress, which aimed to unite writers in support of the Japanese empire's war effort, Jue Qing's essay expounded on the origins of East Asian spiritual unity and its centrality to victory in the war:

The unity of Eastern spiritual culture can be seen from just a cursory look at history: the Japanese *kōdō* [imperial way] culture, the Chinese Confucian culture, and the Indian Buddhist culture all came into being almost simultaneously within a century or at least around a single century. Readers may regard the fact that spiritual culture in antiquity appeared simultaneously in these localities as a mere coincidence. In reality, however, this fact argues for the eternal destiny of East Asia's common future. Subsequently, Confucianism, which developed in mainland China, and Buddhism, which originated in the Indian peninsula, declined time and again, and only an empty

shell remained. But the essence of these cultures was transmitted to Japan, where the *kōdō* culture preserved them. As a result, they not only survived intact but also evolved and purified. Over the past centuries, the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon order to the East ravaged China and India. On the surface, the complete and unique culture was totally ruined, and it could no longer support the Eastern world. However, thanks to the spiritual doctrines of Confucianism and Buddhism that remained in Japan, the East still preserved organic relations. These organic relations between Eastern countries, the similarity of our spirits, and the unity of our destiny prophesize our victory in this war between the worldviews of East and West.

東洋精神文化的一體性，只若我們稍為涉獵歷史，即可明了，日本的皇道文化，中國的儒教文化和印度的佛教文化，幾乎都是在一世紀乃至和世紀之內互為前後發生出來的。在上古期地域性非常規限精神文化的發生，諸位讀者也許以為這同時發生的事實只是偶合，其實這事實正代辯著東亞一如的未來永遠命運。其後，在中國大陸發展起來的儒教文化和在印度半島發展起來的佛教文化，幾經衰微，只餘下了空殼，然而其中的精粹傳到日本去，受到皇道文化的保育，非但還儼然存在如故，而且更加發展淨化了。近古期以還盎哥魯薩克秩序擴張東來，中國和印度受其蹂躪，在表面上，雖然歷史上的完整而獨自的文化盡遭摧殘，不復再能支持東洋的世界，然而殘留在日本的儒教和佛教為精神的論系，東洋還是保持著一體的關係的。這一體的關係，在東洋各國之間，國家精神的類同和國家運命的歸一；更將在這次東西世界觀的戰爭上，預言了我們的勝利。²⁶⁵

In this 1943 essay, Jue Qing went on to extol the unity of the Asian spirit in comparison to the fragmentation of the European spirit, which he argued results from the heterogeneity of Hebrew and ancient Greek cultures that constitute the foundation of Western civilization. He concluded by highlighting the prominence of Manchukuo in the East Asian alliance:

Although the Greater East Asian War broke out one year ago, Japan started the prelude to this war with diligent peacemaking by establishing Manchukuo to manifest the great spirit of the unified eight corners of the world and build the East for the Easterners. Therefore, the founding of Manchukuo is the new cornerstone of the Eastern culture, which the Easterners build themselves. It is the new history of the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In other words, since Eastern countries began to accept the newly introduced Western European culture, they understood their own “Asia” or “the East” merely as a refutation of “Europe” or “the West,” and they completely lost the courage to be independent and confident. Only with the

²⁶⁵ Jue Qing 爵青, “Chuxi Da Dongya wenxue zhe dahui suogan” 出席大東亞文學者大會所感 [Reflections on Attending the Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress], *Qilin* 3, no. 2 (February 1943): 48–9.

establishment of Manchukuo did they begin to move “Asia” or “the East” from a relative to an absolute status. The establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a historical destiny, but it also has a modern meaning. In this modern sense, the status of Manchukuo as a pioneer country is beyond doubt. In the reality of the victorious war, Manchukuo is the northern guardian of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and the so-called guardianship is not only a political and economic guardianship but also a historical and spiritual guardianship. From this perspective, we must pursue our country’s Asian and Eastern nature.

大東亞戰爭雖是一年前勃發的，但是日本為了顯現八紘一宇的大精神，建設東洋人的東洋，以滿洲建國這個和平的苦勤為機，便開始這次戰爭的序幕了。所以滿洲建國是東洋人自身建設的東洋文化的新礎石，是大東亞共榮圈建設的新歷史。換言之，東洋各國自從接受晚近的西歐文化，將獨自的“亞細亞”或“東洋，”只當作對於“歐羅巴”或“西洋”的駁詞來解釋，完全失掉了自主，自信的勇氣。唯有滿洲建國，才把“亞細亞”或“東洋”由相對的地位，移至絕對的地位上來了。大東亞共榮圈的建設是歷史的運命，同時也有現代的意義，在這現代的意義上，滿洲國的先驅國家的資格是無可疑義的。在勝戰下的現實上，滿洲國是大東亞共榮圈的北邊鎮護，然而所謂鎮護不僅是政治的、經濟的鎮護，同時還是歷史的、精神的鎮護，我們必須在這種論點上來追求我國的亞細亞的東洋的性格。²⁶⁶

Contrary to the unified and harmonious Eastern spirit in the Japan-led East Asia that Jue Qing extolls in this essay, in his stories, such as the 1942 short story “E’mo” 惡魔 (Devil),²⁶⁷ he presents torn, impoverished, and tormented Asian characters that rather look like victims of Japanese colonialism. How could Jue Qing simultaneously publish essays and short stories with such contradictory assessments of Japanese leadership in East Asia? And what does it tell us about East Asian colonial modernity?

To answer these questions, I must first make a few remarks on the thread of Asianist thought represented in this 1943 essay. Jue Qing’s Asianist imagination expressed in early 1943 must be understood within the context of the development of Asianism that I outlined in the previous chapter. Here, Jue Qing presents Manchukuo readers with Japanocentric Asianist ideas about the common Asian past that had been circulating in East Asia for almost a century,

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 49. My thanks to Norman Smith and his assistant for their help in deciphering two illegible characters in this text.

²⁶⁷ Jue Qing mostly used the word “e’mo,” which can also mean “demon,” to mean “devil.” For example, in his synopsis of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s (1749–1832) *Faust* that he published in 1942. The word was used this way also in the Japanese language, as in Ryūnosuke Akutagawa’s “Tabako to akuma” 煙草と惡魔 [Tobacco and the Devil].

including some assumptions and deductions that may seem somewhat absurd in retrospect, such as the claim that Japanese, Chinese, and Indian cultures emerged at nearly the same time. Jue Qing also reflects here on the official Manchukuo ideology of the early 1940s, which encompassed a specific version of Japanocentric Asianism aimed at supporting the Japanese war effort. This ideology embodied the culmination of the spread of officially supported Asianism in Manchukuo and East Asia, where Asianism had taken root since the inception of the informal colony in China's Northeast.

A mere cursory analysis of the newspaper *Datong bao* 大同報 (Great Unity Herald)²⁶⁸ shows that in Manchukuo various Asianist organizations had promoted Asianist reciprocity since the early 1930s and that “Asianism” was debated under multiple names, such as *Yaxiyazhuyi* 亞細亞主義 (Asianism),²⁶⁹ *Da Yaxiyalun* 大亞細亞論 (Greater Asianism),²⁷⁰ *Yazhouzhuyi* 亞洲主義 (Asianism),²⁷¹ and *Da Yaxiyatongmengzhuyi* 大亞細亞同盟主義 (Greater Asian-alliance-ism).²⁷² Population of East Asia was sometimes referred to as “the yellow race” (*Huangzhong* 黃種)²⁷³ and sometimes as “Greater Asian Siblings” (*Da Yaxiya tongbao* 大亞細亞同胞),²⁷⁴ “East Asian Comrades” (*Dongya tongzhi* 東亞同志),²⁷⁵ and so on. From 1938 onward, the phrase “Rising Asia” (*xing Ya* 興亞) became widely popular in the

²⁶⁸ *Datong bao* was a major Manchukuo newspaper published in the capital of Xinjing.

²⁶⁹ Anonymous, “Yaxiyazhuyi boxing” 亞細亞主義勃興 [The Rise of Asianism], *Datong bao* (March 27, 1933): 2.

²⁷⁰ Anonymous, “Da Yaxiyalun” 大亞細亞論 [Greater Asianism], *Datong bao* (May 16, 1933): 2.

²⁷¹ Anonymous, “Gaochang Yazhouzhuyi” 高唱亞洲主義 [Calling for Asianism], *Datong bao* (June 29, 1933): 2.

²⁷² Anonymous, “Manzhou wei zhongxin Da Yaxiyatongmengzhuyi” 滿洲為中心大亞細亞同盟主義 [Manchuria-centered Greater Asian-alliance-ism], *Datong bao* (February 2, 1933): 3.

²⁷³ Anonymous, “Hei, bai, huang, san zhong ren de gexing, huangzhongren neng rennai” 黑、白、黃，三種人的個性，黃種人能忍耐 [Black, White, Yellow – Personalities of Three Races – Yellow People Are Patient], *Datong bao* (July 13, 1937): 8.

²⁷⁴ Anonymous, “Da Yaxiya tongbao xiehui dui Man Hua fabiao xuanyanshu” 大亞細亞同胞協會對滿華發表宣言書 [Manifesto of the Greater Asia Siblings Association to Manchurian Chinese], *Datong bao* (November 21, 1934): 14.

²⁷⁵ Anonymous, “Donglian tongzhihui” 東聯同志會 [East Asian League Comrades Congress], *Datong bao* (September 22, 1942): 3.

Manchukuo press,²⁷⁶ and with the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, the discourse of “Asia” and “East Asia” became practically ubiquitous.

The Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress undoubtedly embodied the culmination of all kinds of cultural events promoting Asian reciprocity in East Asia. The first gathering of East Asian writers in Tokyo and Osaka, where Jue Qing participated in the debates on the East Asian spirit in November 1942, was spectacular. The ten-day congress was attended by 1,500 guests, including a number of writers from Japan, Manchukuo, Mongolia, and Wang Jingwei’s Republic of China.²⁷⁷ On their way home, the foreign delegations held a press conference in Seoul and were received by Manchukuo prime minister Zhang Jinghui 張景惠 (1871–1959) in Xinjing.²⁷⁸ Interestingly, at the congress, which mainly aimed to unify and strengthen the support of East Asian cultural representatives for the Japanese war effort, the speeches of the Manchukuo writers, including all three of the authors I discuss in this dissertation—Jue Qing, Xiao Song, and Gu Ding—matched the official Japanese war ideology more closely than those of the Japanese and “Chinese” delegates.²⁷⁹ However, while they have often been regarded as mechanically and monotonously repeating Japanese propaganda,²⁸⁰ I argue that there were considerable differences in how each of the Manchukuo delegates conceived Asianism.

Why were there considerable differences in conceptions of Asianism? As I outlined in the previous chapter, ideas of Asian solidarity had already been promoted in Manchuria before the Japanese occupation by various interest groups, each of which emphasized different threads of Asianist thought. For example, while the Manchurian Youth League promoted the idea of Manchuria as a place of harmonious coexistence between the ethnic groups of East Asia, the local ruler Yu Chonghan promoted the idea of a state based on the Confucian concept of *wangdao* as the central value of East Asian culture. And although Tachibana Shiraki brought these disparate ideals together to create an ideology by which the

²⁷⁶ For example, see Anonymous, “Xing Ya zhi chun” 興亞之春 [The Forthcoming Raising of Asia], *Datong bao* (April 29, 1939): 10. There was even a journal called *Xing Ya* in Manchukuo.

²⁷⁷ Ozaki Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, *Jiu zhimindi wenxue de yanjiu* 舊殖民地文學的研究 [Studies of Literature in Former Japanese Colonies] (Taipei: Renjian chubanshe, 2004), 27–33.

²⁷⁸ Ōkubō Akio, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue*, 142–7.

²⁷⁹ Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 186–8.

²⁸⁰ For example, Okada Hideki sees Asianism this way. See Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 186–7.

Manchukuo state could legitimize its existence, contradictions continued to permeate this ideology.

Prasenjit Duara has noted that Manchukuo as a state and society could be characterized by the tension between the rhetoric of modernizing legitimization and ideas of Asian essentialism, which were crucial for the regime's claim to sovereignty.²⁸¹ In my understanding of early Manchukuo ideology, the concept of "ethnic harmony" is primarily associated with modernizing elements of Manchukuo ideology, as its substance is the legitimization of the Japanese presence in Manchuria, which was often linked with notions of progress and modernization. By contrast, I understand the concept of *wangdao* as more of an expression of Asian essentialism because in this context, it is as an Asianist invention of tradition.

Writers who encountered the various types of calls for Asian unity primarily through this contradictory ideology of early Manchukuo should be viewed as intellectuals facing the pitfalls of modern times such as those Walter Benjamin wrote about. I am referring here to Benjamin's observation that while in the pre-modern world people had passed on experiences to each other through storytellers, in modern times their anchoring in the world came to be based on "information" communicated at incredible speed through the press, that is, mechanically reproduced information that no longer contained any experience and was thus empty.²⁸² As for Manchukuo, Yamamuro Shin'ichi has brilliantly described the emptiness of the concept of *wangdao*, one of the central concepts of Manchukuo ideology: what actually *wangdao* was and how it would be realized, "remained extremely abstract and vague in the state-founding documents. Perhaps, to the extent that it was abstract and vague, each person could respond sympathetically by weaving his [or her] own dreams and ideals and imposing images onto it."²⁸³

Thus, when they found themselves surrounded with concepts as vague as the new official ideals of *wangdao* or "ethnic harmony," writers in Manchukuo had no other option than to make sense of these terms themselves. In the previous chapter, I spoke of "imagining" in relation to the political constructions of the region. However, when we consider the way *writers* thought about East Asia, thanks to their creativity and great imagination, we can even

²⁸¹ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 76.

²⁸² Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov," translated by Harry Zhon, in Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 83–110.

²⁸³ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 91.

speak of a “dreaming” in which they saw Manchuria as the center of East Asia. And all the more complicated is the subjectivity represented in their fictional works.

Thus, the conceptions of Asianist thought of the individual delegates at the Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress differed because each of the writers had, over the previous years, developed his or her own version of the idea of “Asia” and his or her own Sinitic nexus of identities. For example, another delegate representing Manchukuo at the congress, Xiao Song, whom I discuss in the next chapter, was initially inspired by a modernizing version of Manchukuo ideology and thus sought to redefine Manchuria as a de-Sinicized place of harmonious coexistence between the ethnic groups of East Asia, among whom the Japanese had a prominent place. His identity crisis, I will argue, was caused primarily by the conflict between his loyalty to the Manchukuo state and his reluctance to become Japanese.

In contrast, Jue Qing initially envisioned Manchuria in his dreams of new East Asia as a place that was heir to Confucian morality and where a new center of essentialized Asia could emerge. Only after 1941 did Jue Qing adopt the Japanocentric Asianism epitomized in his above-quoted essay. But at that time, as a result of his disillusionment with the semicolonial reality in Manchukuo, he textualized imaginations of Asian unity that opposed Japanese colonialism, as I argue in what follows.

While English-language research has so far neglected Jue Qing,²⁸⁴ a number of scholars in East Asia have studied his work.²⁸⁵ However, all the studies from the PRC, Taiwan, and Japan that I have examined downplay the importance of Asianist thought in

²⁸⁴ Junko Agnew’s 2009 dissertation “The Question of Japanese Literary Colonialism and Chinese Collaboration” includes a chapter on two short stories by Jue Qing. To my knowledge, the only published English-language paper dealing with Jue Qing’s work in detail is my article “A Uyghur Concubine and a French Juggler Resisting Japanese Imperialism: Jue Qing’s Aesopian Language in Manchukuo’s Official Literature,” *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies* 1/1 (2021): 89–127.

²⁸⁵ Liu Xiaoli’s 2008 study *Yitai shikong zhong de jingshen shijie: Wei Manzhouguo wenxue yanjiu* 異態時空的精神世界：偽滿洲國文學研究 (The Spiritual World of an Abnormal Time and Space: Research on Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime) was the first published study in the PRC to closely analyze Jue Qing’s fiction. Since then, Taiwanese scholars have also focused on Jue Qing. Liu Shu-chin’s 2014 paper “Modu youwu: Shanghai xin ganjue pai yu zhimin dushi qimeng xushi” 魔都尤物：上海新感覺派與殖民都市啟蒙敘事 (Extraordinary Women from the Magical City: Inspiring Narratives of Shanghai’s New Sensationism in Colonial Cities) explores how literary modernism spread from Shanghai to Jue Qing’s Harbin. Cai Peijun’s 2017 article “Feixu yu xindu: Jue Qing bixia de Manzhou xinren shilianchang” 廢墟與新都：爵青筆下的滿洲新人試煉場 (Ruins and a New City: Manchuria as Proving Ground for the New Man in Jue Qing’s Fiction) analyses the identity of modern man depicted in two of Jue Qing’s tales. Japanese scholars have rarely dealt with Jue Qing’s works. In 1999, Komine Katsuyuki 小峰克之 published a short review article “Ryō Chō ‘Harubin’ ni tsuite” 遼丁「哈爾濱」について [On Jue Qing’s “Harbin”]. In Sugino Yōkichi, ed., “Shōwa” *bungakushi ni okeru* “Manshū” no mondai 3 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題第三 [The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 3] (Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi Kenkyūshitsu), 382–7. Several articles focusing on Jue Qing’s work have appeared in Japanese in recent years, but none of them deal with the short stories I analyze in this chapter.

understanding Jue Qing's work. Most scholars avoid discussing Jue Qing's intellectual links to Asianism, and when they do mention them, they treat them within the framework of collaboration versus resistance as simply the author's forced support for the Manchukuo regime. However, scholars often admit to struggling with the interpretation of his works. As the title of Liu Xiaoli's chapter on this author, "Jue Qing zhi mi" 爵青之謎 (The Mystery of Jue Qing), illustrates,²⁸⁶ Jue Qing remains enigmatic and his work incomprehensible even to leading scholars. I aim to clear up some of these mysteries by framing Jue Qing's work within the debates on East Asian solidarity.

My analytical approach in this chapter, as in the following chapters, is to contextualize the author's literary works within the history of Japanese semicolonialism in Manchuria and analyze the author's intellectual links to Asianist thought. Subsequently, I use close reading to examine how his works of fiction represent the Sinitic nexus, which I have defined as an entangled combination of several unfinished identities, such as national or ethnic (e.g. Chinese), and the pan-national Asian identity. Drawing on Fredric Jameson's method of interpreting literary works as national allegories, I explore how Jue Qing's protagonists identify with China, but I argue that they often also identify with the East Asian region and can thus be understood as pan-national or even more complex allegories. I further build my interpretations on the findings of several scholars whose postcolonial theories I also adapt to the semicolonial situation of Manchukuo. Above all, Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and Shaden M. Tageldin's *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* have informed my readings reflected in this chapter. Last but not least, I base my analysis of the Sinitic nexus in this chapter on Nayoung Aimee Kwon's study *Intimate Empire* examining fragmented subjectivity in the writings of Korean colonial subjects in wartime Japan.

In the first section, I focus on Jue Qing's engagement with Asianist thought. Through a brief discussion of his essayistic and fictional work, I demonstrate that Jue Qing began reflecting on Asianist rhetoric in the mid-1930s when he started publishing in Manchukuo. As the social and political situation changed, so did his relationship with Asianism. While in the 1930s he tended toward essentialist Sinocentric Asianism, from the early 1940s onward, his essays reflected the ideas of Japanocentric Asianism promoted by official propaganda throughout the Japanese empire. In the second part, I focus on Jue Qing's 1936 short story

²⁸⁶ Liu Xiaoli 劉曉麗, *Yitai shikong zhong de jingshen shijie: wei Manzhouguo wenxue yanjiu* 異態時空中的精神世界：偽滿洲國文學研究 [The Spiritual World of an Abnormal Time and Space: Research on Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chuban she, 2008), 208.

“Ha’erbin” 哈爾濱 (Harbin). Drawing on an analysis of this tale and taking into account the context of early Manchukuo ideology, I argue that “Harbin” reflects how Jue Qing was “becoming Asian” in the 1930s through a specific version of essentialist “Asian” imaginations that he himself created to oppose Western colonial modernity. In the third section, my close reading of Jue Qing’s late-Manchukuo-period short story, 1942’s “Devil,” reveals that Jue Qing created two planes in this tale. On the first plane, “Devil” can be understood similarly to “Harbin” as a story that, in response to the Asianist debate, portrays the suffering of Asians under the domination of Western colonizers. The second, less explicit plane of the story stands out when we consider the subtle intertextual references to short stories by well-known Japanese-language authors Kim Saryang 金史良 / 김사량 (1914–50?) and Kaji Wataru 鹿地亘 (1903–82). When contextualized in contemporary events, the presence of this other plane suggests that after the outbreak of the Pacific War, Jue Qing identified with his own idea of an Asian alliance that opposed both Western and Japanese colonialism. Although at that time he functioned as an ideologue of Asianism – the teaching supporting the war effort of the Japanese empire, in this chapter, I portray him as a man of many faces who managed to use the ideas of Asianism in a very imaginative way to keep alive his dream of a union of Asian peoples but at the same time to rebuke the semicolonial regime in Manchukuo.

3.1 Becoming Asian and Rebellious

Liu Pei 劉佩 (1917–62), who most often published under the pen name Jue Qing,²⁸⁷ was born in Changchun²⁸⁸ and in the 1930s became one of the most recognized writers in Manchukuo whom contemporary literary critics dubbed a “genius” (*guicai* 鬼才).²⁸⁹ He is one of the most representative writers of the Chinese-language literary scene in Manchukuo not only because of his talent but also because during his relatively short literary career he moved between northern Manchuria, where he came from, and southern Manchuria, and thus published his

²⁸⁷ He also used the pen names Liu Jueqing 劉爵青, Ke Qin 可欽, Liao Ding 遼丁, and A Jue 阿爵.

²⁸⁸ According to his daughter, Jue Qing was ethnically Chinese. Personal interview with Jue Qing’s daughter Liu Weicong 劉維聰 (b. 1941) in Changchun, September 18, 2019.

²⁸⁹ This designation has its roots in the evaluation of classical poets. In addition to geniality, it pointed to a certain abnormality, morbidity. I thank Olga Lomová for this comment.

works in all the major cities of Manchukuo (from north to south: Harbin, Xinjing [Changchun], Fengtian [Shenyang/Shengjing/Mukden], and Dalian). In 1933 he finished studies at the Xinjing Transportation School (*Xinjing jiaotong xuexiao* 新京交通學校) in his hometown, after which he relocated to the south and in 1935 graduated from the Fengtian Fine Arts Academy (*Fengtian meishu zhuan ye xuexiao* 奉天美術專業學校). Besides being a painter, he became a poet at an early age: he published his first poem in *Shengjing shibao* in 1933 at the age of 16 years. From a young age he was keen on learning foreign languages including Japanese, English, French and Russian²⁹⁰ and worked as a translator for the Kwantung Army from his youth. In 1934 he moved back to the north, where he worked as a secretary and interpreter for the South Manchuria Railway in Harbin.²⁹¹ From 1935, when he was only eighteen years old, onward, Jue Qing was a very active member of Manchukuo's literary world. During his time in Harbin he was involved in editing several Manchukuo literary journals. In 1939 he moved back home to Xinjing to get married and continued to shape the literary scene, the center of which had moved from southern Manchuria to the new capital in the meantime. Subsequently, Jue Qing represented Manchukuo at the Greater East Asian Writers' Congresses in 1942 and 1944;²⁹² at the latter congress he won the first Greater East Asia Literature Award (*Da Dongya wenxue shang* 大東亞文學賞)²⁹³ for his *Huangjin de zhai men* 黃金的窄門 (The Golden Narrow Gate), a novel that allegorically celebrates Manchukuo as the state that put an end to the earlier suffering of the local population under Zhang Xueliang by recounting a story of a young couple.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Personal interview with Jue Qing's daughter Liu Weicon in Changchun, September 18, 2019.

²⁹¹ Liu Shuqin 柳書琴, "Modu youwu: Shanghai xin ganjue pai yu zhimin dushi qimeng xushi" 魔都尤物：上海新感覺派與殖民都市啟蒙敘事 [Extraordinary Women from the Magical City: Inspiring Narratives of Shanghai's New Sensationism in Colonial Cities], *Shandong Shehui Kexue* 2 (2014): 43.

²⁹² For Jue Qing's biographical information, see Xie Chaokun 謝朝坤, "Feixu li de wange" 廢墟里的輓歌 [Elegy in the Ruins], in Xie Chaokun and Li Ran 李冉, eds., *Jue Qing zuopin ji* 爵青作品集 [The Collected Works of Jue Qing] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 1–2.

²⁹³ Liu Huijuan 劉慧娟, "Bei cheng wei 'guicai' de zuojia: Liu Jueqing" 被稱為“鬼才”的作家：劉爵青 [The Writer Who Was Called "Genius": Liu Jueqing], in Liu Huijuan, ed., *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 [A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation, vol. 34] (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013), 258.

²⁹⁴ Xu Ke 許可, "Zhimin yujing xia de shengcun yu sisuo: Jue Qing changpian xiaoshuo 'Huangjin de zhaimen' jiedu" 殖民語境下的生存與思索——爵青長篇小說《黃金的窄門》解讀 [Survival and Contemplation in the Colonial Context: Interpretation of Jue Qing's Novel *The Narrow Golden Gate*], *Nanfang wentan* no. 2 (2019): 159–64.

How Jue Qing first became acquainted with the ideas of Asianism is unknown. However, already his early works, which I discuss below, reproduce narratives of Sinocentric Asianism that emphasize the importance of Confucianism in “Eastern spirituality.” Sinocentric conceptions of Asianism were commonplace in the early Manchukuo political discourse, as evidenced, among other things, by the 1932 Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the proclamation presents the new state as a continuation of the Chinese monarchist tradition while dismissing the Republic of China period as “a twenty-year-long experiment” (二十年試驗).²⁹⁵ Specifically, the Proclamation promotes “wangdaoism” (*wangdao zhuyi* 王道主義) based on adherence to Confucian ethics. However, it does not mean a simple return to the pre-modern social order, as the old Confucian *wangdao* is linked here to modern concepts of ethnic and social justice as they originated in the West:

Government has a fundamental connection with *Dao*; *Dao* has a fundamental connection with Heaven. The main purpose of establishing the new country is to accord with Heaven and reassure people. The administration has to follow people’s real will and cannot tolerate prejudice. No inhabitants of the new country’s territory will be differentiated according to racial discrimination or social ranking.

政本於道，道本於天，新國家建設之旨，一以順天安民為主，施政必徇真正之民意，不容私見之或存，凡在新國家領土之內居住者皆無種族之歧視尊卑之分別。²⁹⁶

Jue Qing did not write about Asian spiritual unity and other Asianist ideas in his essays until 1939, but we can discern Asianist narratives already in one of his earliest short stories, a 1935 tale full of cosmopolitan imagery, “Guoji niang” 國際娘 (International Girl).²⁹⁷ The main protagonist of this story based in Xinjing, Mr. Liu 劉先生, obviously refers to Jue Qing himself, whose real surname was also Liu. The young protagonist admires the mix of tradition and modernity that he observes in the capital city of Manchukuo. When he walks out of the office with a typewriter, he awakens from his “dream of Arabic numerals” (阿剌伯字母的夢)

²⁹⁵ Manchukuo Government, “Manzhouguo jianguo xuanyan,” 1.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ This short story, which I discovered by chance, is not listed in the existing lists of Jue Qing’s publications. “Guoji” sometimes meant “foreign” in Manchurian literature. An alternative translation would thus be “Foreign Girl.”

and gets on a “government-run Bus” (政府的 Bus [*Bus* written in English]). Then he goes for a walk around Great Unity Square (*Datong guangchang* 大同廣場) with his friend Huang 璜. We learn that in a world that evokes Kang Youwei’s notion of a cosmopolitan “great unity,” which combines not only Western and Chinese elements but elements of all the world’s cultures, Mr. Liu learns English from a “pastor” (牧師), reads Daniel Defoe’s (1660–1731) *Robinson Crusoe* and books by the modernist Japanese writer and traveller Yokomitsu Riichi and the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), and talks about Paris, Athens, Marseilles, Nagasaki, and Shanghai, as well as a “Jewish dance” (猶太人舞蹈), “barbarian” (野蠻) jazz music, and the admirable “primitive” (原始) culture of the Mongols. The protagonist and his friend also adore a half-Russian, half-Chinese girl who is “of mixed blood, the offspring of white and yellow people” (混血兒，白種人和黃種人的後裔)，²⁹⁸ and who has recently divorced her husband, a Japanese traveller whom the main protagonist also admires.²⁹⁹

In “International Girl,” the different choices of how the two friends, Mr. Liu and Huang, call their homeland echoes in an interesting way the contradiction between the two different streams of Asianist thought prevalent in the official ideology of Manchukuo at the time. The main protagonist, Mr. Liu, seems to be influenced by Sinocentric *wangdao* Asianism, and thus he considers Xinjing to be part of China, which he exoticizes in an Asianist way as an “old Eastern country” (東方的古國). He is duly proud of this country and calls his mother tongue “Chinese” (*Zhongguohua* 中國話), contrary to the official terminology in Manchukuo, which mostly referred to the Chinese language as “Manchurian” (*Manyu* 滿語). On the other hand, Mr. Huang, who recently returned from a stay in Tokyo, calls Manchukuo a phrase evoking a rather Japanocentric Asianism, which at this time emphasized Manchuria’s independence from China, when he speaks of a “happy new country in the East” (東方愉快的新國家).³⁰⁰

As I demonstrate in the following section, the Sinocentric Asianism that shapes the mindset of the protagonist Mr. Liu in the short story “International Girl” is also reflected in Jue Qing’s 1936 tale “Harbin.” But how did Jue Qing respond to the stark change in Manchukuo ideology after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937, when the ancient Confucian concept of *wangdao* in modern reinterpretation was replaced in the political

²⁹⁸ Jue Qing 爵青, “Guoji niang” 國際娘 [International Girl], *Tonggui* 2, no. 2 (February 1, 1935), 86.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86–8

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

discourse by the Japanocentric concept of *kōdō*? Jue Qing's 1939 essay, an excerpt of which I quote here, shows that unlike the writer Gu Ding, who embraced the Japanocentric Asianist worldview as early as 1937 (see Chapter 5), in the late 1930s, Jue Qing remained faithful to the basic ideas of Sinocentric Asianism. In this essay, Jue Qing's traditionalist position led him to criticize the May Fourth Movement, which he saw as a symbol of modern Chinese reforms, calling it a mere "mocking of feudal society and a hollow and vague dream" (譏諷封建社會的空虛渺茫的夢想):³⁰¹

I discovered that the era after the Great European War when we were young was an era in which the power of the mind had torn away thousands of years of human history. The soul and spirit were humiliated; ancient love songs of Greece came to be regarded as better learning than the writings of Confucius; dance and brass music from the outskirts of Paris became more popular than the culture of the East; poetry did not praise men but machines, culture was obsessed with quantity but neglected quality, glory was given to death but not to life... And our wrong and evil age also looks down on life and existence. The London Naval Conference or the League of Nations is a cellar where those white men in Europe store their gunpowder...

我發現了被我們的青春所佔有的歐洲大戰後的時代，是個既念之偉力把記載了幾千年的人類歷史都撕光了的時代。靈魂與精神都被侮辱著；孔子的冊簡還不如希臘古代情歌被視為學問；東方的文化反不如由巴黎下級市街傳出的舞法和銅樂被人歡迎；詩文不讚美人而讚美機械，文化只執著於量而忽視質，光榮只給死而不給生……這錯誤的罪惡的時代，同樣還輕視著性命與生存，軍縮會議或國際聯盟是歐洲那些白人存放火藥的地窖...³⁰²

Thus, although Jue Qing's perception of "Asia" remained Sinocentric, it can be noted that he adopted the ideas of strong anti-Westernism that were beginning to dominate official ideology throughout the Empire of Japan at this time.

It was only after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 that Jue Qing's essays sided with those Asianists who saw Chinese culture as decadent as a whole and placed Japan at the center of East Asia. The Japanocentric vision of East Asia demonstrated in the 1942 essay on Eastern spirituality that I quoted at the beginning of this chapter is, in turn, reflected in some of Jue Qing's literary works from this period. For example, in the 1942 short story "Kōtta entē ni orite" 凍った園庭に降りて (Falling on the Frozen Garden), which

³⁰¹ Jue Qing, "Qingchun maodu zhi er," 112.

³⁰² Ibid., 116.

is available only in a Japanese translation published in the journal *Chūōkōron* 中央公論 (Central Review),³⁰³ the narrator contrasts the Japan-led spiritual and moral Asia with the West, a machine-like and materialistic society.

The main character in this short story, which is set in Harbin on December 7, a date that may refer to the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, believes that the new generation must embrace the “eternal Manchurian destiny” (満洲の永遠の運命) and the “eternal destiny of the East” (東洋の永遠の運命),³⁰⁴ thus apparently endorsing Japan’s leading role in the New Order of East Asia. The narrator characterizes the other protagonists using stereotypes that strongly resonate with the period Japanese war propaganda. The father, who prefers the “English way of life,” is deluded and stubborn; the Russian protagonist is old and impoverished; the Chinese workers care not for Manchuria but only for China; and the only one who contributes to Manchuria, has an emotional attachment to it, and even names his son after Manchuria is the Japanese Suzuki 鈴木. The final scene depicting the main protagonist looking up at the sky and “waking up” evokes the emotions of some Japanese intellectuals when war was declared on the United States.³⁰⁵ For example, the writer and soldier Hino Ashihei 火野葦平 (1907–60) allegedly saw the gods of East Asia in the sky on that occasion.³⁰⁶

In the early 1940s, Jue Qing was already well established in the cultural institutions of the semicolonial regime as a member of the Association of Manchurian Writers and Artists’ Central Committee. Thus, in the context of the intensified Japanization of the entire empire, including Manchukuo, it was probably impossible for him to continue openly promoting a version of Asianism that saw Confucianism as the essence of Asia in his essays and stories. I do not consider it coincidental, though, that it was during this period that Jue Qing’s mental breakdown occurred, which he described in his 1943 autobiographical essay “Huangjin de zhaimen qianhou” 《黄金的窄门》前后 (Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*) published in the journal *Qingnian wenhua* 青年文化 (Youth Culture), in which he recounts

³⁰³ This story was translated by Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄 (1907–80). The Chinese original is not available.

³⁰⁴ Jue Qing 爵青, “Kōtta entē ni orite” 凍った園庭に降りて (Falling on the Frozen Garden). *Chūōkōron* (September 1, 1942), 217.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 208–21.

³⁰⁶ John Hunter Boyle, *China and Japan at War, 1937–1945: the Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972), 306.

his mood when he was writing the award-winning novel. In this essay he states that in the fall of 1942 he felt extremely anxious and isolated:

[During my nearly thirty years of life] I heard tens of doctrines, tens of theories. At that time, those who instilled these doctrines and theories in me were full of confidence, they had no doubts, but it is a pity that they are gone now. No, I can still meet some of them from time to time. We meet, and let's suppose that I want to express deep thanks for the doctrines and theories that someone instilled in me, but he looks annoyed and says: "Strange! Has such a thing ever happened? Was I talking with you about doctrines? Theories? It must be a joke! Oh! Yes, maybe I really said that, it's difficult to say if I really said that or not; however, times change. What does it matter now?" I do not doubt doctrines, nor do I doubt theories. For those who instill these doctrines and theories with good intentions, I only feel gratitude. But it gave me a hard time. And not only a hard time; I am actually quite pitiable.

[像我這樣將近三十歲的人] 我聽過數十種教義，聽過數十種說法，把這些教義和說法灌輸給我的人，當時雖都自信滿滿，毫無疑色，可惜的很，如今卻都不見了。不，有的也還能時常見到，見到之後，假設對於他所灌輸的教義和說法，要想再往深處領教一番，他卻要面現不悅之色，說：“奇怪！世間曾有過這種事情嗎？我還給你講過教義？說過法？笑話！啊！是的，也許我真講過，真說過也未可知，但是，此一時，彼一時，那有什麼關係？”我不懷疑教義，也不懷疑說法，對於好心灌輸這些教義和說法的人，也只有感謝之一念。然而卻苦了我自己；豈只是苦，簡直是有些可憐了。³⁰⁷

Jue Qing even suggests in “Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*” that in 1942 he found himself on the verge of suicide, but then he was reborn:

I awakened; I realized that there was nothing that could save me. The only thing that could save me was my life, the only thing that can transcend death and crisis is the vigor of life itself. From the windy night I went back inside, leaned over the table, and wrote the piece called “Xiyue” 喜悅 (Joy) that people consider a stupid work, to commemorate my rebirth.

我覺醒了；我知道什麼也不會拯救自己，拯救自己的，只有自己的生命，超越了死和危機的生命，才是生命自身的活力。我由夜風中退回房裡，伏在桌子上，就寫了那篇人們評為愚作的《喜悅》，紀念了我的再生。³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Jue Qing 爵青, “Huangjin de zhaimen qianhou” 《黃金的窄門》前後 [Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*], *Qingnian wenhua* 青年文化 3 (1943): 83.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

In the essay, Jue Qing does not explicitly state what doctrines he has in mind. Although he could not write it openly due to censorship, and he only hints at the reasons for his depression, it is very likely that he suggests that it was the demise of the idea of independent Manchukuo which drove him to the verge of death. Specifically, Jue Qing, who always strongly identified with traditional Chinese culture,³⁰⁹ seems to regret here the abandonment of the Sinocentric Asianism that was at the heart of the Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation.

Jue Qing's identity crisis marks the beginning of the period when he began to covertly criticize Japanese domination in his literary works. Nevertheless, he did not withdraw from his position in the literary establishment and remained active as an ideologue of Asianist thought in Manchukuo. Thus, he continued to promote the ideas of Asianism in his public speeches and essays, which newly reflected the ideas of Japanocentric Asianism. For example, at the first Greater East Asian Writers' Congress in November 1942 he delivered an almost fanatically anti-American speech,³¹⁰ while at the third congress, convened in 1944 in Nanking, a literary prize was awarded for his novel *The Golden Narrow Gate*, in the introduction of which Jue Qing presents a version of the January 28 Incident of 1932 that was spread by Japanese propaganda.³¹¹ Furthermore, together with Gu Ding and Wai Wen 外文 (1913–unknown), he translated Ōkawa Shūmei's *Mei-Ying qinlüe Donya shi* 美英侵略東亞史 (A History of the Anglo-American Invasion of East Asia), thus contributing greatly to the popularization of the ideas of radical Japanocentric Asianism in Manchukuo in 1942, when the translation was published. In 1943 and 1944 he also penned several essays on the significance of Eastern spirituality in “Manchurian literature.”

In Jue Qing's essays from the late 1930s and early 1940s, we find a variety of tropes typical of different Asianist narratives, including the romanticization of Chinese tradition; resistance to the modernization of Asia along the lines of the West, which is defined mostly in cultural and sometimes racial terms; and in later essays, the highlighting of the importance of Japan for the preservation of Asian culture as such. Jue Qing does not refer to specific Asianist thinkers in any of the essays and articles representing Asianist ideas; rather, he seems

³⁰⁹ In remembering her father, Jue Qing's daughter Liu Weicong also emphasized his strong attachment to traditional Chinese culture, which is clearly evident in many of his essays and works. Personal interview with Liu Weicong in Changchun, September 18, 2019.

³¹⁰ Okada Hideki, *Wei Manzhouguo wenxue*, 197.

³¹¹ Jue Qing writes about a violent attack by Chinese nationalists on defenseless Japanese monks. In fact, the incident was provoked by the Japanese military to divert attention from the establishment of Manchukuo. See Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 46.

to take the notion of Asian commonalities for granted. These are, however, typical Asianist conceptions, such as those found in the works of both Tarui Tōkichi and Okakura Kakuzō, and shared at least in some periods by Liang Qichao, Sun Yat-sen, and other Chinese thinkers, reformers, and revolutionaries. Jue Qing's Asianist visions also clearly reflect the changing Asianist ideas embedded in Manchukuo ideology.

It thus seems that Jue Qing was probably “becoming Asian” from the time he was growing up, and the quantity of his treatises on various Asianist topics suggests that this thought was very important to him and that he believed in it. There is no doubt that he saw himself, in the tradition of the New Culture Movement, as an intellectual whose responsibility was to contribute to the development of society. Rather than striving for the modernization of society, however, he was always inclined toward the idea of reinventing traditions. In the 1930s, he emphasized the significance of Confucianist traditions; in the first half of the 1940s, he rather stressed the necessity of submission to Japanese leadership in the fight against Western decadence. My following analysis of his literary works, however, shows that in his fictional works after 1941, Jue Qing began to signal that he ceased to believe in the purity of Japanese “brotherhood” and “helpfulness” and recognized in Japanese Manchurian politics its colonial nature, which he from then on evidently saw as just as corrupt as Western colonialism.

Liu Xiaoli has noted that writers in Manchukuo commonly put on masks under which another face was sometimes hidden.³¹² This is also the case with Jue Qing after the outbreak of the Pacific War. However, in the following analyses of two of Jue Qing's short stories, I argue that they can be understood as a testimony to the fragmented subjectivity that hides under masks rather than to the one true face under various false masks.

³¹² Liu Xiaoli 劉曉麗, “Jiezhixing neizai yu zhimindi wenxue” 解殖性內在於殖民地文學 [The Inherent Lyo-colonialism in the Literature of the Colonies], in Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴, ed., *Dongya wenxue chang: Taiwan, Chaoxian, Manzhou de zhiminzhuyi yu wenhua jiaoshe* 東亞文學場：台灣、朝鮮、滿洲的殖民主義與文化交涉 [The East Asian Literary Field: Colonialism and Cultural Interaction in Taiwan, Joseon, and Manchuria] (New Taipei City: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 2018), 90.

3.2 Becoming Confucian but Not Modern

I have already noted that there were tensions in early Manchukuo ideology between modernizing and essentializing conceptions of Asianist thought. While in the next chapter I will discuss how Xiao Song was attracted by the idea of ethnic harmony, that is, a modernizing element in Manchukuo's Asianist ideology, in this section I argue that at the beginning of his literary career, Jue Qing added the essentialist, or traditionalist, component of Asianism to the outlook of his early stories, which are sometimes understood by scholars as cosmopolitan. In other words, an early version of Manchukuo's official ideology inspired him, unlike Xiao Song, to Sinicize Manchuria.

