MEMORY MAPS

THE STATE AND MANCHURIA IN POSTWAR JAPAN

MARIKO ASANO TAMANOI

Memory Maps

JOSHUA FOGEL, *GENERAL EDITOR*

For most of its past, East Asia was a world unto itself. The land now known as China sat roughly at its center and was surrounded by a number of places now called Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia, and Tibet, as well as a host of lands absorbed into one of these. The peoples and cultures of these lands interacted among themselves with virtually no reference to the outside world before the dawn of early modern times. The World of East Asia is a book series that aims to support the production of research on the interactions, both historical and contemporary, between and among these lands and their cultures and peoples and between East Asia and its Central, South, and Southeast Asian neighbors.

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THE WORLD OF EAST ASIA

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"Autumn in Southern Manchuria," by Terashima Banji, circa 1934.
(Courtesy Takeba Jō, curator, Nagoya Metropolitan Museum)

In memory of my parents,
Kazuo Asano and Chizuko Asano

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1
Introduction

"Manchuria" in Postwar Japan

The frontispiece of this book may look like one of the paintings of Jean-François Millet or Théodore Rousseau, leaders of the Barbizon School of painting in mid-nineteenth-century France. Yet this is not a painting but a photograph (circa 1934) of the landscape of Manchuria (Northeast China), where Japan's imperial power reached at the turn of the twentieth century. The photo depicts the countryside, not the city; the margins, not the center; and "the foreign" in the eyes of the Japanese. In the age of empire, this photo must have captivated millions of Japanese, who eventually left Japan proper (*naichi*) and moved to Japan's overseas empire (*gaichi*) in search of Utopia.

The photographer, Terashima Banji, was an employee of the South Manchuria Railway Company (hereafter SMR), which the Japanese state built in the port city of Dalian in 1906. Located at the tip of Liaodong peninsula, which Japan leased from Russia at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the SMR had become a mammoth company with more than two hundred thousand employees before it dissolved in 1945 (Itō 1988:3; 1964).[1] Since many among them had an interest in photography, Terashima formed an amateur photographers' club in the company, and the members traveled to Mukden (Shenyang), Changchun, and Harbin, as well as more remote areas of northern and western Manchuria, to take photographs of landscapes and people. The members were also artists who, incorporating the techniques of Pictorialism (*Kaiga Shugi*), transformed photos into paintings. Hence it is not the passage of time but Terashima's own "paint brush" that reproduced this image as a sepia-tinted photograph. In 1932, when Japan created its puppet state of Manchukuo (and labored to make it look like an independent nation-state), it mobilized these photographers to carry on active propaganda for the Japanese Empire. At the Chicago World's Fair of 1933, Terashima and other members of the club displayed their photographs in the SMR Pavilion (*Mantetsu-kan*) to "let the world know of Manchukuo."[2] Yet the photographs were interpreted as works of pure art, and after the fair ended, the photographers were invited to hold another thirty-two exhibitions throughout the United States. Back in Manchukuo, however, Terashima and other members of the club took their role of propagandists seriously. Using *USSR in Construction,* the official magazine of the Soviets, as a model,

in 1933 they published the first issue of *Manchurian Graph* (*Manshū gurafu*) to propagate the existence of "the newly constructed, independent nation-state of Manchukuo" throughout the West (see Takeba 1994).