These Jue Qing's tendencies are already apparent in the 1935 short story "International Girl," which I mentioned above, but they are most clearly evident in his well-known short story "Harbin," as my reading in this section suggests. This third-person narrated tale was published in 1936 in the Manchukuo literary journal *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Young Man);³¹³ it met with great success and was translated into Japanese the same year. The significance of this story is evidenced by the fact that it was later included in several collections. For example, in 1939, its translation into Japanese was published as the last story in the collection *Genya* 原野 (The Wilds), edited and translated by Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄 (1907–80), a leading translator of Chinese-language Manchukuo literature into Japanese, to introduce representative works of "Manchurian system literature" (*Manxi wenxue*) to Japanese readers. In 1941, "Harbin" appeared as the opening story in Jue Qing's collection of short stories, *Ouyangjia de renmen* 歐陽家的人們 (People of the Ouyang Family), which was published in Chinese in Xinjing. Most contemporary scholars writing on Jue Qing at least mention the short story "Harbin." In this chapter, I am in dialogue primarily with two recent studies by scholars Liu Shu-chin and Junko Agnew, who have analyzed "Harbin" in detail.

³¹³ The English subtitle "New Young Man" was used on the cover together with the Chinese title, which is identical to the title of the famous May Fourth journal published from 1915 to 1926 at Beijing University. It had the French subtitle "La Jeunesse," usually translated as "New Youth." Based in Fengtian (the former name of Shenyang), *Xin qingnian*, published from 1935 to 1940, was one of the most prominent literary platforms in Manchukuo in this period. Since its founding, the mission of *Xin qingnian* was to revive Manchukuo culture, spread the "true spirit of ethnic harmony," and provide a venue for the intellectuals of the Empire of Japan to publish in Manchukuo. Komine Katsuyuki, "Ryō Chō 'Harubin' ni tsuite," 385.

The main protagonist of “Harbin” is a young teacher, Mumai 穆麥,³¹⁴ who came to the largest city in northern Manchuria to tutor the children of a factory owner in English, French, mathematics, and painting. But while on the one hand he was attracted to the modern metropolis he eagerly observed around him, on the other hand he found big-city life frustrating, and it constantly made him feel confused and tired, sometimes even sick. The plot revolves around the protagonist’s relationship with the third wife of the factory owner, Lingli 靈麗, who was primarily interested in two things: shopping and seducing men, including Mumai. In “Harbin,” the dissipated woman Lingli can be seen as the chief embodiment of the immorality of the city, and her immoral behavior often upsets the somewhat self-restrained young Mumai:

It is said that when the boss arrived in Fengtian several years ago, a tycoon gave him this girl from a dance hall as a gift in order to make a contract with him. Because she could never shake off her original temperament, the rotten blood that made her flirt with men still coursed through her veins. Her demands on her guests as a housewife were one of Mumai’s bad impressions of Harbin.

據說主人數年前到奉天的時候，一個大商費為和主人成立一個契約，把她當作禮物從一個舞場裡介紹給主人，因為總難脫去她那本來的性格，血管裡老爬著遊戲男性的血蠱，她那以主婦對客人所施展的要求，就是穆麥對於哈爾濱的不良印象之一。³¹⁵

However, like the hustle and bustle of the city, which both annoyed and fascinated the protagonist, Lingli repulsed and at the same time attracted Mumai. This is exemplified in a scene in which Lingli enters his room, says that she feels alone, asks him to explain the meaning of a French cartoon in a Shanghai magazine to her, and sits next to him on a couch. Mumai flips through the journal:

“Ah...” Feeling lost in the scent of her body, he opened an illustrated magazine under yellow light and occasionally glanced at Lingli’s face. Those hungry flaming eyes suddenly made Mumai melt. There was a portrait of a musician who had just passed away on the cover [of the magazine]. Turning the page, a couple of weird cubist paintings from the Autumn Salon Exhibition were followed by the 1934 style of the

³¹⁴ The ethnicity of the characters is not specified; we can assume that they are ethnically Chinese.

³¹⁵ Jue Qing 爵青, “Ha’erbin” 哈爾濱 (Harbin), in *Ouyangjia de renmen* 歐陽家的人們 [People of the Ouyang Family] (Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1941), 3.

new women's clothes. When he got to the page with photos of current events, she was already getting close to his body like an invader. ... A sweet threat assaulted him. Mumai moved slightly away from the woman's bosom; it was really not convenient for him to go on talking. To maintain his dignity as the guest of a distinguished host, he stood up, poured two cups of tea from the teapot, and used this movement to sit down on the opposite chair.

“啊……”感覺迷失在從她身上飄出來的肉香里，把一束畫報打開放在黃色的燈光下，偶爾把眼光挪到靈麗的臉上，那雙飢餓的火焰色的眼珠子，一下子就把穆麥溶化了。封面上是剛逝世的某音樂家的畫像，翻過來，是秋季沙龍展裡幾幅立體派的怪畫，接著便是一九三四年型的婦女新裝樣式，翻到時事照片的畫面時，她已經像侵略者一樣挨近自己的身畔了。…一個甜蜜的威脅襲擊來了。穆麥由女人的懷裡微微地挪了挪身子，實在不便再講下去，為保持紳士的客人的尊嚴，立起來用壺水沖好了兩杯茶，藉著這個動作就坐在了對面的椅子中。

316

While at the beginning of the story the embarrassed Mumai still managed to withstand her seduction, later he was not that successful anymore. Toward the end of the story, Lingli dragged him into a hotel room and took the virginity of the crying boy, who timidly resisted but was completely paralyzed at the crucial moment:

The dark blue of the night was reflected on her face, and the strong, demanding eyes obliterated everything in Mumai. Like a defenseless patient, pulled to the soft bedding on the edge of the bed, a rather cold liquid came out of his eyes.

All night long, Mumai was unable to utter a single word, nor could he regain his senses, and fell back into the soft bed, just like a stone or wooden statue, listening to Lingli's rambling talk.

暗藍的夜色映在她臉上，那強激的要求的眼珠子，把穆麥的一切全抹殺了。像個無掙扎的病人一樣，被拉到床沿上的軟質寢具上，有不太熱的液體便由眼里分泌出來。

一個夜晚，穆麥說不出一句話來，也不能使理智復醒一下，倒在溫柔的床裡，就像石彫木塑似地聽靈麗拉雜的講話。³¹⁷

“Harbin” also contains a subplot in which Mumai interacts with Sun Guotai 孫國泰, Lingli's former lover, a leftist activist taking the side of the workers that organize strikes at Mumai's

³¹⁶ Ibid., 4.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 17.

employer's factory. Sun gets drunk with Mumai and shares details of Lingli's past with him. He also shows him the poverty-stricken district of Harbin and explains to him the moral decadence of the locals. Throughout the story, Mumai suffers from the corrupted lifestyle of the people of Harbin, and Lingli's and Sun's company only aggravates his condition. In the story's open ending, of which two versions exist,³¹⁸ Mumai heads to the factory to see his boss, only to worry about what other mishaps he will have to deal with next.

Liu Shu-chin has called attention to the intertextual references in "Harbin" to short stories by Shanghai's modernist authors, most importantly by Taiwan-born Liu Na'ou 劉呐鷗 (1905–40) and Mu Shiying 穆時英 (1912–40), and demonstrated that Jue Qing transformed the "Shanghai modern" that Leo Ou-fang Lee famously wrote about³¹⁹ into "Harbin modern" with this short story. In particular, Liu Shu-chin focused on Jue Qing's intertextual references to the short story "Liu" 流 (Stream), the only tale by Liu Na'ou that can be considered socialist. The dilemma of the protagonist of "Stream," who is attracted to the modernity of Shanghai and the beauty of modern girls, can be read, according to the scholar, as weighing the advantages of living under socialism and capitalism.

Liu Shu-chin has documented that Jue Qing borrowed some expressions from the original short story and adapted some characters and scenes, such as the section depicting Mumai visiting the cinema with Lingli. But Jue Qing's Harbin, according to Liu Shu-chin, is fundamentally different from Shanghai as depicted by Liu Na'ou. The main difference is that while Shanghai was ruled by multiple colonial powers, Harbin as portrayed in this story was under the domination of the Japanese regime, which, according to the scholar, can be understood as fascist, and as such totally rejected by Jue Qing between the lines. Liu Shu-chin supports such a reading of "Harbin" within the collaboration versus resistance framework in two ways. First, she views the fact that Jue Qing's story depicts only Russian and French motifs (such as a Russian tea shop and the French magazine) among the foreign elements of Harbin's modernity, while mentioning nothing Japanese, as a consequence, according to Liu, of Jue Qing's fear of Japanese domination. Second, Liu Shu-chin has interpreted the cursory references to a Jewish woman and the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in

³¹⁸ In the longer version of the story, which has only survived in Japanese translation, the protagonist Mumai witnesses an argument between Sun Guotai and the factory owner at the end of the story. See Jue Qing 爵青, "Harubin" 哈爾濱 [Harbin], in Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, ed., *Genya* 原野 [The Wilds] (Tokyo: Sanwa shobō, 1939), 415–50. The differences in the two versions of the ending are not essential to my interpretation.

³¹⁹ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

“Harbin” as Jue Qing’s indirect and timid defiance against the fascism of the Japanese occupiers of Harbin.³²⁰

Liu Shu-chin’s paper highlighted many fascinating connections between Shanghai and Harbin modern literature but my interpretation resonates more closely with Junko Agnew’s study, as it reflects more deeply on the cause of the protagonist’s weariness of metropolitan life, which is the central motif of the story, and his relationship to modernity. Agnew convincingly argues that the third wife, Lingli, a dangerous seductress who wants to conquer men, is an archetype of the modern girl in Chinese literature, through whom male writers of the 1930s expressed their fear of alienation in a cosmopolitan and materialistic city. In “Harbin,” according to Agnew, Lingli specifically functions as an allegorical character representing a “depoliticized modernity,” which allowed Jue Qing to critique Harbin’s modernity without taking a political stance against the Japanese colonizer. Also notable is Agnew’s interpretation of the passivity of Mumai, who is unable to resist Lingli’s seduction, which Agnew argues emasculates him. Agnew links Mumai’s class consciousness, portrayed in parts of the story, to the ethos of Harbin as a former base for leftist writers such as Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong. In this context, Agnew views Mumai’s passivity and emasculation as reflecting Jue Qing’s frustration caused by the necessity of being politically passive under Japanese domination, unlike the exiled writers.³²¹

Although both scholars have highlighted significant aspects of “Harbin,” and Agnew, in particular, has convincingly discussed the allegorical meanings of the characters in the story, neither has sufficiently considered the significance of Jue Qing’s engagement with Asianist thought for possible interpretations. In this section, I suggest a different reading of “Harbin” that takes Jue Qing’s inclination toward Asianist thought seriously and understands the semicolonial situation in Manchukuo as more complicated than Liu and Agnew did. My interpretation builds on Junko Agnew’s reading. However, since I take into account Jue Qing’s gradual drift toward anti-Westernism, which was part of the discourse of “Asia” that was gaining momentum in Manchukuo in the mid-1930s, I see Jue Qing’s critique of modernity in “Harbin” as inherently *political*.

³²⁰ Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴. 2014. “Modu youwu: Shanghai xin ganjue pai yu zhimin dushi qimeng xushi” 魔都尤物：上海新感覺派與殖民都市啟蒙敘事 (Extraordinary Women from the Magical City: Inspiring Narratives of Shanghai’s New Sensationism in Colonial Cities). *Shandong Social Times* 山東社會科學 2: 43–6.

³²¹ Junko Nakajima Agnew, “Rewriting Manchukuo: The Question of Japanese Literary Colonialism and Chinese Collaboration,” (Dissertation, University of Washington, 2009), 169–90.

First, I want to discuss in more detail the protagonist Lingli, who in Agnew's reading of the story stands for a depoliticized modernity. Nonetheless, in the excerpt quoted above, we read that "she was [already] getting close to his [Mumai's] body like an invader," and considering the semicolonial Manchukuo context, I see this detail as an indication of this protagonist's political function along the line of Fredric Jameson's theory of literature as a socially symbolic act. Who is the invader that the lascivious Lingli resembles? Although our retrospective view (and Liu Shu-chin's paper) invites us to read this allusion in a text published only five years after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria as a somewhat unintelligible reference to the Japanese occupiers, I believe that the protagonist Lingli can be understood not as an embodiment of Japanese modernity, nor of universal modernity as Agnew argues, but as an embodiment of specifically *Western* modernity that Asianists frequently saw as an effect of the occupation of the region by Western colonizers.

I base this interpretation on my analysis of Jue Qing's early literary works read in the context of period Manchukuo ideology. For example, in the 1935 short story "International Girl" discussed above, Jue Qing already portrayed the character of Mr. Liu as having a somewhat aloof attitude toward modernity in his evaluation of Western music:

The loud sound of the Marseillaise march poured from the loudspeaker. I had a feeling that [our] ancient Eastern country should not appreciate this kind of western European music, but when I glanced at the girl next to me, who looked somewhat like a complete picture of an exhibition of human races, I found pleasure in it.

清朗的馬爾塞奏曲從蓄音機飛來，有覺東方的古國不應鑑賞這種西歐樂譜，可是一看坐在身旁有些像人種博覽會全貌的女人，就覺得是一種趣味了。³²²

In the short story "International Girl" the protagonist's suspicion of Western modernity, symbolized here by European music, was still balanced by his cosmopolitan admiration for everything foreign, which in the story, in addition to the various foreign motifs and the characters of the Anglophone pastor and the Japanese traveler mentioned above, was also represented by the pretty girl, "the offspring of white and yellow people."³²³

Jue Qing's essays demonstrate that at the beginning of his writing career, he, like the protagonist Liu, had an ambivalent view of Western modernity. This is especially evident in

³²² Jue Qing, "Guoji niang," 88.

³²³ Ibid., 86.

his writings about his impressions of Harbin, a city that people in Manchuria considered the Paris of the East, that is, a symbol of modernity but also poverty,³²⁴ where he moved in 1934. For example, in his 1937 essay “Yiguo qingdiao” 異國情調 (Exotic Atmosphere), Jue Qing writes that before his arrival, he had dreamed of finding American and Russian modern culture in Harbin. However, he found a decadent city that had long since passed its golden era.³²⁵ Jue Qing’s disappointment with Harbin, where he longed to discover Western modernity only to find instead what he called its ruins, is apparently echoed in his 1935 short story “Chunyu yehua” 春雨夜話 (Spring Rain Night Talk), where in the opening the protagonist gazes at the buildings forming Harbin’s skyline with admiration, but in the end, after hearing the story of an abusive Russian who abandoned his child, Harbin’s houses “collapsed before his eyes.”³²⁶

It seems that these tendencies toward being far more critical of everything foreign and modern than before culminate in the short story “Harbin,” where the Russian characters, as well as the aforementioned French magazine or the Hollywood film that Mumai sees in the cinema, are associated with the predominantly negative emotions of the main protagonist. Mumai’s largely negative perception also applies to Sun Guotai and Lingli, who can be seen as specific representatives of certain aspects of Western modernity, namely socialism and immoral consumerism, respectively.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Asianists had a complex relationship with cosmopolitanism. In Japan, some understood Asianism as part of cosmopolitan internationalism, while others emphasized the exclusive and anti-Western dimension of Asianism.³²⁷ In the 1930s, liberal cosmopolitanism in Japan began to be replaced by calls for Japanese authenticity coupled with a revolt against modernity.³²⁸ Anti-modern tendencies peaked after Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, when ideas of anti-Western Asianism that had until then been on the fringes of the political discourse became

³²⁴ Thomas Lahusen, “Introduction,” in Thomas Lahusen, ed., *Harbin and Manchuria: Place, Space and Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2001), 2.

³²⁵ Jue Qing 爵青, “Yiguo qingdiao” 異國情調 [Exotic Atmosphere], *Ha'erbin Wuri Huabao* (February 5, 1937): 3.

³²⁶ Jue Qing 爵青, “Chunyu yehua” 春雨夜話 (Spring Rain Night Talk), *Taidong ribao* (January 7, 1935): 5.

³²⁷ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 17.

³²⁸ Alan Tansman, *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 8–9.

mainstream in Japan.³²⁹ As I discussed in Chapter 1, this new stream of anti-Western Asianist thought became established within the official ideology in Manchukuo in the 1930s.

This trend is evidenced, among other things, by some articles that appeared in the journal *Xin qingnian* in the year the short story “Harbin” was first published there. For example, the January 1936 article “Yi-A zhanzheng yu youse renzhong” 意阿戰爭與有色人種 (The Italo-Ethiopian War and People of Color) presented Japan as the protector of all “people of color” from “white race” (*baizhong ren* 白种人). Japan, according to the article, rose to this position by winning the Russo-Japanese War, which ensured that “the Great Asiatic nation was not wiped out” (大亞細亞民族，才得此不被消滅). When the author of this article, which was written before Japan’s alliance with Italy and Germany, refers to “invaders” (*qinzhe* 侵者), he means all white people, who they also label as colonizers. White people/colonizers are specifically represented here not only by the Italians but also by the English, Germans, and Russians.³³⁰ In this context, and considering that Lingli “assaulted” Mumai in the excerpt quoted above along with “weird cubist paintings” and “new women’s clothes” in the journal, that is, along with elements of Western culture, as an “invader,”³³¹ it is possible to interpret the character of Lingli as standing for a politically charged *Western modernity*, which is depicted in the story as appealing but always in some ways negative.

Now let us discuss more closely Mumai, whom I understand as a character representing the Chinese or Asian intellectual who unsuccessfully (he is eventually seduced) tries to resist Western modernity, which is at odds with his Eastern morality. First, I want to question Mumai’s passivity. As I have noted above, Junko Agnew understands Mumai as emasculated and passive in relation to modernity, which is best demonstrated by his paralysis in the hotel room where Lingli dragged him. However, in interpreting “Harbin,” I take into account Shaden M. Tageldin’s theory of imperial seduction, which examines the seductiveness of translated works of European literature in Egypt under French colonization and problematizes the binarity of postcolonial studies by focusing on the “ideology of love.” My interpretation is particularly inspired by Tegeldin’s problematization of Edward Said’s critique of Orientalism, which she argues depicts Arabs as too passive to the colonizer. Tageldin emphasizes that the Orientalist discourse in fact attracted Egyptians because it made

³²⁹ Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, 167.

³³⁰ Cao Gong 草公, “Yi-A zhanzheng yu youse renzhong” 意阿戰爭與有色人種 [The Italo-Ethiopian War and People of Color], *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 6/7/8 (January 1936): 18.

³³¹ Jue Qing, “Ha’erbin,” 4.

them exotically attractive from the colonizer's perspective, allowing them to achieve an illusory position of equality vis-à-vis the colonizer. However, a colonial subject's love of colonial culture in no way implied the resignation of the colonized to resist colonialism, according to Tageldin.³³²

Based on Tageldin's theory, I first want to point out that also in Mumai's case, the fact that he is attracted to the seductive Lingli does not automatically imply that he absolutely cannot resist her at the same time. Second, Tageldin's theory, even when applied to semicolonial Manchukuo, shows well that it is not accurate to regard colonial subjects as overly passive on the basis of first impressions, since their apparent passivity may have served their subtle resistance to colonization on closer inspection. In the case of Mumai, I suggest that by his repeated rejection of Lingli's seduction, he exhibited passive resistance that, in an allegorical reading, can be understood as a subtle defiance of Western modernity by the Asian intellectual, who thereby places himself on an equal footing with the Western colonial Other.

Now let us discuss Mumai's most striking characteristic—his anxiety. The narrator repeatedly states that the bustle and immorality of the city of Harbin provoke anxiety attacks in Mumai. Specifically, he suffers from witnessing infidelity and the presence of Russian prostitutes and other lascivious women, not to mention Lingli's behavior. Moreover, Mumai is also enraged by a lewd remark made by the socialist Sun Guotai and can just barely keep from scolding him. Mumai tries to counter all these anxieties by resting in bed and smoking one cigarette after another. At the end of the story, he buys sleeping pills to calm himself. Nevertheless, the reader learns through the narrator that his impression of Harbin weighs so heavily on him that he even thinks of leaving the city.

In my interpretation of "Harbin," Mumai's fatigue bordering on malaise from the metropolitan environment and his traditional chastity can be seen as symptoms of colonial neurosis, such as that described by Franz Fanon. In the chapter "The Fact of Blackness" Fanon writes about the experience of a black man whose self "burst apart" as a result of being objectified by mainstream French society. At the sight of him, people shouted: "Look, a Negro!" or even more vulgar remarks. Fanon recounts how, as a result of his feelings of inferiority and anxiety at not being able to understand the discrimination against him, he resorted to irrationally proving to himself that he was not primitive and backward as the majority members of "a civilization that he did not know and that imposed itself on him"

³³² Shaden M. Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1–10.

believed. Fanon's approach that he considers irrational was to embrace romantic notions about the long spiritual or even mystical history and the future of the Negro: "Without a Negro past, without a Negro future, it was impossible for me to live my Negrohood."³³³

Fanon's analysis of the fragmented subjectivity of the individual objectified by colonial society sheds light on the short story "Harbin" primarily by illuminating the principle of the subject's irrational response. I argue that just as Fanon resorted to romanticized histories and futures of "Negrohood," which he defined racially in response to racial objectification, Mumai opposed Western modernity by irrationally embracing the future and past of romanticized "Asia," which was analogously defined in Asianist thought racially as an alliance of the "yellow race" against the "white race." I thus argue that Mumai's resistance to Western modernity is not exhibited through direct defiance but through the protagonist's symbolic fixation on traditional Confucian culture and practices that he, romantically, saw as an essential Asian alternative to Western modernity. In my interpretation, Mumai thus dreams in "Harbin" of reviving traditions embodied in the ideas of Sinocentric Asianism that were prevalent in Manchukuo at the time of the story's publication.

This thread of Asianism centered around the concept of *wangdao* partly consisted of the Confucian moral teachings that not only Chinese Asianists but also some Japanese Asianists had promoted for several decades. As I have noted in Chapter 1, this concept of *wangdao* was based on the ancient Mencius's doctrine embodying the idea of righteous government, which Dong Zhongshu redefined as a concept of social order in the second century BC. However, it is important to bear in mind that in Asianist thought, *wangdao* was a modern invention of tradition that only pretended to be ancient. In reality, it was a set of practices that "automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past,"³³⁴ yet it was created in the late nineteenth century by thinkers like Kang Youwei and Nanbu Jirō to anchor the moral responsibility of the individual in a new interconnected world, which the Asianists saw as dominated by Western *badao* (hegemonic way). For example, Nanbu Jirō was inclined toward idealistic Confucianism centered around the concept of *wangdao* and sought to revive the Eastern spirit through personality cultivation based on the ideas of the Ming dynasty Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529).³³⁵

³³³ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, 82–108.

³³⁴ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.

³³⁵ Roger H. Brown, "Visions of a Virtuous Manifest Destiny," 135–7.

At the time of the publication of “Harbin,” in addition to articles emphasizing Japan’s leading role in Asia, various treatises on *wangdao* appeared in *Xin qingnian*. For example, Yuan Jinkai 袁金鎧 (1870–1947), a late Qing politician who served as a minister in the Manchukuo government in the mid-1930s, penned “teaching materials” (*jiangyi* 講義) in Literary Sinitic titled “Wangdao genggai yishuo” 王道梗概臆說 (Subjective Outline of *Wangdao*) that were serialized in this journal. It seems that Mumai’s chastity and restraint can be understood as a reflection of such an Asianist version of Confucian morality officially promoted in early Manchukuo. Indeed, we find some statements that can be construed as references to Confucian morality in “Harbin.” For example, when Lingli seduces Mumai and tells him that “I really didn’t realize that your mind is so simple, so straight” (我真想不到你的頭腦那麼簡單，那麼直線), and for that reason he really does not fit in in the big city,³³⁶ it evokes Yuan Jinkai’s notion that *wangdao* cannot exist without self-cultivation (*xiushen* 修身) and that those who wish to self-cultivate, whether a Son of Heaven or a commoner, must “be sincere and have straight intentions” (誠意中心).³³⁷

Above all, Mumai’s romantic embracement of reinvented Asian traditions, which in his subjectivity form the counterpart of Western modernity, is implied in the very beginning of the story, where the narrator explains the purpose of Mumai’s daily hour-long rest from the bustle of the city on a low hill from which he observes Harbin:

Although he didn’t want to replace the bustling metropolis with savage and primitive scenery, he felt that he needed to expel the daily fatigue at a place with the atmosphere of fields and gardens.

他雖然不想以自然而野蠻的原始的風物來代替這囂塵的都市，可是卻覺得需要有一處田園的氣氛來驅逐一下每日的疲倦。³³⁸

The use of the expression *tianyuan* 田園 (fields and gardens), which in Chinese poetry usually refers to a harmonious life in the countryside,³³⁹ can be understood in this context as the

³³⁶ Jue Qing, “Ha’erbin,” 16.

³³⁷ Yuan Jinkai 袁金鎧. “Wangdao genggai yishuo” 王道梗概臆說 (Subjective Outline of *Wangdao*). *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 4 (November 1935), 1.

³³⁸ Jue Qing, “Ha’erbin,” 1.

³³⁹ Olga Lomová, *Poselství krajiny: obraz přírody v díle tchangského básníka Wang Weje* (Praha: DharmaGaia, 1999), 25.

narrator's reminder that, in addition to replacing the Western materialist modernity with primitive society, there is also the possibility of replacing modernity with a life in harmony with the traditions of "Asian" civilization. In "Harbin," it is only the idea of such a life that comforts Mumai.

Although the short story "Harbin" does not speak directly of Mumai feeling inferior, it is well known that Harbin Russians often considered Chinese culture primitive. For example, Xiao Hong artistically rendered a Chinese student's feelings of inferiority to Harbin Russians.³⁴⁰ In the 1939 essay mentioned above, Jue Qing regards the whole East as humiliated by Western colonization when he notes that following the introduction of Western culture, "the soul and spirit were humiliated (靈魂與精神都被侮辱著)."³⁴¹ Interestingly, the anxiety from Western modernity, which in my reading of "Harbin" Mumai understands as forcibly imposed by *invaders*, leads the protagonist to deny that his own culture is primitive. Mumai's strategy of embracing the romantic past and future represented here by traditional Chinese culture and Confucian morality, which Jue Qing considered the essence of Asia, thus evokes the symptoms of an inferiority complex caused by the objectification of the colonial subject as described by Fanon. Therefore, Mumai's disgust with Lingli, who in the story stands for Western modernity, can also be understood as a symptom of a fragmented identity caused by an inferiority complex, in this case of a young indigenous teacher suddenly finding himself in modern industrial and culturally Westernized society. Mumai's somewhat parochial and traditional manners can also be seen as an irrational and romantic reaction to the anxiety experienced in the semicolonial environment of Manchukuo.

Thus far, exploring East Asian colonial subjects' hybrid identities, scholars have focused their attention on colonial modernity primarily through the prism of national identity. For example, in her analysis of Korean Japanese-language colonial literature, Nayoung Aimee Kwon states:

Since the modern subject is invariably linked to the nation-state form, for those living under the threat or actuality of colonization, or the related predicaments of occupation, exile, and so forth, the lack or the constant fear of losing this requisite nation-state

³⁴⁰ The anxiety about feelings of inferiority towards the Harbin Russians as articulated in the short story "Shou" 手 [Hands] by Xiao Hong is interestingly handled in Jing Jiang's paper. See "From Foot Fetish to Hand Fetish: Hygiene, Class, and the New Woman," *Positions* 1 (2014): 131–59.

³⁴¹ Jue Qing, "Qingchun maodu zhi er," 116.

status through colonial subjection causes tremendous anxiety, collectively and individually.³⁴²

Kwon certainly takes the double subjection to Western and Japanese colonialism in East Asia into account,³⁴³ and I find her insights into the “intimacy” of colonial encounters in the Japanese empire very illuminating. But to enrich such findings, I argue that in East Asia the modern subject is sometimes represented not only as an identity torn between nation-states or nations but also as a Sinitic nexus, that is, as a combination of identities, such as local and ethnic/national, but also pan-national identities whose existence has often been overlooked. If we take Asianist thought seriously, it turns out that the fragmentation of subjectivity in East Asian literature may be even more complex than most scholars believe, as it occurs on multiple levels.

In “Harbin,” the most noteworthy seems to be the subjectivity of Mumai, who in my reading understands Chinese morality and traditional culture through Asianist thought as the essence of East Asia, which he sees as the antidote to the materialistic and corrupt West. In sum, he defends himself from the invasion of colonial culture by identifying with an imagined East Asian culture, which is unified in his mind because it predates the rupture of colonialism, as is typical for “mythical” alternative histories of colonized people.³⁴⁴ Such an imagined East Asia integrates local and national entities and thus creates a larger and stronger whole to match the West.

We are therefore dealing here with a very different perception of colonialism than that discussed by Shu-mei Shih regarding semicolonial Shanghai. While the works of the Shanghai modernists that Shih writes about often reflect the subjectivity of a Chinese intellectual in whose mind admiration for the West displaces the perception of Western colonial domination,³⁴⁵ in my reading of Jue Qing’s short story, “Harbin” addresses the subjectivity of a Chinese intellectual who is keenly aware of Western colonialism, but his defiance of Western colonialism, manifested through his embracing of the idea of an Asian alliance, displaces his perception of Japanese colonialism, which is thus not referenced in the story. As a result, in “Harbin,” the protagonist’s subjectivity is torn apart by his simultaneous

³⁴² Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 12.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁴⁴ Stuart Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” 295.

³⁴⁵ Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 35–6.

admiration and disgust for Western modernity (the identification with the West is denied), while the relationship between “Chinese” and “Asian” identities is expressed as harmonious in his subjectivity.

Recognizing the significance of such nexus of identities, which I regard as one form of the Sinitic nexus, in this case a harmonious nexus of Chinese and Asian identities in setting where “Asia” was associated also with the Japanese colonizer and ideology of semicolonial Manchukuo, can help us better understand colonial modernity in East Asia. Paying more attention to such hybridities may allow us, among other things, to view various literary works, such as some from the early Manchukuo period, from a new perspective.

In the specific case of Jue Qing’s short story “Harbin,” the analysis of the Sinitic nexus of identities opens up a new understanding of the political message embedded, albeit perhaps unconsciously, in this work. Like Liu Shu-chin and Junko Agnew, I understand the short story “Harbin” as a work in which a Manchurian Chinese intellectual opposes colonial oppression. Unlike these scholars, however, I interpret the short story as Jue Qing’s distinctive contribution to the Asianist debate in Manchukuo, which, in keeping with the dominant trends of Asianist thought, opposes Western, not Japanese colonialism. As Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit have pointed out in their study of anti-Western sentiments in wartime Japan, contemporary Afghanistan, and other places, one of the typical manifestations of resentment against the West is the juxtaposition of Western cities replete with prostitutes and the spiritually pure countryside.³⁴⁶ I read the short story “Harbin” as a manifestation of such resentment against the West, as personified by the former dancer Lingli, against whom Jue Qing sets the spiritually pure “Asian” tradition, which in his mind is linked to the countryside through “fields and gardens.”

Although it would be an exaggeration to consider this work as unofficial propaganda of the Manchukuo regime, we can certainly conclude that its political message resonates with the Sinocentric thread of the informal colony’s early ideology. Thus, in my interpretation, Jue Qing’s short story “Harbin” did not necessarily express the author’s support for the regime but rather his advocacy of one of several ideas about what identity Manchukuo should adhere to.

“Harbin” represents but one example of the Sinitic nexus, though. As we shall see in the following sections, in later periods Jue Qing created protagonists with even more complex subjectivity in his works that invite even more complex interpretations.

³⁴⁶ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism*, 19.

3.3 Criticizing Western Colonialism in “Devil”

In this section, my attention shifts to the late Manchukuo period. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, Jue Qing supported the Japanese war effort in his essays on Asian spirituality that emphasized Japan’s leading role in Asia. But in the essay mentioned above, “Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*,” he stated that he struggled with suicidal thoughts in the autumn of 1942. I argue that his anxiety, which according to my understanding stemmed from Jue Qing’s recognition of the colonial and oppressive nature of Japanese rule in Manchuria, seeped into some of his fictional works in this period, for example, the short story “Devil,” which was serialized in the September, October, and November issues of *Xin Manzhou* 新滿洲 (New Manchuria) in 1942.

Jue Qing’s continued support for the war, though, cannot easily be excused as something he was forced to do and did not really believe in. The quantity and vigor of his essays in which he gradually denounced Western civilization as more and more decadent (頹廢), suggest that his new recognition of Japanese colonialism did not diminish his hostility toward Western colonialism. Therefore, when I discuss colonial anxieties in my analysis of the short story “Devil,” I carefully consider which colonialism they are associated with.

Like all complex literary texts, the short story “Devil” does not present a simple and direct message, and can be read in different ways. In my interpretation, I concentrate on allusions to Western colonialism and on this basis offer reading of the short story as an expression of Jue Qing’s critique of the West. In another reading based my analysis of intertextual references to Japanese-language stories, which I also discuss in this chapter, the short story can be also seen as a critique of Japanese colonialism. In Manchukuo, it was naturally impossible to criticize Japanese colonialism openly. Yet, while control of literary production in the informal colony tightened after 1941 when the Summary of Guidelines to Art and Literature was introduced, even in the war years works that were somewhat subversive were published in Manchukuo in the back sections of periodicals.³⁴⁷ The short story “Devil” is a work that is difficult to interpret unambiguously, and which can be construed as suggesting a critique of the semicolonial regime. In this respect, my

³⁴⁷ Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 51–6.

interpretation of “Devil” is based on Lev Loseff’s theory of Aesopian language, which can be applied to interpret allegorical meanings hidden in literature subjected to censorship, which I have outlined in the Introduction. In the case of this short story, I understand the reading critical of Western colonialism as a “screen,” that is, a stylistic device used to conceal a hidden message. I suggest that the other reading reveals a hidden message in which the critique of Japanese colonialism is embedded.

“Devil” ranks among the major short stories of Jue Qing’s late writing career, as evidenced by its inclusion in his 1943 collection *Guixiang* 歸鄉 (Returning Home) published in Xinjing. The relevance of this short story within Jue Qing’s oeuvre is also proved by the fact that “Devil” is often mentioned in current research as one of Jue Qing’s representative works.³⁴⁸ Yet surprisingly no scholar has thus far provided a detailed interpretation of “Devil.”

First, let us discuss how this short story can be understood primarily as a critique of Western colonialism. In this plane of the story, colonial anxiety is expressed openly as it was nothing to hide from the censors, since criticism of the West was in line with official Manchukuo ideology. However, the very beginning of the story arouses the reader’s suspicion that the story might be concerned with something usually avoided. In the opening, the narrator tries to dispel any suspicions about the title of the story, thus paradoxically reinforcing the reader’s suspicions:

Although the story is titled “Devil,” I don’t want to talk about any ghosts or goblins. I just like the feeling of the word “devil.”

Titles are sometimes more evocative than the content of the stories itself. [*Discussion of the titles of an unspecified short story “Ru niu” 乳牛 (Milk Cow) and Stendhal’s novel Le Rouge et le Noir (Hong yu hei 紅與黑) omitted*]... Writers seem to take a morbid delight in the titles of their works. So, my story is called “Devil,” but I didn’t include any miserable characters or things to avoid unnecessarily annoying the reader.

Instead, an ordinary protagonist appears in the daylight, a poorly paid teacher in a city elementary school....

題為“惡魔”，並不是想講什麼陰慘不快的鬼狐之譚，我只是喜歡“惡魔”這個詞彙的感覺而已。

³⁴⁸ For example, see Xie Chaokun, “Feixu li de wange,” 13.

小說的標題有時總要渲染得超乎內容。… 看來小說家的標題，幾乎是一種近於疾病的特癖了。所以我的故事，雖題為“惡魔”，卻不會有一個陰慘不快的人物事物出現，而讓讀者掩卷。

出現的倒是白日下的一個平凡的人物，一個市立小學校的薄俸教師。
…³⁴⁹

Given that in China during wartime the Japanese were commonly called “devils” (*guizi*), the story’s title with the same meaning seems even more suspicious when the narrator draws attention to its symbolic meanings by denying them. But then the narrator shifts his attention to the main protagonist of the story, who, as the narrator says, is a twenty-seven-year-old teacher whose name he has forgotten, and an unspecified girl.

Subsequently, he provides a portrayal of the main protagonist:

He is an unmarried man whose origins are not entirely clear, but his contemplative nature and the curved spine of a scholarly man seem to indicate that he is from a southern province. In the previous paragraph, I said that I would not talk about unpleasant things, but when it comes to the body of our main protagonist, I need to ask the reader for patience. Now, if we were to describe him vividly, we could probably use all these words: bald head, large pupils, waxy face, eagle nose, hare’s lips, long neck, hunchback, and short legs.... All in all, anyone who meets him feels that the Creator was joking a little too much [when he created him]. Had the Creator removed any element of his physical ugliness, the Creator would deserve to be called the ruler of the universe. In ancient times, subdued vassal kings used to sacrifice a dwarf with a hideous face to the superior state to gain favor. And this man is probably the last descendant of such a dwarf.

他是個獨身的男子，籍貫也不詳細，不過看那深思苦慮的素性和表示著書生氣質的彎曲的脊柱，似乎是南方某省分的人。我在前文中，曾說過不講陰慘不快的談話，不過描寫到我們主人公的身軀，卻要求讀者忍耐一些，現在印像地來描寫他一下，大概這些詞彙都能用在他身上：禿頭，大瞳孔，蠟黃面，鷹鼻，兔唇，長頸，駝背，下肢短小…… 總之，無論誰遇見他，都覺得造物對他未免過於諧謔了。造物若在他身上能免去任何一種肉體的醜惡，這造物也不愧是支配宇宙的權柄了，在古時，降伏的蕃王曾把面瘳惡的侏儒獻給上邦以求歡心，這個男子大概就是這種侏儒的末裔罷。³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Jue Qing 爵青, “E’mo” 惡魔 [Devil], in *Guixiang* 歸鄉 [Returning Home] (Xinjing: Yiwu shufang, 1943), 35.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 35–6.

Just as bizarre as the teacher's looks is the first scene of the story, which depicts how one spring day, the teacher went to see the principal, who had graduated from a foreign pedagogical school, had recently traveled abroad for training, and was renowned for his strictness with students. When he enters the principal's office, he sees the principal scolding a weeping student, whom he accused of plucking a feather from a heron exhibit. As the principal is about to continue punishing the sobbing boy, the teacher casually declares that it was he who had damaged the exhibit, thus rescuing the student.

In the story, however, the teacher most importantly stands up for a fifteen-year-old female student who is new to the school and one day confesses to the teacher that it was she who damaged the heron specimen because she liked the feather. When the girl tells him that she lost a lot of money playing craps and lives in a wooden box with a seven-year-old blind boy, the teacher decides he must find out more about her. The next day he finds a note in her admissions materials:

“When the student came to school, no guardian was in charge. She said that her family was poor, no family members had a standard occupation, so she was to be treated like an abandoned child, ... I also record that when the student entered the school, she was pale, appeared dejected, and her mental state was extremely bad. A little stuttering, left-handed, occasionally inconsistent speech, but sharp senses, very creative thinking...”

“該生來校當時，並無保護者負責，據云，家境至為寒貧，家族均無正常生業，待如棄兒，... 又記，該生入學時，顏色憔悴，形容苦悶，精神似極不佳。稍口吃，左手習慣，有時言語矛盾，然感覺銳敏，思索理路頗多獨創之……”³⁵¹

When the readers get acquainted with the two main protagonists, they get the impression that both the teacher and the girl are miserable beings: the teacher is ridiculously ugly, and the girl of extremely unfavorable family circumstances. Furthermore, in addition to the seemingly highly unreliable narrator who contradicts himself on several occasions, both main characters lie about the heron specimen. Interestingly, the omnipresent lying and inability to discern the truth at the beginning of this tale seem to resonate well with Jue Qing's essay in which he recounts how the fact that everyone was actually lying to him led to his mental breakdown in the autumn of 1942.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 44-5.

In the second half of the story, a more detailed portrayal is given of the relationship between the teacher and the girl, who frequently skips school and is absent-minded in class; the teacher slowly loses patience with her. One day, the teacher is contacted by the police, who are looking for the girl on suspicion of vandalism. The teacher is furious and looks for the girl in a shantytown in the lowlands but finds only a “half-dead,” smelly seven-year-old boy in a wooden box.

The depressing environment of the slum lowlands sparks the teacher’s memory of his distant home, through which we learn more about his origins: he grew up in a port city in the south, in China proper, as an orphan with his aunt. The aunt’s family was impoverished and lived only on faded glory: the aunt made a living by partly fraudulently selling off family paintings and exploiting the young protagonist. Moreover, we learn that he grew up in the poor lowlands of this city, where the locals were at a disadvantage to the Western colonizers:

In his hometown, there was also such a lowland. It was a trading port opened by treaty after the war was lost. The hillock [in the city center] was only available to foreign merchants and the slightly richer people of the country, while the poor people like them had to live in the lowland. Because this hillock was situated to the east of the lowland, the people of the lowland could not see the sun in the morning, and only after the sun came out for twenty or thirty minutes could they see a glimpse of the morning rays.

故鄉也有這樣一塊窪地，當地是因戰敗條約開放的商港，高崗上只能讓給外國商人和本國人中稍為富裕的人居住，像他們那樣的窮人只得住在窪地裡。這高崗因為正在窪地的東方，所以每天早晨窪地的人們都不能看見太陽，在太陽出來二三十分鐘之後，才能看得見一絲朝陽。³⁵²

At the age of fourteen, he fled his home to the north, to Manchuria. However, he continued to feel lonely, and as he says without further explanation, he became aware of his ugliness, which continued to depress him. And the memories of his adolescence led the teacher to further reflect on his life and that of his student:

When he was thinking about his life, even he himself did not get it. Powerless consciousness, feeble instincts, frozen fighting [spirit]... Everything about human life turned out to be a nightmare on top of his head. Now, when he saw this lowland, which resembled his home, his heart turned into a lonely hell; wasn’t also his pupil in

³⁵² Ibid., 53.

the lowland of destiny? The girl might be irredeemable; perhaps she will die by the roadside tonight, ...

想起生活來，連他自己也不解了。無力的意識，微弱的本能，凝固的鬭爭.....人類生活的全體竟成為一個蓋在他頭頂上的惡夢了。現在看見這宛若故鄉一樣的窪地，他的心中幾乎化成了孤獨地獄；自己那個女弟子不是也在這命運的窪地裡嗎？那個少女也許是無可拯救的，也許在今夜就要死在路旁，...³⁵³

At this point, it seems clear that the girl's character somehow mirrors the teacher's character, especially since they both come from poor backgrounds. And while the teacher's poverty is linked to motifs of Western colonialism and the overbearing aunt, we do not yet learn more details about the girl. Nevertheless, the remark that the teacher's heart has become hell is crucial to the analysis of the protagonist's identity: the narrator seems to suggest that the devil who gave the story its title is in the heart of the teacher himself. But what does this say about the teacher's subjectivity?

Given Jue Qing's Asianist attitudes expressed in his essays from 1939 onward, which are reflected in some of his works during this period, such as the short story "Falling on the Frozen Garden," we can read the short story "Devil" in a similar way as "Harbin" and assume that Jue Qing's anxiety triggered by Western colonial modernity in Manchuria seeps into the subjectivity of the teacher. This anxiety is expressed in the story as emanating from the hardships of the teacher's youth; these hardships are, in turn, linked to the effects of the Western imperialists' invasion: the notions of the lost war and the open port can be seen as references to the Opium Wars; the remark that while the foreigners lived in the city center, the teacher's aunt's impoverished family lived in the shantytown lowlands reveals the oppression of the locals by the colonizers.

The story reaches its climax with a scene that supports the reading of "Devil" as an expression of Jue Qing's rejection of Western modernity. Four days after being contacted by the police, the weeping girl bursts into the teacher's apartment and throws him a gold lock on a chain that she had stolen. We learn from the narrator that it is a kind of pendant given to children by wealthy parents for protection. Subsequently, the girl asks the teacher to hide her from the police. In a slightly erotic scene, she then explains to him that she stole the lock because she has the same one tattooed on her body. When the teacher does not believe her, she shows it to him:

³⁵³ Ibid., 54.

The girl unbuttoned her blouse and revealed her fair chest. On the lower part of her right breast, there was indeed a tattoo in the shape of a similar lock. On the slightly malnourished flesh, the lock moved on her chest with the pounding of her heart, making him shiver.

少女解開了上衣，就露出來白嫩的胸廓來，在右乳房的下部，果然用刺青劃著形狀我略同的一個鎖形。在營養稍為不良的肌肉上，鎖形隨著心臟的起伏在胸前微動著，使他打了一個冷戰。³⁵⁴

When the teacher questions her about the tattoo, the girl mentions in more detail the somewhat mysterious circumstances of her family:

His eyes mirrored the lock on the girl's chest again: "Who tattooed this lock for you?"
"I don't know. When I grew up, I already had such a thing on my chest. I guess my father tattooed it."

"What does your father do?"

"I have three fathers; the last one was killed by my mother, sir! Please hide me," the young girl begged desperately.

"No! Speak! What does your father do?"

"It is said that the first one was a medicine dealer and that it was the first father who tattooed this lock on me, but he died long ago. The next two fathers, I don't know."

...

"What about your mother?"

"My mother killed the third father and ran away with a man, so I am the only one left."

少女胸前的鎖形又映在他的眼裡：“這個鎖形是誰給你刺的？”

“不知道。我長大以後，我的胸上就有這麼一個東西，大概是我父親給刺的。”

“你父親是做什麼的？”

“我有三個父親，最後的父親是被母親殺死的，先生！請快藏起我來。”少女必死地哀求他。

“不行！你說！你父親是做什麼的？”

“據說第一個是賣藥的，這個鎖就是第一個父親刺在我身上的；不過他早死掉了。其後的兩個父親我便不曉得了。”

...

“你的母親呢？”

“母親殺死了第三個父親，就跟著一個男人逃跑了；所以只剩了我。”³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 57.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 58–9.

At the end of this scene, the teacher starts crying. Then at the end of the whole story, when the unreliable narrator reassures the reader that no devil really appears in the story, the narrator conveys to the reader the reflections of the teacher, who ponders whether the girl's life is indeed "locked" into her destiny and that her unhappy childhood, school, wooden box, and the police are all other locks that lock her life as well. And now, apparently, she would be locked in a reformatory. The next day, the teacher quits the school.³⁵⁶

The fact that the girl's story somehow mirrors the story of the teacher who grew up without parents seems crucial to the tale's interpretation. While the girl speaks of a family of three fathers and a murderous mother, the teacher understands that the girl's father died, and her mother changed partners until she eventually abandoned the girl, who is thus an orphan just like him. Moreover, neither the teacher nor the girl has a home: the teacher ran away from home, and the girl is literally homeless, living on the street. Both protagonists suffer from symptoms resembling split personality disorder: the teacher's inner self becomes hell, while the girl talks in a confused manner and makes things up. Finally, the motif of the lock tattooed on the girl's skin revealed at the end of the story draws attention to the fact that the unhappy fate of both protagonists is imprinted on their bodies: while the Creator caused the teacher's ugliness, the girl's father tattooed the lock on her body. Both characters thus seem similarly destined to unfortunate fates they apparently cannot escape.

As I have noted above, the teacher's uprootedness is explicitly linked in the story to the invasion of East Asia by Western colonizers. But how can we understand the teacher's physical predetermination, which is echoed by the lock on the girl's body? At this point, I would like to point out that the teacher's appearance is strikingly reminiscent of caricatures of Asians in the Western, primarily Anglophone, world. Christopher Frayling has noted that as part of the Yellow Peril sentiment I discussed in Chapter 1 (which triggered sentiments known as the White Peril among some Asianists), Chinese people were portrayed in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain as petite people with "bald head[s], toothless face[s], large ears," and so on. Children with Down syndrome, after all, were called Mongoloids because, as doctors of the time said, they had "Oriental imperfections" in their faces.³⁵⁷ Moreover, considering that the teacher in the short story "Devil" resembles the

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 35–61.

³⁵⁷ Christopher Frayling, *The Yellow Peril: Dr. Fu Manchu & the Rise of Chinaphobia* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 30–1.

offspring of a dwarf, a notion evoking the infamous stereotyping of the Japanese among American and British soldiers, who called them “yellow dwarfs” during the Pacific War,³⁵⁸ we can conclude that the teacher with his bald head, large pupils, hare’s lips, hunchback, and short legs, who had a hideous face and was ridiculously ugly, can be seen as Jue Qing’s caricature of the Western caricature of the Asian.

In this sense, the teacher’s ill-fated physical appearance, which Jue Qing highlights in the story, is reminiscent of Fanon’s “black skin,” which colonized intellectuals cannot shake off and which in many ways determines their lives. In the specific case of Jue Qing’s teacher, who was raised in an environment dominated by Western colonial modernity, his appearance destined him to grow up in poor circumstances, with little sunlight to speak of. This environment eventually even caused him to flee his hometown. We might even associate his subsequent suffering with the unfortunate influence of the West. Considering Jue Qing’s belief that Eastern spirituality, in contrast to Western spirituality, is unified, as he wrote in an essay after returning from the Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress held just when “Devil” was published, we may link the teacher’s suffering with Western modernity, which the teacher could not resist (somewhat like Mumai in “Harbin”), and so it penetrated his heart and disrupted his Eastern spirituality.

I argue that in this reading, the character of the girl, who in many ways mirrors the character of the teacher, can also be viewed as a victim of Western colonialism. Indeed, the tattooed lock-shaped brand evokes slavery, which many Asianists and ideologues of Manchukuo and the Japanese empire saw as one of the main symbols of Western colonialism. For example, the author of the abovementioned article on the Italo-Ethiopian War, which was published in 1936 in *Xin qingnian*, linked the fate of Asians suffering under Western colonial rule to that of Africans:

During the four centuries of conquest, the white people dominated territories outside Europe and became the masters of the people of color. Since the nineteenth century, the Americas, Asia, and Africa came into the hands of the white people.... [They] treated the colonized people as slaves. [They thought that] all people of color can be invaded, raped, exploited, and even exterminated. This is a historical fact that needs no particular evidence.

經過四世紀的長征，白種人居然稱雄歐陸外，做了有色人種的主人翁。十九世紀來，美洲，亞洲，非洲，都先後變為白種人的掌中物了。… [他們] 把殖民的

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 340.

人民，當作奴隸。一切的有色人種，都可以被人侵略，被人蹂躪，被人剝奪，甚至於被人滅絕。這是歷史上的事實，不著特別證明。³⁵⁹

Given the linkage of the teacher's ill fate to Western colonialism and the fact that the character of the girl mirrors that of the teacher in multiple ways, her tattoo can be seen as a hint that her misfortune is also determined by the Western colonial modernity in which she was growing up. In this case, the unstable identities of both main protagonists can be understood as the result of a colonial neurosis similar to Fanon's, which I wrote about concerning the short story "Harbin." The teacher's story, then, can theoretically be read as an allegory of the Chinese intellectual who is crushed that even people of the new generation have burned on their bodies the brand of inferior Asians who will continue to suffer in a world dominated by Western modernity, just as he suffered since childhood.

3.4 Dreaming of an Asianism Critical of Japanese Colonialism

In the following section, I discuss another reading to which the short story "Devil" is open. Lev Loseff has mentioned that in a literary scene accustomed to censorship, writers sometimes overcome censorship by betting on the censors' lack of cultural insight. Specifically, by drawing screens and markers from an area of knowledge with which only learned readers are familiar or with which the censor is believed to be unacquainted, the authors allow a limited circle of readers access to hidden meanings.³⁶⁰ I argue that this is how Jue Qing uses intertextual references to the works of well-known East Asian authors in "Devil."

Indeed, while censors apparently found no criticism of Japanese colonialism in "Devil," a reader who followed the literary scene of the Japanese empire at this time would not have much trouble recognizing that "Devil" is Jue Qing's adaptation of the short story "Hikari no naka ni" 光の中に (Into the Light), in which Korean author Kim Saryang voiced his criticism of discrimination against Koreans in Japan. This Japanese-language short story, depicting the relationship between a Korean teacher living in Japan and a mischievous student, was

³⁵⁹ Cao Gong, "Yi-A zhanzheng yu youse renzhong", 18.

³⁶⁰ Lev Loseff, *On the Beneficence of Censorship*, 87.

nominated in 1940 for the Akutagawa Literary Prize, which was, and still is, one of the most prestigious Japanese literary prizes. As Nayoung Aimee Kwon's analysis demonstrates, Kim ultimately did not win the prize, as the metropolitan jury preferred texts by the colonial Other remain in their inferior place in the imperial hierarchy. However, the tale became famous in the Empire of Japan thanks to the nomination nonetheless.³⁶¹

Kwon has demonstrated through an analysis of Kim Saryang's letters that as a Korean writing in the Japanese language he was a typical minor author who experienced anxiety and the fear of colonialism during his career in the Japanese empire. This scholar argues in a persuasive interpretation that the short story "Into the Light" reflects these colonial anxieties. According to Kwon, the characters of the teacher Minami/Nam and the boy Yamada Haruo embody the hybrid identities of colonial subjects.³⁶² The teacher and the student, both Japanese speaking, deny their Korean identity, which they are ashamed of in Japanese society. As a result, the teacher prefers to be called Minami by the children at school and not by the original Korean reading of his name, Nam. Once one of his pupils, Haruo, discovers that the teacher is Korean, it turns out his strategy was justified: Haruo begins to mock him for his Koreanness in front of the other children. In the story, however, it turns out that Haruo's and the teacher's identities mirror each other and that Haruo himself has a Korean mother and perhaps even a Korean father. But both he and his parents deny their Korean identities, as does the teacher.³⁶³

Kwon considers both the teacher and the boy borderline characters, "each of whom blurs the line between the colonizer and the colonized, set in their dilapidated habitations in the margins of metropolitan Tokyo."³⁶⁴ The hybridity of these characters is perhaps best illustrated by a scene in which the teacher speaks to himself in the second person as to the Other, revealing the inner contradiction of the colonized subject, in whose self the Other is always present. Put differently, his subjectivity is not unified but formed by its relation to the Other. Thus, while "Into the Light" can be read as a critique of the discriminatory, racist structures of the imperial system, this short story, according to Kwon, also attests to the

³⁶¹ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 41–54.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 71–72.

³⁶³ Kim Saryang 金史良, "Hikari no naka ni" 光の中に (Into the Light), in *Bungei shuto* 7, no. 10 (October 1939): 384–407. For the English translation, see Kim Saryang, "Into the Light," in *Into the Light: An Anthology of Literature by Koreans in Japan*, edited by Melissa L. Wender (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 15–38.

³⁶⁴ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 65.

absurdity of the binary understanding of the colonial situation, since even the protagonists themselves, though they may try, are unable to distinguish between colonial Japan and colonized Korea, since both entities are embodied in their identities.³⁶⁵

Jue Qing's short story "Devil" borrows from "Into the Light" chiefly in its main storyline, which follows the relationship between teacher and student. In "Devil," unlike in the source text, the student is a girl. However, in many details, the relationship is similar to that in the Japanese-language tale: in both works, the teacher meets his student on the street; the student is eccentric, mentally unstable, and lives in the poor lowlands. Both Haruo and the girl make things up. In both texts, the teacher begins to find out information about the student's background, and as he learns more about the student's poor family situation, he begins to identify with and care for the student. While Minami/Nam slaps the student in one situation, the teacher in "Devil" wants to hit the girl when she tells him that she indulges in gambling but eventually restrains himself. Finally, while Haruo steals tobacco from the teacher, the girl steals a pendant, and in both cases, the teacher forgives the student, is moved, and cries.

The main difference between the two stories is that while "Into the Light" is literally about the fragmentation of identity caused by the oppression of the colonized in a racist colonial society, Jue Qing only implies his critique of colonialism. For example, the comments on the names of the protagonists in "Devil" attract the reader's attention on their own, but it is only in comparison with the Japanese-language source text that their possible interpretations are revealed. In the opening of Jue Qing's story, the narrator claims to have forgotten the teacher's name and later also comments on the name of the girl:

Although she was one of his students, he forgot her name, and when he found his notepad, he realized that she was a new student from two weeks ago. The name of the girl, like the man's name, doesn't add anything to this story, so it can be omitted.

因為雖然是自己的學生，卻忘記了叫什麼名字，找出記事來，才知道是兩個禮拜以前來的新生。這個少女的名字，也和這個男子的名字一樣，對於這篇故事是無所補益的，所以頗可省略不提。³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 65–75.

³⁶⁶ Jue Qing, "E'mo," 44.

While in the opening, the narrator claims to have forgotten the teacher's name, at this point, he seems to know it but because he claims it is unimportant, he does not disclose it. However, as Kwon has noted, in the short story "Into the Light," the doubling of the teacher's name (Minami/Nam) is one of the primary devices used to express his identity crisis.³⁶⁷ Given that also in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo, the names of protagonists are commonly used to identify the ethnicity of the characters,³⁶⁸ Jue Qing seems to invoke this debate over names to suggest an identity crisis of his protagonists. In the light of the comparison with Kim's short story, Jue Qing's narrator seems to know the names but conceals and denies the ethnicity of the characters in "Devil," like the characters of "Into the Light" deny their Korean identity. This narrator's strategy can be interpreted as Jue Qing trying to avoid censorship through the narrator. Moreover, this factor also tells us that the short story "Devil" talks about an environment in which ethnic identity needs to be hidden, an environment similar to that in Kim's short story, where the protagonists themselves hide their identity as a result of colonial oppression.

In the short story "Into the Light," colonial domination causes the teacher's identity crisis. To discuss the protagonist of Jue Qing's teacher, let us first quote an excerpt from Kim's short story, where the teacher and the student become most intimately acquainted when, in the aforementioned schizophrenic inner monologue, the teacher realizes that he is hiding his identity out of the same cowardice and hypocrisy as the boy Haruo:

"You hypocrite. You're at it again, I see," said a voice inside my head. "Now that you can't hold out much longer, you're starting to lose your nerve, aren't you?"

I was stunned, but I shot back scornfully, "Why am I always vowing never to be a coward, never to be a coward? Doesn't that just prove I'm knee-deep in cowardice already...?"³⁶⁹

「偽善者奴、お前は又偽善をはろうと云うのだな」私の傍で一つの声が聞えた。「お前も今は根気が続かなくて卑屈になって来ているじゃないか」
私はびっくりし、それからさげすむように云い返した。「卑屈になるまい、なるまいとどうして僕はいつもいきまいていなければならないんだ。それが却って卑屈の泥沼に足をつっ込み始めた証拠ではないか……」³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 66.

³⁶⁸ For example, see Xiao Song's story "Rayon" in Chapter 3.

³⁶⁹ Kim Saryang, "Into the Light," 26.

³⁷⁰ Kim Saryang, "Hikari no naka ni," 396.

Finally, the teacher admits that the reason for his hypocrisy is fear of discrimination in Japan:

Ultimately, there's no difference between you and Yamada Haruo bawling that he's not Korean, is there? I watch those light-haired Turkish kids sparring and playing other innocent games with our kids. But why is Haruo, with his Korean ancestry, always the one left out? I knew the answer all too well. After all, whenever I've thought about being Korean in this country, I've had to build a wall around myself. Honestly, I'm sick and tired of this charade.³⁷¹

それは又自分は朝鮮人ではないと喚き立てる山田春雄の場合と本質的な所、何の相違もないではないか。私は毛色の違うトルコ人の子供でさえこちらの子供と角力を取りながら無邪気に戯れているのを見る。だがどうして朝鮮人の血を享けた春雄だけはそれが出来ないのだ？ 私はその訳を余りにもよく知っている。だから私はこの地で朝鮮人であることを意識する時は、いつも武装していなければならなかった。そうだ、確かに私は今自分一人の泥芝居に疲れている。³⁷²

Although Jue Qing's nameless teacher shows courage at the beginning of the story when he stands up for the girl to protect her from the principal's punishment, he notes at the end of the story that she will end up in the reformatory after stealing the pendant, suggesting that he will not stand up for her in this case. But why does he quit the school at the end of the story? Considering the intertextual references to "Into the Light" and some brief remarks in the story, such as when the teacher thinks of himself having a "powerless consciousness, feeble instincts, frozen fighting [spirit]...",³⁷³ it seems that it is because he realizes his hypocrisy in relation to the colonizer, which he has long refused to acknowledge: presumably hypocrisy to the Japanese colonizer, like in the case of the teacher Minami/Nam.

The possibility that the unfortunate fate of the protagonists in Jue Qing's story is not only caused by Western colonialism but also by Japanese colonialism is further implied by the results of comparing "Devil" with Kim Saryang's story for our understanding of the girl in Jue Qing's tale. In "Into the Light," the hybridity of Haruo's identity is expressed through his relationship with his parents with different identities. His father identifies as Japanese, his mother as Korean. One of the most potent moments illustrating Haruo's identity crisis is when,

³⁷¹ Kim Saryang, "Into the Light," 27.

³⁷² Kim Saryang, "Hikari no naka ni," 396.

³⁷³ Jue Qing, "E'mo," 54.

as part of his denial of his Koreanness, he refuses to help his mother when his father cuts her with a knife.³⁷⁴ This scene makes the reader wonder whether the girl's parents in "Devil" also refer to the encounter between the colonizers and the colonized, in this case in Manchuria. I argue that considering the intertextualities mentioned above, the reader in Manchukuo could relate the multiplicity of the girl's parents to the high number of ethnicities that officially constituted this informal colony.

At this point, it should be noted that the concept of ethnic harmony was used flexibly in Manchukuo. Most political speeches did not specify a particular number of ethnicities; in some cases, as I wrote in Chapter 1, they spoke of five ethnicities. However, four main ethnicities were sometimes specified, a number that corresponds precisely to the number of the student's parents. For example, see the 1936 treatise on ethnic harmony published in *Xin qingnian*: "There are four major ethnic groups in Manchukuo: 1. the Manchurian ethnic group, 2. the Mongolian ethnic group, 3. the Japanese ethnic group, 4. the Korean ethnic group" (滿洲國內有一下四大民族：1. 滿洲民族，2. 蒙古民族，3. 日本民族，4. 朝鮮民族).³⁷⁵

While the teacher views the story of the girl's murderous mother and three fathers merely as a tale of a dead father and an adulterous mother, we must consider that Jue Qing's short story is an inherently political work that functions as a "socially symbolic act," as Fredric Jameson puts it,³⁷⁶ due to its hidden (and denied by the narrator) references to Kim Saryang's text, which openly criticizes discrimination against Koreans in the Japanese empire. While Jameson argues that all texts written by colonized intellectuals have a political dimension in the form of a national allegory embodied by the protagonists,³⁷⁷ I suggest that the character of the girl can be understood as a pan-national allegory, or more specifically, as an allegory of the state of Manchukuo, which was founded on the Asianist idea of the harmonious coexistence of multiple East Asian ethnicities. Given that in Kim's tale, the student's parents symbolize the Japanese and Koreans, that is, the nationalities shaping the colonial horizon of the protagonists in "Into the Light,"³⁷⁸ it is plausible to consider that the student's parents in "Devil" symbolize the ethnicities that shaped the semicolonial situation in

³⁷⁴ Kim Saryang, "Hikari no naka ni," 391.

³⁷⁵ Shen Jie 申傑, "Minzu xiehe zhi yiyi ji qi biyaoxing" 民族協和之意義及其必要性 [The Significance and Necessity of Ethnic Harmony], *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 6/7/8 (January 1936): 17.

³⁷⁶ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 3–5.

³⁷⁷ Fredric Jameson, "Third-World Literature," 69.

³⁷⁸ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 73.

Manchukuo, that is, the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and one of the other ethnicities that, according to the official ideology, constituted the population of Manchukuo. Such an understanding of the girl is further supported by the fact that in official ideology, Manchukuo was often presented as a “child” of Japan,³⁷⁹ which can be seen as represented in the story by one of the four parents. Considering Jue Qing’s references to identity crises represented in “Into the Light,” we can thus read the short story “Devil” as Jue Qing’s veiled message that in Manchukuo, people’s identities can be broken into even smaller fragments than those in Kim’s story, and that Manchukuo suffers under Japanese domination much like the unfortunate girl.

Jue Qing’s short story “Devil” does not only refer to “Into the Light.” Educated readers who were well versed in East Asian literature could also identify references in Jue Qing’s tale to the short story “Jigoku” 地獄 (Hell) by Japanese author of proletarian literature (Jpn. *puroretaria bungaku* プロレタリア文学) Kaji Wataru. While Kim Saryang was a critic of Japanese colonialism who was tolerated in Japan in the early 1940s when Jue Qing published “Devil,” Kaji Wataru worked directly against the Japanese government. After the suppression of the communist movement in Japan, he lived in China from 1935, where he founded the Japanese People’s Anti-War League (*Nihonjin hansen dōmei* 日本人民反戦同盟) in 1938 and worked to reform Japanese prisoners of war for the Chinese government in Chongqing. Moreover, his antiwar plays inspired many Chinese writers including Xiao Hong.³⁸⁰ The references to the short story “Hell” are rather subtle in “Devil,” but they significantly reinforce the criticism of Japanese colonialism in Jue Qing’s short story.³⁸¹

The short story “Hell” by Kaji Wataru was published in 1928 as a “fairy tale” (*dōwa* 童話) in the journal *Puroretaria geijutsu* プロレタリア芸術 (Proletarian Art). It recounts the story of two orphaned children whose stories intersect at Christmas in an unspecified Japanese town. A Japanese boy who was forced to beg for his boss meets a Korean girl looking for her father during an errand around town. The girl, who is used to being bullied for her Korean descent, is afraid of the Japanese boy, but he offers her help:

³⁷⁹ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 73.

³⁸⁰ Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 75–6.

³⁸¹ Jue Qing’s stories are known for their large number of intertextual references. According to his daughter’s recollection, he was a bookworm who constantly sat in the library reading and writing at the same time. Personal interview with Jue Qing’s daughter Liu Weicong in Changchun, September 18, 2019.

“You bully! Japanese are all bullies!”

“That’s not true. I’m not really going to hit you. The only bullies are the rich people, my boss, and murderers. And the police are bad guys, too. But I’m strong.”

“Really? So you’ll help me look for my father?”

“Sure, I’ll find him for you. But tell me, where did he really go?”

“They told me he went to hell.”³⁸²

「亂暴者! 日本人は皆亂暴者ばかりだわ。」

「うそだよ。ぶちゃしないよ、亂暴なのは金持と親方と人殺しさ。それからお巡りも悪い奴だ。だけど僕は強いんだよ。」

「本當? ちゃ、私のお父さんを探して下さる?’

「うむ、さがしてやるよ。だけど本當にどこへ行ったんだい?’

「地獄へ行ったんだって。」³⁸³

The story continues with the children getting together to confront capitalist oppressors, who conspire with the police. First, the girl explains to the boy that her father works in a mine along with other Korean workers, but he has not come home from work. When she went to look for him, the Japanese boss of the mining company, who could not care less about the lives of the Korean workers, mockingly shouted at her that her father had gone to hell. So, the girl concluded that she now needs to go to hell to be reunited with her father.

The story then describes how the children go to the mine to find the way to hell, but the capitalist boss accuses them of vandalism and theft, and eventually, the police arrest them. Thus, at the end of the story, the children find themselves in jail. The story closes with the children debating with a socialist with whom they were locked in the same cell, who told them in metaphorical language, signifying the imminent arrival of the communist revolution, that the girl’s father had, in fact, gone to heaven and that one day the children would become socialists, destroy the hell of this world, kill her father’s murderers, and then heaven would be within reach.³⁸⁴

Intellectuals sympathetic to Asianism were often anticommunists because they saw communism as a threat to traditional Confucian values.³⁸⁵ Accordingly, Jue Qing was never

³⁸² Kaji Wataru, “Hell,” in Heather Bowen-Struyk and Norma Field, eds., *For Dignity, Justice, and Revolution: an Anthology of Japanese Proletarian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 197.

³⁸³ Kaji Wataru 鹿地亘, “Jigoku” 地獄 (Hell), *Puroretaria geijutsu* 2, no. 1 (January 1928): 132.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 127–39. For the English translation, see Kaji Wataru, “Hell,” 192–204.

³⁸⁵ Roger H. Brown, “Visions of a Virtuous Manifest Destiny,” 140.

inclined to leftist attitudes in his essays or fictional works, but he knew Japanese proletarian literature well. His proficiency is evidenced, for example, by the fact that in 1937 he parodied proletarian literature in his adaptation of a short story by the well-known left-wing writer Hayama Yoshiki 葉山嘉樹 (1894–1945).³⁸⁶ However, in “Devil” he seems to refer to this story not so much for its critique of capitalism but for its critique of Japanese imperialism.

In the short story “Devil,” Jue Qing refers to Kaji’s fairy tale, in addition to the hinting at the title of Kaji’s story, mainly by incorporating the character of a boy who lives with the student in a wooden box on the street and the characters of the police officers who chase the girl. These protagonists are not found in “Into the Light” but are very prominent in “Hell.” Thus, Jue Qing’s portrayal of the pair of child orphans who live on the streets and are accused of rioting and stealing, for which the police persecute them, is one of the most striking aspects of Jue Qing’s story that evokes “Hell” by Kanji Wataru.

Furthermore, Jue Qing seems to refer to Kaji’s story through some details. For example, the depiction of punishment from a superior is somewhat similar; in “Hell,” it is the punishment of child beggars by their boss:

Worst of all, the boss was a hot-headed bear of a man who stripped them naked and beat them until they were swollen whenever the day’s earnings were low.³⁸⁷

それに、乞食の親方は怒りつぽい熊のやうな親爺で、もらひが少いと裸にして笞で脹れ上るほど叩をました。³⁸⁸

Interestingly, when Jue Qing’s teacher enters the principal’s office and sees the principal punishing a boy, he notices that this boy is partially naked:

³⁸⁶ I have discovered that Jue Qing’s 1937 short story “Jieji yu chuanshang” 街妓与船上 (On a Boat and a Hooker) reworks Hayama’s 1925 short story “Inbaifu” 淫売婦 (The Prostitute). Moreover, Jue Qing was well acquainted with Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎 (1896–1987), one of the former leading writers of Japanese proletarian literature, who, along with Kaji Wataru, was a member of the committees of several left-wing arts associations in the late 1920s, and in Manchukuo was the chairman of the Writers’ Association, where Jue Qing was a member of the central committee. For more information on Kaji’s membership in Japanese organizations, see George Tyson Shea, *Leftwing Literature in Japan: a Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 215.

³⁸⁷ Kaji Wataru, “Hell,” 193.

³⁸⁸ Kaji Wataru, “Jigoku,” 128.

The student standing next to him with his uniform half unbuttoned, his head pinned to his chest, wiping his tears with his shiny sleeve, crying as if he had suffered great wrongdoing.

在旁邊站著一個制服鈕扣脫落了一半的學生，腦袋貼在胸脯上，用油亮的衣袖擦著眼淚，像是受過天大委屈似地哭著。³⁸⁹

Above all, the ending of Jue Qing's story resembles "Hell," whereas it has little in common with "Into the Light." Kim Saryang's short story, which can be seen as the main source of Jue Qing's adaptation, ends with a partially happy ending. Teacher Minami/Nam becomes friendly with Haruo at the end and takes him for a walk through Tokyo. As Nayoung Aimee Kwon notes, the scene in which the teacher makes a pact with the boy by promising to teach him to dance shows that, at least in private space, both characters manage to free themselves from the burden of their identities that they consciously perform in colonial society.³⁹⁰ However, in "Devil," the girl ends up in a reformatory, much like the children in "Hell" end up in prison. Thus, while Kim Saryang's short story provides some hope for change for the better, Jue Qing's girl in "Devil" ends as desperately as the children in "Hell."

The intertextual references to the short story "Hell," which besides criticizing capitalism openly opposes Japanese discrimination against Korean imperial subjects, open up a reading of Jue Qing's short story that is highly critical of Japanese colonialism in Manchuria. Thus, Jue Qing's choice of references to texts that expose the dark sides of Japanese colonialism inevitably leads the reader to suspect that the devil who gives the short story its title also refers to the domination of Japanese colonizers, who were called "devils" in China. Considering these references, what particularly catches the eye is the character of the principal, who, as the only one in the story, is portrayed as truly unlikeable, and who is associated with an undefined foreign country:

The principal graduated from a pedagogical school in a foreign country and was known to be very strict in disciplining students. Recently, he also participated in a foreign education tour and went abroad.

³⁸⁹ Jue Qing, "E'mo," 36

³⁹⁰ Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire*, 78.

校長是外國某師範學校出身，對於管束學生素以嚴厲出名，最近還參加過一個國外教育視察團，到外國去過一次。³⁹¹

Given that it was Japan that was the model for Manchukuo in education, among other fields, Jue Qing's readers in Manchukuo most likely assumed that the unnamed country where the principal studied and where he went on his excursion was Japan. That Manchukuo's educated class made trips primarily to Japan could also be confirmed by Jue Qing, who, like other writers in the informal colony, participated in several educational tours of Japan. However, the assumption that the country where the school principal drew his social capital can be seen as the Japanese imperial center in contrast to the semicolonial Manchukuo is only confirmed when considering references to short stories by Kim Saryang and Kaji Wataru, both of which tell of the colonial oppression of Koreans precisely in Japan.

Reading the scene that portrays the principal punishing a student, who may be innocent and who is defended by the teacher, the reader at first glance assumes that the devil, who gives the story its title and whose presence in the plot the narrator unconvincingly denies, may be the school principal. However, the dominant intertextual references to the short story "Into the Light" suggest that, like Kim Saryang, Jue Qing primarily intends to describe an identity crisis. In Kim Saryang's short story, the essence of the identity crisis lies in the fact that the colonized subjects contain the Other within themselves and thus cannot clearly distinguish between their own and the "alien" identity. In this context, it seems that Jue Qing's school principal, too, is a borderline character who is partially Japanized due to his education in Japan. The principal's fragmented subjectivity, in turn, seems to mirror the identity of the teacher, who is torn between what he should do as a teacher in Manchukuo (i.e., be strict with the children and report their misdeeds to the police) and his sympathy for the girl. When the teacher mentions that the girl's fate is "locked" not only by the school but also by her family, the police, and the reformatory, he seems to point to the overall environment in which the girl has been growing up as the cause of her predicament. In the context of the references to Kim Saryang's teacher, Jue Qing's teacher seems to understand his involvement in this system as cowardice and hypocrisy, which he wants to overcome by choosing to escape. Thus, given the intertextual references to "Into the Light," we may think that also Jue Qing's nameless teacher is "contaminated" by the coloniality he is trying to escape. Given that the teacher in the excerpt quoted above casually mentions that "his own heart has turned

³⁹¹ Jue Qing, "E'mo," 36.

into hell,” the teacher’s decision to flee can be understood as a reflection of the fact that, in the semicolonial system of Manchukuo, he cannot get away from the devil, that is, the element of the Other in his own self, and thus has no choice but to leave the system altogether.

While in “Into the Light,” the subjectivities of the teacher and the boy Haruo are similarly fragmented, in “Devil” the intriguing character of the girl is split not between two but four subjects, suggesting an even more complex fragmentation of her identity. However, we learn almost nothing about this identity in Jue Qing’s story and instead find that while the teacher escapes, the girl ends up in prison for young offenders. Thus, although the characters of the teacher and the student resemble each other in many ways, as I mentioned above (they are both orphaned, grew up in poverty, have no home, are physically destined to an unhappy fate, etc.), their dissimilarities lead the reader to consider that the teacher, whose youth is associated with Western colonialism in China, may see in the girl with the brand on her skin by her father the fate of the Chinese in Manchukuo under Japanese rule, which is as hopeless as the fate of the children in Kaji Wataru’s short story “Hell,” in fact even more hopeless than his own fate.

Now I will discuss Jue Qing’s intertextual references from another perspective. We should not forget that Jue Qing at the time of publishing “Devil” wrote about his identity crisis but also published essays celebrating Japan’s leading role in East Asia and Manchukuo’s role as “the northern guardian of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”³⁹² In the context of his long-standing inclination to Asianist thought, it seems significant that in “Devil” he referred to the short stories of two Japanese-language writers who more or less openly criticized the racism of the Japanese empire and the discrimination against colonial subjects in their works. In her study of intertextual transculturation in the East Asian literature of the first half of the twentieth century, Karen Thornber has pointed out that writers from all countries in the region created complex relationships through their texts in which transculturation in different directions took place in the form of “crossing vectors”:

We are only beginning to understand how East Asian writers grappled with one another’s literary products and how the resulting ambivalent networks blur and accentuate boundaries among early twentieth-century Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese literatures and cultures.³⁹³

³⁹² Jue Qing, “Chuxi Da Dongya wenxue zhe dahui suogan” 49.

³⁹³ Karen Laura Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion*, 250.

The main point of my study is that the importance of Asianist thought in East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century needs to be taken seriously. In this chapter, I specifically argue that Jue Qing's work can be read as his response to the debate on Asian solidarity. He engaged in this debate through his essays that extolled Eastern spirituality, which he contrasted with the decadence of Western modernity. In the same vein, when we try to interpret Jue Qing's work and better understand East Asian colonial modernity, we should not overlook that Jue Qing understood ethnic/national identities in the context of pan-national identities. For example, in his essays, he called the Chinese thinker Laozi 老子 (unknown, 6th century–4th century BC) an “Eastern philosopher” (東方哲人);³⁹⁴ the poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 340 BC–278 BC), to whom the greatest ancient work of Chinese poetry is attributed, a “great poet of the East” (東洋大詩人);³⁹⁵ and presented Lu Xun as a “pioneer of Eastern New Culture” (東方新文化先驅)³⁹⁶ since his thought was shaped by ideas of Asian reciprocity from his youth. From the early 1940s onward, his increased interest in Asianist thought, as evidenced in his essays, correlates with an increased emphasis on Japanocentric Asianism in the official ideology of Manchukuo, where these ideas were reinforced not only through texts but also through workshops for writers of different ethnicities, government-funded translation projects, and the aforementioned Greater East Asian Writers' Congresses, where collaboration between writers of different East Asian countries was organized in various domains.

In this context, I do not regard Jue Qing's intertextual references to the works of prominent Korean and Japanese writers as accidental or as a reflection of an attempt to learn from successful writers of other ethnicities. These intertextualities can undoubtedly be understood as empire-building texts in the sense that Thornber writes about them. However, in the context of Asianism in East Asia, they can also be viewed as Jue Qing's attempt to textualize a union that in many ways transcends the boundaries of the Japanese empire. Rather than an empire, we can understand the union that Jue Qing created with these references as his

³⁹⁴ Jue Qing 爵青, “Baichi zhishi” 白痴知識 [Idiotic Knowledge], in Liu Huijuan 劉慧娟, ed., *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 [A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation] (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013), 725.

³⁹⁵ Jue Qing 爵青, “Tan xiaoshuo” 談小說 [On Novel], in *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng*, vol. 36, 815.

³⁹⁶ Jue Qing 爵青, “Feixu zhi shu” 廢墟之書 [On Ruins], in *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng*, vol. 35, 749.

own dream of a spiritual alliance in East Asia that was defined not only by resistance to Western but, after 1941, also Japanese colonialism.

My reading of the short story “Devil” with the help of Lev Loseff’s theory of Aesopian language, which enabled me to discuss two possible readings, one intended for the censor and the other with an implicit message of criticism of Japanese colonialism, reveals Jue Qing’s identity crisis, which in many ways resembles the fragmented subjectivity of his protagonists in this short story. To understand this crisis, I argue that his identification should be understood as a Sinitic nexus of identities, among which not only local or ethnic/national but also pan-national identities are essential. As I have pointed out above, I regard Jue Qing’s advocacy of the Asianist alliance in his essays not as a mere sop to the censors but as his authentic stance that was compatible with Manchukuo ideology. It seems that Jue Qing was absolutely serious when he wrote in 1939 that “our wrong and evil age also looks down on life and existence. The London Naval Conference or the League of Nations is a cellar where those white men in Europe store their gunpowder.”³⁹⁷ We should therefore not underestimate the fact that Jue Qing considered the West’s domination of the international order and East Asia to be the main cause of East Asia’s problems. The ambivalence of his identity lies in the fact that, on the one hand, he identified with Manchuria, which in his eyes might have stood at the center of an Asianist alliance in opposition to the West, as his essays and one plane of the short story “Devil” demonstrate. On the other hand, after 1941, he recognized the colonial nature of Japanese rule in Manchuria, as evidenced, for example, by the second reading of the same work, which takes into account intertextual references and reveals Jue Qing’s condemnation of discrimination against Chinese semicolonial subjects. Since Japan claimed to be the leader of the Asian alliance, this fact complicated Jue Qing’s relationship with Asianism. Jue Qing’s identification, which was a nexus of local (“Manchurian”), ethnic (“Chinese”), and pan-national (“Asian”) identities, among others, was thus fragmented after 1941 mainly due to the conflict between his “Chinese” and “Asian” identities.

Ōuchi Takao wrote that of all Manchukuo writers, Jue Qing learned the most from Japanese literature.³⁹⁸ This chapter documents that he also learned from Korean authors. Jue Qing did not want to lose the cultural capital that the cultural union with East Asian writers brought him. As I have demonstrated by analyzing the short story “Harbin,” Jue Qing had been becoming “Asian” for many years, and “Asia” as a pan-national concept had become an

³⁹⁷ Jue Qing, “Qingchun maodu zhi er,” 116.

³⁹⁸ Okada Hideki, *Wei Manzhouguo wenxue*, 188.

indispensable part of his identity. However, his recognition of the colonial nature of Japanese domination in Manchuria, like in the case of other intellectuals in colonial situations elsewhere in the world, reinforced his ethnic (Chinese) identity. The sophisticated, almost genius manner in which he wrote the short story “Devil,” and his characterization of the protagonists, who can be read as Chinese victims of both Western and Japanese colonialism, indicates that Jue Qing also juxtaposed his Chinese identity with that of the colonial Other, but was forced to conceal it: just as the teacher Minami/Nam hid his Koreanness and the narrator of “Devil” covered the name of the teacher, Jue Qing hid from the censors his ideas behind the short story that reveals the conflict between the protagonists’ “Chinese” identity and Japanese colonial oppression. The short story “Devil” thus demonstrates well the hybridity of his Sinitic nexus: to do justice to his Asianist ideas and at the same time defend his Chinese ethnicity (which was unrelated to the ROC), Jue Qing formed a secret textual alliance with a Korean and a Japanese author writing against the imperialist Japanese state. And while this imagined alliance symbolizes the possibility of meaningful collaboration between the peoples of East Asia and leaves open the potential of the Eastern spirituality that Jue Qing often extolled, these authors’ defiance of Japanese colonialism allowed Jue Qing to oppose it himself.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed Jue Qing’s intellectual links to Asianist thought that are most tellingly articulated in his essays. Subsequently, I suggested that both his short stories “Harbin” and “Devil” represent a specific identity combination that I call the Sinitic nexus. Finally, I argued that “Harbin” and “Devil,” can be read as Jue Qing’s political manifestos but they defy the simple dichotomy of colonizer vs. colonized.

Taking into account the relevance of Asianist thought to Jue Qing’s work, I have suggested that the cultural identification of the protagonist Mumai, a young teacher in Jue Qing’s famous 1936 short story “Harbin,” can be considered a case of the Sinitic nexus that exemplifies a harmonious and somewhat romantic fusion of “Chinese” and “Asian” identities resulting from the subject’s reaction to Western colonial dominion in East Asia. Most importantly, I have demonstrated that Mumai does not associate Confucian morality primarily

with the Chinese nation or the ROC but with “Asian” civilization, which he sees as the virtuous counterpart of the corrupt “West.”

While the characters of the teacher and student in the short story “Devil” can be understood in the same way as representing subjectivities that pit “Asia” against the “West,” from another point of view, we can see them as embodying the hybrid identities of subjects living under Japanese semicolonial rule in Manchuria. On this plane, the identity of the girl seems to allegorize the fragmented subjectivities of Manchukuo inhabitants, who, given the diverse ethnic makeup of the informal colony’s population, often experienced even more complex conflicts of loyalties than Kim Saryang’s protagonists torn between “Korean” and “Japanese” identities. The character of the nameless teacher in this reading embodies the internal conflict of the Chinese intellectual in Manchukuo between loyalty to the Japanese-led semicolonial regime that claims to represent East Asia and loyalty to the Chinese subjects represented by the girl’s character.

In contrast to previous interpretations of Jue Qing’s “Harbin,” I used my analysis of identities represented in this work to suggest that it can be viewed as a fascinating reinvention of one of the typical juxtapositions within Asianist thought, that is, placing Asian essence against the Western modernity imposed on East Asia by Western colonizers. In my reading, “Harbin” specifically resonates with the thread of early Manchukuo ideology that considered *wangdao* to constitute the East Asian essence. Accordingly, Jue Qing seems to have Sinicized Liu Na’ou’s source text to develop a romantically Sinicized image of Manchuria that he juxtaposes in this tale with “decadent” Western modernity in a political act that can be seen as the author’s support for a specific identity of Manchukuo.