In 1994, I saw for the first time the original of Terashima's photo at the Nagoya Metropolitan Museum in Japan. Under the exhibition title of Ikyō no Modanizumu (Modernism in Manchuria), Terashima's works were prominently displayed, along with photographs of colonial Manchuria that his mentors and colleagues had taken in the early twentieth century. "*Ikyō*" refers to "a place that is far away from home." Nonetheless, such a place, although foreign (to the Japanese), constitutes another home (for the Japanese). Hence "*ikyō*" in this case refers to Manchuria in the age of empire to which millions of Japanese people emigrated. This particular photo was exhibited with the title "Southern Manchuria in Autumn" (*Nan-Man no Aki*). It was easy for someone viewing the photo to succumb to nostalgia for Japan's imperial past. Indeed, looking at the photo, I could not help but feel nostalgia for the land about which I had heard so much while growing up in Japan. It is true that *this* Manchuria held romantic images for Japanese in the early twentieth century: "idealists and visionaries of every hue saw there a frontier of boundless possibilities that were unlikely to be found in any other part of the Japanese Empire," primarily because Manchuria was represented to the Japanese as a vast, virgin land, distinct from densely populated Taiwan or Korea (Duara 2003:62; see also Yamamuro 1993:14–15). My relatives, from whom I heard many stories of Manchuria, were surely among these "idealists and visionaries."[3] I therefore set my mind to exploring Japanese people's memories of Manchuria in order to understand the sense of nostalgia in twenty-first-century Japan, caught in the web of global capitalism. In 2001, however, something occurred that forced me to substantially revise my manuscript.

As I was completing the first draft of this book, I telephoned Mr. Yamashita Yasukazu to ask his permission to use Terashima's photo for my cover. Mr. Yamashita, who runs a photo studio in Tokyo, was one of Terashima's disciples. On the phone, he agreed to not only what I had asked for but also gave a brief biography of Terashima that clearly suggested the multiethnic composition of Manchuria's population in the early twentieth century. According to Mr. Yamashita, sometime in the late 1930s, Terashima met a Russian woman in Dalian who had escaped the Russian Revolution of 1917 and moved to Manchukuo. (Terashima married this woman, but the marriage did not last long. Soon after Japan's capitulation, he returned with his wife to Tokyo and then left her; she eventually moved to Sydney, Australia.) At the end of our conversation, Mr. Yamashita recounted to me what Terashima had often told his students: "The place he [Terashima] had photographed in "Southern Manchuria in Autumn" was the execution ground. On that particular site under the trees, Teacher Terashima used to

say, the Japanese troops killed many Chinese activists." What had been tactfully concealed in Terashima's photo since 1994 was now revealed to me: the Japanese executioners, the Chinese nationalists, and the power of the Japanese state. I had to revise my manuscript.

In this book, I will present "the history of the present," in which certain Japanese, Japanese-Chinese, and Chinese people remember Manchuria. This Manchuria of memory refers not only to a geographical area of Northeast China but also to the effect of the geopolitical imaginaries of these people, shaped by imperialism, colonialism, Pan-Asianism, post-coloniality, and globalization. I am particularly interested in how these people remember (or have forgotten) the power of the Japanese state, which was deeply involved in the construction of Manchukuo and yet is concealed in Terashima's photograph (see McCormack 1991:106).[4] In post-colonial studies, "the history of the present" usually refers to the investigation of popular memory of past colonial relations of power (see, for example, Stoler and Strassler 2000:4). Yet in this formulation of the history of the present, "the past" and "the present" are defined, rather unproblematically, as the colonial period ("the past") and the post-colonial period following the end of formal colonialism ("the present"). "Past colonial relations of power," however, linger in the post-colonial period, which has already had a certain duration (and still continues) in any nation that was involved in imperialism as either the colonizer or the colonized. I therefore find it necessary to explain how I use "the present" and "the past" as part of my methodology.

"The present" in this book refers to the period that the Japanese call "the postwar era" (*sengo*), a period that has continued ever since August 15, 1945, when Japan surrendered to the Allied Forces at the conclusion of the Asia-Pacific War (or World War II).[5] Since then, the Japanese state, mass media, and people have continued to use this term to refer to "the present," despite the official declaration of the end of the postwar era in 1976,[6] the death of the emperor who lent his hand to the construction of Manchukuo, and a new imperial era. Yet as the period now covers more than half a century, the postwar era seems to have already been pushed into the past. To retrieve "the present" from the past and make it meaningful for this book, I need an intervention from Hannah Arendt, who states the following: "Seen from the viewpoint of man, who always lives in the interval between past and future, time is not a continuum, a flow of uninterrupted succession; it is broken in the middle, at the point where "he" stands; . . . Only because man is inserted into time and only to the extent that he stands his ground does the flow of indifferent time break up into tenses" (1961:11).