Set in the sociohistorical context of Manchukuo, the 1942 short story “Devil” responds to the debate on Asian solidarity on two levels. In one reading, somewhat like “Harbin,” it juxtaposes Eastern and Western civilizations. But whereas “Harbin” highlights the contrast between pure East Asian spirituality and the corrupt morality of the West, “Devil” underscores the oppressive nature of Western colonialism. Specifically, in line with the official ideology of Manchukuo, where strong anti-Westernism was on the rise in the early 1940s, “Devil” emphasizes the suffering inflicted on the Chinese people by the Opium Wars and confronts Western feelings of superiority by caricaturing Western Orientalist stereotypes of the appearance of Asians. However, in the second reading I have discussed in this chapter, “Devil” instead subverts one of the central ideas of the official Manchukuo ideology by making Japan, which the ideology portrayed as the protector of Asia, into an oppressor that discriminates against the locals in a similar way to the Western colonizers. By creating the

character of the girl in this short story, Jue Qing seems to similarly subvert the official ideology of Manchukuo, for the girl can be understood allegorically as a caricature of the concept of ethnic harmony.

Moreover, I have argued that Jue Qing's own anxieties from Japanese colonialism, which he indirectly addressed in his 1943 essay "Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*," seeped into his short story "Devil." This is manifested above all by the fact that, as I have noted, "Devil" can be read on two planes—first, as a protest against Western colonialism, and on a hidden plane, when we are familiar with Kim Saryang's and Kaji Wataru's literary work, as Jue Qing's protest against Japanese colonialism. The effort to disguise this second plane, which in the story is primarily done by the unreliable narrator, who denies the allegorical meaning of the story's title and conceals the names of the protagonists, can be understood as a symptom of the typical colonial anxiety of the colonial subject, which is similar to the anxiety that Kim Saryang openly portrays through his protagonists. On the basis of these insights, the short story "Devil" can be interpreted as Jue Qing's allegory of Manchukuo, by which he sought, consciously or not, to eliminate the suffering of Chinese intellectuals in this informal colony, which he apparently believed was caused by the dual oppression by the West and Japan.

I believe that Jue Qing's short stories not only reflect Asianist thought but also made a distinctive contribution to the debate on Asian solidarity. In other words, if they were read by those who believed in certain dogmas of Sinocentric or Japanocentric Asianism, these works must have appealed to them. The short story "Harbin," which resonates with the standard modes of essentialist Asianist thought, obviously must have pleased such readers or reassured them of their ideas. In contrast, the short story "Devil" may have shocked them or provided comfort that the formation of an East Asian alliance was possible despite the adverse effects of Japanese colonialism. For us, this analysis provides new insights into colonial modernity in East Asia, specifically into the development of Asianist thought in semicolonial Manchukuo and its reflection and recreation in the literature of this informal colony.

4 **Becoming a Loyal Asian Fellow But Not Japanese: Xiao Song**

In this chapter, I provide the second case study of a literary work representing the combination of cultural identities that I call the Sinitic nexus. In my analysis of the work of a prominent Manchukuo Chinese-language writer, Xiao Song 小松 (1912–?), I argue that in his short stories, narratives of “Asia” took forms as diverse as de-Sinicization, Asianization, and last but not least defending “Asiannes” from excessive Japanization. In turn, I interpret Xiao Song’s tales as socially symbolic acts that illustrate how ideas of Asian solidarity could serve to legitimize the Manchukuo regime but also to criticize its shortcomings within a literary work of a single writer who, unlike Jue Qing, de-Sinicized Manchuria from the early 1930s in his work.

In November 1942, Xiao Song, along with Jue Qing, represented Manchukuo at the first Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress. But Xiao Song had already been publicly promoting the ideas of an Asian alliance, which were congruent with Manchukuo’s official ideology, before such a strategy was organized at the Congress. For example, in early 1942, he expounded on the consequences of the Western invasion of East Asia in the *Datong bao* newspaper:

[The Anglo-America] wanted to trap our East Asian peoples in slavery. Even in the case of Manchuria, before the founding of the state [of Manchukuo], the railroads, postal services, taxation, and customs were not spared the domination of the United States and Britain. Moreover, they were using parishes to spread the culture of foreign aggression.

Since the founding of Manchukuo, the economic rights were recovered and the hostile culture was eliminated. Under the guidance of our ally Japan, [we] have built a paradise that is the one and only in the world.

[美英]欲陷我東亞民族奴隸地位即以滿洲而論，建國前之鐵路，郵政，稅關無不受美英之支配管理，非止於此，並利用教區，散佈侵略文化。

自滿洲建國之後，收回經濟權，掃除敵性文化。在盟邦日本指導之下，建造成世界唯一之樂園。³⁹⁹

Scholars such as the Japanese researcher Inagaki Midori have suggested that Xiao Song's appraisals of the Asian alliance of Manchukuo and Japan in the fight against the West were merely empty phrases motivated by the desire to preserve his position as a professional writer.⁴⁰⁰ The Chinese scholar Chen Shi, using language typical of contemporary scholarship on Manchukuo literature in the PRC, has pointed out certain contradictions between Xiao Song's unequivocal support for the ideas of Asian solidarity, which he expressed, for example, in "dedication poetry" (*xian'na shi* 獻納詩),⁴⁰¹ and his literary work, which was not entirely in line with official ideology:

He participated in the "Greater East Asian Writers' Congress," wrote "dedication poetry," but ran counter to the colonizers' literary and artistic policies in most of his writings. As for the vagueness of his treason and resistance, it is difficult for us to simply define what kind of man of letters he was.

他參加了“大東亞文學者大會”，寫過“獻納詩”，卻又始終在自己絕大多數文字中與殖民者的文藝政策背道而馳。我們很難簡單地在他模糊的叛逆與反抗中，定義他究竟是一個怎樣的文人。⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ Xiao Song 小松, "Yiwenjia yu aiguo" 藝文家與愛國 [The Artist and Patriotism], *Datong bao* (January 22, 1942): 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Inagaki Midori 稻垣みどり, "Shao Son 'Jinzō kenshi' ni tsuite" 小松「人造絹糸」について [About Xiao Song's 'Artificial Silk']. In Sugino Yōkichi, ed., "*Shōwa*" *bungakushi ni okeru "Manshū" no mondai 3* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題第三 [The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 3] (Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi Kenkyūshitsu, 1996), 381; See also Chen Shi, "Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie 'letu,'" 5.

⁴⁰¹ "Dedication poetry" was a common designation the Manchukuo press used to refer to poems that supported the official policy of the ruler. Dedication poetry included "state policy poetry" (*guoce shi* 國策詩) and "annihilating Anglo-America poetry" (*jimie Ying-Mei shi* 擊滅英美詩), the latter of which became predominant after 1941. See Liu Xiaoli 劉曉麗, "Wei Manzhouguo shiqi funi zuopin de biaoli yi 'xian'na shi' he 'shiju xiaoshuo' wei zhongxin" 偽滿洲國時期附逆作品的表里以“獻納詩”和“時局小說”為中心 [The Outside and Inside of the Works Currying Favor with Japanese Invaders during the Period of the Puppet Regime of Manchukuo: Centered on "the Dedication Poetry" and "Fiction on Current Political Situations"], *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan*, no. 4 (2006): 153.

⁴⁰² Chen Shi 陳實, "Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie 'letu'" 小松，以文作畫瓦解“樂土” [Xiao Song: Painting the Collapsing "Paradise" with Words], in Chen Shi and Xie Chaokun 謝朝坤, eds., *Xiao Song zuopin ji* 小松作品集 [Selected Works By Xiao Song] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 15.

As in the case of Jue Qing, I believe that we can better understand Xiao Song if we consider the complexity of his and his protagonists' identification with China and East Asia. Specifically, in this chapter I argue that Xiao Song does not appear to be merely parroting propaganda in the excerpt quoted above, as he began telling narratives of "Asia" in his works shortly after the founding of Manchukuo. These narratives resonate particularly with the concept of "ethnic harmony," which was part of early official ideology in Manchukuo. I find that the key to interpreting these narratives is to analyze the identification of Xiao Song's protagonists, which I understand as representing various forms of identity combination I call the Sinitic nexus.

While Jue Qing's protagonists like Mumai identified with an essentialized vision of Asia centered on a reinvented Confucian concept of *wangdao*, Xiao Song's protagonists in the early Manchukuo period inclined towards a modernizing version of Manchukuo ideology, which celebrated Manchuria as a place of harmonious coexistence among the ethnic groups of East Asia, among whom the Japanese had a prominent place. In fact, the modernizing mode of early Manchukuo ideology was even more vague than the essentializing Asianist thought discussed in the last chapter. While the concept of *wangdao* was based on a rich corpus of Confucian learning that Manchukuo intellectuals could appropriate for their purposes, the slogan of "ethnic harmony" imitating a similar ideal of the Republic of China was entirely new. Thus, this modernizing mode was precisely the kind of modern ideology that in 1978 reminded Václav Havel of a secularized religion, which was able to offer "a ready answer to any question whatsoever" because it was extremely flexible.⁴⁰³ Hence, if writers wanted to encode reflections on ideas of "ethnic harmony" into their literary works, they had to develop extraordinary creativity, because they had nothing to hold on to.

In the last section of this chapter, I further discuss how Xiao Song responded to the change in Manchukuo ideology after 1937, when Japanese *kōdō* came to be regarded as the central value of "Asia." I argue that at that time, Xiao Song remained faithful to the principles of the original doctrine of Asianism as promoted in Manchukuo in the first half of the 1930s. His notion of Asian solidarity thus came into conflict with the new official ideology.

English-language research has not yet focused on Xiao Song's work in detail. In China, the first available analysis of Xiao Song's work was written in the mid-1990s by Li Chunyan, who attempted to save Xiao Song's reputation by somewhat uncritically playing down his

⁴⁰³ Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," translated by Paul Wilson, *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 32, no. 2 (May 2018): 357.

support for Manchukuo and putting undue emphasis on “resistance” in his work.⁴⁰⁴ In contrast, Chen Shi has addressed Xiao Song’s work in a more nuanced way.⁴⁰⁵ Thus far, I consider Chen Shi’s recent 2017 Chinese-language paper the most accomplished in presenting Xiao Song’s oeuvre as a whole. However, Chen Shi’s application of the collaboration vs. resistance framework to Xiao Song’s work seems to have led the scholar to give only marginal treatment to Xiao Song’s intellectual links to Asianist thought, leaving room for the insights that this chapter offers. As for the Japanese-language scholarship on Xiao Song, although Japanese scholars began studying Xiao Song’s work earlier than the Chinese, no comprehensive analysis of Xiao Song’s writings has yet emerged in the Japanese language.⁴⁰⁶

In this chapter, I examine Xiao Song’s work in the context of his promotion of Manchukuo’s Asian alliance with Japan and the texts of Manchukuo official ideology. Reading Xiao Song’s five short stories, I examine how the protagonists’ identifications resonate with Xiao Song’s statements and the texts of official ideology. In reflecting on the identity crises of Xiao Song’s protagonists, I draw on the theoretical work of scholars of postcolonial studies, particularly that of Franz Fanon, Homi Bhabha, and also Leo T. S. Ching, who has discussed the colonial situation in Taiwan. My allegorical understanding of Xiao Song’s protagonists is based on Fredric Jameson’s theory of literary interpretation. In this chapter, I also draw on Gilles Deleuze’s and Félix Guattari’s notion of territorialization.

In the opening section, I briefly recount Xiao Song’s life story as the case of a writer who, contrary to the typical narrative of writers fleeing to China proper from Manchuria

⁴⁰⁴ Li Chunyan 李春燕, “Lun Xiao Song de wenxue chuanguo” 論小鬆的文學創作 [On Xiao Song’s Literary Work], *Shehui kexue jikan*, no. 5 (1995): 148–52.

⁴⁰⁵ The Chinese-language research on Xiao Song’s work has also been very scarce. In addition to Li Chunyan’s and Chen Shi’s articles, Xie Chaokun’s 2017 “Zhimin tongzhi de quanjing tu” 殖民統治的全景圖—論小鬆的小說創作 (A Full Picture of Colonial Rule: On Xiao Song’s Fiction Writing) has analyzed prominent literary motifs in Xiao Song’s fiction. Furthermore, Xu Ke’s 2019 paper “Lun wei-Man shiqi zuojia Xiao Song de Jidujiao yishi” 論偽滿時期作家小鬆的基督教意識 (On the Christian Consciousness of Xiao Song, a Writer in Manchukuo) examined Christianity in Xiao Song’s works. No research has yet to be published in English. Liu Chao’s 2020 paper “From Radical Nationalism to Anti-modernism: The Intellectual Dilemma of Wenxuan Writers” mentions Xiao Song but does not analyze his literary works in detail.

⁴⁰⁶ Japanese scholars have only analyzed several of Xiao Song’s works that were translated into Japanese during the war. Murata Yūko’s 1993 academic paper “‘Manshūkoku’ bungaku no ichi sokumen. Bungei Seikyō-shō o chūshin to shite” 「満洲国」文学の一側面—文芸盛京賞を中心として (One Side of Manchukuo Literature: Focusing on the Shengjing Literary Prize) was the first academic paper to concern any of Xiao Song’s works, specifically, his 1941 novel *Beigui* 北歸 (Return to the North). Miyata Keiko’s 1994 “Xiao Song ‘Tanpopo’ ron — eien no hana” 小松「蒲公英」論—永遠の花 (On Xiao Song’s “Dandelion:” An Eternal Flower) analyzed Xiao Song’s short story “Dandelion.” Furthermore, Inagaki Midori has analyzed another of Xiao Song’s short stories in her 1996 “Xiao Song ‘Jinzō kenshi’ ni tsuite” 小松「人造絹糸」について (About Xiao Song’s ‘Artificial Silk’).

occupied by the cruel Japanese soldiers, escaped from the conflict in China proper to Manchuria. Next, I focus on Xiao Song's early writings from the mid-1930s that have thus far been entirely neglected by scholars.⁴⁰⁷ I argue that as soon as 1934 Xiao Song began to represent protagonists with hybrid identities through whom he crafted narratives that de-Sinicized and Asianized Manchuria. I consider the time when Xiao Song started publishing these stories to be the beginning of his process of becoming "Asian."⁴⁰⁸

Finally, I investigate Xiao Song's stories from the late 1930s and early 1940s that illustrate how his late works resonated with Japanese wartime ideology, to a certain extent, but at the same time were at odds with Japanization. My close reading shows that even in the war years, Xiao Song told idealistic narratives of "Asia," that is, Asianist ideas true to the utopian ideas of early Manchukuo ideology. It is in this sense that Xiao Song's late works can be interpreted as somewhat ambiguous political acts that involved timid defiance of Japanization. Thus, this chapter argues that even in wartime, narratives of "Asia" in Xiao Song's works were by no means a parrotlike repetition of Japanese war propaganda but rather a complex result of a complicated decade-long process in which Xiao Song renegotiated his identity.

4.1 Fleeing from China Proper to Manchuria

Zhao Mengyuan 趙孟原, who is mainly known under his pen name Xiao Song,⁴⁰⁹ was one of the most prolific authors in Manchukuo. He was born in 1912 in the countryside of Liaoning province. When he was four years old, his family moved to a rural area near Wuhan, where his father worked as an engineer. His two younger sisters were born in Hubei. In his short autobiography, Xiao Song noted that he received education in classical Chinese texts and English at various schools in Hubei, including a Christian school, where he also became a scout. However, his education was hindered by his frequent moving. In the end, his family was forced to escape the armed conflicts around Wuhan. As a result, they returned to the

⁴⁰⁷ The three early stories by Xiao Song that I address have thus far never been discussed by any scholar.

⁴⁰⁸ Xiao Song's early stories are the earliest cases of Chinese-language literature telling narratives of "Asia" that I have found in China's Northeast.

⁴⁰⁹ He also used the following pennames: MY, Meng Yuan 夢園, Bai Yeyue 白野月.

Northeast via Hankou, Shanghai, and Tianjin.⁴¹⁰ Xiao Song's story of escape from China proper to Manchuria thus problematizes an established stereotype in the scholarship of Manchurian Chinese-language literature, which implies that the major Manchurian writers fled to China proper after the Japanese occupation.⁴¹¹

In Shenyang, Xiao Song finished high school, and following his father's example, he studied at a technical school of railway traffic management. However, after three years he decided to devote himself to literature. He enrolled at Manchurian Christian College (*Guandong Jidujiao wenhui shuyuan* 關東基督教文會書院), then one of the most prestigious higher education institutions in Northeast China, where he studied English literature. It was during this time that the Japanese army occupied Manchuria. In 1932, he began contributing to major Dalian newspapers *Manzhou bao* 滿洲報 (Manchurian Herald) and *Taidong ribao* and founded a small literary society, White Glow (*Baiguang she* 白光社), which published three issues of the literary journal *Baiguang*.⁴¹²

After graduating, Xiao Song began to make a living as a literary editor for several newspapers and journals. In 1934 he joined the staff of *Minsheng wanbao* 民聲晚報 (People's Livelihood Evening Paper), a Shenyang newspaper, where he edited the literary supplement. In 1935, he accepted an editorial position at the Dalian newspaper *Manzhou ribao* 滿洲日報 (Manchuria Daily). From 1938 onward he edited the influential literary magazine *Mingming* 明明 (Brightness), which was published in the capital, Xinjing. In 1941, he became the editor-in-chief of the leading Manchukuo literary periodical, *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志.⁴¹³

Most of Xiao Song's works of fiction were published from the late 1930s until the end of the war. These include the 1938 collection of earlier short stories *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (Bat); the

⁴¹⁰ Xiao Song 小松, "Yi wenxue qingnian biaobai" 一文學青年自白 [Confession of One Literary Youngster], in *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 [Bat] (Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938), 233–41.

⁴¹¹ This stereotype is related to the "Manchurian myth" described by Rana Mitter that dominates in the historiography of Manchuria and falsely claims that there was a strong anti-Japanese resistance movement in Manchuria led by the Communist Party of China. See Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 2.

⁴¹² Murata Yūko 村田裕子, "'Manzhouguo' wenxue de yige cemian: yi Wenyi Shengjing shang wei zhongxin" 滿洲國文學的一個側面—以文藝盛京賞為中心 [One Side of Manchukuo Literature: Focusing on Shengjing Literary Prize], in Ōkubō Akio 大久保明男 et al., eds., *Wei Manzhouguo wenxue yanjiu zai Riben* 偽滿洲國文學研究在日本 [Japanese Research on Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 25–6.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 26.

1938 poetry collection *Mufa* 木筏 (Log Raft); one of the first novels published in Manchukuo, 1938's *Wuhua de meigui* 無花的玫瑰 (Flowerless Rose); and the short-story collections *Ye putao* 野葡萄 (Wild Grapes) and *Kuguaji* 苦瓜集 (Bitter Gourd Collection) published in 1942 and 1943, respectively.⁴¹⁴ Xiao Song's 1941 novel *Beigui* 北歸 (Return to the North) was awarded the Shengjing Literary Prize (*Wenyi Shengjing shang* 文藝盛京賞), the most prestigious award in Manchukuo.⁴¹⁵

As noted above, during the war, specifically, from 1942 to 1945, like other official authors in Manchukuo, Xiao Song published several statements openly supporting the Japanese war effort. I should also point out that during this time, Xiao Song was considered an obedient writer by Japanese censors due to the content of his works of fiction, as revealed in a secret report prepared in May 1943 by the police department in Xinjing, which claimed that his works fell into the category of “national literature” (*guomin wenxue* 國民文學), that is, literature that met the Manchukuo authorities' requirements for cultural production:

Our office has examined several journals and monographs that have been selected for investigation into the trends of Manchurian left-wing literature. We have found that famous left-wing writers such as Gu Ding and Shan Ding seem to have fallen silent. Those who occasionally publish some works, like Xiao Song, seem to have turned entirely to national literature.

我處檢查提出的幾種雜誌和單行本，據以探討滿洲左翼文學將來的趨勢，發現著名的左翼作家古丁、山丁等人似已保持沉默，偶爾發表的一些作品，也像小松那樣，完全轉到國民文學方面了。⁴¹⁶

Furthermore, Xiao Song's works were often translated into Japanese as representative works of “Manchurian literature.” For example, one of his stories was included in the 1944 collection of translations edited by Kawabata. Overall, we can see that Xiao Song was a very active writer throughout the whole period of Manchukuo's existence and one of the most prominent figures to guide the literary scene.

⁴¹⁴ Chen Shi, “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu,’” 2.

⁴¹⁵ Murata Yūko, “‘Manzhouguo’ wenxue de yige cemian,” 26.

⁴¹⁶ Mita Masao 三田正夫, “Guanyu zhencha liyong wenyi, yanju jinxing sixiang huodong de baogao” 關於偵察利用文藝、演劇進行思想活動的報告 [Intelligence Report on Uses of Literature and Drama for Ideological Purposes], translated by Yu Lei 于雷, in Peng Fang 彭放 et al., eds., *Lunxianqu Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu ziliao zonghui* 淪陷區中國文學研究資料總匯 [A Collection of Research Materials on Chinese Literature in Occupied Areas] (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2005), 1178.

Xiao Song began his literary career shortly after the Mukden Incident by publishing poems in *Manzhou bao* and *Taidong ribao* that were strongly influenced by nineteenth-century English lyrical poetry. Although lacking in meter and rhythm, these poems allegedly became popular among young readers for their expressiveness.⁴¹⁷ However, Xiao Song's earliest short stories published in 1932 and 1933, have so far wholly eluded the attention of scholars.⁴¹⁸ I want to briefly discuss them here because they immediately precede his 1934 stories that reflect ideas of Asian solidarity.

All of Xiao Song's earliest stories, such as his 1932 "Lü dian de yi ye" 旅店的一夜 (Night at a Hotel), "Yi feng can xin" 一封殘信 (A Snippet of a Letter), and his 1933 "Bing huan" 病患 (Disease), dramatize forbidden love. Specifically, they all stress that real feelings must prevail over the norms of a narrow-minded society. The first story depicts two young female classmates who coincidentally meet at a hotel. Despite knowing that one of their friends was unfairly expelled from school only because of her tarnished social reputation caused by dating a married man, they enjoy lesbian sexual intercourse in a hotel room.⁴¹⁹ "A Snippet of a Letter" describes a male protagonist who decides to confess his feelings to a girl, even though his admission could damage their social reputation.⁴²⁰ The main protagonist of "Disease" is a man who tries to convince a married girl that they can have a relationship because he genuinely loves her. In his opinion, they should not let society damage their relationship just for the illegality and social unacceptability of his love, which in its intensity borders on mental illness.⁴²¹

My analysis of Xiao Song's early works in the following sections argues that they reflect the author's difficulty in coping with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. My assumption that Xiao Song had a Chinese national consciousness is based not only on a close

⁴¹⁷ Li Chunyan, "Lun Xiao Song de wenxue chuanguo," 148.

⁴¹⁸ Ōkubō Akio has pointed out the existence of these stories but has not discussed them. See his *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia*, 72.

⁴¹⁹ Xiao Song 小松, "Lü dian de yi ye" 旅店的一夜 [Night at a Hotel], *Manzhou bao* (October 10, 1932): 2. The open description of lesbian intercourse in "Night at a Hotel," which was published in *Manzhou bao*, is unique, as it is unheard of in any other work of modern Chinese literature from the first half of the twentieth century. Ōkubō Akio thinks that this story is most probably inspired by a series of "pervert stories," which were published by Manchurian leftist author Jia Xiao 笏嘯 (1911–?) only several months before it in the same literary supplement, and which were inspired by Japanese literature. See Ōkubō Akio, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia*, 72.

⁴²⁰ Xiao Song 小松, "Yi feng can xin" 一封殘信 [A Snippet of a Letter], *Manzhou bao* (October 10, 1932): 1.

⁴²¹ Xiao Song 小松, "Bing huan" 病患 [Disease], in *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 [Bat] (Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938), 17–26.

reading of his works, but also on a consideration of the historical context in which the work was written. As mentioned above, Xiao Song grew up in southern China and returned to Manchuria during the period when Zhang Xueliang was trying to spread a Chinese national consciousness there, with which the vast majority of local intellectuals of Chinese ethnicity identified. Then, when thousands of Chinese students, officials, and intellectuals fled Manchuria for Beiping and other parts of China after the Japanese occupation, those who stayed in Manchuria frequently experienced heavy feelings of passivity and guilt. Given that Xiao Song's later works feature the motif of disease, especially mental disease, as a metaphor of longing for the lost Chinese homeland (see below), we can apply an allegorical reading along the lines of Fredric Jameson's theory of literary interpretation to Xiao Song's stories describing socially unacceptable love published immediately after the Mukden Incident and argue that they can be understood as camouflaged expressions of the young author's patriotic love, which became forbidden almost overnight in Manchuria.

Overlooking Xiao Song's stories written around 1934, which reflect how he was "becoming Asian," as I discuss in this chapter, most scholars consider Xiao Song's later works of fiction published from approximately 1938 to 1945 to be "mature" and representative of his writings. Chen Shi has quite aptly noted that the main protagonists of these works can be classified into four groups: "desperate intellectuals, downtrodden urban parasites, hopelessly impoverished peasants, and decadent clan members" (失魂的知識分子、落魄的都市寄生者、無望貧困的農民、沒落的大家族).⁴²² Chen has concluded that the misfortune of these characters is caused by the Japanese colonizer and interprets these stories as Xiao Song's "both conscious and unconscious" condemnation of the Manchukuo authoritarian regime.⁴²³

However, my interpretation of political meanings embedded into these stories differs from Chen's. Specifically, I read these stories as illustrating that after 1937 Xiao Song remained true to the idealistic Asianism he had identified with in the early Manchukuo period. Thus, in my reading of Xiao Song's late work, he did indeed criticize the colonial regime for initiating the Japanization of Manchukuo, but paradoxically he invoked ideals instilled in intellectuals by the same colonial government a few years earlier.

⁴²² Chen Shi, "Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie 'letu,'" 1-16.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

4.2 Painfully Losing One's Chinese Home

After Xiao Song penned his first poems and stories in 1932 and 1933, in 1934 he published several works of fiction that reflect an abrupt change in his relationship with China and Manchukuo. My following interpretation suggests that at this time he decided to choose a side and leaned in favor of an independent Manchukuo. And this transition to another political camp marked the beginning of a process in which Xiao Song experienced a crisis of his Chinese identity and set out on a journey of “becoming Asian.”

The first step on the path of Xiao Song's transition to embracing an Asian identity was the rejection, or at least weakening, of his protagonist's Chinese identity. In this section, I argue that this transformation of Xiao Song's work resonates with the change in official Manchukuo ideology that was taking place at this time. As I have noted above, there was a tension in Manchukuo ideology between an essentialist or traditionalist thread and a modernizing one. The traditionalist thread was reflected in the The Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation, which presented Manchukuo as the successor to the imperial dynasties of China. However, shortly after the Proclamation was issued, the inaugural manifesto of Concordia Association was published in the summer of 1932, representing the latter, modernizing stream, and downplaying Chineseness of Manchuria:

Manchuria-Mongolia has long been known as East Asia's land of plenty, it is a vast area with numerous and diverse people, who can follow in the footsteps of civilization if they work together and cultivate the land diligently. Unless we leave them to Europe and the United States, our natural resources will undoubtedly be the best in all of East Asia. The reason that to this day the culture has not yet progressed and natural resources have not been opened up for development is the inability of local ethnic groups to live in harmony. Considering the long history of Manchuria and Mongolia, at times it was the homeland of the Jurchens, at times it was the old residence of the Goryeo. Subsequently, the Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Qing dynasties seized this territory. In recent times, when Russia coveted the land, the time has come for Japan to stand up to them and protect this paradise on earth for all the local ethnic groups.

滿蒙夙稱東亞天府地域廣闊民眾繁多使住民能努力和作盡量開發則文明步武不讓歐美而富源亦必冠絕東亞乃時至今日文化猶未進步富源猶未盡闢者則以各民

族未能協和之故也攷滿蒙史悠遠有時為肅慎故土有時為高麗舊居及至遼金元清皆相續盤踞此地至於近世俄國垂涎土地日本力出拒之期與各民族保此樂境⁴²⁴

Indeed, while the Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation presented the new state as the successor to the imperial dynasties in China, this manifesto asserts that even the Qing dynasty “seized” (*panju* 盤踞) this territory, which according to the Concordia has for ages belonged to all the ethnic groups of East Asia, now under the leadership of Japan.

Yamamuro Shin’ichi regards the dismissal of Manchuria’s Chinese past as part of the legitimizing program of the semicolonial Manchukuo.⁴²⁵ In my reading, Xiao Song’s early work resonates precisely with this rejection of Manchuria’s Chineseness. This rejection is exemplified in his short story “Nan xing” 南行 (Travel to the South), which was first published most probably in 1934.⁴²⁶ In the beginning, the third-person narrator portrays a young protagonist, Yiyu 一雨, who sits on a train heading from Shenyang to the south. He is described as having a “very strange” temperament: “when depressed, he is as gloomy as a rainy day; when happy, he is as gentle as a spring breeze in May” (憂鬱的時候，像天要落雨一般的陰沉，快樂時候，像春風在五月一樣的溫柔).⁴²⁷ To cure his “disease,” which primarily afflicts him in the rainy autumn, he rides to a particular city in southern Manchuria, where his girlfriend Ximei 璽梅 lives. Spending time together with Ximei, his art school classmate originally from the “Southern Country” (*Nanguo* 南國, used to designate the ROC in early Manchukuo by Chinese-language writers), always helps him forget his illness.⁴²⁸

Crucial for our interpretation of Yiyu’s identity negotiation is the ending of the story. Ximei returns to her home in the Southern Country for the summer and invites Yiyu to visit her for a month. Thus, Yiyu leaves Manchuria and arrives at Ximei’s home, where his depression subsides again. But after two weeks, one evening he tells Ximei that he needs to

⁴²⁴ Concordia Association, “Manzhouguo Xiehehui juxing chenglishi zai Xinjing guowuyuan zhong,” 4. The original version was printed without punctuation.

⁴²⁵ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 86.

⁴²⁶ I have not seen the original version of “Travel to the South,” but in the afterword to the collection *Bianfu* Xiao Song states that he serialized it in *Minsheng wanbao* when he was working there. See Xiao Song 小松, “Ba” 跋 [Postscript], in *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 [Bat] (Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938), 246–7. That was from 1934 to 1935. I quote this story from the 1938 reprint.

⁴²⁷ Xiao Song 小松, “Nan xing” 南行 [Travel to the South], in *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 [Bat] (Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938), 57–63.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

return to the “Northern Country” (*Beiguo* 北國, commonly used to designate Manchukuo). She asks him whether the Southern Country is less free than his home. He replies:

“I have no home. And precisely because I lost my home, I feel a little freer. In the last *two years* [emphasis added], I have led a wandering life; I have probably reconciled with my destiny. Living in this aristocratic family of yours, I feel fettered. I want to go. And even though this time I will take a lot of frustration and guilt with me, I want to go.”

我也沒有家，正是因為我失去了家，所以覺得更自由一些；一兩年以來的漂泊生活，似乎是習慣了自己的命運，在你們這貴族化的家庭中居住，感覺到是一種束縛。我要去---雖然這次我是要帶著許多惆悵和悲惡的走，但是我也要去。

429

In the intriguing ending of the story, Ximei tries to convince Yiyu to stay. He confesses that he feels an inner contradiction. On the one hand, he wants to leave, but on the other hand, he does not want to live without Ximei. Then he pulls out a gun, threatens to kill them both, but eventually shoots Ximei in the head and steps into the darkness.⁴³⁰

The short story “Travel to the South” has not yet been examined by any scholar. Following Fredric Jameson’s theory of interpreting the literary works of colonized intellectuals as political allegories,⁴³¹ I argue that “Travel to the South” can be understood as Xiao Song’s attempt to create an allegory of Manchukuo through this tale. Specifically, Xiao Song seems to have created the countryless rover Yiyu to embody the fate of Xiao Song and other Chinese intellectuals in Manchukuo, who lost their homeland when the informal colony was established in 1932, that is, *two years* (see the excerpt above) before the story was published. In fact, this rover is a specific version of a typical protagonist who lost their country that, testifying to the porousness of censorship and self-censorship in Manchukuo,⁴³² became widespread in Manchukuo fiction.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 71.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 71–4.

⁴³¹ Fredric Jameson, “Third-World Literature,” 69.

⁴³² Suggesting that the Japanese occupation took the country from the locals is obviously contrary to the “liberation” narrative of official Manchukuo propaganda.

⁴³³ East Asian writers similarly portrayed the Koreans and the Taiwanese as people without a country of their own, as evidenced, for example, by the 1936 short story “Meiyou zuguo de haizi” 沒有祖國的孩子 (Child without a Country) about a Korean boy, penned by the writer Shu Qun 舒群 (1913–89), who fled Manchuria for

The protagonist Yiyu's feelings of anxiety are indeed reminiscent of the experience of colonized intellectuals in East Asia. Specifically, Yiyu's anxiety that accompanies his apparent attempt to break free from China (or "Southern Country"), to which he is spiritually attached, evokes the anxiety discussed by Leo T. S. Ching, that is, the anxiety felt by Taiwanese intellectuals who "conflated modernization with Japanization" and, longing for modernity "mediated through the bustling streets of Tokyo," loved Taiwanese villages as their homes but at the same time saw them as places of "inescapable boredom and an incredibly monotonous life."⁴³⁴

Applying the Fredric Jameson's theory mentioned above, the second main protagonist in "Travel to the South," Ximei, can be viewed as allegorically standing for China, to which Chinese intellectuals of Manchukuo remained spiritually attached. Moreover, Ximei can be seen as Yiyu's "Chinese self." To get rid of his "disease," the excessive attachment to his motherland, the main protagonist kills Ximei, in what can be read as an allegory of severing one's emotional ties with China. Corresponding with the logic of the Taiwanese intellectuals who conflated imperialization with the desire for modernity,⁴³⁵ in "Travel to the South," the murder of Ximei is justified by rejecting China, which is portrayed as "aristocratic" and "fettered," that is, too backward and feudal. Manchuria, on the contrary, is described as a dark place that nevertheless has a future. Despite being occupied by the Japanese, Manchuria is doing better than China simply because it is not that backward or, implicitly, because it is more modern. Thus, the main protagonist prefers it regardless of the national and colonial conflicts that "the lure of the modern" displaces here in much the same way that also Shu-mei Shih described.⁴³⁶

While Jameson assumed that colonized intellectuals always produce national allegories, I argue that in the specific East Asian context of Manchukuo, which in many ways resembled the situation in colonial Taiwan and semicolonial Shanghai as described by Ching and Shih, intellectuals could instead try to reject their own ethnic or national affiliation in favor of "Asia," as I will discuss at the end of this section. This story can thus be understood as an allegory of the initial step on the Manchurian Chinese intellectual's journey of rejecting

Shanghai, or the 1946 novel "Yaxiya de guer" 亞細亞的孤兒 (Orphan of Asia) about the ambivalent identity of Taiwanese people, written by Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流 (1900–76).

⁴³⁴ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese,"* 28.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 35–6.

one's "Chineseness" and becoming "Asian." Such transition was imposed on Xiao Song by the semicolonial regime of Manchukuo, one of whose goals was to create a stance of discontinuity with China,⁴³⁷ and Xiao Song clearly experienced it as painful, but on the other hand, due to his desire for modernity, he reproduced with this short story the ideology promoting the de-Sinicization of Manchuria, which was gaining momentum at the time of publishing "Travel to the South."

Xiao Song portrayed another protagonist, who figuratively rejects China, also in his 1934 short story "Yueliang luo le" 月亮落了 (The Moon Fell).⁴³⁸ As Xiao Song has noted in the afterword to the collection *Bianfu*, he wrote this story in the Japanese-run Mantetsu hospital in Fengtian during his hospitalization.⁴³⁹ Thus, the main protagonist, a patient with a broken leg, is autobiographical. He is not only hospitalized in the same hospital as Xiao Song but he is also called Song 松, the name Xiao Song often attributes to his autobiographical protagonists. In a first-person narrative, Song recounts his experiences from the hospital. For our discussion here, I want to bring attention to descriptions of two Chinese protagonists whom Song encounters in the hospital. The first of them, Jiaren 家仁, is Song's fellow patient who is released home right at the beginning of "The Moon Fell." The second is a female protagonist, a Chinese patient named Bai Yueying 白月英. Song assumes that, in fact, she is Bai Jiayan 白家煙, a girl he loved several years ago. Bai Yueying was admitted to the hospital badly injured after an unsuccessful suicide attempt. After a few days, she is arrested by the police and taken away.⁴⁴⁰

For our brief discussion of Song's relationship with these two Chinese protagonists, we should bring attention to numerous intertextual references to Lu Xun's famous short story "Kuangren riji" 狂人日記 (A Madman's Diary), which can be found in this tale by Xiao Song.⁴⁴¹ Xiao Song makes various references to the opening sentence of "A Madman's Diary,"

⁴³⁷ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 83.

⁴³⁸ In the afterword to the collection *Bianfu*, where this story was republished, Xiao Song notes that it was written in 1934 and was published for the first time later in the first issue of the journal *Shunü zhi you* 淑女之友. See Xiao Song, "Ba," 246.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ Xiao Song 小松, "Yueliang luo le" 月亮落了 [The Moon Fell], in *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 [Bat] (Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938), 75–106.

⁴⁴¹ These references are certainly not a coincidence because Xiao Song noted in his autobiographical account that Lu Xun's 1923 collection *Nahan* 呐喊 (Call to Arms), which features "A Madman's Diary" as the opening short story, was his favorite reading during his college studies along with poems by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978)

which follows the introduction: “Tonight the moon is very bright” (今天晚上，很好的月光).⁴⁴² For example, already at the beginning of “The Moon Fell,” we learn that, like Lu Xun’s madman, Song enjoys sitting by the window in the evening and watching the moonlight.⁴⁴³ Discussing the previous story, “Travel to the South,” I suggested reading the main protagonist’s “disease” as an excessive attachment to his Chinese motherland. In “The Moon Fell,” I understand the main protagonist’s attachment to the moon to be an allegorical expression of the same bond. In this case, Xiao Song seems to suggest the unhealthiness of this attachment by the reference to Lu Xun’s “madman.”

Moreover, Xiao Song uses references to “A Madman’s Diary” to express his negative attitude toward Chinese tradition and thus to denigrate Chinese culture in “The Moon Fell.” Above all, the female Chinese patient Bai Yueying represents the unfavorable Chinese tradition in Xiao Song’s story. Her presumed name, Bai Jiayan 白家煙, can be understood as a derogatory designation of the Chinese people, literally meaning “everyone smokes opium,” which aims to disparage Chinese tradition by ridiculing the homonymic term “view of all schools” (*Bai jia yan* 百家言), referring to schools of thought in ancient China. Before her arrest, this Chinese patient left a letter in her room that was easy for Song “to translate into simple English,” but he did not understand the meaning of it at all.⁴⁴⁴ Thus, Bai Yueying, aka Bai Jiayan, can be viewed as representing traditional Chinese culture, which Lu Xun attacked for being as incomprehensible as the letter mentioned here in stories such as the 1922 “Bu tian” 補天 (Mending Heaven)⁴⁴⁵ and, according to some interpretations, also in “A Madman’s Diary.” The aversion to Chinese tradition is further expressed in the story by pointing out that Song did not get along with his fellow patient Jiaren, who “was very well read in ancient books.”⁴⁴⁶

and Yu Gengyu 于廣虞 (1902–63), and stories by Alexandre Dumas (1802–70), Victor Hugo (1802–85), Émile Zola (1840–1902), and Guy de Maupassant (1850–93). See Xiao Song, “Yi wenxue qingnian biaobai,” 238.

⁴⁴² Lu Hsün, *Selected Stories of Lu Hsün*, translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (New York: Oriole Editions, 1972), 27.

⁴⁴³ Xiao Song, “Yueliang luo le,” 77.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴⁴⁵ For an interpretation arguing that in “Mending Heaven” Lu Xun attacks Chinese tradition for its incomprehensibility and meaninglessness, see Andrew G. Stuckey, *Old Stories Retold: Narrative and Vanishing Pasts in Modern China* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 29–32.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

Thus, it seems that Xiao Song appropriates here Lu Xun's iconoclasm to achieve significantly different aims than Lu Xun originally intended. Mainly, in "The Moon Fell," Xiao Song apparently uses the autobiographical protagonist's aversion towards two Chinese protagonists, Bai Yueying and Jiaren, who allegorically represent China in this tale, to express his severing ties with his homeland, represented here by the moon, which fell just as Manchuria fell into Japanese hands.

Building on Fredric Jameson's theory of interpreting literary works of colonized intellectuals and Leo T. S. Ching's and Shu-mei Shih's insights into the ambivalent relationship of East Asian intellectuals to their colonized homes, I have argued that the short story "Travel to the South" can be read as an allegorical account of the experiences of Manchurian Chinese intellectuals who sever their ties to China for the sake of identifying with Manchukuo. Similarly, we can read the intertextual references in "The Moon Fell" as an expression of the autobiographical protagonist's condemning China. In this short story, particularly the Chinese female patient, whose name, Bai Yueying 白月英, resembles one of Xiao Song's pennames, Bai Yeyue 白野月, can be understood as a metaphorical embodiment of Xiao Song's "Chinese self," whose elimination is described here. Both of these stories, whose main protagonists mirror Xiao Song's fate in different ways (while Song is clearly autobiographical, the protagonist Yiyu, like Xiao Song, studied at an art school), can thus be understood as Xiao Song's implicit support for the de-Sinicization of Manchuria promoted by the official ideology of Manchukuo. If we regard these protagonists as Xiao Song's alter-egos, we can even argue that by portraying these protagonists Xiao Song reflected on the process of de-Sinicization of his own identity.

When considering Xiao Song's de-Sinicization of himself, we need to move away from retrospective assumptions and take into account the historical situation of the time that I have described in the Introduction. Although we should not uncritically accept all outcomes of the 1932 Lytton report, which claimed that in Manchuria, "patriotism as it is understood in the West is only beginning to be felt,"⁴⁴⁷ we should acknowledge that while at the beginning of the 1930s Chinese educated elites, including Xiao Song, definitely had national consciousness, this consciousness was much less mature than, say, in European countries of that time. We should also consider that the de-Sinicization of Manchuria at this time was facilitated for local intellectuals by the political animosity toward the ROC represented by Chiang Kai-shek and Zhang Xueliang, which was widespread in Manchuria. Besides the fact

⁴⁴⁷ League Of Nations (Lytton Commission), *Situation in Manchuria*, 92.

that both of these political figures were linked to various unpopular military conflicts and suppression of demonstrations, there was also a widespread feeling of betrayal resulting from the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Manchuria practically without a fight.⁴⁴⁸ Considering that Jacques Derrida's "disorder" of his French identity was accelerated by an incident during the war years when he was stripped of his French citizenship for two years because he was Jewish,⁴⁴⁹ we can guess that some Chinese intellectuals in Manchuria could become bitter towards China in a similar way because they also may have felt that their country had inexplicably abandoned them.