This passage suggests that "the present" does not exist in the flow of progressive time. Indeed, the present is disappearing every second. Yet as a historian, Arendt retrieves it by making "a man" stand in time. This

particular point in time where "he" stands constitutes "the present" for Arendt; "the past," then, refers to what comes before this point. Following her, I use "the present" to refer to the multiple points in time of the postwar era where individuals stood (whether in Japan or China) and remembered Manchuria in "the past," which begins at the onset of the age of empire. These individuals include the following:

(1) The Japanese who emigrated to Manchuria as agrarian settlers but returned to Japan after the war's end, between 1946 and 1949.
(2) The children of these agrarian settlers who were left behind in China in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. Most of them were raised by Chinese adoptive parents, married Chinese citizens, and raised families in China but began to return to Japan permanently in the mid-1970s.
(3) Chinese couples who "adopted" children of Japanese agrarian settlers in Manchuria soon after the war's end.
(4) The (Japanese-Chinese) children of the children of Japanese agrarian settlers in Manchuria who have joined their (Japanese) parents in Japan.
(5) Chinese people who have survived the Japanese dominion in Manchuria in the age of empire.

In essence, I will use these people's memories as "the data" for the purpose of constructing the history of the present. Note, however, that "the present" has changed and so have these people's memories (see Nora 1978:468). In addition, the nature of what they call "the Japanese state" has also changed since the dawn of the modern era—through the age of empire (from the turn of the nineteenth century to 1945) and the postwar era—in its organization, personnel, and ideological orientation. As I remembered Manchuria differently in 1994 and 2001, they also remembered it differently, depending on where "in the present" they stood.

Recently, "memory" has come to occupy a respectable place in the profession of history. The history of memory in the West, however, suggests that this fairly recent development represents "the return of the repressed." Indeed, in medieval Europe, memory was a source of social knowledge, such as legal and social customs and the rights and duties by which a community lived (Fentress and Wickham 1992:8). Since then, memory has been steadily devalued as a source of knowledge behind the increasing domination of the textual paradigm of knowledge. Although in the 1970s "oral history" brought memory under scholarly attention, this branch of history hardly gained a prominent position, largely because oral sources, from which historians try to reconstruct the past, were judged merely in terms of truth. In other words, memory was regarded as yet an-

other, but less trustful, raw material for history. The recent return of memory has forced us to inquire into not only the nature of memory but also the nature of history, as well as the relation between the two. Such inquiry leads us to believe that although memory and history appear to be in fundamental opposition, they are not in opposition at all.[7] Rather, if we understand history as the product of "complex transactions between the past and the present," where historians stand, rather than a mass of data to which they add more data as they find them to fill the progressive yet empty time, we can entertain a radically different relationship between memory and history (see Duara 1995:4). Such a relation, then, is dialectic. On this relationship between memory and history, Jacques Le Goff states, "A twenty-first century historiography remains to be developed. I believe the relations between history as it occurs, history as historians write it, and the memory of men, women, peoples, and nations will play a major role in the birth of this new historiography" (1992:x).

"History as it occurs"—that is, "the past"—cannot be resurrected as it was: the past is revealed to us only through narration (Boyarin 1994b; Benjamin 1968:225; Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama 2001:1). Hence history as historians narrate it is only partial to the past (Rappaport 1990: introduction; White 1973). "The memory of men, women, peoples, and nations" provides empirical information for historians. They may even revise the history that has already been written. Memories, however, are also constructions *of* (and often *for*) the present. Thus, if we understand histories in the plural rather than History with a capital H, memory and history come ever closer. Yet although Le Goff refrains from predicting the future of this triangular relationship, he argues that "the discipline of history must nonetheless seek to be objective and to remain based on the belief in historical 'truth'" (1992:xi). Restated, historians should continue to play an important role by entering into "the great dialectical process of memory and forgetting experienced by individuals and societies," while making the discipline of history and memory nourishing to each other (ibid.).