On the other hand, we also need to acknowledge that the dismissal and ridicule of China in "Travel to the South" and "The Moon Fell" is accompanied by the strong feeling of pain over losing one's home country. It was most likely the abruptness of the regime change in Manchuria that led to such strong notions of frustration, guilt, mental illness or neurosis, and suicidal tendencies, which we rarely find in this context in stories from the 1920s and 1930s in China proper and Taiwan, where writers had already become somewhat accustomed to the (semi)colonial situation. Most importantly, the notion of the involuntary and very violent loss of home, which is suggestively implied through the depiction of murder in "Travel to the South" and the portrayal of the arrest in "The Moon Fell," underlies the whole transition to the specific version of "Asian" identity reflected by Xiao Song's early work.

4.3 Yearning for a New Asian Home

The pain of losing one's home did not, however, diminish Manchukuo writers' enthusiasm for building a new one. The manic-depressive nature of Yiyu, whose states of depression alternated with periods of tense happiness, illustrates this situation well. Specifically, some Manchurian Chinese writers active throughout the early "state-building phase" of Manchukuo relatively soon embraced a new Manchurian identity, or rather an identity combination, which

⁴⁴⁸ Such a feeling of betrayal was openly described by some Manchukuo authors in Dalian newspapers. For example, see Chen Yin's 陳因 short story, which depicts a protagonist, who physically resists the "wangdao government" (王道政府) however, when Zhang Xueliang and Chiang Kai-shek fail to "come up with something," he better starts to learn Japanese. Chen Yin 陳因, "Ganhua le" 感化了 (Becoming Reformed), *Manzhou bao* (June 26, 1933, Xingqi fukan): 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other, or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, translated by Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 14–6.

corresponds to what I call the Sinitic nexus. This combination of identities includes one's own ethnic identity, for example Chinese, but also an identity constructed by the discourse of "Asia," as this region was imagined by Tachibana Shiraki, who created an ideology for the needs of the new regime.

Xiao Song's work resonates above all with the modernizing thread of this ideology that sought to deny Manchuria's Chineseness, which it perceived as backward. As seen in the excerpt from the inaugural manifesto of Concordia Association quoted above, the emphasis on the de-Sinicization of Manchuria went hand-in-hand with the promotion of the concept of "ethnic harmony," that is, cooperation among the various East Asian ethnicities of Manchuria. I will highlight here that this cooperation between the ethnic groups of Manchuria, which included Manchurian (Chinese) and Japanese, was often articulated in Manchukuo ideology as a projection of a broader regional cooperation between Manchuria and Japan. While Qing loyalists, such as the then Manchukuo prime minister Zheng Xiaoxu 鄭孝胥 (1860–1938), primarily promoted the traditionalist concept of *wangdao* in the early period of Manchukuo, proponents of the modernization thread, such as the Japanese Ambassador to Manchukuo Koiso Kuniaki, emphasized "ethnic harmony" in the sense of Manchukuo's cooperation with Japan:

From now on, the two countries of Japan and Manchukuo will always support each other and advance as a single country, [bringing] peace to the East and then to the world. In order to [dedicate] our Eastern spirit, culture, and great philosophy to the broad world, we will move forward with a strong pace and establish the morality and justice of mankind.

爾後日滿兩國永相提攜常一國步，由東洋之平和進而為世界之平和，以東洋精神文化云云，大哲理向世界恢弘為目標，以強有力之步調向前邁進，確立人類之道義。⁴⁵⁰

While Jue Qing's early works resonated with the essentialist notion of "Asia" based on the concept of *wangdao*, Xiao Song's works from 1934 seem to have resonated more with the thread of Manchukuo ideology, which emphasized the concept of "ethnic harmony" and viewed Manchukuo as Japan's main ally in the emerging Asian alliance, an image that began to be emphasized in political discourse at this time, as the excerpt of Koiso's statement demonstrates. Thus, some of Xiao Song's early stories seem to tell narratives highlighting

⁴⁵⁰ Koiso Kuniaki, "Manzhou diguo xin di jiwei shuhuai," 2.

Manchuria as part of imagined Asian pan-nation. Furthermore, these stories can be read as the author's artistically crafted support for the independence of Manchuria.

Take, for example, Xiao Song's 1934 "Nan you de yi ye" 南游的一頁 (One Page of My Travel to the South), a variation of the previous "Travel to the South" that takes an entirely different turn. The main protagonist here is called Song again. But unlike Xiao Song, who had two younger sisters, this tale's protagonist has a younger brother called Hua 華 (a surname that can be translated as "Chinese"). In the beginning, the little brother accompanies Song to the Shenyang train station, from where Song departs to the south, namely to Anyang in south Liaoning. The younger brother begs Song not to go because his parents are worried about him going alone. His father has allegedly offered him to take him on a trip to Nanking in the fall if he changes his mind. But the main protagonist says that he has already decided. He is in a strange euphoric mood: he says goodbye to "beautiful" Shenyang and, during the ride, enjoys the "beautiful" views of the landscape along the South Manchuria Railway. As the train approaches the city of Anyang, he notices a memorial commemorating the Battle of Liaoyang (1904) fought during the Russo-Japanese War, outside the window. This view inspires his reflections on the beauty of war:

"War is beautiful!" I was thinking.

"War and killing are indeed the most wonderful paintings and pieces of tragic music. No matter from which side one observes it, killing is the most touching form of art," I kept thinking like this.

Shoushan Hill,⁴⁵¹ which I longed for and dreamt about, unexpectedly appeared before my eyes. In the history of humanity, this steep hill once painted a beautiful picture with red blood, [it] once created a beautiful piece of music by clashing souls and metal.

How poetic is this hill! Standing in the middle of drizzle, resembling a dying old man, who opens up a book of that *glorious* [emphasis added] history, as if looking for a page of his heroic past.

「戰爭是美麗的！」我這樣的想著。

「戰爭與殺人的確是最艷麗的繪畫，淒慘的音樂，無論從那一方面來觀察，殺人總算是最感動人的一種藝術。」我這樣不停的想起來了。

在我希望與理想中的首山，現在居然在眼前出現了，這確險的山勢，在人類史上，曾用紅血渲染過美麗的繪畫，用零花和鋼鐵的交鋒，曾鼓出過美麗的音樂。

⁴⁵¹ Another name for Cairn Hill, where the battle took place.

這山是多們富有詩意呢？呆立在這濛濛細雨中，像一位垂死的老人，翻開那燦爛的歷史，許能找到他英雄時代的一頁。⁴⁵²

At the end of the story, Song arrives in Anyang, eager to observe the local life himself. He listens to people in front of a pawnshop and learns about the local economy, recent floods, and other things. When he comes back home, he wants to share this knowledge with others and, in return, gets “wrinkles on the faces of the old and the admiring sighs of children” (老臉上臨時增多的皺紋，和孩子們的嘆息)。⁴⁵³

“One Page of My Travel to the South” is remarkable for several reasons. First, Xiao Song’s description of south Manchuria, the author’s home, in this story seems to adopt a Japanese perspective. While the Chinese-language Manchurian literature of the 1920s, as I have mentioned in the Introduction, focused predominantly on depicting women’s struggling for freedom, the warring of militarists, and sometimes also the lower classes’ suffering, this story by Xiao Song is more reminiscent of travelogues, in which Manchuria is presented as an exotic tourist destination to Japanese tourists by the Mantetsu company in its periodicals.⁴⁵⁴ Mainly the protagonist’s focus on the Japanese railway and the site of the *glorious* Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, both of which are described as beautiful, seems to reflect the perspective of outsiders, especially the Japanese.

Furthermore, as in the case of literary work written by another Chinese writer coquetting with Asianism, Hu Lancheng 胡蘭成 (1906–81), it can be said that the account of the beautiful war smacks of the aesthetics of Japanese fascism,⁴⁵⁵ which was known for addressing self-sacrifice and violence as something “beautiful.”⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, Xiao Song’s depiction of Shoushan Hill, which evokes the idea of “tragic music” to the main protagonist, seems to refer to elegiac Russo-Japanese War songs such as “Sen’yū” 戰友 (Comrade in

⁴⁵² Xiao Song 小松, “Nan you de yi ye” 南游的一頁 [One Page of My Travel to the South], *Taidong ribao* (August 13, 1934): 4.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ See Kari Shepherdson-Scott, “Race behind the Walls: Contact and Containment in Japanese Images of Urban Manchuria,” in Christopher P. Hanscom and Dennis Washburn, eds., *The Affect of Difference: Representations of Race in East Asian Empire* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016), 180–202.

⁴⁵⁵ David Der-wei Wang, *The Lyrical in Epic Time*, 163. In his study of the Chinese writer Hu Lancheng, Wang has demonstrated that, considering the circumstances specific to Hu’s individual situation, his collaboration with the Japanese-led regime could be seen outside the ordinary nationalist narrative as a radical, though naïve, variation of the May Fourth ethos aimed at saving China. Ibid., 155–67.

⁴⁵⁶ Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 91; 157.

Arms) and “Manshū kōshin kyoku” 滿洲行進曲 (Manchuria March), which were revived in 1931 in Japan to remind the “Japanese of the importance of defending their foothold in Northeast China” by depicting Manchuria as a site where Japanese lives were lost.⁴⁵⁷ Especially “Manchuria March,” whose lyrics describe a war memorial and blood,⁴⁵⁸ seems to be the “beautiful piece of music” that Xiao Song’s main protagonist has in mind. The territory, which the main protagonist is eager to discover, is clearly a de-Sinicized Manchuria with various Japanese characteristics, so to speak.

Thus, by depicting Song’s train journey from Shenyang to a town near the war memorial, this story that adopts the form of a short travelogue connecting specific geographic, historical, and cultural elements of south Manchuria, “reterritorializes” this area, to borrow Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s term,⁴⁵⁹ which Miya Qiong Xie has already used in reference to Manchuria.⁴⁶⁰ Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of territorialization is useful here to emphasize that, as these authors have noted, it is often an artist who marks the new borders of a territory, “the first person to set out a boundary stone.”⁴⁶¹ In our case, Xiao Song was not the first one altogether but was among the first Chinese writers to affirm the new boundary that had been delineated by the Kwantung Army.

Consequently, the story of a young protagonist who longs to become independent and discover this territory despite the wishes of his parents, who instead offer him a trip to Nanking, the capital of the Republic of China, can be understood as a metaphor for Manchuria that strives to become independent of China.

“One Page of My Travel to the South” seems to affirm this effort for Manchurian independence, albeit somewhat hysterically. The protagonist’s admiration for the beauty of the railway and the war, which is undoubtedly slightly over the top, should be understood as another expression of excessive feelings, which can be a result of trauma, or specifically, Japanese occupation, as I have described it in my examination of “Travel to the South.” Thus, while this story is definitely an attempt to describe Manchuria as partly Japanese territory, it

⁴⁵⁷ Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 90–2.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁵⁹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 174.

⁴⁶⁰ Miya Qiong Xie, “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria: Rethinking National and Transnational Literature in East Asia” (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2017), 10.

⁴⁶¹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 316.

also reflects the difficulties the Chinese author encounters by adopting such a perspective not long after the Chinese military defeat.

Finally, by positively referring to the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, which was the critical moment for identifying Japan as the leader of Asia by Asianists in Japan, China, India, and other Asian countries,⁴⁶² including Sun Yat-sen, this story can be seen as one of the earliest examples of Chinese-language literary works telling the narrative of “Asia” in Manchukuo. Specifically, Xiao Song dramatizes the Japanese “page” of Manchurian history, which can serve as a basis for Manchurian independence from China, symbolized by the independence of the young protagonist from his old parents and his young brother called “China.” Thus, this story obviously resonates with the official ideology in early Manchukuo that gradually “de-Sinicized” this territory and portrayed it as the common property of all Asians, opening the door for legitimizing the Japanese presence in Manchuria.

We can conclude that in Xiao Song’s “One Page of My Travel to the South,” Manchuria becomes a specific kind of “geo-body,” to borrow Winichakul Thongchai’s term referring to a territory that is a part of the life of a nation.⁴⁶³ However, in our case, we are talking about a “geo-body” that has been partly de-Sinicized and partly Japanized by a young Chinese student and made independent of China. Even though this story provides a set of images, landscapes, and a historical event that resemble narratives representing the nation, as they have been defined by Stuart Hall,⁴⁶⁴ I argue that here we can hardly talk of Manchuria’s becoming a Japanese national territory. Considering the mixture of national symbols and their ambiguity in this story, we can conclude that in addition to approving Manchukuo’s independence, Xiao Song also delineated here a “geo-body” that does not represent a nation but a pan-nation, that is, “Asia.”

Xiao Song recreated the specific version of Asianism embedded in Manchukuo’s *jianguo jingshen* 建國精神 (founding-state spirit) also in his works that deal with the coexistence of different ethnicities in this newly territorialized pan-national geo-body. His abovementioned 1934 short story “The Moon Fell” featuring the main protagonist with a broken leg, Song, can be considered such a case. As I will briefly demonstrate here, in this tale, Xiao Song elaborates on the relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese in

⁴⁶² Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War*, 58–9.

⁴⁶³ Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 16–8.

⁴⁶⁴ Stuart Hall, *Modernity and Its Futures*, 293.

Manchukuo, or, in other reading, imagines what this relationship should be like in an ideal case.

In addition to depicting two unfavorable Chinese protagonists, Bai Yueying and Jiaren, who stand here for Chinese tradition, this tale describes Song, who recounts his flirtation with a Japanese nurse named Shūkō 秋江, or Qiu Jiang, in Chinese. When his fellow patient Jiaren is released home, Song is left alone in the room, and Shūkō comes to talk to him and brings him flowers so he does not feel lonely. When Song's younger sister visits him, Shūkō confesses in broken Chinese, which she is just learning, that she loves Song. While his former love, Bai Yueying, earns only Song's contempt, at the end of the story, when Bai Yueying is arrested, Song passionately expresses his feelings for Shūkō when he asks her if she will work the night shift.⁴⁶⁵

The relationship depicted in "The Moon Fell" can be understood as an imaginary love triangle, in which Song decides between two girls, his former Chinese love who is now crippled and desperate, and the healthy, helpful, and loveable Japanese nurse, who easily wins the main protagonist's heart. Supposing that the protagonist's attachment to China is portrayed here figuratively by describing his custom of watching the moon, as I have suggested above, Shūkō even helps him overcome this attachment by frequently closing the window so that he does not get cold. Thus, it is plausible enough to interpret this story as an altered version of the core idea embodied by "Travel to the South," declaring a preference for a somewhat Japanized Manchuria, represented here by the Japanese girl, over China represented by the Chinese girl.

Moreover, Xiao Song pits the new modern and multicultural state against backward China by depicting the harmonious coexistence of the Chinese with the Japanese in Manchukuo. This coexistence is metaphorically represented here by the relationship between Song and Shūkō. While the Japanese nurse is obviously physically superior to the injured Song, she not only tries to help Song and passionately falls in love with him but also makes "cultural compromises," as described by Jürgen Osterhammel,⁴⁶⁶ by willingly learning the Chinese language and thus tries to integrate into the local society. Also, the detail that Song sometimes teaches her English and learns Japanese from her⁴⁶⁷ emphasizes their relationship's cosmopolitan and reciprocal nature. We can thus conclude that the Manchuria depicted in

⁴⁶⁵ Xiao Song, "Yueliang luo le," 75–106.

⁴⁶⁶ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 17.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 78–9.

“The Moon Fell” was “cleansed” of backward Chinese culture and enriched by a new multicultural society that was not burdened with colonialism, which would in principle reject such “cultural compromises.”⁴⁶⁸ On the contrary, Xiao Song populated it with a multicultural community consisting of different East Asian ethnicities, whose relationships are reminiscent of a love story. Specifically, Xiao Song implies that the coexistence of the Chinese and the Japanese in Manchukuo resembles a romantic relationship between a Chinese man and a Japanese woman that could potentially lead to the interconnection of these two cultures and the emergence of a culture that transcends the national divisions between China and Japan, namely, a culture that could be called “Asian” in the sense of the Asianist discourse.

The modernity of the new state in contrast to China’s backwardness is emphasized in Xiao Song’s story not only by this multicultural element but also by assigning the female gender to the protagonist who represents Japan. This can be seen as a specific Manchurian version of the May Fourth enlightenment project, which understood traditional China as a patriarchal hegemony and made intellectuals such as Lu Xun and Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904–86) search for a new subjectivity that was attributed to a “new woman.”⁴⁶⁹ But while Lu Xun’s female characters, such as the wife of a poor writer in his 1925 short story “Shangshi” 傷勢 (Regret for the Past), were still entangled in Chinese tradition to a considerable extent, Shūkō’s foreignness made it much easier for Xiao Song to use her as a symbol of an entirely new era.

When considering what made it rather easy for Chinese intellectuals, such as Xiao Song, to accept the new regime ruled by Japan and reterritorialize Manchuria in his short stories “One Page of My Travel to the South” and “The Moon Fell,” that is, depict it as not Chinese but “Asian” territory inhabited by different ethnicities of East Asian population, it is necessary to take into account the specific historical context forming Manchukuo’s fragmented semicolonialism. For example, as I have mentioned, already in the 1920s, Manchuria was much more international than we mostly imagine. Thus, attempting to interpret Xiao Song’s early tales, we need to keep in mind that the presence of colonial powers in Manchuria was taken for granted, and, after all, the Chinese were also settlers, despite living in Manchuria longer than Russian, Japanese, and other colonists. Furthermore,

⁴⁶⁸ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 17.

⁴⁶⁹ Ching-kiu Stephen Chan, “The Language of Despair: Ideological Representations of the ‘New Women’ by May Fourth Writers,” *Modern Chinese Literature* 4, no. 1/2 (1988): 19–21.

we should not forget that as in the case of other parts of China, Taiwan,⁴⁷⁰ and Korea, also in Manchukuo Japan “monopolized” the horizon of modernity for many intellectuals, whose desire for modernization often displaced their perception of colonialism. For instance, the popularity of adopting pennames, which resemble common Japanese names, among Chinese writers in Manchuria, such as “Xiao Song” (*Komatsu*), “San Lang” 三郎 (*Saburō*) by Xiao Jun, and others, testifies precisely this displacement of colonialism of the Japanese, who were by no means too often considered solely “enemies” in the early phase of Manchukuo but in many domains also role models worthy of emulation.

I argue that this paradoxical affection for the colonizer in Manchuria was conditioned by the cultural proximity of China and Japan as it was constructed by the Asianist discourse. Although in reality most Japanese inhabitants of Manchukuo rarely spent time learning Chinese, rarely married the Chinese but were hierarchically superior to the Chinese, and lived separately from the Chinese in a segregated society,⁴⁷¹ Xiao Song seems to have believed that Manchuria could indeed become an Asian paradise on earth. His “The Moon Fell,” for example, can clearly be read as a wishful, and somewhat naïve, attempt to depict the ideal of ethnic harmony that was inherent in the official state ideology of early Manchukuo, which presented the new state as an Asianist role model for the reform of East Asia. In East Asia imagined here by Xiao Song, people could rediscover their cultural affinities and thus recreate a modern East Asia by, for instance, teaching each other Chinese and Japanese, with the help of English. Given the autobiographical nature of the two stories discussed in this section, we can also assume that these works reflect the renegotiation of Xiao Song’s identity, which at this point shifted from “being Chinese” to “becoming Asian” and it could be described as an identity combination rather than a single, though unfinished, cultural identity.

4.4 Becoming a Loyal But Critical Asian Fellow

After 1937, the official Manchukuo ideology began to promote Japanization, substituted *wangdao* with *kōdō*, and the concept of “ethnic harmony” became an empty phrase. Subsequently, Xiao Song published a number of short stories in which the main protagonist

⁴⁷⁰ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* 29.

⁴⁷¹ Kari Shepherdson-Scott, “Race behind the Walls,” 188–94.

feels rejected in various ways. Since I understand Xiao Song's previous work as an expression of his desire to become "Asian," which in the semicolonial setting of Manchukuo meant trying to emulate the Japanese colonizer who presented himself as the leader of Asia, I read these stories in light of scholars of postcolonial studies who have addressed similar situations theoretically. Above all, I see the anxiety reflected in these stories somewhat reminiscent of the "neurosis" described by Franz Fanon in Afro-Caribbean people who desired to "become white" in France but at the same time faced the impossibility of accomplishing this aim caused by their constant exclusion from mainstream society, which considered them inferior.⁴⁷² Such efforts to imitate the culture of the colonizer, which can never be one hundred percent successful, have also been described by Homi Bhabha as colonial mimicry.⁴⁷³ On the basis of my analysis of identification in these Xiao Song's tales, I argue that after 1937 Xiao Song seems to have remained faithful to the ideas of early Manchukuo, especially to the concept of "ethnic harmony." Thus, I understand some of Xiao Song's works from the late Manchukuo period as expressions of his idealistic devotion to Asianism as articulated by early Manchukuo ideology.

Take, for example, Xiao Song's short story "Rensi" 人絲 (Rayon), which is often seen as representative of his later work. Xiao Song published it in 1939 in the second stage of his literary career, which began around 1937 after about two years when he devoted himself more to journalism than writing literature. This story, written in a modernist style inspired by cinematic montage and set in the first years of Puyi's Kangde era in Manchukuo, depicts a raid carried out by customs officers on a ring smuggling artificial silk from Korea, whose members were forced into their illegal activities by unbearable poverty. The most striking element of the story is undoubtedly the final scene in which the customs officers catch these smugglers and brutally, perhaps even sadistically,⁴⁷⁴ beat them as punishment.⁴⁷⁵ We learn from the last lines that they also nearly kill the informant who brought them to the smugglers:

Old Zhang's "billy club" hit Kim's head brutally. Old Zhang closed his eyes and

⁴⁷² Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 45–62.

⁴⁷³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 85–90.

⁴⁷⁴ Inagaki Midori has brought attention to the peculiar mixture of violence and beauty described here by Xiao Song. See her "Shao Son 'Jinzō kenshi' ni tsuite," 377.

⁴⁷⁵ Xiao Song 小松, "Rensi" 人絲 (Rayon)," in Zhang Yumao 张毓茂, ed., *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 [Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949], vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 [Short Stories] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996), 327–37.

didn't understand Kim's pleas for mercy. He beat him like it was a joke.

Kim's protruding cheeks became even more protruding now; they protruded as if they were two pumpkins. Blood stained his clothes. That miserable cry combined into unrhythmic music with the rushing wind outside.

Others thought that Kim would be beaten to death by the "billy club."

老張的“抬手”，猛力的向金的頭上落著，老張閉了眼睛，也聽不懂金的哀求，他是開玩笑一樣的打著他。

金突起的兩頰，現在是更突起了，突起得像南瓜皮一樣的不整齊。血染了他自己的衣服。那種淒慘的叫聲，和外面的急風調成沒有節奏的音樂。

別人都以為金會被“抬手”打死的。⁴⁷⁶

Existing research has interpreted “Rayon” as Xiao Song’s implicit defiance of the Manchukuo colonial regime. Inagaki Midori has suggested that the absence of light in the story, which mostly takes place at night, symbolizes the oppression of people in Manchukuo.⁴⁷⁷ Chen Shi includes this story among Xiao Song’s works that describe “hopelessly impoverished peasants” to indirectly point out the suffering of peasants under the colonial regime in Manchukuo.⁴⁷⁸ Similarly, according to Xie Chaokun, reading “Rayon” makes one “realize the dire poverty under Japanese colonial rule.”⁴⁷⁹ Out of these three scholars, only Inagaki has addressed the apparent ethnic dimension of “Rayon.” A fascinating detail of the story is that while both the custom officers and smugglers are Chinese (they are called by the typical Chinese surnames Liu, Li, and Zhang), the informant, named Kim, is Korean. Thus, when at the end of the story, Officer Zhang for no obvious reason beats the informant, whom he suddenly “didn’t understand,” we realize that we are reading a description of sheer racism because ethnicity is the only explanation for this absurd violence.

Here, I should mention that beating the Korean informant most probably refers to anti-Japanese sentiments among Chinese people, which became widespread in the late 1920s in Manchuria as a result of Japanese colonialism and intensified Chinese nationalism. In fact, those who suffered the most in confrontations with the “Japanese” were often Koreans.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 336. For a note explaining that *shishou* 抬手 means “billy club,” see page 328.

⁴⁷⁷ Inagaki Midori, “Shao Son ‘Jinzō kenshi’ ni tsuite,” 378.

⁴⁷⁸ Chen Shi, “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu,’” 10–3.

⁴⁷⁹ 了解到日本殖民統治下民不聊生. Xie Chaokun, “Zhimin tongzhi de quanjing tu,” 27–8.

⁴⁸⁰ Yamamuro Shin’ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 13. An example of such a confrontation was the 1929 conflict at the Sakakibara farm. See *ibid.*

“Rayon” seems to imply that such confrontations continued well into the early phase of Manchukuo, and Xiao Song’s condemnation of such Chinese aggression could be understood as support for the Japanese occupation of Manchuria because preventing such confrontations was one of the main justifications for the invasion.⁴⁸¹

However, as Inagaki has suggested, we need to consider the specific position of a Chinese writer within the semicolonial cultural sphere of Manchukuo, where a Chinese author could hardly openly criticize Japanese racism against the Chinese without risking persecution.⁴⁸² In this respect, we can see Xiao Song’s criticism of Chinese racism in Manchukuo as criticism of racism in Manchukuo in general but made in a way that would escape the attention of censors. Specifically, Inagaki has suggested that in “Rayon,” Xiao Song criticized racism against Koreans because he could not dare portray racism against the Chinese. In this context, we could even consider Xiao Song’s description of violence against the Korean informant in “Rayon” to be a specific case of what has been described by James C. Scott as a “symbolic inversion.” Exploring mostly examples from European popular culture, Scott has demonstrated that subordinate groups sometimes voice their criticism under domination by envisioning a world upside down to hint at a mirror image, a world right side up.⁴⁸³ And it is in this manner that we could perhaps interpret “Rayon” as a camouflaged criticism of Japanese racism against the *Chinese* in Manchukuo by subversively inverting the two sides. In such an interpretation, the plot, which could be read as supportive of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, could be seen as what Lev Loseff called a “screen,” that is, a stylistic device used to conceal a hidden message by incorporating a segment that is agreeable to the censor or which distracts the censor’s attention.⁴⁸⁴

But considering “Rayon” to be simply an expression of Xiao Song’s anticolonial struggle, as scholars Inagaki, Chen, and Xie have suggested, might risk neglecting the broader context, especially that of Xiao Song’s early work. In his early work, I have identified the

⁴⁸¹ Ibid. Also the 1931 Wanpaoshan Incident (*Wanpaoshan shijian* 萬寶山事件) was used by the Japanese as a pretext for the invasion.

⁴⁸² Inagaki Midori, “Shao Son ‘Jinzō kenshi’ ni tsuite,” 379–80.

⁴⁸³ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 167–8. For example, Scott has analyzed the European tradition of “world-upside-down” drawings and prints that were popular especially in the sixteenth century and depicted “a topsy-turvy world in which all the normal relations and hierarchies were inverted. Mice ate cats, children spanked parents, the hare snared the hunter. . .”

⁴⁸⁴ Lev Loseff, *On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature* (München: Sagner, 1984), 51.

anxiety associated with the disruption of Xiao Song's identification with China, as well as the protagonists' efforts to identify with "Asia," which in the semicolonial context of Manchukuo can be understood as a signifier of the colonizer's culture. And in this context, the short story "Rayon" can indeed be understood as a kind of subversion of the colonizer, but in the sense that Xiao Song criticizes the regime for not allowing him to fully identify with it. In fact, in light of Fanon and Bhabha's reflections, the character of the Korean informant who is beaten despite his service to the customs officials can be interpreted as a projection of a Chinese intellectual in Manchukuo, who was figuratively rejected when the regime rejected its original ideology and began Japanization. Moreover, we also find in "Rayon" pathology similar to that described by Fanon in an analogous situation. But whereas Fanon speaks of the neurosis of a black intellectual, in "Rayon," Xiao Song's anxiety seems to translate into a sadistic depiction of the beating of a Korean man that reveals the writer's fear that he himself might end up in a similar way.

Such reading also corresponds to major literary trends within the whole multilingual "Manchurian literature." As for these literary trends, I want to point out that in the late 1930s, we can find fairly open condemnations of racism especially in the works of the Japanese-language authors in Manchukuo. For example, Aoki Minoru's 青木実 (1909–97) short story "Horonbairu" 呼倫貝爾 (Hulunbair), which he published in 1939, shortly after Xiao Song published "Rayon," openly condemns discrimination against Russian workers in Manchukuo by describing how their drunken Japanese superiors beat them just for fun, so that they do not get bored.⁴⁸⁵ The meaning of "Hulunbair" should be understood in the context of Aoki's art program, which he presented in debates, especially on the pages of *Manshū nichī-nichī shinbun* 滿洲日日新聞, a major Japanese-language Dalian newspaper. For example, in 1937 he emphasized that "Manchurian literature" should not only represent the Japanese view of Manchuria but also give space to all "five ethnic groups" and faithfully capture their real life in this territory.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, taking into account this evident reference to the Manchukuo Asianist ideal of ethnic harmony, we can understand Aoki's attitude reflected in his sympathy for the

⁴⁸⁵ Aoki Minoru 青木実, "Horonbairu" 呼倫貝爾 [Hulunbair], *Tōhendō* 2 (1939): 285–6. For my discussion of this tale, see Martin Blahota, "Vyslanci civilizace, nebo násilní pijani? Ztvárnění ruského etnika v jazykově rozmanité literatuře imperiálně rasistického Mandžukua" [Envoys of Civilization, or Violent Drinkers? Representation of the Russian Ethnic Group in the Linguistically Diverse Literature of the Imperially Racist Manchukuo], *Nový Orient* no. 75 (2020): 52.

⁴⁸⁶ Okada Hideki 岡田英樹, *Wei Manzhouguo wenxue* 偽滿洲國文學 [Literature of the Manchukuo pPuppet Regime] (Changchun: Jilin daxue chuban she, 2001), 7.

Russians that he expressed in “Hulunbuir” as an attempt to criticize the real state of affairs in Manchukuo by endorsing ethnic harmony, in which he idealistically believed.

As I have already suggested, Xiao Song’s case is more complex. While Aoki could dare challenge Japanese racism in Manchukuo directly, a Chinese author could hardly do the same thing. Being clearly ethnically disadvantaged in Manchukuo, Xiao Song needed to use indirect and much more refined stylistic devices to deliver his criticism of racism in Manchukuo to his reader. However, we should not overlook that on a fundamental level Xiao Song’s attitude is very similar to Aoki’s. Thus, considering this context and Xiao Song’s early work in which he embraced the idea of ethnic harmony, we have no reason to interpret “Rayon” as less supportive of early Manchukuo ideology than Aoki’s “Hulunbuir.”

From this perspective, we can hardly see “Rayon” as an anticolonial work. Instead of applying the classic colonizer vs. colonized schema here, I find it more helpful to interpret this short story as an expression of Xiao Song’s idealistic identification with “Asia” that was compatible with a certain weakening of Chinese ethnic or national identity within this specific case of the Sinitic nexus, as we saw in Xiao Song’s early stories, but not with racist attacks against the Chinese.

Existing interpretations of Xiao Song’s stories that describe “desperate intellectuals” are also somewhat problematic. For example, Chen Shi has analyzed the 1942 story “Moshengren he yi ge nüshi” 陌生人和一個女侍 (A Stranger and a Waitress),⁴⁸⁷ which features an autobiographical protagonist, Liangwen 梁文, who arrives in his hometown, presumably Shenyang, where he recalls his youth when all his friends were full of ideals. Now, however, Liangwen is frustrated that everyone has abandoned their ideals and become materialist and opportunist. The protagonist meets one of his old friends at a club. This friend used to be “a young man with iron-like firm principles, [who] persuaded many young people not to get married and rather work hard for ideals of mankind...” (一個有鐵一般堅定意識的青年人，勸過許許多多青年人不要結婚，為人類理想再努力...)。⁴⁸⁸ But now he is married, devoted only to his family, and ideals had long lost their importance for him. The meeting

⁴⁸⁷ Chen Shi, “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu,’” 5–8.

⁴⁸⁸ Xiao Song 小松, “Moshengren he yi ge nüshi” 陌生人和一個女侍 [A Stranger and a Waitress], in Chen Shi 陳實 and Xie Chaokun 謝朝坤, eds., *Xiao Song zuopin ji* 小松作品集 [Selected Works By Xiao Song] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017), 314.

with this friend, as a result, arouses in the main protagonist an even stronger feeling of incredible loneliness.⁴⁸⁹

Chen Shi has concluded that “A Stranger and a Waitress” should be interpreted as Xiao Song’s anticolonial criticism of Manchukuo, which pretended to be a paradise on earth, but where in reality the intellectuals were driven to despair by the lack of space for spiritual development.⁴⁹⁰ I agree with Chen that Xiao Song indeed seems to have challenged the state of Manchukuo society in “A Stranger and a Waitress” by condemning most intellectuals for favoring opportunism. But as with the short story “Rayon,” also in this case Xiao Song seems to have expressed his dissatisfaction with wartime Manchukuo primarily because he identified with “Asia,” which he understood through the “state-founding spirit” of early Manchukuo that included above all the doctrines of “ethnic harmony” and *wangdao*.

A number of details in the story confirm such reading. For example, Liangwen’s recollections of his youth obviously refer to the period when Xiao Song worked as an editor in Shenyang in the first half of the 1930s and was involved in building a new literary scene of Manchukuo. In this context, the “ideals of mankind” (*renlei lixiang* 人類理想) that the main protagonist worships in “A Stranger and a Waitress” most likely refer to the ideology of early Manchukuo. Indeed, “ideals of mankind” was a typical phrase found in the Asianist discourse, which claimed that only united Asia can save the whole world from the materialism of Western civilization. Then, when Liangwen in the story criticizes the transformation of intellectuals from idealists to opportunists, he seems to be referring to the transformation of society in Manchukuo after 1937, when the government forced intellectuals to abandon their ideals and required them to settle for serving the colonial regime that did not hide the Japanese superiority anymore.

At the end of the story, a scene in which Liangwen humiliates a waitress can be viewed as referring to this symbolic violence of the regime against intellectuals. To demonstrate to his old friend how he himself has been feeling lately, Liang starts arguing with the waitress about whether the aesthetic quality of the matchbox or the usefulness of the matches is more important, until he, by an implied threat, finally brings the waitress to tears and forces her to change her mind. While “Rayon” can be read as a critique of physical violence against an ethnic group in Manchukuo, “A Stranger and a Waitress” can thus be seen as a critique of the regime’s psychological violence against idealistic intellectuals, who were

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 313–9.

⁴⁹⁰ Chen Shi, “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu,’” 5–8.

allowed to become “almost the same, but not quite.”⁴⁹¹ In these stories, Xiao Song recalls the ideals of early Manchukuo Asianism, the concept of ethnic harmony and the assumption that the unification of the East Asian region would be a precursor to securing world peace, and in each story he chooses a different strategy to subtly criticize the post-1937 Manchukuo regime that replaced the ideals of Asianism with Japanization.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that Xiao Song’s literary work can be read as an expression of Xiao Song becoming “Asian.” First, by analyzing the identity crisis of the characters in Xiao Song’s early stories, I highlighted the resonance of this literature with the official ideology of Manchukuo: in my reading, Yiyu’s neurosis reflects his denial of his Chinese identity in favor of an Asian one, a sentiment that resonates with the promotion of de-Sinization of Manchuria for the sake of Asianizing the territory in Manchukuo’s official political manifestos. The aspiration to become Asian is even more explicitly embodied by the protagonist Song, who rejects his Chinese girlfriend and begins a relationship with a Japanese nurse. In turn, I interpret the rejected (and dejected) protagonists in Xiao Song’s late stories as a projection of the feelings of a Chinese intellectual in Manchukuo after 1937, when the “Asian” identity of this informal colony gradually began to change into a “Japanese” identity.

My readings of Xiao Song’s tales based on my understanding of identities represented in his stories as the identity combination I call the Sinitic nexus have allowed me to offer fresh interpretations of the political meanings of Xiao Song’s work. Namely, I have suggested that once Xiao Song embraced his new “Asian” identity, there was no way back. Indeed, by no means did he turn his coats opportunistically in any situation that required it. On the contrary, he became a very loyal Asianist fellow who did not adapt to the change of ideology in 1937, when *kōdō* substituted *wangdao*. While “becoming Asian” was acceptable for him, “becoming Japanese” was not. In a gesture of moderate political resistance to the semicolonial regime, he continued to endorse the Asianist state-founding spirit, to which he converted almost as one converts to a religion, in his literary works even in the tensest war years. For

⁴⁹¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 86.

example, he indirectly criticized racism in Manchukuo against the Chinese, and condemned opportunism of Chinese intellectuals who easily gave up their ideals under pressure.

To consider Xiao Song disloyal to the state of Manchukuo as such would be a mistake, though. While he was certainly not satisfied with the direction of the regime after 1937, almost until the end of the war he obviously believed that the founding ideology of Manchukuo could be put into practice. In this respect, Xiao Song's loyalty to the regime can be compared to the loyalty of those communists, who in various times and places, for example, in China during the Hundred Flowers Campaign (*bai hua qi fang* 百花齊放, 1956–57), tried to uncover social problems that needed to be fixed from idealistic positions. Similarly, Xiao Song, in his later work, criticized the regime apparently not to dismiss it but to improve it. Even after 1937 he could not stop believing in Manchukuo's founding ideals because they constituted a crucial part of his new identity. Indeed, it proved very difficult, sometimes impossible, to denounce Asianism for those who were becoming Asian for years.

5 **Becoming Asian instead of Communist: Gu Ding**

In this chapter, I analyze narratives of “Asia” in the literary works of Gu Ding 古丁 (1916–64), who took over the leading role in the Chinese-language literary scene when the Manchukuo regime began institutionalizing its cultural production in the early 1940s. During the last years of Manchukuo, Gu Ding was probably the loudest herald of the official Asianist rhetoric among Manchukuo writers and his speeches accurately reflected the most current trends in official ideology. His almost fanatical identification with the Japanocentric concept of “Asia” translated also into his literary works, which contrasted the East Asian region against an imagined Western enemy more radically than Jue Qing and Xiao Song. Gu Ding’s case is also particular in that he embraced the ideas of Asian solidarity after rejecting his original belief in the ideals of communism.

Gu Ding’s Japanocentric conception of “Asia” can be illustrated by a statement he made when he returned to Manchukuo from the 1942 Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress. In local radio broadcast, he commented on one of the goals of the congress, “the establishment of the Greater East Asian spirit” (大東亞精神的樹立):

Of course, the Greater East Asian spirit lies in exploring the inherent morality and truth of our East. However, it must be united under the idea of *kōdō*, so that the founding spirit of Japan that unifies the eight corners of the world becomes the source of our Greater East Asian spirit. This point has been recognized and understood by all Greater East Asian literature representatives. It is indeed the most significant lesson from the congress.

Our East has the incomparable truth and morality of Confucianism and Buddhism. However, China, which produced Confucianism, and India, which produced Buddhism, have long since lost this truth and morality. The only one who has genuinely maintained and developed this truth and morality is our ally Japan. Therefore, if we want to grasp this truth and morality, we can only take the Japanese spirit as the root of our Greater East Asian spirit. This Japanese spirit has already permeated all the delegates at the congress.

大東亞精神，當然在於發探我東方固有的道德和真理，但是，卻要歸一在皇道上，即日本的 肇國精神的八紘一字為我大東亞精神的淵源。此點已為全大東亞文學者代表所認識，所理解，實在是此次大會無上的收穫。

我東洋有儒，佛等世界無比的真理和道德，但是，產生了儒的中國和產生了佛的印度，卻早已將這真理和道德喪失，而真正地保有且生成了這真理和道德的，卻唯有親邦日本。所以，我們想要把握這真理和道德，唯有以日本精神為我大東亞精神的根幹。這日本精神，也已藉著大會滲透了各代表。⁴⁹²

Although Jue Qing, Xiao Song and Gu Ding all supported the Japanese war effort at the Congress and promoted the Japanocentric version of Asianism, this excerpt demonstrates that Gu Ding, in line with Puyi's and Zhang Jinghui's official statements that Shintoism must be at the heart of the East Asian and Manchukuo spirit,⁴⁹³ emphasized Japan's leading role in East Asia somewhat more forcefully than the other Manchukuo writers.⁴⁹⁴ Later on, it was Gu Ding who, in the last years of the Pacific War, produced literary works that most explicitly incorporated elements associated with the ideas and aesthetics of Japanese fascism into the Chinese-language narratives of "Asia."

Why did Gu Ding's Japanocentric Asianism so overtly legitimize the Japanization of Manchuria? In this chapter, I argue that the extreme nature of Gu Ding's Asianism can be understood above all by analyzing his identification as a specific case of what I call the experience of "Asianist spiritual *tenkō*" (*tenkō* 轉向 is commonly translated from the Japanese as "change of direction" or "political conversion"), which in Gu Ding's case meant that he replaced his original identification with the ideals of communism with the ideals of Japanocentric Asianism. Specifically, I argue that at the beginning of his literary career, Gu Ding was a loyal communist. Unlike most contemporary scholars, I take Gu Ding's devotion to communism in that period seriously and compare his transformation into an Asianist and fascist writer with analogous cases among Japanese writers, some of whom were living in Manchukuo and were closely connected with Gu Ding. Taking into account existing findings about leftist Japanese writers' *tenkō* enables me to point out various specific characteristics of Gu Ding's "Asian" identity that vitally differ from "Asian" identities in the works of the other authors analyzed in this dissertation.

⁴⁹² Quoted in Ōkubō Akio, *Wei Manzhouguo de Hanyu zuojia*, 146.

⁴⁹³ Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, 162–6.

⁴⁹⁴ Gu Ding promoted *kōdō* rather forcefully also at the Congress. See Gu Ding, "Dai Tōa seishin no seiritu" 大東亞精神の成立 [Establishment of the Greater East Asian Spirit], *Bungei* 10, no. 12 (1942): 18.

Tenkō experiences and *tenkō* literature have already been investigated; however, thus far, scholars have focused merely on writers from Japan or Japanese-language writers from Japanese colonies.⁴⁹⁵ This chapter is the first study to address the analogous transformation of a Chinese-language writer. Chinese writers' spiritual *tenkō* differs from Japanese cases in many respects because adopting elements of Japanese nationalism, such as *kōdō*, had, naturally, different connotations for Chinese communists than for the Japanese. In Gu Ding's case, I demonstrate that Asianism played an even more critical role in Chinese writers' *tenkō* than in that of their Japanese peers. Thus, this chapter's conclusions have implications for our understanding of various Chinese left-wing writers who published in areas ruled by Japanese colonial and semicolonial regimes.