Writing in the mid-1990s, Lisa Yoneyama stated: "the fact that the Japanese do not remember themselves as aggressors and only remember their victimization in the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has become almost a cliché, even in the U.S. news media." Yet she also argued that "although this amnesia over Japan's past deeds is unmistakably persistent in certain sectors of [Japanese] society, it is no longer pervasive or as dominant as many claim" (1995:500). This book, then, follows up her claim on two fronts. First, I highlight the life histories of the Japanese agrarian settlers and their descendants and those of the Chinese farmers who lived under the Japanese. In the age of empire, these two groups were

near the bottom of the societal hierarchy in their own societies. Hence, dividing them along the lines of "the colonizer" and "the colonized" is not effective. In post-colonial China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) instructed Chinese citizens to view the Japanese colonists who once tried to settle in Manchuria as the victims of Japan's imperialism. In the post-war era, the lives of both groups crisscrossed in yet another important way: in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation, about five thousand Chinese couples adopted the children of Japanese colonists (Asano and Dong 2006:vii). Here I try to relate these people's life histories (instead of presenting only the life histories of Japanese nationals), and in so doing, I aim to challenge the U.S. (and Asian) media's "portrayal of 'the Japanese' as a monolithic entity and [the media's] inattention to the diversity of historical awareness within Japan" (Yoneyama 1995:500).[8]

Second, writing in the early twenty-first century, I deal with the sense prevalent among the Japanese of their not so much being victimized as being nostalgic about the perished empire of Japan. I ask how the memory of victimization has turned to nostalgia for the same past that "victimized" the Japanese. In *Yearning for Yesterday*, Fred Davis argues that nostalgia tends to "eliminate from memory or, at minimum, severely to mute the unpleasant, the unhappy, the abrasive, and, most of all, those lurking shadows of former selves about which we feel shame, guilt, or humiliation" (1979:37). For this reason, nostalgia enables a person (or a nation) to maintain his (or its) identity intact. Yet Davis' argument implies that the identity of such a person (or nation) has already been ruptured, and that it is the reason why he (or the nation) resorts to nostalgia. This is why, Davis argues, nostalgia is fashioned "from the alternating continuities and discontinuities of our lives and times" (ibid.:50). If so, the sense of nostalgia in contemporary Japan does not represent simply the nation's yearning for the landscapes, lifestyles, and spectacles of the lost empire; it also represents the nation's "strategy," which has enabled its citizens to forget the existence of "the rupture in history" (*rekishi no danzetsu*): the abrupt dissolution of the Japanese Empire. This dissolution of empire, by an external mandate—that is, the U.S. Occupation Forces—ruptured not only the nation's progress on the path of modernization and democracy but also the national identity of the Japanese people, from that of the imperialist to the defeated (see Yamanouchi 1998). Here the following passage by Igarashi Yoshikuni is extremely insightful: "Postwar Japan has naturalized the absence and silence of the past by erasing its own struggle to deal with its memories. It may appear that postwar society readily left its experiences behind in the pursuit of economic success. However, the actual process of forgetting the loss was not an easy one; it involved a constant struggle to render memories of war into a benign, *nostalgic* form" (2000:10, emphasis added). It is important, then, to examine the natural-

ization of the process of forgetting through not so much the sense of victimization as the sense of nostalgia that has been aroused by, for example, Terashima's photo exhibit in Japan in 1994.