Because Gu Ding was a leading figure in the literary scene of late Manchukuo, many scholars have examined his work.⁴⁹⁶ Of these studies, particularly noteworthy is the 2012 Japanese-language monograph by Mei Ding'e in which the author analyzes Gu Ding's complete body of work.⁴⁹⁷ However, Mei Ding'e, like many other scholars, mainly from the PRC, overlooks the importance of Asianism for understanding Gu Ding's work and exaggerates Gu Ding's critique of the Japanese semicolonial regime, thereby relativizing his support for Manchukuo.⁴⁹⁸ My focus on Asianist narratives in this chapter enables me to develop several interpretations that differ from Mei's.

The results of existing research published in Japanese and Chinese are reflected in a number of recent scholarly publications in English that deal with Gu Ding's work. For my

⁴⁹⁵ See, for example, Annika Culver's chapter on Yamada Seizaburō, who published in Manchukuo, and Hong Jong-wook's analysis of *tenkō* in colonial Korea. Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 34–50; Hong Jong-wook, "Tenkō in Korea: Revealing the Critical Threshold of Colonial Empire," in Irena Hayter, George T. Sipos, and Mark Williams, eds., *Tenkō: Cultures of Political Conversion in Transwar Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 47–64.

⁴⁹⁶ For example, see Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru "Manshūkoku" no isō*, 66–86; Xu Ke 許可, "Wei Man zuojia Gu Ding zaonian de zuoyi shengya" 偽滿作家古丁早年的左翼生涯 [Early Leftist Career of the Bogus Manchukuo Writer Gu Ding], *Guandong xuekan* no. 45 (2021): 124–34.

⁴⁹⁷ Mei Ding'e, *Ko Tei kenkyū: Manshūkoku ni ikita bunkajin*. For the Chinese-language version, see Mei Ding'e, *Tuoxie yu dikang: Gu Ding de chuangzuo yu chuban huodong* 妥协与抵抗：古丁的创作与出版活动 [Compromise and Resistance: Gu Ding's Literary Work and Publishing Activities] (Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017). The Chinese-language version has probably been censored in the PRC, and it presents a significantly different image of Gu Ding than the original Japanese-language version. Therefore, I mostly quote from the Japanese-language version.

⁴⁹⁸ Scholars based in the PRC sometimes tend to exaggerate Manchukuo authors' left-wing inclinations and anti-imperialist criticism to make their studies more acceptable for publication in the PRC. I present examples of such exaggeration in Mei Ding'e's research below in this chapter. The negligence of the importance of Asianism in Gu Ding's work probably also stems from the fact that his stories containing elements of Asianism are not included in most anthologies of Gu Ding's work that have been published in the PRC since the 1990s.

dissertation, the most significant contribution is a 2013 paper in which Junko Agnew sees Gu Ding's most important novel, *Xin sheng* 新生 (New Life), as an example of Asianist literature. Above all, Agnew points out that it highlights the racial and cultural similarities of East Asians and sets East Asia against the West.⁴⁹⁹ However, my work focusing on "Asian" identities discusses this novel from a different perspective. The most recent research published in English on Gu Ding focuses on other aspects of his work and does not address Asianism.⁵⁰⁰

Methodologically, in this chapter I build on studies of *tenkō*, especially Patricia G. Steinhoff's *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan*, which examined the Japanese communists' *tenkō* as an important historical and sociological phenomenon that enabled Japanese society to maintain its integrity in the period of impending war.⁵⁰¹ In my analysis and interpretation of cultural identities represented in Gu Ding's literary works, I draw on the same theories as throughout this dissertation, with particular emphasis on Homi Bhabha's notion of colonial mimicry⁵⁰² to argue that with his politically motivated literature, Gu Ding tried to set an example for others to the very end of the war. In discussing Gu Ding's short story that disseminates narratives associated with fascism, I draw on Alan Tansman's *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, a study in which the author examines similar issues in Japanese literature of the same period.

This chapter begins with a brief summary of Gu Ding's life and work, which I, unlike other scholars, understand through the prism of *tenkō*. I outline the ways Gu Ding discarded his strong Marxist worldview and searched for a new meaning in life, which he eventually found in Japanocentric Asianism. Next, I examine how ideas of Japanocentric Asianism began to be manifested in Gu Ding's literary work. While in Jue Qing's and Xiao Song's works, I identified Asianist narratives already in their mid-1930s stories, my investigation has indicated that Gu Ding first adopted Asianist rhetoric two or three years later in his essay published in 1937. My analysis of Gu Ding's literary works written from 1939 to 1944 shows that he subsequently incorporated ideas of Asian solidarity into his works of fiction. In the last

⁴⁹⁹ Junko Agnew, "The Politics of Language in Manchukuo: Hinata Nobuo and Gu Ding," *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 1 (2015): 83–110.

⁵⁰⁰ Miya Qiong Xie, "Linguistic Hybridity," 83–102; Junko Agnew, "Sickness, Death, and Survival in the Works of Gu Ding and Xiao Hong," in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives. Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020), 103–19.

⁵⁰¹ Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan* (New York: Garland, 1991), 6.

⁵⁰² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 85–90.

section, I investigate Gu Ding's works published in 1944 and 1945, which can be seen as a culmination of his Japonocentric Asianism in the last years of the Pacific War and Manchukuo, when he increasingly explicitly embraced the ideas of an East Asian alliance and hostility toward the West.

5.1 A Devoted Communist Turned Asianist

Gu Ding, whose real name was Xu Changji 徐長吉,⁵⁰³ was born in 1916 in Changchun.⁵⁰⁴ Although he had four younger sisters, his father was able to afford to send him to a prestigious high school for Chinese students run by Mantetsu, where he studied Japanese and first read Japanese writers such as Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916). When he graduated from high school in 1931, he was accepted to one of Manchuria's best universities, the Shenyang-based Northeastern University 東北大學, whose honorary rector was Zhang Xueliang himself.⁵⁰⁵ After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Gu Ding fled to Beiping along with Northeastern University in its entirety and, in September 1932, enrolled in Peking University's Chinese literature program. He wrote about his Beiping studies, which lasted less than a year, in the short story "Tuibai" 頹敗 (Falling into Decadence), which focuses on the social difficulties of refugee students.⁵⁰⁶ During this period, Gu Ding participated in literary activities in Beiping. In June 1932, he joined the Northern Left League (*Beifang Zuolian* 北方左聯), an underground organization led by the CCP, which was supported by the influential Shanghai-based League of Left-Wing Writers (*Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia lianmeng* 中國左翼作

⁵⁰³ He also used the pennames Xu Tuwei 徐突微, Tu Wei 突微, Ni Guding 尼古丁, Shi Zhizi 史之子, and Shi Congmin 史從民, among others.

⁵⁰⁴ For detailed biographies of Gu Ding, see Mei Ding'e, *Ko Tei kenkyū: Manshūkoku ni ikita bunkajin*, 13–71; and Miya Qiong Xie, "The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria," 118–36.

⁵⁰⁵ Mei Ding'e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 15.

⁵⁰⁶ Gu Ding, "Tuibai" 頹敗 [Falling into Decadence], in Li Chunyan 李春燕, ed., *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 [Gu Ding's Selected Works] (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 165–73.

家聯盟).⁵⁰⁷ In less than a month, he became the head of the Department of Organization of the Northern Left League, whose task was to recruit new members.⁵⁰⁸

Between May and August 1932, Gu Ding coedited a literary journal and published a remarkable number of works, in which he profiled himself as a proletarian writer. For example, he translated works by the Japanese authors Kurahara Korehito 藏原惟人 (1902–99),⁵⁰⁹ Iwafuji Yukio 岩藤雪夫 (1902–89), and Moriyama Kei 森山啓 (1904–91), all of whom were active members of the proletarian literature movement that was organized by the Japanese Communist Party.⁵¹⁰ He also published his own proletarian poems and essays, in which he strongly opposed the Kuomintang (KMT) regime that ruled over Beiping at the time. For example, in one poem, in protest against “the dog party government” (狗黨政府), he called on workers to go on a six-month strike.⁵¹¹

Although Gu Ding took part in anti-war activities directed against Japanese imperialism during his Beiping studies,⁵¹² we should keep in mind that at the same time, as a leftist, he opposed Chinese nationalism as promoted by the Kuomintang. This is evidenced, for example, by his translation of the short story “Nimen bu shi Ribenren, shi xiongdi” 你們不是日本人，是兄弟！ (You Are Not Japanese, You Are [our] Brothers!) written by the Korean proletarian writer Park Neung-mook 朴能默 (1888–1947). This story tells of Korean peasants and workers who consider themselves the slaves of their Japanese imperialist exploiters, whom they hate without exception. Eventually, however, the main characters meet Japanese workers who call for a unity in the class struggle against the capitalists. In the very end, the Korean heroes “suppress[ed] the obstacle of nationalism” and realize that their

⁵⁰⁷ For details on Northern Left League, see Sun Xizhen 孫席珍, “Guanyu beifang zuolian de shiqing” 關於北方左聯的事情 [On Northern Left League], in Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 中國社會科學院, ed., *Zuolian huiyilu* 左聯回憶錄 [The League of Left-Wing Writers Memoirs] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982), 495–521.

⁵⁰⁸ Miya Qiong Xie, “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria,” 119.

⁵⁰⁹ Kurahara published the essay translated by Gu Ding under his penname Furukawa Shōichirō 古川庄一郎.

⁵¹⁰ Mei Ding’e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 235–6.

⁵¹¹ Gu Ding, “Baogui de jingyan – Tianjin Hengyan shachang gongren de douzheng” 寶貴的經驗 – 天津恒源紗廠工人的鬥爭 [A Valuable Experience: The Struggle of Workers in Tianjin Hengyuan Cotton Mill], quoted in Mei Ding’e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 9.

⁵¹² Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 267.

Japanese fellows are “not the Japanese but brothers.”⁵¹³ Thus, Gu Ding’s role as an essayist and translator from the Japanese shows that immediately after the Mukden Incident, he prioritized the class struggle over the matter of saving the homeland. Therefore, we should primarily understand him as a follower of internationalist communism, which was at that time widespread in Japan and China. Although this ideology undoubtedly defied Japanese imperialism, talking about anti-Japanese attitudes, as some scholars of Gu Ding do, would be rather misleading in this context.

Gu Ding’s Beiping period ended when he was arrested by the KMT police during an anti-war meeting on August 3, 1933, along with eighteen other members of the Northern Left League. Shortly after Gu Ding’s arrest, he allegedly publicly condemned the Communist Party and the League, and soon after that, he left Beiping for Changchun.⁵¹⁴ Many scholars claim that in doing so Gu Ding betrayed his fellow leftist writers and even alienated himself from communist ideals forever.⁵¹⁵ However, respected scholar Okada Hideki has questioned Gu Ding’s betrayal of his colleagues, pointing out that there is no direct evidence.⁵¹⁶ I thus consider the alleged betrayal unconfirmed.

Furthermore, I consider it an inappropriate assumption that Gu Ding became estranged from the communist movement and ideology in connection with this incident. In addition to Okada’s assumptions, I can argue this with several proletarian-styled works that, as I have

⁵¹³ 抑制下去礙事的民族主義喊叫道。“你們不是日本人，是兄弟！……”Park Neung-mook, “Nimen bu shi Ribenren, shi xiongdi” 你們不是日本人，是兄弟！ [You Are Not Japanese, You Are Brothers!], *Wenxue zazhi* 1, no. 2 (1933): 101–6.

⁵¹⁴ Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 267.

⁵¹⁵ For example, Miya Qiong Xie states: “While in Beijing, Gu was primarily a proletarian writer and cadre, but this identity ended abruptly when he betrayed the revolution and sold out his comrades. Sometime before August 1933, the KMT government police arrested him. While in custody, he disclosed the location of a forthcoming leftist assembly to the police and thereby caused the arrest of all the attendees. After the incident, Gu immediately left for Manchukuo and resumed his writing career.” See Xie’s “Linguistic Hybridity,” 85. The narrative of Gu Ding’s betrayal is based on a specific material from the CCP archives, which states that an unknown traitor gave the meeting away in advance. Furthermore, some participants in the meeting assumed that Gu Ding was the traitor. See Mei Ding’e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 9.

⁵¹⁶ Okada Hideki noted that after his arrest Gu Ding tried to protect some of his colleagues, that the age of all participants in the assembly was around twenty and that misunderstandings could easily occur due to their young age, and that even after returning to Manchukuo, Gu Ding expressed sympathy for communist authors, as Yamada Seizaburō would recall later. See Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 264–9. After all, Mei Ding’e has stated that Gu Ding may not have given the meeting away in advance but that the police could have monitored him without his knowing it. Mei Ding’e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 10. Moreover, the alleged betrayal had little effect on Gu Ding’s position in Manchukuo, as other Chinese-language writers allegedly did not know about it. Okada Hideki, *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō*, 268.

discovered, Gu Ding published after returning to Manchukuo.⁵¹⁷ Standing out among these publications, for example, is the 1935 poem “Ba’erdishan” 巴爾底山 (Partisans), which celebrates the Long March in an allusive way,⁵¹⁸ and Gu Ding’s 1936 translation of Lu Xun’s obituary written by the Japanese anti-war writer Ikeda Sachiko 池田幸子 (1913–76), who lived in China with her husband, the Japanese proletarian writer Kaji Wataru.⁵¹⁹ These publications are missing from Gu Ding’s bibliographies and have not yet been mentioned by any scholar.⁵²⁰

It is not surprising that Gu Ding could continue his proletarian literary activities in Manchukuo. Scholars have recently noted that while communist writers were facing severe persecution at this time in Japan, due to the fragmented nature of colonialism, proletarian literature had been one of the main literary movements in Manchuria since 1929 and continued well into the 1930s.⁵²¹ And even though attacks on leftist writers gradually

⁵¹⁷ Gu Ding, “Shi shi chaoxianshi de ma?” 詩是超現實的麼 [Is Poetry Surreal?], *Manzhou bao* (October 27, 1933): 8; Gu Ding, “Tuilunzhe?” 推輪者 [Those Who Turn the Wheel], *Manzhou bao* (November 3, 1933): 8; Gu Ding, “Pa’erdishan” 巴爾底山 [Partisans], *Paomo* 1, vol. 4 (1935): 27; Ikeda Sachiko 池田幸子, “Zuihou yi hui de Lu Xun” 最後一會的魯迅 [Lu Xun’s Last Moments], translated by Gu Ding, *Datong bao* (November 21, 22, and 24, 1936): 6.

⁵¹⁸ In his 1935 poem “Partisans,” which he published in December 1935 in the Beijing journal *Paomo* 泡沫, where it accompanied an article commemorating the French communist author Henri Barbusse (1873–1935), Gu Ding calls for “this group that is assembled in the East and West of the Great Wall” (這一群，集在長城的東；西) to unite. I read this line as Gu Ding’s suggestion that Soviet, Chinese, and Japanese communists should get together. By rhetorically asking if “you, the Pekingese dog, can disperse this steel-tight group” (叭兒狗，... 你能咬散這鐵的集體嗎？), he seems to question the KMT leadership’s ability to fight partisans, that is, Chinese communists, who just two months before the publication of this poem reached Yan’an and brought the Long March (*Changzheng* 長征, October 1934–October 1935) to its end. See Gu Ding, “Pa’erdishan,” 27.

⁵¹⁹ Despite Lu Xun’s work being prohibited in Manchukuo, Gu Ding published this translation in *Datong bao*. See Ikeda Sachiko, “Zuihou yi hui de Lu Xun,” 6. For more information on Ikeda, see Huang Wei 黃薇, “Ribenzhan nüzuojia: Ikeda Sachiko fangwen ji” 日本反戰女作家：池田幸子訪問記 [A Japanese female anti-war writer: Interview with Ikeda Sachiko], *Funü shenghuo* 婦女生活 6, no. 3, (June 5, 1938), 23–4. Notable is also the 1933 essay “Shi shi chaoxianshi de ma?” 詩是超現實的麼 (Is Poetry Surreal?) published in *Manzhou bao*, in which Gu Ding notes that poetry should reflect “dialectic materialism,” and he explicitly names the German communist poet Johannes R. Becher (1891–1958) as a role model for poetry in Manchukuo. See Gu Ding, “Shi shi chaoxianshi de ma?,” 8.

⁵²⁰ Mei Ding’e’s monograph does not mention the existence of Gu Ding’s early works from 1933 to 1936 at all. See Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 20–1.

⁵²¹ For example, Liu Heng-Hsing has demonstrated that some of the many small literary societies that emerged there between 1933 and 1936 were strongly influenced by socialist thought, which was widespread in Manchukuo due to, among other things, the proximity of the Soviet Union. See Liu Heng-Hsing 劉恆興, “Wenxue, zhuti yu shehui: ‘Manzhouguo’ wentan jianshe lunzheng de qiyuan yu fazhan” 文學、主體與社會：「滿洲國」文壇建設論爭的起源與發展 (1935–1936) [Literature, Subjectivity, and Society: The Origin and Development of Debates on Literary Construction in Manchukuo, 1935–1936]. *Wen yu zhe* 30 (2017): 135–36. Furthermore, Ōkubō Akio has evidenced that a Manchukuo student in Tokyo, poet Luo Tuosheng 駱駝生 (1913–unknown), attempted to establish an independent literary association, the Mobei Literary Youth

intensified in Manchukuo and they were sometimes even executed,⁵²² left-wing literature was still published and debated in Manchukuo even after these events. Authors who were not directly linked to CCP underground cells or expressed their attitudes in a subtle manner could continue to rely on the protection of some Japanese editors or publish in rather peripheral periodicals. Thus, the final blow against left-wing literature did not come until December 1941, when the Harbin Left-Wing Literature Incident (*Ha'erbin zuoyi wenxue shijian* 哈爾濱左翼文學事件, also known as the December Thirty Incident, *Shi'er-sanling shijian* 十二·三零事件) occurred following an anti-communist witch hunt that started in Japan after the discovery of a high-ranking Soviet spy in October of that year.⁵²³ In Harbin, left-wing writers, such as Guan Monan, were arrested by the paranoid regime.⁵²⁴

Gu Ding was not among the most prominent leftist authors in early Manchukuo. But for our understanding of his literary career, it is essential to challenge the abovementioned narrative indicating that he became a traitor of the communist movement in Beiping and then returned to “treacherous” Manchukuo to continue his “treacherous” activities there. He probably saw much more room for proletarian literature in Manchukuo than in Beiping, which could be one reason for his return. I should mention that in Manchukuo, it was not only modernity but also the communist ideology that, paradoxically, sometimes displaced local intellectuals’ contempt for Japanese imperialism. In fact, some leftist intellectuals appreciated

Association (*Mobei wenxue qingnian hui* 漠北文學青年會) in December 1934 in Manchukuo. This association, which was oriented toward proletarian literature, was modelled after the Tokyo Left-wing League (*Tōkyō saren* 東京左聯). See Ōkubō Akio, “Luo Tuosheng and Manchukuo Literature: The Literary Endeavours of a Manchukuo Student in Imperial Japan,” 214–8.

⁵²² In 1934, attacks on leftist writers led to a wave of emigration that saw the departure of writers such as Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, Bai Lang 白朗 (1912–94), Shu Qun 舒群 (1913–89), and others. But due to the fragmented nature of colonialism in Manchukuo, leftist literature continued to be published and debated. In 1936, as restrictions tightened, a number of leftist intellectuals, including the journalist and writer Jin Jianxiao 金劍嘯 (1910–36), were executed in August of that year in Qiqihar in what became known as the Heilongjiang Min Bao Incident (*Heilongjiang Min bao shijian* 黑龍江民報事件). See Jin Boying 金伯英 and Jin Hui 金輝, “Qiantan ‘Heilongjiang Min bao’ yu ‘Min bao shijian’” 淺談《黑龍江民報》與“民報事件” [A Brief Talk on Heilongjiang Min bao and the Min Bao Incident], *Heilongjiang shehui kexue* 黑龍江社會科學, no. 59 (2000): 70–2. Subsequently, in the fall of 1936, a major literary supplement of *Datong bao* was prohibited after it commemorated the death of Maxim Gorky (1868–1936) by producing a special issue on Gorky that included a picture of Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) bearing the coffin at Gorky’s funeral. The editor of this supplement, Sun Ling 孫陵 (1914–83), fled to Shanghai. See Jiang Lei, “Spiritual Resistance: A Study of the Phenomenon of Resistance Literature in Supplements of Manchukuo’s *Datong bao* [Great Unity Herald],” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives. Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 56.

⁵²³ Louise Young, “When Fascism Met Empire,” 290.

⁵²⁴ Jiang Lei, “Spiritual Resistance,” 50–62.

that the Japanese managed to expel the Kuomintang, which they saw as their main competitor.⁵²⁵ Some Chinese leftists could also seek inspiration from the ideas of Japanese “converted” communists, who, after they performed *tenkō* in 1933, began to assert that support for the Japanese emperor meant fighting against the Chinese “nationalist clique.” Moreover, they saw the possibility of a socialist state encompassing Japan, Korea, and Manchuria emerging in East Asia.⁵²⁶ Thus, reading Gu Ding’s works from the early phase of Manchukuo, we can guess that he might have naively believed that Manchuria would soon become socialist, be it thanks to the help of communists in the Soviet Union, China, or even Japan. And I can state with certainty that when in 1943 Manchukuo censors called Gu Ding “a leftist writer” (Chapter 4), they had good reasons for doing so: they knew very well about his proletarian activities in 1930s Manchukuo.

In September 1937, Gu Ding, under his real name Xu Changji, published in *Shengjing shibao* the essay “Ribei dui Hua de zhenyi” 日本對華的真意 (Japan’s True Intentions toward China). Only two years after his poem that seemed to celebrate the Long March and one year after he commemorated Lu Xun’s death in a major Xinjing newspaper, in this essay, he unconditionally approved of Japan’s attack on China proper that began in July of that year and warned against “the red power” (赤色勢力).⁵²⁷ It was only after this moment that elements of Asianist narratives started to define his literary works. Until today, research has played down or ignored the existence of this crucial essay.⁵²⁸ In contrast to most existing research that understands the year 1932 as a turning point in Gu Ding’s literary career, I see it instead in this change after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. I understand this turning point to

⁵²⁵ The alliance between intellectuals and the Japanese in Manchukuo builds on social relations in Manchuria in the 1920s. Hyun Ok Park has demonstrated that even though Chinese nationalism rose in Manchuria in the 1920s, relations between the Chinese middle class, militarists, and the Japanese were functioning as triangular relations, which enabled two of the parties to jointly maneuver against the third. The Chinese middle class and the Japanese often put joint pressure on militarists, who later allied with Chinese nationalists, in various forms. See Park Hyun Ok, “Nationalism and Bourgeois Hegemony in Northeast China,” *Korea Journal of Population and Development* 23, no. 2 (December 1994): 217–8.

⁵²⁶ Irena Hayter, “Introduction,” xix.

⁵²⁷ Gu Ding, “Ribei dui Hua de zhenyi” 日本對華的真意 [Japan’s True Intentions toward China], *Shengjing shibao* (September 1, 1937): 2 (haowai).

⁵²⁸ For example, Mei Ding’e has commented only on Gu Ding’s approval of war and has not mentioned that this essay strongly condemns the communists. She has suggested that Gu Ding was probably forced to write it by his employer and that he might have wanted to reveal the emptiness of Japanese propaganda phrases by incorporating them into his essay. Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 33. However, Mei has not provide any reasoning for these assertions. Most scholars analyzing Gu Ding’s work have not addressed this essay. For example, Miya Qiong Xie’s dissertation chapter does not mention it. Miya Qiong Xie, “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria,” 118–26.

be a case of Asianist spiritual *tenkō*. To be sure, in this essay, Gu Ding did not openly dismiss his past communist efforts, and he only pretended that he had never been part of any communist movement and had always been supportive of Japanese “brotherly help.” However, in the next section, I will demonstrate that his conversion was indeed fundamentally analogical to Japanese *tenkō* in many ways.

Later on, Gu Ding, who since late 1933 worked as a low-ranking employee of Manchukuo’s Statistics Department of the State Council (*Guowuyuan tongjichu* 國務院統計處), participated in establishing several influential literary journals, especially *Mingming* 明明 in 1937 and *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 in 1939. In the early 1940s Gu Ding emerged as the leader of the whole Chinese-language literary scene in Manchukuo. On January 17, 1941, he participated in organizing the Patriotic Congress of Writers and Artists (*Wenyijia aiguo dahui* 文藝家愛國大會), which brought together Manchukuo writers. That Gu Ding was the main actor in this Congress, a test run of the upcoming first Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress in Tokyo, was evident when his poem celebrating “one billion East Asian brothers” (東亞十億兄弟) who had “one million sacred pens” (東亞百萬聖筆)⁵²⁹ was published on January 19 as the first output of the Congress, whereas the other attendants, such as Xiao Song, Jue Qing, and Shan Ding 山丁 (1914–97), had their reflections released only three days later. In July 1941, Gu Ding became a member of the executive committee of the newly founded Association of Manchurian Writers and Artists, which was chaired by the Manchukuo-based Japanese writer Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎 (1896–1987).⁵³⁰ At the first Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress, though, it was not Yamada but Gu Ding who gave an introductory speech representing Manchukuo writers of all ethnicities. Furthermore, in 1942, together with Xiao Song and other writers, Gu Ding founded the Xinjing-based bookshop and publishing house *Yiwen shufang* 藝文書房 that published the most significant Chinese-language novels of the late Manchukuo period.⁵³¹

Between 1932 and 1945, Gu Ding penned numerous short stories, essays, poems, novels, and translations. Due to his leading position in Manchukuo literary organizations in

⁵²⁹ Gu Ding, “Huanxi” 歡喜 [I Am Happy], *Datong bao* (January 19, 1942): 4.

⁵³⁰ Mei Ding’e 梅定娥, *Ko Tei kenkyū: Manshūkoku ni ikita bunkajin* 古丁研究「滿洲国」に生きた文化人 [Gu Ding: A Cultural Icon in Manchukuo] (Kyoto: Ningen Bunka Kenkyū Kikō Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 2012), 373.

⁵³¹ Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 21.

the 1940s, he became probably the most well-known Chinese-language Manchukuo writer in Japan. His main literary works include the 1938 short-story collection *Fenfei* 奮飛 (Strenuous Flight), the 1938 novel *Pingsha* 平沙 (The Plain of Sands), the 1939 translation of Natsume Sōseki's novel *Kokoro* 心 (Sincerity),⁵³² and the 1944 novel *Xinsheng* 新生 (New Life). In 1942, Gu Ding significantly contributed to spreading the ideas of radical Japonocentric Asianism in Manchukuo by publishing Ōkawa Shūmei's *History of Anglo-American Invasion of East Asia*, which he translated together with Jue Qing and Wai Wen. Gu Ding's 1938 short story "Yuanye" 原野 (The Wilds) received the Shengjing literary prize, and *New Life*, the Greater East Asia Literary Award in 1944.

5.2 Declaring Asianist Spiritual *Tenkō*

Tenkō usually describes the mass ideological conversions in Japan that followed the surprising denunciation of the Comintern and Japanese Communist Party by two distinguished members of the party, Sano Manabu 佐野学 (1892–1953) and Nabeyama Sadachika 鍋山貞親 (1901–79) in June 1933. Soon, hundreds of Japanese communists followed suit, including commoners, politicians, and intellectuals. As Patricia G. Steinhoff has noted, the latter group's *tenkō* is sometimes described as "spiritual *tenkō*."⁵³³ The most famous spiritual *tenkōsha* 転向者, that is, those who performed *tenkō*, included self-proclaimed proletarian writers such as Hayashi Fusao 林房雄 (1903–75) and Nakano Shigeharu 中野重治 (1902–79). All these writers, most of whom were imprisoned by that time and pressured by the Japanese government to dissociate from communism, substituted their universalist, anti-nationalist, and anti-imperialist Marxist doctrine with support for Japanese nationalism and the emperor. This ideological turn signified not only a political conversion but also a cultural one. Specifically, they denounced Marxism as part of Western

⁵³² Natsume Sōseki's 1909 pejorative depictions of the Chinese in Dalian helped to establish the image of "uncivilized" Manchuria as opposed to "civilized" Japanese culture in Japan. See Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 19–20.

⁵³³ Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 129–30.

modernity and fully embraced the Japanese national myth.⁵³⁴ Moreover, support for Japanese expansion, which was legitimized by Asianist rhetoric, formed an inherent part of Japanese intellectuals' ideological conversions, including those of Sano and Nabeyama. Asianism thus became a tool for confirming the loyalty of former communists to the Japanese government.⁵³⁵

In Japan, *tenkō* began within a specific historical context. As in other industrial countries, in the 1920s Japanese society experienced economic problems that culminated in the Great Depression of 1929–30. This recession, accompanied by unemployment, led to labor strikes, tenant farmer disputes, and other social unrest, and it fueled the development of the Japanese communist movement.⁵³⁶ After the founding of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, communist movements were suppressed in many places – mildly, in countries like Great Britain and the US, and harshly, as in Italy and Germany. Following the fascist road of this more general anti-communist trend, Japan passed the “Peace Preservation Law” in 1925, under which communists began to be arrested in 1928.⁵³⁷ Between 1933 and 1935, most imprisoned communists denounced the communist movement, and thus, the main opposition to the mounting war efforts was crushed.⁵³⁸

Patricia G. Steinhoff has outlined the dominant characteristics of the Japanese spiritual *tenkō* experience by analyzing Japanese writers' literary works and memoirs. Above all, she has pointed out that for members of the Japanese Communist Party, communism, or Marxist ideology, was something like a religion. Upon joining the party, they swore to lay down their lives for it, and the meaning of their lives and deaths was shaped by party ideology. For *tenkōsha* (people who performed *tenkō*), the key impetus for their decision to reject the communist ideology was a confrontation with death that they experienced in prison. At some point, most of them concluded that their own lives were more important to them than the communist movement. Thus, *tenkōsha* began seeking alternative answers to the question of the meaning of life and death. Although this search often took them many years, in the end, they often found it, namely in the already mentioned Japanese nationalism, but often also in

⁵³⁴ Irena Hayter, “Introduction. *Tenkō* – Modernity, Empire, Japan,” in Irena Hayter, George T. Sipos, and Mark Williams, eds., *Tenkō: Cultures of Political Conversion in Transwar Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), xix–xxi.

⁵³⁵ Torsten Weber, *Embracing 'Asia' in China and Japan*, 288–9.

⁵³⁶ Irena Hayter, “Introduction,” xix–xx.

⁵³⁷ Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 3–4.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

nihilism, Buddhism, or Japanese Christianity.⁵³⁹ Very often, their former universal anti-capitalism transformed into an Asianist refusal of specifically Western capitalism, which they were willing to fight in a war on the side of a united East Asia under Japanese leadership.⁵⁴⁰

I argue that this specific Japanese way of becoming “Asian” impacted some Chinese-language authors in Manchukuo. One of them was Gu Ding, who thus set out on his journey of becoming “Asian” in a completely different manner than Jue Qing and Xiao Song did a few years earlier. To explore Gu Ding’s decision to perform Asianist spiritual *tenkō*, I want first to discuss his short story “Mo Li” 莫里 (Mo Li), which he finished in 1936 and published in February 1937. The first-person narrator of this story is Fan Dong 凡東, an autobiographical protagonist reminiscent of Gu Ding. In Xinjing, he happens to meet his old friend Mo Li, whom he has not seen for five years. When they studied literature together, Mo Li was his ideological mentor: “He taught me things that I couldn’t learn in the classroom, encouraged me to read new progressive books, spurred me to write things that I couldn’t write before, taught me some new vocabulary, that was all to his credit” (他教給了我 在教室裡學不到的知識，他鼓勵著我讀了好些進步的新書，他刺戟著我寫了我從前所不能寫的東西，一些新的語彙，都是他教會了我)。⁵⁴¹

Given that Gu Ding had recalled his Beiping literature studies in his earlier short story “Tuibai,” it is legitimate to understand Mo Li as a character inspired by somebody with whom Gu Ding studied in Beiping. Specifically, Mo Li seems to refer to someone who indoctrinated Gu Ding there with communist ideology and inspired his early proletarian works. However, Mo Li changed in the meantime: upon his return to Manchuria, he became a policeman whom people feared, abandoned his “utopia” (烏托邦), lost his wife and mistress, began frequenting brothels, became seriously ill with syphilis, and started smoking opium to forget his suffering. Mo Li called his approach to life an “opium philosophy” (鴉片哲學), which meant that he threw away his past, was only interested in the present, and only strived to survive.⁵⁴²

At the very end of the story, Mo Li says that besides drinking, whoring, and smoking opium, there is no other “new life” that he could start. Now, all he can do is “flatter his

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 151–73.

⁵⁴⁰ Torsten Weber, *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan*, 288–9.

⁵⁴¹ Gu Ding, “Moli,” 莫里 [Mo Li], in Li Chunyan 李春燕, ed., *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 [Gu Ding’s Selected Works] (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 10.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 195–211.

superiors, wag his tail and beg for pity, and just wait like a dog for the gnawed bones the master leaves him” (拍拍馬屁，搖尾乞憐，狗一般的跟主人分一點吃剩下的骨頭而已).⁵⁴³ And although by using this “dog” metaphor, Mo Li put himself quite clearly in the role of a traitor, namely the “running dog” (*zougou* 走狗) of the Manchukuo regime, who was trying to forget any values or ideals, Fan Dong found this attitude somewhat interesting: at the end of the story, he thought there really was something about Mo Li’s opium philosophy and wondered whether life was that low indeed.⁵⁴⁴

The short story “Mo Li” has already caught several scholars’ attention. For example, Mei Ding’e also understands Mo Li to be Fan Dong’s communist mentor. And yet, she interprets the dog motif as a nationalist metaphor for a traitor to the Chinese nation who collaborates with the Japanese. Overall, she reads this story as a description of how Chinese intellectuals oppressed by the colonial regime had to seek an escape in opium or, in the case of Fan Dong, in his family and literary work.⁵⁴⁵ In contrast to Mei, Miya Qiong Xie has emphasized the importance of the very ending of “Mo Li,” in which we, for the first time in Gu Ding’s work, encounter the term *new life*. As Gu Ding extensively discusses “new life” in the novels *The Plain of Sands* and *New Life*, understanding its meaning is crucial to the interpretation of Gu Ding’s literary work as a whole. Xie has not provided a specific interpretation of this ending, though, stating that its meaning is open.⁵⁴⁶

In my reading, “Mo Li” is strikingly reminiscent of stories analyzed by Steinhoff in which Japanese writers recount their experience with *tenkō*. For example, former proletarian writers Shimaki Kensaku 島木健作 (1903–45) and Shiina Rinzō 椎名麟三 (1911–73) illustrated their decision to make an ideological conversion with a story about a pair of communist comrades who rejected communist ideology after encountering severe illness. Shimaki wrote about two communists who met each other in prison. One of them suffers from tuberculosis, the other from leprosy, and they realize that communism cannot save their lives. At that moment, they even consider suicide. As for Shiina, he described a communist who fears the death penalty and at the same time realizes that he is not willing to lay down his life for a terminally ill friend who was released from prison. This finding leads him to think

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 210–1.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 211.

⁵⁴⁵ Mei, Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 147–8.

⁵⁴⁶ Miya Qiong Xie, “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria,” 124–5.

that he is not ready to lay down his own life for the communist movement as such. According to Steinhoff, both stories depict heroes who re-appreciate their own self, which was previously suppressed by their belief that they must sacrifice for the party. When confronted with their own, or a friend's, illness or death in prison, they decide to start a new life, the essence of which lies in their new inclination toward individual subjectivity.⁵⁴⁷

Somewhat similar to these stories, Mo Li in Gu Ding's short story apparently serves as a discouraging yet also inspiring protagonist for the narrator Fan Dong. Mo Li, whose lifestyle caused his severe illness, tells Fan Dong that he decided to throw away his past when he started to consider suicide. Thus, as in the case of the protagonists in these Japanese short stories, a confrontation with death made Mo Li reject his original communist ideals and decide to survive at all costs. And as in the short stories mentioned, Fan Dong's conclusion that there was something about Mo Li's opium philosophy can be understood as a devoted communist's reassessment of whether or not to prioritize his own life over the communist movement when confronted with his friend's suffering.

Hence, I consider the rejection of communist ideology, not of the Chinese nation, to be the central line of the short story "Mo Li." This is not to say that Gu Ding did not express any national feelings there. Indeed, "Mo Li" seems to reflect on the loss of China, though only subtly. When Mo Li says he "lost everything," he looks out the window at the moon in a scene reminiscent of the metaphor of losing one's homeland associated with Lu Xun, which we have seen in Xiao Song's works.⁵⁴⁸ Gu Ding, after all, tried to protect Lu Xun's legacy in Manchukuo, as I have mentioned above. Even the mention that Mo Li first lost his wife and then his younger mistress could be read as a nationally tempered hint in the context of the common allegories in Manchukuo's Chinese-language literature. Namely, we can see it as a suggestion that Mo Li lost (old) China first and then (young) independent Manchukuo at a time when absolute subordination to Japan became apparent (we already know two girls representing China and Manchukuo from Xiao Song's short stories). However, we need to take into account that Gu Ding, even after the Mukden Incident, spoke out against Kuomintang's Chinese nationalism and undoubtedly advocated internationalist communism, which included the Soviets, the Chinese, and the Japanese. Thus, the protagonist, Mo Li, who is likened to the treacherous dog in this tale, should be seen primarily as a traitor to the

⁵⁴⁷ Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 152–60.

⁵⁴⁸ Gu Ding, "Mo Li," 210.

communist idea, the true religion of proletarian authors, whose devotion we should not underestimate.

Gu Ding followed his protagonist Mo Li's rejection of communist ideology when he discarded communism himself in the aforementioned essay "Japan's True Intentions toward China," which he published in September 1937 after the repression of communists in Manchukuo and the Japanese attack on China proper. In this essay, Gu Ding praises Japan's friendly and peaceful intentions toward China and expresses his support for the war in clearly Asianist language: "Whenever Japan annihilates one Chinese unit, there is one more obstacle to peace in East Asia removed" (日本殲滅了華軍的一隊，就是除掉了東亞和平的障礙物一個).⁵⁴⁹ Interestingly, in addition to identifying with East Asia at the expense of China, the essay is dominated by anti-communist rhetoric. For example, Gu Ding writes here that Chiang Kai-shek dug his own grave when he merged with "the public enemy of mankind, the red power" (人類的公敵——赤色勢力).⁵⁵⁰ At the end of this essay, Gu Ding describes that he recently saw an apt caricature depicting a Chinese man with "KMT" written on his body and "resisting Japan" (*kang-Ri* 抗日) on his scarf, who rides a mule heading for an abyss. The animal is then pushed into the abyss by a man labeled "The Soviet Union."⁵⁵¹ Thus, considering that Gu Ding chose such blatantly anti-communist motifs from Japanese propaganda and emphasized them in this essay, "Japan's True Intentions towards China" can be seen as Gu Ding's public proclamation of *tenkō*. Specifically, he rejects here the communist movement in favor of Japanese imperialist efforts, which are legitimized by Asianist rhetoric.

Even though we can identify the Asianist narrative borrowed from official Japanese propaganda in this essay, it does not mean that Gu Ding became an Asianist overnight. As was the case with Japanese *tenkōsha*, who often needed many years to find a new meaning in life after they rejected communist ideology, Gu Ding just embarked on a long journey to find his "new life." Steinhoff has noted that after political conversion, many *tenkōsha* became "directionless," and only after trying various alternatives did they succeed in reconciling with their new identity.⁵⁵² Gu Ding's artistic program, which he was promoting since August 1937

⁵⁴⁹ Gu Ding, "Ribei dui Hua de zhenyi," 2.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Patricia G. Steinhoff, *Tenkō*, 163.

in the new literary journal *Mingming* under the name “directionless direction” (*meiyou fangxiang de fangxiang* 沒有方向的方向), corresponds quite accurately with this idea.⁵⁵³ Gu Ding then celebrated this art program primarily in the 1940 novel *The Plain of Sands*.⁵⁵⁴ Given that Gu Ding, as a Manchukuo Chinese, could hardly embrace Japanese nationalism as the Japanese *tenkōsha* frequently did, the door opened for his acceptance of a new religion in the form of Japanocentric Asianism.

5.3 The Birth of East Asians

As I have demonstrated above, in the early 1940s, Gu Ding became a leading figure in Manchukuo’s Chinese-language literary scene, embracing Japanocentric Asianism in his speeches, in which he did not consider *wangdao* but *kōdō* to be the core of “Asian” spirituality. I have argued that Gu Ding replaced his belief in communism, which circumstances had forced him to reject, with this kind of thought. In this section, I argue that Gu Ding’s *tenkō* quickly translated into his literary work. While at first, inclination towards Asianism was reflected in his works by the weakening of Manchuria’s Chinese identity, as in the case of Xiao Song’s fiction, in the final stages of the war, Gu Ding’s identification with a Japanocentric and anti-Western image of “Asia” became so fanatical that it was unparalleled among writers in Manchukuo.

The first signs of Gu Ding’s conversion to Asianism can be seen represented in his short stories published from 1936 to 1938. We can identify here the shift from social criticism commonly found in modern Chinese literature to Gu Ding’s efforts to de-Sinicize Manchuria. For example, Gu Ding’s accusation of global capitalist forces of causing rural decline in Manchuria in his 1936 “Boli ye” 玻璃葉 (Glass Leaves), a story published before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, is strongly reminiscent of Mao Dun’s 茅盾 (1896–1981) social criticism.⁵⁵⁵ By contrast, in the 1938 short story “Bian jin” 變金 (Turning into Money), the suffering of villagers is primarily caused by bandits and crooked kinship relations in the

⁵⁵³ Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 237.

⁵⁵⁴ Miya Qiong Xie, “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria,” 126.

⁵⁵⁵ Gu Ding, “Boli ye” 玻璃葉 [Glass Leaves], in Li Chunyan 李春燕, ed., *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 [Gu Ding’s Selected Works] (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 174–81.

village. Specifically, in “Turning into Money,” it is his own uncle who keeps the main protagonist in a debt trap.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, the latter story can be read as a condemnation of the traditional clan organization of Chinese society, which somewhat resonates with Manchukuo’s official ideology and opens the door to “healing” colonial modernity.

Gu Ding’s inclination to de-Sinicize Manchuria can also be seen in his 1937 short story “Xiao xiang” 小巷 (Alley), where he vividly describes an urban slum full of drug addicts, thieves, and prostitutes.⁵⁵⁷ Scholars have usually interpreted “Alley” as a critique of the misery of life in the Manchukuo regime,⁵⁵⁸ but other readings are also possible. Considering that within the Japanese empire opium was seen as a “Chinese disease,”⁵⁵⁹ and in Manchukuo, prostitution was often associated with the Chinese ethnic group,⁵⁶⁰ Gu Ding’s efforts to expose the darkness of Xinjing’s narrow lanes can be legitimately read as an intellectual’s attack on the backwardness of his homeland in his desire for colonial modernity.

Gu Ding’s tendency to de-Sinicize Manchuria and also the identity of his protagonists intensified in his later works, such as the 1938 novel *The Plain of Sands*, and culminated in his 1944 *New Life*, a semi-autobiographical novel in the form of a diary depicting the isolation of the protagonist’s family during the “Hundred Death Virus” (*baisidu* 百死毒) epidemic in Xinjing. Before proceeding with my brief analysis of the novel *New Life*, which I argue follows the pattern of Japanese *tenkō* literature and the short story “Mo Li” by focusing on the search for a new life after encountering a deadly disease, I want to mention that in Manchukuo, the name of the novel had clear connotations with “new Manchuria” narratives that were part of Manchukuo propaganda that presented it as new and civilized state as opposed to the backward Chinese past. The main slogans included “New Manchuria, New Citizens” (*xin Manzhou, xin guomin* 新滿洲, 新國民), “New Manchuria, New Construction”

⁵⁵⁶ Gu Ding, “Bian jin” 變金 [Turning into Money], in Li Chunyan 李春燕, ed., *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 [Gu Ding’s Selected Works] (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 182–94.

⁵⁵⁷ Gu Ding, “Xiao xiang” 小巷 [Alley], *Mingming* 1 no. 5 (July 1937): 53–8.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 152.

⁵⁵⁹ Kathryn Meyer, “The Garden of Grand Vision: Slums, Deviance, and Control in Manchukuo, 1940–41,” in Norman Smith, ed., *Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2017), 187.

⁵⁶⁰ Frank Grüner, “In the Streets and Bazaars of Harbin: Marketers, Small Traders, and Peddlers in a Changing Multicultural City,” *Itinerario* 35 (2011): 43. Grüner gives the example of Harbin’s Chinese settlement of Fujiadian, which was famous for opium sales, prostitution, and gambling.

(*xin Manzhou, xin jianshe* 新滿洲, 新建設), and also “New Manchuria, New Life” (*xin Manzhou, xin shenghuo* 新滿洲, 新生活).⁵⁶¹

The novel *New Life* is inspired by the quarantine that Gu Ding experienced in 1940, when a plague occurred in his neighborhood in Xinjing. As in the short story “Moli,” this novel’s main protagonist reconsiders the meaning of life due to his confrontation with disease and death. He is characterized mainly by constant complaining about the backwardness of the Chinese and, conversely, by praising the modern hygienic habits of the Japanese, who organize the whole quarantine process in the isolation area, where the Chinese and Japanese live together for two weeks. The opening scene depicts the main protagonist’s debating his Chinese neighbor about vaccination before the epidemic’s outbreak. While the protagonist supports vaccination, his corpulent neighbor with a Hebei accent does not believe in it and mocks him because, according to the protagonist, he has a different “distance from science” (對於科學的距離).⁵⁶² In the course of the story, we learn about many more deficiencies of the Chinese, especially related to hygiene.

In *New Life*, the denigration of Chinese people in Manchukuo is accompanied by an affirmation of Asianist partnership between the Chinese and the Japanese. The novel’s main protagonist perceives the Japanese positively as those who can teach the Chinese much and who are also benevolent toward the Chinese. Near the end of the novel, we learn that the protagonist is even convinced of the fairness of toilet segregation, which is in place to prevent the Chinese from using Japanese toilets: “if we want to enforce the concept of hygiene [among our people], we, of course, need to raise our cultural standards. No one else is to blame” (想要徹底我們自己的衛生觀念，當然需要我們自己的民度的增高，這是怨不得誰的).⁵⁶³ The ending of the novel overflows with Asianist proclamations evoking the official ideology of late Manchukuo, for example, in a dialogue between the main protagonist and Mr. Akita 秋田, who occasionally drink together in quarantine:

⁵⁶¹ Liu Xiaoli, “Unpacking ‘New Manchuria’ Narratives: Propaganda, Fact, Memory, and Aesthetics,” in Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, eds., *Manchukuo Perspectives. Transnational Approaches to Literary Production* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019), 13–4.

⁵⁶² Gu Ding, *Xin sheng* 新生 [New Life] (Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1945), 1–3. Originally published in 1944 in *Yiwenzhi*.

⁵⁶³ Note that the terms *enforce* (*tettei* 徹底) and *cultural standard* (*mindō* 民度) are borrowed from the Japanese. *Ibid.*, 106.

“It is true that in East Asia, the Yamato race and the Han race must embrace a sense of common destiny. Regarding race, geography, and history, we must forever maintain our faith in this common destiny and even strengthen it.” I took a glass [of *sake*] from him and drained it in one gulp.

“Exactly! Take, for example, the Hundred Death Virus. It doesn’t care about races, it attacks everybody. In other words, our two great races have a common enemy, the Hundred Death Virus. Not only do we share a common destiny, but we are also friends for life and death. We have escaped death together! Congratulations! Congratulations!” The old Akita was also somewhat excited.

...

“This is our new life,” I said, moved by his words. And the one-liter bottle of Japanese *sake* was finally empty.

“誠然，在東亞，大和民族和漢民族，是必須這樣懷抱著運命共同感的。我們無論是在人種上，在地理上，在歷史上，我們要永遠維繫著而且要緊固著這運命共同感的信念的。”我接過了他的酒杯，一飲而盡。

“是的呀，譬如這次的百死毒，它是不分什麼民族，要向一切人襲擊的。換一句話說，我們這兩大民族有著同一的敵人，即是百死毒菌。不但是運命共同，而且是生死與共。我們一同突破了死線！恭喜！恭喜！”秋田老人也有幾分興奮了。

...

“這是我們的新生。”我感動著他的話。終於把一升瓶的日本清酒全都喝乾了。⁵⁶⁴

Junko Agnew has aptly noted that *New Life* reflects Gu Ding’s desire to justify his affliction with the colonial regime by glorifying its civilizing mission, which he approves at any cost. Furthermore, according to Agnew, Gu Ding internalizes the Japanese imperial gaze by endorsing Asianist unequal solidarity between the Chinese and the Japanese. Only if the Chinese, whom he sees as uncivilized, learn from the civilized Japanese can they fight together against the disease, which symbolically stands here for the West that threatens East Asia.⁵⁶⁵

I find this Agnew’s analysis very pertinent, however, I would like to point out that the ideology, which the main protagonist promotes here, should not be understood as a typical case of Asianism as such. It would be more accurate to define the Asianist narrative in *New Life* as a specific case of Japanocentric Asianism, as it centers around *kōdō* and the ideas about the Yamato race’s superiority.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 104–5.

⁵⁶⁵ Junko Agnew, “Constructing Cultural Difference in Manchukuo,” 171–87.

One of the details that impresses me in *New Life* is that the main protagonist praises East Asian cooperation and denigrates his ethnic group while constantly drinking. Apparently, *sake* intoxication helps him forget his former ideals and his relationship to his ethnic or national group, just as opium helped Mo Li. I understand Gu Ding's interest in heavy drinking, which he not only represented in *New Life* as a taste for drinking of the autobiographical protagonist, but also demonstrated in his real life,⁵⁶⁶ as a consequence of colonial anxiety. Compared with Xiao Song's early Manchukuo works, anxiety seems to reach a new level in *New Life*. This is only logical when we consider the major change in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized from when Xiao Song wrote his early work, influenced by Sinocentric Asianism, and the Japanocentric Asianism embraced by Gu Ding. Drawing an example from their works of fiction, we can note that while the position of the Chinese in Manchukuo was inferior since the beginning, Xiao Song dreamed of a Japanese girl who wished to learn Chinese, whereas Gu Ding dreamed of the Japanese letting him use the same toilet.

Thus, while Xiao Song clearly expressed his anxiety by openly writing about "neurosis," he still could comfort himself in his dreams, in which the Chinese in Manchuria flawlessly fit into the Asianist ideal based on the concept of *wangdao*. In contrast, Gu Ding had to acknowledge his own inferiority even when he was praising the coexistence of the Chinese with the Japanese. Therefore, we can say that Gu Ding, unlike Xiao Song, was caught here in the typical savage-civilized dichotomy known in Western colonies. No matter how hard the autobiographical main protagonist in *New Life* tries to be on par with the Japanese, he knows that he can never wholly succeed. This protagonist's behavior can thus be seen as colonial mimicry of someone who could become "almost the same, but not quite,"⁵⁶⁷ and his drinking seems to react to this situation.

The "new life" as depicted here by Gu Ding clearly refers to the experimental organization of society that emerges in the novel under exceptional circumstances of quarantine, which sets the same rules for all who are forced by the disease to Japanize under the slogan of ethnic harmony. In this context, I would like to draw attention to one more overtone of this "new life:" in the novel, the main protagonist often recounts how children spend their lives together in isolation—his own, Chinese, and Japanese. This frequent motif of

⁵⁶⁶ Gu Ding is known for heavily drinking with his Japanese counterparts. See Miya Qiong Xie, "Linguistic Hybridity," 99.

⁵⁶⁷ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 86.

children, which is in Gu Ding's work somewhat reminiscent of Lu Xun's interest in children's fate in China, is emphasized at the ending of the novel once again. The author describes here the main autobiographical protagonist, who makes an afternoon walk around a playground and watches as a Japanese man named Kōno 甲野 encounters a child. Specifically, the narrator states that there is a fallen fence around the playground, and children from the neighborhood can secretly enter the quarantined playground and sell apples, *sake*, and the like to people in isolation. Kōno barely manages to speak to the child when the guard politely drives the child away, ending a scene that draws the reader's attention but is challenging to interpret.⁵⁶⁸

Nonetheless, if we understand the social relationships created by the quarantine as a metaphor for an ideal future Asian paradise in the making that is capable of defending against the plague, or the West, Gu Ding seems to be suggesting that the ordinary Chinese children in Manchuria had been excluded from such a world, but now they have a chance to enter it. In such a reading, the major motif of the children of diverse backgrounds in *New Life* can be understood as a metaphor for the birth of a new society in which the obstacles of national identification or racial differences would no longer hinder coexistence. Such a Japanized "new life" would be introduced by local children who would no longer be Chinese but "Asian." We can thus assume that unlike Lu Xun's children, who are usually seen as a symbol of the Chinese nation, Gu Ding's children in *New Life* represent pan-national identities constructed by the discourse of Japanocentric Asianism.

5.4 Embracing Japanocentric Asianism as a Religion

In the last years of the Pacific War, many Manchukuo's prominent Chinese-language authors, such as Shan Ding and Yuan Xi 袁犀 (1919–79), emigrated to Beijing (renamed from Beiping once again) and continued writing there. However, despite Japan's apparent impending defeat, Gu Ding loyally continued to promote the ideology of Japanocentric Asianism in Manchukuo as an unofficial propagandist to the very end. Just as he adopted the most radical Japanocentric rhetoric of all Manchukuo writers in the early 1940s, when mobilization peaked in 1944 and 1945, he again adhered to the most radical narrative on offer,

⁵⁶⁸ Gu Ding, *Xin sheng*, 104.

when he adopted anti-Semitism. In some of his works, he also developed distinctively fascist aesthetics.

In his study of 1930s Japanese literature, Alan Tansman defines the basic features of the aesthetics of Japanese fascism, which include the celebration of violence and war, the romanticization of death, the elevation of beauty above rationality, and the beautification of work.⁵⁶⁹ We do not see such elements in Gu Ding's works of the late 1930s and early 1940s, when he gradually leaned toward an Asianist worldview. When he celebrated the work of the peasants in his writing, he was surely following on from his original Marxist worldview. Elements of anti-Westernism gradually appeared in his works but were relatively mild. For example, in the 1938 short story "The Wilds," the West is associated with decadence through the protagonist, a father who studied in the USA and ended up addicted to opium after returning to Manchuria.⁵⁷⁰ *New Life* can also be understood as an expression of anti-Westernism, but we do not find clear features of fascist aesthetics in it either.

Gu Ding seems to have adopted fascist aesthetics only at the very end of the war. They are exemplified, for example, in his 1944 reportage⁵⁷¹ short story "Xia xiang" 下鄉 (Going to the Countryside), in which the author describes his inspection trip to a village near Xinjing, where he was sent by the Concordia Association to report on the ongoing harvest. The story portrays the idyllic life of the villagers, who live as in another world, and at the same time, help feed the army with the fruits of their labor.⁵⁷² Namely, their "grain turns into bullets that exterminate Anglo-America" (粒粒化為寂滅美英的彈丸).⁵⁷³ While Mei Ding'e has somewhat absurdly interpreted this story as a hidden critique of the Japanese colonial regime,⁵⁷⁴ I understand it more as a follow-up to Satō Haruo's 佐藤春夫 (1892–1964) ideal of a beautiful village in his 1918 poems, which, in Tansman's view, foreshadowed the new national utopian mythology that later served Japanese fascist-inclining authors to embrace

⁵⁶⁹ Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 1–5.

⁵⁷⁰ Gu Ding, "Yuanye" 原野 [The Wilds], in Li Chunyan 李春燕, ed., *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 [Gu Ding's Selected Works] (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995), 258–318.

⁵⁷¹ In Chinese literature, this genre is usually called *reportage literature* (*baogao wenxue* 報告文學).

⁵⁷² Gu Ding, "Xia xiang" 下鄉 [Going to the Countryside], *Yiwenzhi* 11 (1944): 48–61.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁷⁴ Mei Ding'e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 207–8; Mei Ding'e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 121–2. The author presents no persuasive arguments to support such a reading.

death and mobilize for a holy war in the name of harmony.⁵⁷⁵ In Manchukuo, some Japanese-language authors, who emigrated there from Japan as part of their *tenkō*, followed this tradition and saw the labor of colonized peasants as a realization of their utopian dreams.⁵⁷⁶ As for Gu Ding, he specifically describes here a “beautiful” Asianist utopia of ethnic harmony that, in a fascist way, displaces the rational horrors of war.

Gu Ding’s last short story “Shanghai waijing” 山海外經 (Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas), which was published in July 1945 in the final issue of the Shanghai journal *Wen you* 文友,⁵⁷⁷ can be understood as Gu Ding’s most distinctive contribution to narratives of Asianist fascism. In this tale, Gu Ding transforms the Asianist utopia depicted in both *New Life* and “Going to the Countryside” into dystopia. In “Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas,” not only children but also adults are referred to as “Asian.” Specifically, the main characters in this short story identify no longer as Chinese or Japanese but as “East Asians” (*Dongya ren* 東亞人). But instead of epitomizing hopes for a harmonious future, they represent here the enslavement of East Asians by Westerners. While this story does not seem to embody typical fascist aesthetics, it can be considered fascist, as it links Asianist narratives with anti-Semitism. More specifically, in the last months of the war, Gu Ding seems to have embraced anti-Semitic Nazi rhetoric, which spread to Manchukuo from Japan.⁵⁷⁸

“Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas” is a sci-fi dystopia that depicts a city of the future called Maimaicheng 買賣城 (Business City), which is visited by two strangers, the main protagonists, who begin exploring it. In the short story, the protagonists are explicitly identified as “East Asians.” But their “East Asianness” is also reflected in their names. They are called Tian Shegong 田舍公 and Shi Jingtū 市井徒. These names evoke both China and Japan: they are three-character, as is typical of Chinese names, but the choice of characters evokes Japanese names. I understand this fusion of references to Chinese and Japanese culture as a specific representation of the Sinitic nexus. While the other protagonists I have discussed in this dissertation identify with “China” and “Asia” simultaneously, in this Gu Ding’s story

⁵⁷⁵ Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 10–1.

⁵⁷⁶ Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 39.

⁵⁷⁷ The story was written in April 1945, that is, before the defeat of Germany.

⁵⁷⁸ See, for example, the 1942 essay “Youtairen de moshou” 猶太人的魔手 (Devilish Jewish claws), which claims that “the war in Europe and the China Incident were plotted by Jews” and that Roosevelt, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek were all Jewish Freemasons. This essay was translated from the Japanese. See Anonymous, “Youtairen de moshou,” *Qilin* 2, no. 8 (August 1942): 60–1. Furthermore, Japanese literary critic Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–83), who admired Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), enjoyed great popularity in Manchukuo.

they identify directly with “East Asia,” and so it is not a combination of identities, but rather a representation of Gu Ding’s idea of a hybrid East Asian identity that would ultimately replace national or ethnic identities in toto.

When they arrive in the city, the protagonists find out that Maimaicheng, where everything is paid for by tossing coins into the slots in the back of the locals’ heads, is governed by a descendant of Winston Churchill (1874–1965), who abuses people from East Asia to trade in opium. The ruler of Maimaicheng together with his relatives, the descendants of the “pirates” (海賊), manipulate the locals to their advantage: they teach East Asians from primary school to run an obstacle course with bags of opium on their backs, lead East Asians to an exhibition where they instill obedience in them and humiliate them, and so on.⁵⁷⁹

While the brainwashed locals organize demonstrations calling for an increase in opium production, the two main protagonists resist when they are offered to buy opium: “We are East Asians, we can’t buy these genocidal and nations-conquering things of yours” (我們是東亞人，不能買你這種滅種亡國的東西).⁵⁸⁰ At the very end, the city’s ruler seizes the two strangers, and when he fails to make them sign an opium contract, he sucks at least some blood from their bodies and delights in it. Eventually, he expels both dazed strangers from the city:

“I can’t stand up. That Jewish bloodsucker sucked my blood too hard,” Tian Shegong stood up slowly.

“Here seems to be a road, a road leading to the East.”

“Hm.”

The Big Dipper looked brighter and brighter.

Holding hands, the two walked forward cautiously.

“我站不起來了，我的血叫那猶太的吸血鬼吸得太苦了。” 田舍公緩緩地站起。

“這似乎是一條路，一條到東方去的路。”

“噲”

北斗顯得越發明亮。

二人攜著手，小心著向前走著。⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁹ Gu Ding, “Shanghai waijing” 山海外經 [Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas], *Wenyou* 55 (July 15, 1945): 16–21.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

“Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas” thus apparently builds on the anti-Semitic, anti-Westernist propaganda that spread to Manchukuo from Japan. Mei Ding’e, the only scholar to have thus far studied this short story, does not mention the presence of anti-Semitism at the heart of the tale. She characterizes “Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas” as a satire of British imperialism and piracy, which is based on Japanese Asianist war rhetoric that opposes the West. Furthermore, she has noted that in some respects, Gu Ding builds here on Lu Xun’s social criticism.⁵⁸² Thus, although Mei’s analysis is correct in some details, it fails to distinguish between leftist and fascist versions of socialism. Apparently trying to create a picture of a “left-wing” Gu Ding, in her Chinese version of the monograph Mei even claims that Gu Ding’s critique of British capitalist exploitation in this short story “is Marx’s view of imperialism” (正是馬克思的帝國主義觀).⁵⁸³

Indeed, we find here some motifs typical of proletarian literature, such as the obesity of the rich, the tears of the poor, and so on. In this sense, we can consider the story to be what Annika A. Culver calls “right-wing proletarianism.”⁵⁸⁴ Such proletarianism sometimes used the literary methods of left-wing literature. However, it had little to do with Marxism, as it served to build a “fascist culture” in the interests of Japanese imperialism.⁵⁸⁵ In Gu Ding’s short story, it is thus specifically the obesity of the *Western* rich and the tears of the *East Asian* poor, which I read as elements in narratives of Japanocentric Asianism, to which Gu Ding converted from Marxism (and which is naturally in many respects incompatible with Marxist doctrine). Considering that the short story’s title could be alternatively translated as “Manchurian Foreign Economy,” or, loosely, “Colonial Manchuria,” where *Shanhaiwai* 山海海外 can be seen as a reference to Manchuria⁵⁸⁶ and *waijing* 外經 means “foreign economy,” I

⁵⁸² Mei Ding’e, *Ko Tei kenkyū*, 208–11.

⁵⁸³ Mei Ding’e, *Tuoxie yu dikang*, 122.

⁵⁸⁴ Culver considers “right-wing proletarianism,” among others, the work of Yamad Seizaburō, who was imprisoned for his communist activism in the Japanese proletarian arts movement, and in 1939, as part of his *tenkō*, was sent to Manchuria to atone for his sins by guiding the construction of the new fascist culture as an unofficial propagandist. Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 44–6.

⁵⁸⁵ Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire*, 39–46.

⁵⁸⁶ “Shanhaiwai” can be read as another version of Manchuria’s name Guanwai 關外, literally “Beyond the Pass of Shanhaiguan 山海關.” Moreover, the name of the city of Maimaicheng seems to refer to the Buryat city of Kyakhta, which served as a trading point between Russia and the Qing dynasty since the eighteenth century, and used to be called Maimaicheng in Chinese. Thus, also the name Maimaicheng seems to make reference to the history of colonization of Asia. I am grateful for remarks on the names *Shanghai waijing* and *Maimaicheng* to Norman Smith and Olga Bakich.

do not see “Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas” as an abstract critique of imperialism, as Mei has suggested, but as a Gu Ding’s warning about what Manchuria would look like in the future if the war was lost.

The story can thus be read as a metaphor for the white domination of “Asians” in East Asia. In this metaphor, the entire West (including Winston Churchill) is called Jewish in line with Nazi propaganda. In other words, this story adopts anti-Semitic rhetoric, which is a manifestation of hatred toward the West in the sense that Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) understood the West. Gu Ding probably applied this rhetoric to dehumanize the American and British armies in his last call to arms. I should note that although the short story reflects elements of *Nazi* ideology, Gu Ding was undoubtedly inspired mainly by extreme Japanese anti-Westernism, which is referred to as an element of Japanese *fascism*. He probably follows here the fascist writer Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–83), who, like Gu Ding, leaned toward Ōkawa Shūmei’s thought and admired Hitler, whose *Mein Kampf* he saw as the work of a great artist and genius who managed to overcome the contradictions of rationality.⁵⁸⁷ As Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit pointed out, some Japanese politicians and intellectuals during the Pacific War shared Hitler’s “religious politics” of anti-Westernism that pitted the “mechanical” Western civilization “controlled by Jewish capitalists” against their own idealized “spiritual” past.⁵⁸⁸ Gu Ding’s Japanocentric Asianism in “Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas” seems to represent the same religiosity.

I have mentioned above that at the Greater East Asian Writers’ Congress, Manchukuo Chinese-language authors’ speeches were considered closest to the official line of Manchukuo’s ideology. Among these authors, it was Gu Ding who most stubbornly adhered to such rhetoric. Something similar can be said about Gu Ding’s late literary work. The ideas of Japanocentric Asianism he represented in his final works were comparable only to the most aggressive ideas of Japanocentric Asianism as represented in Japanese literature, and it rather surpassed them. In Gu Ding’s case, this can be explained by his desire to be at the forefront of the official literary scene in the specific context of Manchukuo’s Chinese-language literary culture in his quest for colonial mimicry. Furthermore, this position can be understood when we take into account his “Asianist spiritual *tenkō*,” which meant for him to abandon the communist ideology that had given meaning to his life and death in the past, and firmly, even

⁵⁸⁷ Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, 240.

⁵⁸⁸ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism*, 1–12.

fanatically, cling to Japanocentric Asianism and seek his “new life” and new identity in this system of thought.

5.5 Conclusion

Gu Ding began his career as a left-wing writer who sought to serve the communist movement with his literary work in Beiping and Manchukuo, places controlled by regimes hostile to the movement. Although he was not afraid to take risks, the intensified persecution of the communists in Manchukuo and the Japanese invasion of China proper forced him to change course. He ended up as a promoter of Japanocentric Asianism a few years later. Rather than trying to downplay his devotion to the communist movement in the early 1930s or the Asianist and fascist nature of his faith in the last months of the Pacific War, as scholars have tended to do thus far, I propose to understand his reorientation as a specific case of what I have termed “Asianist spiritual *tenkō*.” I argue that by drawing analogies with the fate of Japanese proletarian writers during the Pacific War, we can shed light on Gu Ding’s turns that seemed abrupt or even inexplicable to scholars thus far.

Analyzing this Chinese-language author’s *tenkō* enables us to think in a new way about the implications of Asianist thought not only in Manchukuo but in China in general, especially in relation to proletarian literature or the communist movement. In this chapter, I argue that to understand East Asian intellectuals’ Sinitic nexus of identities, we must take the *tenkō* phenomenon seriously among people of all ethnicities in the region. And more specifically, this chapter contributes to our understanding of the various roles that Asianism played in Manchukuo literature. In contrast to Jue Qing and Xiao Sing, Gu Ding, who identified with “Asia” relatively late at the end of the 1930s, advocated a more radical version of the Japanese-centric Asianism, more or less openly hostile to the West, right from the beginning. To improve his colonial mimicry and complete his transition from Marxism to another doctrine, he adopted the aesthetics and rhetoric of radical Japanocentric Asianism at the end of the war, which was rather exceptional in Manchukuo even at that time.

Thus far, the reluctance to analyze intellectual links of Chinese-language writers of Manchukuo to Asianist thought may have led to the idea that Manchukuo’s Asianism was

simply a mechanical repetition of official propaganda.⁵⁸⁹ However, my analysis of Asianist narratives in Jue Qing's, Xiao Song's and Gu Ding's works underlines significant differences in the form and intention of using these narratives that existed among writers who supported the Manchukuo regime but sometimes also subverted it.

Building on Homi Bhabha's notion of colonial mimicry,⁵⁹⁰ we can assert that even Gu Ding's short story "Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas" subverts Manchukuo's semicolonial regime in a certain way, for through the appropriation of the Other (the fusion of Chinese and Japanese elements in the identities of the protagonists), it disrupts the clear distinction between the colonizer and the colonized, thus destroying the narcissistic authority of the colonizer. However, we should also be very clear that Gu Ding did not intentionally use Asianist narratives to subvert the regime. His late work rather demonstrates how an extremely hateful unofficial propaganda, such as Hitleresque anti-Westernism, can be spread under the pretext of "brotherly" Asianist help. Gu Ding's late work can thus be seen as an example of a literary contribution to the specific debate on Asian solidarity in the last years of the Pacific War, which was instrumental in discrediting Asianist thought as a whole for many decades, and which, among other things, caused many writers whose ideas of Asian solidarity were quite different, in some cases even anti-imperialist or anti-fascist, to be displaced from East Asian literary history.

⁵⁸⁹ For example, Okada Hideki views Asianism this way. See his *Bungaku ni miru "Manshūkoku" no isō*, 186–7.

⁵⁹⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 90.

6 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I study the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo to understand how Manchukuo's writers tell narratives of "Asia" in their works and represent protagonists embodying what I call the Sinitic nexus of identities. Before presenting the main conclusions of my research, I will briefly situate my findings in the contemporary sociohistorical context of East Asia by discussing how the narratives of "Asia" disappeared from not only the political but also the literary discourse in East Asia after World War II, only to be resurrected decades later in the recent past.

Since the transformation of memory is always formed by the political agendas at the time when it takes place,⁵⁹¹ it needs to be understood in the given historical context. Asianism became taboo in completely different settings in Japan and China. Sebastian Conrad has demonstrated how in Japan, "Asia" was pushed out of political debates as part of a victimization process that, in simple terms, portrayed the Japanese as victims: politicians as victims of militarists, ordinary people as victims of leaders, and so on. This process of victimization, which Japanese governments pursued in alliance with the United States as part of demilitarization of Japan after World War II, involved what is sometimes called the de-Asianization of Japan. For example, the renaming of the war from the "Greater East Asian War" (*Daitōa sensō* 大東亜戦争) to the "Pacific War" (*Taiheiyō sensō* 太平洋戦争) reflects Japan's reorientation toward relations with the United States and the displacement of the discourse of "Asia" from Japanese collective memory.⁵⁹²

In China, both Nationalists and Communists participated in the displacement of the "Asia" narrative. Rana Mitter has argued that in the wake of the Mukden Incident, exiled Manchurian Chinese created an image of Manchuria as the center of the Chinese national resistance to the Japanese as they were urging the Nanking government to fight for their home.

⁵⁹¹ Sebastian Conrad, "Remembering Asia: History and Memory in Post-Cold War Japan," in *Memory in a Global Age*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 163–77 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 164.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 166–7.

This narrative, which remains part of the collective Chinese memory to this day, was subsequently co-opted by the Communists, who identified Communist soldiers as the main component of the resistance against the Japanese.⁵⁹³ After the end of World War II, when the narrative of Communist resistance became part of official ideology in the PRC, no place was left for “Asia” in the Chinese political discourse. This displacement of “Asia” is illustrated, for example, by a 1949 comment made by Liu Zhiming 劉芝明 (1905–68), the cadre responsible for the revitalization of the cultural sector in Northeast China in the late 1940s, on the literary scene of Manchukuo:

Before August 15 [the day of Japan’s surrender], the Northeastern literature and arts were ruled by enslaved and feudal literature and arts during the Manchukuo puppet era. It can be said that there was no movement of New Literature and Art during this period, and even all nationally minded art and progressive petty-bourgeois art was destroyed. ... [Only] the Greater East Asian literature, with Japanese literature as its center, was advocated, ...

八一五前偽滿時代東北文藝是被奴化與封建文藝統治着的。這時期可以說沒有什麼新文藝運動，連一些帶有民族傾向的文藝或小資產階級進步的文藝，都被摧殘，... 提倡[只有]大東亞文學，以日本文學為中心...⁵⁹⁴

Since “New Literature and Art” (*xin wenyi* 新文藝) refers here to Chinese *leftist* literature and art, we can immediately understand from this assessment that in the cultural scene of Northeast China, which was no longer allowed to be called Manchuria after the war,⁵⁹⁵ only leftist works were considered relevant literature or art, and works that were not based on Marxism and only strengthened Chinese national consciousness were seen as inferior. Worse, Greater East Asian literature and anything associated with “Asia” and Japan were considered mere tools of the Japanese “enslavers” utterly alien to modern Chinese literature.

In this postwar atmosphere, the authors whose work I have analyzed in this dissertation, Jue Qing, Xiao Song, and Gu Ding, had to stop publishing and struggled to survive under the new regime. However, due to their silence, which the authorities forced upon them, we know almost nothing about their struggles. All we know is that they were politically persecuted. In the 1950s, Jue Qing was labeled “a traitor to the Chinese nation”

⁵⁹³ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 1–19.

⁵⁹⁴ Liu Zhiming, “Dongbei san nian lai wenyi gongzuo chubu zongjie,” 323.

⁵⁹⁵ See Chapter 1, note 89.

(*Hanjian* 漢奸) and was sentenced to prison for treason. Five years in captivity led to his early death in 1962 at the age of forty-five.⁵⁹⁶ Xiao Song was somewhat luckier. After the collapse of Manchukuo, he moved to Jinzhou, Liaoning, where he edited a newspaper focused on issues related to railways. Xiao Song was persecuted during the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), but he survived, and in the early 1980s he was still living in Jinzhou.⁵⁹⁷ His whereabouts in his last years and the year when he passed away are unknown.⁵⁹⁸ All we know about Gu Ding is that, like Jue Qing, he was denounced as a traitor to the nation and imprisoned in the 1950s. However, unlike Jue Qing, who was released at the end of his life and worked as a librarian at Jilin University, Gu Ding most likely died in prison in 1964.⁵⁹⁹

Xiao Song was thus the only one to live to witness the renewed interest in “Asia” in East Asia. In general, political changes in the 1980s led East Asian countries to connect the region more closely to global market structures, resulting in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and China beginning to integrate economically. This led to a phenomenon that has been described as the “return of Asia” to the region. Among other things, East Asian countries began to share popular culture, in the context of which “Asian values” were often debated. However, the return of “Asia” again occurred in specific sociohistorical contexts. In Japan, for example, interest in other countries in the region was fueled by increased immigration from East Asian countries to Japan in the 1990s.⁶⁰⁰

This renewed interest in “Asia” in Japan led to attempts at coming to terms with the shadows of the past, as evidenced, for example, by the research of Okada Hideki and other Japanese scholars reflected in this dissertation, which denounces Japanese domination of Manchuria. In China, although scholars also sought rapprochement with Japanese colleagues in the generally more open climate that, among other things, opened the door to exploring the literature of Manchukuo, they often reinforced the animosity toward Japan in their research. Indeed, after the Cultural Revolution, the authorities in charge of historiography decided to contribute to the unification of Chinese society by refraining from attacking figures associated with the Kuomintang regime, whose soldiers had until then been frequently treated in the

⁵⁹⁶ Personal interview with Jue Qing’s daughter Liu Weicon in Changchun, September 18, 2019.

⁵⁹⁷ Murata Yūko, “‘Manzhouguo’ wenxue de yige cemian,” 26.

⁵⁹⁸ Chen Shi, “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu,’” 5.

⁵⁹⁹ Miya Qiong Xie, “Linguistic Hybridity,” 86.

⁶⁰⁰ Sebastian Conrad, “Remembering Asia,” 163–6.

same way as those of Japan. The unification of society was to be achieved by highlighting Japanese crimes and, among other things, by constructing the image of resistance of *all* Chinese in Manchuria against the Japanese.⁶⁰¹ Nonetheless, while the approach emphasizing resistance to the Japanese dominates Chinese scholarship on the literature of Manchukuo until today, the relationship to “Asia” in China is far more complicated, as evidenced by CCP secretary general Xi Jinping’s and minister of foreign affairs Wang Yi’s new Asianist rhetoric.⁶⁰²

Most of the secondary literature with which my dissertation is in dialogue emerged as a result of the renewed East Asian interest in “Asia,” which, in the field of literature, was particularly manifested by a focus on the perception of Japanese colonialism. However, unlike studies examining Manchukuo’s literature from the Japanese perspective, which predominantly investigate Japanese-language sources, I have primarily analyzed Chinese-language sources, thus studying this literature from the perspective of the colonized. The main goal of this dissertation was to understand the identity-formation process in Manchukuo’s Chinese-language fictional works to provide innovative interpretations, which would reflect fully the complexity of the sociohistorical context in which Manchukuo writers worked and sought their place in the world. In this way, I wanted to contribute to our understanding of colonial modernity as more complex than the collaboration versus resistance dichotomy indicates. Thus, in contrast to most studies examining this literature from the perspective perceiving the Chinese in Manchukuo exclusively as a suffering colonized nation, or a nation resisting against the colonizers, I have applied methodologies from postmodern and postcolonial studies that enabled me to overcome such a binary approach to the study of identities and colonial literature.

In this dissertation, I argued that narratives of “Asia” are told in Manchukuo’s literature primarily through the identification of the protagonists and, in some cases, the writers themselves. My main point is that these works represent a combination of cultural identities that I call the *Sinitic nexus*. Other scholars have already discussed the hybrid identity of colonized subjects whose selves lie somewhere between two national identities, such as “Korean” and “Japanese,” in the East Asian context. The Sinitic nexus specifically emphasizes that in addition to this colonial hybridity, this combination of identities is further

⁶⁰¹ Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 228.

⁶⁰² See Introduction, note no. 33.

fragmented by the split between national or ethnic identities and the pan-national identity, that is, the “Asian” identity constructed by the discourse of “Asia.”

In this dissertation, I have argued that the Sinitic nexus is represented in various configurations in the works studied here. For example, Jue Qing’s young teacher Mumai identifies simultaneously with the “West,” “China,” and “Asia.” While attempting to deny his identification with the “West,” he more tightly embraces a nexus of “Chinese” and “Asian” identities, which he believes is harmonious. Xiao Song’s broken-legged patient Song, on the other hand, embodies a Sinitic nexus characterized by a tension between “Chinese” and “Asian” identities: he seeks to suppress his “Chinese” identity for the sake of the “Asian” one. Gu Ding’s protagonists, Tian Shegong and Shi Jingtū, no longer have even a vaguely defined “Chinese” identity: they have become full-fledged “East Asians” in the sense of the utopian ideals of some threads of Asianism and identify only with the region, no longer with a nation or ethnicity. However, their “East Asian” identity is itself a form of the Sinitic nexus, as it is composed (harmoniously) of Chinese and Japanese elements. A different form of the Sinitic nexus is represented by the subjectivity of Jue Qing’s nameless teacher in the short story “Devil,” who in my reading identifies with “China” and “East Asia” but tries to escape his “Japanese” self.

As I do not intend to essentialize any identities under discussion, I remind the readers that all the identities listed in quotation marks in the previous paragraph are unfinished and interconnected in various ways. In existing research, the combinations of these identities have been either completely overlooked or understood, for the most part, in very simple terms as unified Chinese national or ethnic identities. If any scholars have drawn attention to the hybridity of these identities, they have not paid attention to the “Asian” element. Thus, in this dissertation, I have shown the fragmentation of these identities in a novel way. In turn, by reading protagonists with these identity nexuses as political allegories, I have proposed fresh interpretations of the short stories under study, mostly suggesting their resonance with one of the various forms of narratives of “Asia” that transcend the narrowly defined field of Manchukuo literature.

Namely, I have argued that in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo, narratives of “Asia,” which were based on the Asianist thought that had been promoted in the region since the late nineteenth century by a number of not only Japanese but also Chinese thinkers and politicians, often functioned as political acts but were told in a variety of ways. Many of the works under discussion did not serve as propaganda, but they may have indirectly confirmed the legitimacy of the semicolonial Manchukuo regime. Examples of such

works include Jue Qing's short story "Harbin," which can be read as a critique of Western modernity, which the protagonist, adhering to an essentialized notion of Asian morality, finds corrupt and decadent. A similar argument can be made about Xiao Song's short story "One Page of My Travel to the South," in which Manchuria is portrayed through the gaze of the Japanese colonizer as the site of a battle where "Asia" first defeated "the West." Both of these works resonate with official Manchukuo ideology in various ways, but to consider them unofficial propaganda would be an overstatement. Instead, we can argue that the authors used these works, in addition to the search for their own place in the world, to promote Asianist ideals to benefit the Manchurian society, which they perceived, in the case of Jue Qing, as oppressed by Western modernity or, as in the case of Xiao Song, too shackled by Chinese tradition.

In some cases, though, the role of the analyzed stories as unofficial propaganda for the semicolonial regime is beyond doubt. That is the case, for example, with Xiao Song's short story "The Moon Fell," which can be understood as the author's early attempt to paint Manchukuo as a place where the ideal of ethnic harmony among the peoples of East Asia is put into practice. The most salient example of unofficial propaganda among the discussed works is Gu Ding's short story "Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas." This work renders the trope of Japanese propaganda calling the people of East Asia to war, employing an Asianist-fascist attack on the West as defined by anti-Semitic discourse.

Nevertheless, in this dissertation I have also argued that the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo sometimes subverted and unexpectedly transformed the narratives of "Asia." For example, Xiao Song's short story "Rayon" can be read as a veiled critique of the discrimination against the Chinese in Manchukuo that was contrary to the Asianist ideals of the state. Jue Qing's short story "Devil" can be viewed as a disguised critique of Japanese colonialism and the author's distinctive version of calling for an anti-imperialist Asian alliance.

Although the interpretations presented here differ from the established view by illustrating how identification with China and East Asia, attitudes towards the colonizers, and understandings of Asianism were formed in response to the political and social situation and could evolve and change even within the subjectivity of a single intellectual, I do not claim to have fully answered all the research questions raised in the Introduction. However, this study has outlined how these questions can be answered. If I were to extend this analysis to include further case studies, I could most likely present other distinct configurations of the Sinitic

nexus and narratives of “Asia” in the Chinese-language literature of Manchukuo, shedding light on additional aspects of colonial modernity in East Asia.

Moreover, an analogous analysis focusing on the Sinitic nexus could also be done on other literatures of East Asia. Good sources for such an analysis would include, for example, Chinese-language works published in other areas under Japanese rule. In occupied Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and other cities, identification was surely shaped by specific sociohistorical contexts; however, writers in these areas shared an intellectual horizon with those in Manchukuo because they were all exposed to the official ideology promoting ideas of Asian solidarity.

The famous Shanghainese writer Zhang Ailing 張愛玲 (1920–95) is an example of such an author. I first considered comparing her works with those of Manchukuo writers when I found a short story by her in an anthology also containing one by Jue Qing. It is a collection called *Zhan shi wenxue xuanji* 戰時文學選集 (Anthology of Wartime Literature), which was published in Nanking in April 1945. Among the works by ten writers from Beijing, Shanghai, and Manchukuo, we can find Zhang Ailing’s tale “Qincheng zhi lian” 傾城之戀 (Love in a Fallen City) and Jue Qing’s short story “Mouye” 某夜 (One Night). In the preface to the collection, the writer Mu Zhongnan 穆中南 (1912–92) states that the selected authors represent the seeds of the new East Asian literary scene that will arise when peace finally comes:

We know that a fresh atmosphere will soon emerge in East Asia, and we can say that East Asia will be rebuilt. As for the reconstruction of the literary world, we can certainly look forward to it since the old is completely dead. Let us take a look at the new literary world, which is just like a newborn baby....

我們知道在東亞一定會有一個新鮮的氣象於不久就會光臨，可以說是重建東亞。至於文壇的重建那是一定可以期待的，因為舊的已經完全死去，我們且看著新生的文壇，新生的文壇正如新生的嬰兒，...⁶⁰³

The new literary scene that eventually emerged looked different from what Mu Zhongnan expected, resulting in Mu leaving for Taiwan; Zhang Ailing, for Hong Kong, and later the United States; and Jue Qing, who remained in Changchun, ending up in prison as a traitor.

⁶⁰³ Mu Zhongnan 穆中南. “Ji zai qianmian” 記在前面 (Introductory Notes). In Mu Zhongnan, ed., *Zhan shi wenxue xuanji* 戰時文學選集 [Anthology of Wartime Literature] (Nanking: Zhongyang dianxunshe, 1945), 2.

In any case, when we read some of Zhang Ailing's essays, such as the 1944 "Jinyu lu" 燼餘錄 (From the Ashes), in which the author recounts, among other things, how the people of Hong Kong faced discrimination from the British and how everyone rejoiced when the city was conquered by the Japanese and drinking water started flowing again as the city was reborn from the ashes,⁶⁰⁴ it seems that Zhang Ailing's identification may have been as complicated as that of Manchukuo writers. She may have never met them in person, but she may have shared the same constellation of thought with them. But if we were to identify a narrative of "Asia" in this essay, how would we interpret it? As unofficial propaganda, or perhaps a parody? That is a matter for another analysis. All that is certain is that also in the case of Zhang Ailing, her identity was not a unified one that invites binary interpretations but rather a combination of identities that, above all, raises a series of new questions.

⁶⁰⁴ Zhang, Ailing 張愛玲, "Jinyu lu" 燼餘錄 (From the Ashes), in *Zhang Ailing jingdian zuopin xuan* 張愛玲經典作品選 [Eileen Chang's Classic Works] (Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 2002), 231.

Bibliography

- Abercrombie, Nicholas, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner, eds. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Penguin, 2006.
- Agnew, Junko Nakajima. "Rewriting Manchukuo: The Question of Japanese Literary Colonialism and Chinese Collaboration." Dissertation, University of Washington, 2009.
- . "The Politics of Language in Manchukuo: Hinata Nobuo and Gu Ding." *Modern Asian Studies* 49, no. 1 (2015): 83–110.
- . "Sickness, Death, and Survival in the Works of Gu Ding and Xiao Hong." In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 103–19. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Ahmad, Aijaz. "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory.'" *Social Text*, no. 17 (Autumn, 1987): 3–25.
- Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*. London: New Left Books, 1971.
- Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anonymous. "Manzhou wei zhongxin Da Yaxiyatongmengzhuyi" 滿洲為中心大亞細亞同盟主義 (Manchuria-centered Greater Asian-League-ism). *Datong bao* (February 2, 1933): 3.
- Anonymous. "Yaxiyazhuyi boxing" 亞細亞主義勃興 (The Rise of Asianism). *Datong bao* (March 27, 1933): 2.
- Anonymous. "Da Yaxiyalun" 大亞細亞論 (Greater Asianism). *Datong bao* (May 16, 1933): 2.
- Anonymous. "Gaochang Yazhouzhuyi" 高唱亞洲主義 (Calling for Asianism). *Datong bao* (June 29, 1933): 2.

Anonymous. “Da Yaxiya tongbao xiehui dui Man Hua fabiao xuanyanshu” 大亞細亞同胞協會對滿華發表宣言書 (Manifesto of The Greater Asia Brothers Association to Manchurian Chinese). *Datong bao* (November 21, 1934): 14.

Anonymous. “Hei, bai, huang, san zhong ren de gexing, huangzhongren neng rennai” 黑、白、黃，三種人的個性，黃種人能忍耐 (Black, White, Yellow – Personalities of Three Races – Yellow people Are Patient). *Datong bao* (July 13, 1937): 8.

Anonymous. “Xing Ya zhi chun” 興亞之春 (The Forthcoming Raising of Asia). *Datong bao* (April 29, 1939): 10.

Anonymous. “Donglian tongzhihui” 東聯同志會 (East Asian League Comrades Congress). *Datong bao* (September 22, 1942): 3.

Anonymous. “Youtairen de moshou” 猶太人的魔手 (Devilish claws of the Jews). *Qilin* 2, no. 8 (August 1942): 60–1.

Aoki Minoru 青木実. “Horonbairu” 呼倫貝爾 (Hulunbair). *Tōhendō* 2 (1939): 281–96.

Aydin, Cemil. *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Bai, Changqing 白長青. “Daoyan” 導言 (Introduction). In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 (Short Stories), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 1–17. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.

Bakich, Olga. “Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 1 (2000): 51–73.

Boyle, John Hunter. *China and Japan at War, 1937–1945: the Politics of Collaboration*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972.

Barlow, Tani E. “Introduction: On ‘Colonial Modernity.’” In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, edited by Tani E. Barlow. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Beasley, W. G. *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Benjamin, Walter. “The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov,” translated

- by Harry Zhon. In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 2007.
- Bergère, Marie-Claire. *Sun Yat-sen*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Blahota, Martin. “Vyslanci civilizace, nebo násilní pijani? Ztvárnění ruského etnika v jazykově rozmanité literatuře imperiálně rasistického Mandžukua” (Envoys of Civilization, or Violent Drinkers? Representation of the Russian Ethnic Group in the Linguistically Diverse Literature of the Imperially Racist Manchukuo). *Nový Orient* no. 75 (2020): 47–55.
- . “A Uyghur Concubine and a French Juggler Resisting Japanese Imperialism: Jue Qing’s Aesopian Language in Manchukuo’s Official Literature.” *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies* 1/1 (2021): 89–127.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Brown, Roger H. “Visions of a Virtuous Manifest Destiny: Yasuoka Masahiro and Japan’s Kingly Way.” In *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, edited by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, 133–50. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Buruma, Ian and Avishai Margalit. *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.
- Cao, Gong 草公. “Yi-A zhanzheng yu youse renzhong” 意阿戰爭與有色人種 (The Italo-Ethiopian War and People of Color). *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 6/7/8 (January 1936): 18.
- Carter, James. *Creating a Chinese Harbin*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Chan, Ching-kiu Stephen. “The Language of Despair: Ideological Representations of the ‘New Women’ by May Fourth Writers.” *Modern Chinese Literature* 4, no. 1/2 (1988): 19–38.
- Chen, Yin 陳因. “Ganhua le” 感化了 (Becoming Reformed). *Manzhou bao*, (June 26, 1933, Xingqi fukan): 2.
- Ch’en, Kenneth. “Matteo Ricci’s Contribution to, and Influence on, Geographical Knowledge in China.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59, no. 3 (September 1939): 325–59.

- Chen, Shi 陳實. “Xiao Song, yi wen zuohua wajie ‘letu’” 小松，以文作畫瓦解“樂土” (Xiao Song: Painting the Collapsing “Paradise” with Words). In *Xiao Song zuopin ji* 小松作品集 (Selected Works By Xiao Song), edited by Chen Shi and Xie Chaokun 謝朝坤, 1–16. Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Chiasson, Blaine R. *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria’s Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918–29*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming “Japanese:” Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Chou, Wan-yao. “The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations.” In *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, edited by Peter Duus, Ramon Hawley Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, 40–68. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Concordia Association. “Manzhouguo Xiehehui juxing chenglishi zai Xinjing guowuyuan zhong” 滿洲國協和會舉行成立式在新京國務院中 (Manchukuo Concordia Association Held the Founding Ceremony in the State Council in Xinjing). *Manzhou bao* 26 (July 1932): 4.
- Conrad, Sebastian. “Remembering Asia: History and Memory in Post-Cold War Japan.” In *Memory in a Global Age*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 163–77. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Crowley James B. “Intellectuals and Visionaries of the New Asian Order.” In *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, edited by James William Morley and George M. Beckmann, 319–73. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Culver, Annika A. *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.
- . “Introduction: ‘Manchukuo Perspectives,’ or Collaboration as a Transcendence of Literary, National, and Chronological Boundaries.” In *Manchukuo Perspective: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 1–10. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Daruvala, Susan. *Zhou Zuoren and an alternative Chinese response to modernity*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.
- Deleuze, Gilles, Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, translated by Dana B. Polan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

- . *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Denton, Kirk A. *The Problematic of Self in Modern Chinese Literature : Hu Feng and Lu Ling*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Monolingualism of the Other, or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, translated by Patrick Mensah. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Doak, Kevin M. "The Concept of Ethnic Nationality and Its Role in Pan-Asianism in Imperial Japan." In *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, edited by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, 168–81. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Duara, Prasenjit. "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism." *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 99–130.
- . *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- . "Between Empire and Nation." In *Settler Colonialism in The Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*, edited by Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Duus, Peter. "Japan's Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937: An Overview." In *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, edited by Peter Duus et al., xi-xxix. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- . "Introduction / Japan's Wartime Empire: Problems and Issues." In *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, edited by Peter Duus, Ramon Hawley Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, xi–xlvi. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Elliot, Mark C. "The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 3 (August, 2000), 603–46.
- . *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 1963.
- . *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto, 1986.
- Feng, Weiqun 馮為群. "Shi Hanjian wenxue haishi kang Ri wenxue" 是漢奸文學還是抗日

- 文學 (Is It the Literature of Traitors to China or Literature of the Anti-Japanese Resistance?) In *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 東北淪陷時期文學國際學術研討會論文集 (Collection of Papers from the International Symposium on Literature of the Enemy-Occupied Northeast), edited by Feng Weiqun, 91–106. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1992.
- Fogel, Joshua A. *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Frayling, Christopher. *The Yellow Peril: Dr. Fu Manchu & the Rise of Chinaphobia*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2014.
- French, Paul. “Censoring Lady Chatterley in Shanghai: The censorship of Western culture and entertainment in the Shanghai International Settlement, 1940/1941.” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China* 77, no. 1 (2017): 196–211.
- Fung, Yu-Lan. *A History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Freeden Michael. The Morphological Analysis of Ideology. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* Edited by Michael Freedden and Marc Stears, 2013.
- Gao, Xiang. “Daoyan” 導言 (Introduction). In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 6, *Changpian xiaoshuo juan* 長篇小說卷 (Novels), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 1–21. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.
- Gordon, Peter Eli. *Rosenzweig and Heidegger: Between Judaism and German Philosophy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Gottschang, Thomas R., and Diana Lary. *Swallows and Settlers: The Great Migration from North China to Manchuria*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020.
- Grüner, Frank. “In the Streets and Bazaars of Harbin: Marketers, Small Traders, and Peddlers in a Changing Multicultural City.” *Itinerario* 35 (2011): 37–72.
- Gu, Ding 古丁 (as Ni Guding 尼古丁). “Shi shi chaoxianshi de ma?” 詩是超現實的麼 (Is Poetry Surreal?). *Manzhou bao* (October 27, 1933): 8.
- . “Tuilunzhe?” 推輪者? (Those Who Turn the Wheel?). *Manzhou bao* (November 3, 1933): 8.
- (as Tu Wei 突微). “Pa’erdishan” 巴爾底山 (Partisans). *Paomo* 1, vol. 4 (1935): 27.

- (as Xu Changji 徐長吉). “Ribei dui Hua de zhenyi” 日本對華的真意 (Japan’s True Intentions towards China). *Shengjing shibao* (September 1, 1937): 2 (haowai).
- . “Xiao xiang” 小巷 (Alley). *Mingming* 1 no. 5 (July 1937): 53–8.
- . “Huanxi” 歡喜 (I Am Happy). *Datong bao* (January 19, 1942): 4.
- . “Dai Tōa seishin no seiritu” 大東亞精神の成立. *Bungei* 10, no. 12 (1942): 18.
- . “Jimie” 擊滅 (Annihilation). *Qilin* 4, no. 8 (September 1944): 21.
- . “Xia xiang” 下鄉 (Going to the Countryside). *Yiwenzhi* 11 (1944): 48–61.
- . “Shanghai waijing” 山海外經 (Outer Canon of Mountains and Seas), *Wenyou* 55 (July 15, 1945): 16–21.
- . *Xin sheng* 新生 (New Life). Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1945.
- . “Bian jin” 變金 (Turning into Money). In *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 (Gu Ding’s Selected Works), edited by Li Chunyan 李春燕, 182–94. Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995.
- . “Boli ye” 玻璃葉 (Glass Leaves). In *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 (Gu Ding’s Selected Works), edited by Li Chunyan 李春燕, 174–81. Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995.
- . “Tuibai” 頹敗 (Falling into Decadence). In *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 (Gu Ding’s Selected Works), edited by Li Chunyan 李春燕, 165–73. Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995.
- . “Yuanye” (The Wilds). In *Gu Ding zuopin xuan* 古丁作品選 (Gu Ding’s Selected Works), edited by Li Chunyan 李春燕, 258–318. Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1995.
- Gunn, Edward M. *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Hall, Stuart. “The Question of Cultural Identity.” In *Modernity and Its Futures*, edited by Stuart Hall, David Held, and Anthony G. McGrew, 273–316. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

- Han, Eric. “I am Japan’s Kang Youwei, You are China’s Inukai Tsuyoshi’: A Case of Idealism in Sino-Japanese Relations at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” *Sino-Japanese Studies* 24 (2017): 2–23.
- Handel, Zev J. *Sinography: the Borrowing and Adaptation of the Chinese Script*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Hay, Stephen N. *Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China, and India*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Hayter, Irena. “Introduction. *Tenkō* – Modernity, Empire, Japan.” In *Tenkō: Cultures of Political Conversion in Transwar Japan*, edited by Irena Hayter, George T. Sipos, and Mark Williams, ix–xliii. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Havel, Václav. “The Power of the Powerless,” translated by Paul Wilson. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 32, no. 2 (May 2018): 353–408.
- Hay, Stephen N. *Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China, and India*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hong, Jong-wook. “*Tenkō* in Korea: Revealing the Critical Threshold of Colonial Empire.” In *Tenkō: Cultures of Political Conversion in Transwar Japan*, edited by Irena Hayter, George T. Sipos, and Mark Williams, 47–64. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Hosoya, Chihiro. “Retrogression in Japan’s Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process.” In *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, edited by James William Morley and George M. Beckmann, 81–105. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Hotta, Eri. *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War 1931–1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Hsia, Chih-tsing. “Obsession with China: The Moral Burden of Modern Chinese Literature.” In *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 533–54. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Hua, Rui. “Local Nation, Frontier Manchuria: The World of Multiple Cultural Systems and Intellectual Collaboration in Manchukuo, 1900–1938.” Master’s thesis, University of British Columbia, 2013.
- Huang, Wei 黄薇. “Ribei fanzhan nüzuojia: Ikeda Sachiko fangwen ji” 日本反戰女作家：

- 池田幸子訪問記 (A Japanese female anti-war writer: Interview with Ikeda Sachiko), *Funü shenghuo* 婦女生活 6, no. 3, (June 5, 1938), 23–4.
- Ikeda, Sachiko 池田幸子. “Zuihou yi hui de Lu Xun” 最後一會的魯迅 (Lu Xun’s Last Moments), translated by Gu Ding. *Datong bao* (November 21, 22, and 24, 1936): 6.
- Inagaki, Midori 稲垣みどり. “Shao Son ‘Jinzō kenshi’ ni tsuite” 小松「人造絹糸」について (About Xiao Song’s ‘Artificial Silk’). In “*Shōwa*” *bungakushi ni okeru “Manshū” no mondai 3* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題第三 (The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 3), edited by Sugino Yōkichi, 373–81. Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi Kenkyūshitsu, 1996.
- Iriye, Akira. *China and Japan in the Global Setting*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Ives, Christopher. *Imperial-Way Zen*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. London: Routledge, 1983.
- — —. “Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism. *Social Text*, no. 15 (Autumn, 1986): 65–88.
- Jiang, Lei. “Spiritual Resistance: A Study of the Phenomenon of Resistance Literature in Supplements of Manchukuo’s *Datong bao* [Great Unity Herald]. In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 44–63. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Jin, Boying 金伯英 and Jin Hui 金輝, “Qiantan ‘Heilongjiang Min bao’ yu ‘Min bao shijian’” 淺談《黑龍江民報》與“民報事件,” *Heilongjiang shehui kexue* 黑龍江社會科學 no. 59 (2000): 70–2.
- Jin, Shaotian 金紹田. “Dulou” 髑髏 (The Skull). In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 (Short Stories), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 94–6. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.
- Jing, Jiang. “From Foot Fetish to Hand Fetish: Hygiene, Class, and the New Woman.” *Positions* 1 (2014): 131–159.
- Jones, Francis C. *Manchuria since 1931*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs,

1949.

- Jue, Qing 爵青 (as Liao Ding 遼丁). “Chunyu yehua” 春雨夜話 (Spring Rain Night Talk). *Taidong ribao* (January 7, 1935): 5.
- (as Liao Ding 遼丁). “Guoji niang” 國際娘 (International Girl). *Tonggui* 2, no. 2 (February 1, 1935): 86–8.
- (as A Jue 阿爵). “Yiguo qingdiao” 異國情調 (Exotic Atmosphere). *Ha'erbin Wuri Huabao* (February 5, 1937): 3.
- . “Harubin” 哈爾濱 (Harbin). In *Genya* 原野 (The Wilds), edited and translated by Ōuchi Takao 大内隆雄, 415–50. Tokyo: Sanwa shobō, 1939.
- . “Ha'erbin” 哈爾濱 (Harbin). In *Ouyangjia de renmen* 歐陽家的人們 (People of the Ouyang Family), 1–18. Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1941.
- . “Qingchun maodu zhi er” 青春冒瀆之二 (Youthful Blasphemy No. 2). In *Ouyangjia de renmen* 歐陽家的人們 (People of the Ouyang Family), 104–24. Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1941.
- . “Kōtta entē ni orite” 凍った園庭に降りて (Falling on the Frozen Garden). *Chūōkōron* (September 1, 1942), 208–21.
- . “Chuxi Da Dongya wenxuezhe dahui suogan” 出席大東亞文學者大會所感 (Reflections on Attending the Greater East Asian Writers' Congress). *Qilin* 3, no. 2 (February 1943): 48–9.
- . “E'mo” 惡魔 (Devil). In *Guixiang* 歸鄉 (Returning Home), 34–61. Xinjing: Yiwen shufang, 1943.
- . “Huangjin de zhaimen qianhou” 《黄金的窄门》前后 (Before and After *The Golden Narrow Gate*). *Qingnian wenhua* 青年文化 3 (1943): 83–4.
- . “Baichi zhishi” 白痴知識 (Idiotic Knowledge). In *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 (A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation), edited by Liu Huijuan 劉慧娟, vol. 35, 721–6. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013.
- . “Feixu zhi shu” 廢墟之書 (On Ruins). In *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue*

- zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 (A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation), edited by Liu Huijuan 劉慧娟, vol. 35, 745–55. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013.
- . “Tan xiaoshuo” 談小說 (On Novel). In *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 (A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation), edited by Liu Huijuan 劉慧娟, vol. 36, 809–17. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013.
- Kaji Wataru 鹿地亘. “Jigoku” 地獄 (Hell). *Puroretaria geijutsu* 2, no. 1 (January 1928): 127–39.
- . “Hell.” In *For Dignity, Justice, and Revolution: an Anthology of Japanese Proletarian Literature*, edited by Heather Bowen-Struyk and Norma Field, 192–204. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Karl, Rebecca E. “Creating Asia. China in the World at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (1998): 1096–118.
- Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成. “Senja no kotoba” 選者のことば (Editors’ Words). In *Manshūkoku kakuminzoku sōsaku senshū* 滿洲国各民族創作選集 (Selected Works by Each of the Races of Manchuria), vol. 1., edited by Yamada Seizaburō 山田清三郎 et al. Tokyo: Sogensha, 1942.
- Keaveney, Christopher T.. *The subversive self in modern Chinese literature: the Creation Society’s reinvention of the Japanese shishōsetsu*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Keevak, Michael. *Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Kim Saryang 金史良. “Hikari no naka ni” 光の中に (Into the Light). In *Bungei shuto* 7, no. 10 (October 1939): 384–407.
- . “Into the Light.” In *Into the Light: An Anthology of Literature by Koreans in Japan*, edited by Melissa L. Wender, 15–38. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.
- King, Ross. “Introduction: Koh Jongsok’s Infected Language.” In Jongsok Koh and Ross

- King. *Infected Korean Language, Purity Versus Hybridity*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014.
- Kleeman, Faye. *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.
- Koiso Kuniaki 小磯國昭. "Manzhou diguo xin di jiwei shuhuai" 滿洲帝國新帝即位述懷 (Reflections of Empire of Manchukuo's New Emperor's Accession). *Manzhou bao* (March 1, 1934): 2.
- Komine Katsuyuki 小峰克之. "Ryō Chō 'Harubin' ni tsuite" 遼丁「哈爾濱」について (On Jue Qing's "Harbin"). In "*Shōwa*" *bungakushi ni okeru "Manshū" no mondai 3* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の問題第三 (The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 3), edited by Sugino Yōkichi, 382–7. Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi Kenkyūshitsu, 1999.
- Koselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past: on the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Kwon, Nayoung Aimee. *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Lahusen, Thomas. "Introduction." In *Harbin and Manchuria: Place, Space and Identity*, edited by Thomas Lahusen, 1–12. Durham, NC: Duke University, 2001.
- Lattimore, Owen. *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Shanghai Modern: the Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Lei, Ying. "Lu Xun, the Critical Buddhist: A Monstrous Ekayāna." *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 3, no. 2 (2016): 400–28.
- Li, Chunyan 李春燕. "Lun Xiao Song de wenxue chuanguo" 論小鬆的文學創作 (On Xiao Song's Literary Work). *Shehui kexue jikan*, no. 5: 148–52, 1995.
- Li, Lincoln. *The China Factor in Modern Japanese Thought: the Case of Tachibana Shiraki, 1881–1945*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Lin, Pei-yin. *Colonial Taiwan: Negotiating Identities and Modernity through Literature*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017.

- Liu, Chao. "From Radical Nationalism to Anti-modernism. The Intellectual Dilemma of Wenxuan Writers." In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 140–156. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Liu, Heng-Hsing 劉恆興. "Wenxue, zhuti yu shehui: 'Manzhouguo' wentan jianshe lunzheng de qiyuan yu fazhan" 文學、主體與社會：「滿洲國」文壇建設論爭的起源與發展 (1935–1936) (Literature, Subjectivity, and Society: The Origin and Development of Debates on Literary Construction in Manchukuo, 1935–1936). *Wen yu zhe* 30 (2017): 129–78.
- Liu, Huijuan 劉慧娟. "Bei cheng wei 'guicai' de zuojia: Liu Jueqing" 被稱為“鬼才”的作家：劉爵青 (The Writer Who Was Called “Genius”: Liu Jueqing). In *Dongbei lunxian shiqi wenxue zuopin yu shiliao biannian jicheng* 東北淪陷時期文學作品與史料編年集成 (A Chronological Collection of Literary Works and Historical Materials from the Northeast under Japanese Occupation), edited by Liu Huijuan, vol. 34, 258–9. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2013.
- Liu, Shu-chin 柳書琴. "Modu youwu: Shanghai xin ganjue pai yu zhimin dushi qimeng xushi" 魔都尤物：上海新感覺派與殖民都市啟蒙敘事 (Extraordinary Women from the Magical City: Inspiring Narratives of Shanghai's New Sensationism in Colonial Cities). *Shandong Social Times* 2 (2014): 38–49.
- Liu, Xiaoli 劉曉麗. "Wei Manzhouguo shiqi funi zuopin de biao li yi 'xian'na shi' he 'shiju xiaoshuo' wei zhongxin" 偽滿洲國時期附逆作品的表里以“獻納詩”和“時局小說”為中心 (The Outside and Inside of the Works Currying Favor with Japanese Invaders during the Period of the Puppet Regime of Manchukuo: Centered on “the Dedication Poetry” and “Fiction on Current Political Situations”). *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan*, no. 4 (2006): 152–70.
- . *Yitai shikong zhong de jingshen shijie: wei Manzhouguo wenxue yanjiu* 異態時空中的精神世界：偽滿洲國文學研究 (The Spiritual World of an Abnormal Time and Space: Research on Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime). Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chuban she, 2008.
- . "Jiezhixing neizai yu zhimindi wenxue" 解殖性內在於殖民地文學 (The Inherent Lyo-colonialism in the Literature of the Colonies). In *Dongya wenxue chang: Taiwan, Chaoxian, Manzhou de zhiminzhuyi yu wenhua jiaoshe* 東亞文學場：台灣、朝鮮、滿洲的殖民主義與文化交涉 (The East Asian Literary Field: Colonialism and Cultural Interaction in Taiwan, Joseon, and Manchuria), edited by Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴, 87–106. New Taipei City: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 2018.

- . “Unpacking ‘New Manchuria’ Narratives: Propaganda, Fact, Memory, and Aesthetics.” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 13–27. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Liu, Zhiming 劉芝明. “Dongbei san nian lai wenyi gongzuo chubu zongjie” 東北三年來文藝工作初步總結 (A Preliminary Summary of the Literary and Artistic Work in Northeast China in the Past Three Years). In *Zhonghua quanguo wenxue yishu gongzuozhe daibiao dahui jinian wenji* 中華全國文學藝術工作者代表大會紀念文集 (Commemorative Essays of the Chinese National Literature and Arts Workers Congress), edited by Zhongguo wenxue yishu gongzuozhe daibiao dahui 中國文學藝術工作者代表大會, 323–45. Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1950.
- Lomová, Olga. *Poselství krajiny: obraz přírody v díle tchangského básníka Wang Weje*. Praha: DharmaGaia, 1999.
- Loseff, Lev. *On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature*. München: Sagner, 1984.
- Lu, Hsün. *Selected Stories of Lu Hsün*, translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. New York: Oriole Editions, 1972.
- Lu, Xun 魯迅. “Wangdao” 王道 (Kingly Way). *Xi bei feng* (January 15, 1937): 3.
- Lü, Qinwen 呂欽文. “Dongbei lunxian qu de wailai wenxue yu xiangtu wenxue” 東北淪陷區的外來文學與鄉土文學 (Foreign Literature in the Northeast Occupied Territories and Native Soil Literature). In *Zhongri zhanzheng yu wenxue* 中日戰爭與文學 (Sino-Japanese War and Literature), edited by Yamada Keizō 山田敬三 and Lü Yangming 呂元明, 127–59. Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1992.
- League Of Nations (Lytton Commission). *Situation in Manchuria: Report of the Lytton Commission of Inquiry*. Geneva: League of Nations, 1932.
- Ma, Wei 馬偉.. “‘Manzhou:’” cong zuming dao diming kao” “滿洲”：從族名到地名考 (Manchu: from a Name of an Ethnicity to a Toponym). *Dongbei shi di*, no. 3 (2013): 62–7.
- Mair, Victor H. “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 3 (August, 1994): 707–51.

- Manchukuo Government 滿洲國政府. “Manzhouguo jianguo xuanyan” 滿洲國建國宣言 (The Manchukuo State-Founding Proclamation). *Manzhou bao* (March 3, 1932): 1.
- Mangalagiri, Adhira. “Slave of the Colonizer: The Indian Policeman in Chinese Literature.” In *Beyond Pan-Asianism: Connecting China and India, 1840s–1960s*, edited by Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui, 29–66. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Matsuda, Kōichirō 松田宏一郎. “‘Ajia’ no ‘tashō’sei: Ajiashugi izen no Ajiaron” 「垂細垂」の「他称」性-アジア主義以前のアジア論 (The foreign-imposed character of ‘Asia:’ Asia discourse before Asianism), in *Nihon Gaikō ni okeru Ajiashugi* 日本外交におけるアジア主義 (Asianism in Japan’s foreign policy), edited by Nihon Seiji Gakkai 日本政治学会, 33–53. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1999.
- Matusaka, Y. Tak. “Managing Occupied Manchuria, 1931–1934.” In *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, edited by Peter Duus, Ramon Hawley Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, 97–135. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Maxey, Trent E. *The “Greatest Problem:” Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014.
- Mayo, Marlene J. “Introduction.” In *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, edited by Marlene J. Mayo and Thomas Rimer, 1–42. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001.
- Mei, Ding’e. *Ko Tei kenkyū: Manshūkoku ni ikita bunkajin* 古丁研究「満洲国」に生きた文化人 (Kotei: A Cultural Icon in Manchukoku). Kyoto: Ningen Bunka Kenkyū Kikō Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 2012.
- . *Tuoxie yu dikang: Gu Ding de chuangzuo yu chuban huodong* 妥协与抵抗：古丁的创作与出版活动 (Compromise and Resistance: Gu Ding’s Literary Work and Publishing Activities), Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, translated by Howard Greenfeld. New York: Orion Press, 1965.
- Meyer, Kathryn. “The Garden of Grand Vision: Slums, Deviance, and Control in Manchukuo, 1940–41.” In *Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria*, edited by Norman Smith, 179–96. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2017.
- Miyata, Keiko 宮田螢子. “Shao Son ‘Tanpopo’ ron — eien no hana” 小松「蒲公英」論—永遠の花 (On Xiao Song’s “Dandelion.” An Eternal Flower). In: “*Shōwa*” *bungakushi ni okeru “Manshū” no mondai 2* 「昭和」文学史における「満洲」の

- 問題第二 (The Issue of Manchuria in the Literary History of the Shōwa Period No. 2), edited by Sugino Yōkichi, 228–32. Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Kyōikugakubu Sugino Yōkichi Kenkyūshitsu, 1994.
- Mitter, Rana. *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Mu Zhongnan 穆中南. “Ji zai qianmian” 記在前面 (Introductory Notes). In *Zhan shi wenxue xuanji* 戰時文學選集 (Anthology of Wartime Literature), edited by Mu Zhongnan, 1–4. Nanking: Zhongyang dianxunshe, 1945.
- Murata, Yūko 村田裕子. “‘Manshūkoku’ bungaku no ichi sokumen. Bungei Seikyō-shō o chūshin to shite” 「満洲国」文学の一側面—文芸盛京賞を中心として (One Side of Manchukuo Literature. Focusing on Shengjing Literary Prize). In: “*Manshūkoku*” no kenkyū “満洲国”の研究 (Research on Manchukuo), edited by Yamamoto Yūzō 山本有造. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinmon Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1993.
- — —. “‘Manzhougou’ wenxue de yige cemian: yi Wenyi Shengjing shang wei zhongxin” 満洲國文學的一個側面—以文藝盛京賞為中心 (One Side of Manchukuo Literature: Focusing on Shengjing Literary Prize). In *Wei Manzhougou wenxue yanjiu zai Riben* 偽満洲國文學研究在日本 (Japanese Research on Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime), edited by Ōkubō Akio 大久保明男 et al., 1–48. Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Okada, Hideki 岡田英樹. *Bungaku ni miru “Manshūkoku” no isō* 文学にみる「満洲国」の位相 (The “Manchukuo” Period in Literature). Tōkyō: Kenbun Shuppan, 2000.
- — —. *Wei Manzhougou wenxue* 偽満洲國文學 (Literature of the Manchukuo Puppet Regime). Changchun: Jilin daxue chuban she, 2001.
- Ōkubō, Akio 大久保明男. *Wei Manzhougou de Hanyu zuojia he Hanyu wenxue* 偽満洲國和漢語作家和漢語文學 (Chinese Writers and Chinese Literature in Manchukuo). Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- — —. “Luo Tuosheng and Manchukuo Literature. The Literary Endeavours of a Manchukuo Student in Imperial Japan.” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 140–56. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*, translated by Shelley Laura Frisch. Princeton: M. Wiener Publishers; Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1997.

- Ozaki, Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹. *Jiu zhimindi wenxue de yanjiu* 舊殖民地文學的研究 (Studies of Literature in Former Japanese Colonies). Taipei: Renjian chubanshe, 2004.
- Park, Hyun Ok. “Nationalism and Bourgeois Hegemony in Northeast China.” *Korea Journal of Population and Development* 23, no. 2 (December 1994): 203–28.
- Park, Neung-mook 朴能默. “Nimen bu shi Ribenren, shi xiongdi” 你們不是日本人，是兄弟！ (You Are Not Japanese, You Are Brothers!). *Wenxue zazhi* 1, no. 2(1933): 101–6.
- Peattie, Mark R. *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Mita, Masao 三田正夫. “Guanyu zhencha liyong wenyi, yanju jinxing sixiang huodong de baogao” 關於偵察利用文藝、演劇進行思想活動的報告 (Intelligence Report on Uses of Literature and Drama for Ideological Purposes), translated by Yu Lei 于雷. In *Lunxianqu Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu ziliao zonghui* 淪陷區中國文學研究資料總匯 (A Collection of Research Materials on Chinese Literature in Occupied Areas), edited by Peng Fang 彭放 et al., 1176–89. Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2005.
- Poland, Stephen. “The Literary Politics of Harmonization and Dissonance. Heterolingual Address in Nogawa Takashi's ‘The People Who Go to the Hamlet.’” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 255–68. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Qusted, R. K. I. *Sino-Russian Relations: a Short History*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Saaler, Sven. “Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History. Overcoming the Nation, Creating a Region, Forging an Empire.” In *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, edited by Sven Saaler and Victor J. Koschmann, 1–18. London; New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Schwarcz, Vera. *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Sen, Tansen and Brian Tsui. “Introduction.” In *Beyond Pan-Asianism: Connecting China and India, 1840s-1960s*, edited by Tansen Sen and Brian Tsui, 1–25. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2021.

- Sewell, Bill. *Constructing Empire : the Japanese in Changchun, 1905–45*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2019.
- Shao, Dan. *Remote Homeland, Recovered Borderland: Manchus, Manchoukuo, and Manchuria, 1907–1985*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Shea, George Tyson. *Leftwing Literature in Japan: a Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement*. Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964.
- Shen, Jie 申傑. “Minzu xiehe zhi yiyi ji qi biyaoxing” 民族協和之意義及其必要性 (The Significance and Necessity of Ethnic Harmony), *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 6/7/8 (January 1936): 15–7.
- Shepherdson-Scott, Kari. “Race behind the Walls: Contact and Containment in Japanese Images of Urban Manchuria.” In *The Affect of Difference: Representations of Race in East Asian Empire*, edited by Christopher P. Hanscom and Dennis Washburn, 180–202. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.
- Shih, Shu-mei. *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Smith, Craig A. “Constructing Chinese Asianism: Intellectual Writings on East Asian Regionalism (1896–1924).” Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2014.
- . *Chinese Asianism, 1894–1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2021.
- Smith, Norman. *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007.
- . “Introduction.” In *Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria*, edited by Norman Smith, 3–27. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2017.
- Smith, Stephen N. “Community of Common Destiny.” *International Journal* (Toronto) 73, no. 3 (2018): 449–63.
- Snyder, Louis L. *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895–1980*. New York: The Viking Press, 1981.
- Steinhoff, Patricia G. *Tenkō: Ideology and Societal Integration in Prewar Japan*. New York: Garland, 1991.

Stuckey, Andrew G. *Old Stories Retold: Narrative and Vanishing Pasts in Modern China*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010.

Suleski, Ronald. "Northeast China under Japanese Control: The Role of the Manchurian Youth Corps, 1934–1945." *Modern China* 7, no. 3 (July 1981): 351–77.

Sun Wenliang 孫文梁. "'Manzhou' yu 'Dongbei' de mingcheng jiqi yu Manzu de fazhan guanxi" "滿洲"與"東北"的名稱及其與滿族的發展關係 (The Development of the Relationship between the Names "Manchuria" and the "Northeast" and Manchus). CCP: Neibu wenjian, n.d.

Sun, Xizhen 孫席珍. "Guanyu beifang zuolian de shiqing" 關於北方左聯的事情 (On Northern Left League). In *Zuolian huiyilu* 左聯回憶錄 (The League of Left-Wing Writers Memoirs), edited by Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 中國社會科學院, 495–521. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982.

Sun, Yat-sen 孫中山. "Da Yazhou zhui" 大亞洲主義 (Greater Asianism). In *Guo fu quan ji* 國父全集 (The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen), vol. 3, 535–42. Taipei Shi: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1989.

———. "Xiugai zhangcheng zhi shuoming" 修改章程之說明 (Explaining the Amending of the Party Constitution). In *Guo fu quan ji* 國父全集 (The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen), vol. 3, 215–19. Taipei Shi: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1989.

Tageldin, Shaden M. *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Tanaka, Stefan. *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1993.

Tansman, Alan. *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

———. *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Tay, Wei Leong. "Kang Youwei, The Martin Luther of Confucianism and his Vision of Confucian Modernity and Nation." In *Secularization, Religion and the State*, 97–109. Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Center For Philosophy, 2010.

Thompson, John B. "Editor's Introduction." In *Language and Symbolic Power*, written by Pierre Bourdieu and edited by John B. Thompson, 1–31. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

- Thongchai, Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1994.
- Tierney, Robert Thomas. *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Thornber, Karen Laura. *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009.
- Wang, Ban. “Introduction.” In *Chinese Visions of World Order: Tianxia, Culture, and World Politics*, edited by Wang Ban, 1–22. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- . “The Moral Vision in Kang Youwei’s Book of the Great Community.” In *Chinese Visions of World Order. Tianxia, Culture, and World Politics*, edited by Wang Ban, 87–102. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Wang, David Der-wei. *The Lyrical in Epic Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- 王德威. “Hua-yi zhi bian: Huayu yuxi yanjiu de xin shijie” 華夷之變：華語語系研究的新視界 (Sinophone/Xenophone Studies: Toward a Poetics of Wind, Sound, and Changeability). *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue*, no. 34 (December 2018): 1–28.
- Wang, Hui. “From Empire to State: Kang Youwei, Confucian Universalism, and Unity.” In *Chinese Visions of World Order: Tianxia, Culture, and World Politics*, edited by Wang Ban, 49–64. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Weber, Torsten. *Embracing ‘Asia’ in China and Japan: Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony, 1912–1933*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*. London; New York: Verso, 1989.
- Xiao Jun 蕭軍. “Wo de wenxue shengya jianshu” 我的文學生涯簡述 (A Brief History of My Literary Career). In *Xiao Jun quan ji 蕭軍全集 (The Complete Works of Xiao Jun)*, vol. 1, 1–23. Beijing: Huaxia chu ban she, 2008.
- Xiao Song 小松 (as Meng Yuan 夢園). “Yi feng can xin” 一封殘信 (A Snippet of a Letter). *Manzhou bao* (October 10, 1932): 1.
- (as Meng Yuan 夢園). “Lü dian de yi ye” 旅店的一夜 (Night at a Hotel).

- Manzhou bao* (October 10, 1932): 2.
- (as Meng Yuan 夢園). “Nan you de yi ye” 南游的一頁 (One Page of My Travel to the South). *Taidong ribao* (August 13, 1934): 4.
- . “Binghuan” 病患 (Disease). In *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (Bat), 17–26. Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938.
- . “Nan xing” 南行 (Travel to the South). In *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (Bat), 57–74. Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938.
- . “Yueliang luo le” 月亮落了 (The Moon Fell). In *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (Bat), 75–106. Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938.
- . “Yi wenxue qingnian biaobai” 一文學青年自白 (Confession of One Literary Youngster). In *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (Bat), 233–44. Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938.
- . “Ba” 跋 (Postscript). In *Bianfu* 蝙蝠 (A Bat), 245–7. Fushun: Yuekan Manzhou she, 1938.
- . “Yiwenjia yu aiguo” 藝文家與愛國 (The Artist and Patriotism). *Datong bao* (January 22, 1942): 4.
- . “Rensi” 人絲 (Rayon).” In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 (Short Stories), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 327–37. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.
- . “Moshengren he yi ge nüshi” 陌生人和一個女侍 (A Stranger and a Waitress). In *Xiao Song zuopin ji* 小松作品集 (Selected Works By Xiao Song), edited by Chen Shi 陳實 and Xie Chaokun 謝朝坤, 313–9. Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Xie, Chaokun 謝朝坤. “Zhimin tongzhi de quanjing tu” 殖民統治的全景圖—論小鬆的小說創作 (A Full Picture of Colonial Rule: On Xiao Song’s Fiction Writing). In *Xiao Song zuopin ji* 小松作品集 (Selected Works By Xiao Song), edited by Chen Shi 陳實 and Xie Chaokun, 17–29. Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Xie, Xueshi 解學詩. *Wei Manzhouguo shi xin bian* 偽滿洲國史新編 (New History of Manchukuo Puppet Regime). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2015.
- Xie, Miya Qiong. “The Literary Territorialization of Manchuria: Rethinking National and

- Transnational Literature in East Asia.” Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2017.
- . “Linguistic Hybridity, Transnational Connectivity, and the Cultural Territorialization of Colonial Literature: The Case of Gu Ding.” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 83–102. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Xiong, Ying. “Utopianism Unrealized: Ōuichi Takao’s Literary Translation in Manchukuo.” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 64–79. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Xu, Ke 許可. “Lun wei-Man shiqi zuojia Xiao Song de Jidujiao yishi” 論偽滿時期作家小鬆的基督教意識 (On the Christian Consciousness of Xiao Song, a Writer in Manchukuo) *Huawen wenxue*, no. 150 (January 2019), 67–73.
- . “Zhimin yujing xia de shengcun yu sisuo: Jue Qing changpian xiaoshuo ‘Huangjin de zhaimen’ jiedu” 殖民語境下的生存與思索——爵青長篇小說《黃金的窄門》解讀 (Survival and Contemplation in the Colonial Context: Interpretation of Jue Qing’s Novel *The Narrow Golden Gate*). *Nanfang wentan*, no. 2 (2019): 159–64.
- . “Wei Man zuojia Gu Ding zaonian de zuoyi shengya” 偽滿作家古丁早年的左翼生涯 (Early Leftist Career of the Bogus Manchukuo Writer Gu Ding). *Guandong xuekan*, no. 45 (2021): 124–34.
- Yamamuro, Shin’ichi. *Manchuria under Japanese Domination*, translated by Joshua A. Fogel. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- . “Utopianism Unrealized: Ōuichi Takao’s Literary Translation in Manchukuo.” In *Manchukuo Perspectives: Transnational Approaches to Literary Production*, edited by Annika A. Culver and Norman Smith, 64–79. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2019.
- Young, Louise. *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . “When Fascism Met Empire in Japanese-Occupied Manchuria.” *Journal of Global History* 12, no. 2 (2017): 274–96.
- Yuan, Jinkai 袁金鎧. “Wangdao genggai yishuo” 王道梗概臆說 (Subjective Outline of *Wangdao*). *Xin qingnian* 1, no. 4 (November 1935): 1.

- Yue, Linge 岳麟閣. “Liulang” 流浪 (The Vagrant). In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 東北現代文學大系短篇小說卷 (Short Stories), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 100–2. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.
- Zarrow, Peter. “The Reform Movement, the Monarchy, and Political Modernity.” In *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, edited by Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow, 17–47. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Zhang, Ailing 張愛玲. “Jinyu lu” 燼餘錄 (From the Ashes). In *Zhang Ailing jingdian zuopin xuan* 張愛玲經典作品選 (Eileen Chang’s Classic Works), 227–36. Beijing: Dangdai shijie chubanshe, 2002.
- Zhang, Jinghui 張景惠. “Zhu wo guojia guoyun longsheng” 祝我國家國運隆盛 (I Wish Our Country Prosperity). *Datong bao* (January 1, 1936): 1.
- Zhang, Quan 張泉. *Zhimin tuo jiang yu wenxue lisan* 殖民拓疆與文學離散 (Colonial expansion and literary diaspora). Harbin: Beifang wenyi chubanshe, 2017.
- Zhu, Lingxiu 朱靈修. “Niang a, cuo teng le wo le” 娘啊--錯疼了我了 (Mum, You Loved Me Wrongly). In *Dongbei xiandai wenxue daxi, 1919–1949* 東北現代文學大系 (Compendium of Modern Northeastern Literature, 1919–1949), vol. 4, *Duanpian xiaoshuo juan* 短篇小說卷 (Short Stories), edited by Zhang Yumao 張毓茂, 45–6. Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1996.