To focus on the state, however, may be futile, for, as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown once noted, the state, in the sense of an entity over and above the individuals who make up a society, does not exist in a phenomenal world but is a fiction of philosophers (1940:xxiii); "the state" has come to exist owing to the attention given by the world's great thinkers, from Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, Durkheim, and Weber (to name a few) to the political sociologists of our time. However, a focus on the state is important for the theoretical discussion of the subject for two reasons. First, we are now at a crossroads in pondering the transition from empire to nation-state (and to a lesser extent, perhaps, from nation-state back again to empire). In 1962, Rupert Emerson baldly declared that "empires have fallen on evil days and nations have risen to take their place" (quoted in Esherick, Kayali, and Young 2006b:1). True, the old, simplistic assumption of imperial history—that the more developed states of Europe (and Asia) would incorporate most parts of the less-developed world into empires—lost its compulsion some time ago. Yet in the past twenty years or so, scholars, who are motivated by "the present" both empirically and theoretically, have revived an interest in "empires" (which constituted the dominant subject in history in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) (Pagden 2006:36). The reason, I argue, is twofold: while some scholars are interested in understanding the nature of the "American empire" or the European Union (see, for example, Esherick 2006, Pagden 2006), others are interested in how to utilize post-colonial theory to understand the age of empire from the viewpoint of the present. Thus, historians such as David Fieldhouse now ask, "Can the fragments of the old imperial history be put together again into new patterns which are intellectually respectable?" (1984:9–10; see also Barkan 1994; Darby 1998; Howe 1998; Kennedy 1996). Rather than insisting on the difference between empire and nation, these scholars try to see, through careful investigation of the transition from empire to nation, the similarity between the two. Edward Walker thus argues that empires are states that call themselves empires and nations are states that call themselves nations (2006:302–306). Walker so states, I believe, because what Anthony Pagden has called "some kind of center" exists in both empires and nations. If empires "have always assumed the existence of a polity with *some kind of center* and one or more dependencies" (Pagden 2006:37, emphasis added), then how should we understand the continuity and/or discontinuity of this "some kind of center" from the age of empire to the present, the center, in the case of this book, being the Japanese state?[9]

Second, the recent rise of global capitalism—that is, massive flows of people and capital—has brought the concept of the state to the fore. While

the scholars of globalization have challenged the concepts of "territoriality" and "sovereignty" that lie at the heart of the idea of the state (Sharma and Gupta 2006:6; see also Sassen 1996, 1998), they are nonetheless more interested in the retreat of the state rather than in the state in itself. Hence some of these scholars have dabbled in a rather questionable reductionism: the retreat of state sovereignty, which necessarily accompanies globalization, will generate a general desire all over the world for market-led and multicultural democracy without the state (see, for example, Friedman 1999; Higgott, Underhill, and Bieler 2000; Ohmae 1990, 1995; Strange 1996). In this formulation, the state has become an object that no longer calls for the exploration of its meaning. But if empires were "the logical and inevitable outcome of the process of nation- and state-building that had created the world system of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Fieldhouse 1984:9; see also Duara 2003), will the state disappear so quickly and easily?[10] Since the nation-state became universal only in the second half of the twentieth century, between the age of empire and the age of global capitalism (Chatterjee 2005), how should we connect these two eras through the investigation of "some kind of center" that has reformulated itself after the fall of an empire to "some kind of center" of a nation-state? Has the influx of people from the former empire into the metropolis, Japan, revived the memory of empire but not the memory of "some kind of centers" of this empire?[11]

In the sections of this introduction that follow, I aim to accomplish three tasks. The first is to introduce my fieldwork sites, which are necessarily local and yet are intimately connected to regional, national, and transnational sites. The second is to present the larger picture in which this work should be situated, a brief history of the Japanese imperial expansion into Northeast China. The third is to explain how I have structured my discussion around the device and metaphor that I call "memory maps."

Fieldwork Sites: Ina Valley, Nagano, and Tokyo

After Manchukuo was established, the Japanese state made the country's more than forty prefectures compete with one another in a race to colonize Manchuria. The prefectures all together sent a total of about 322,000 farmers to Manchuria, but the winner, and therefore the most "patriotic," was Nagano Prefecture (L. Young 1998:328). Nagano sent 33,741 colonists to Manchuria, about one-fourth of whom came from the Ina Valley, my fieldwork site from 1988 to 1996 (Nagano-ken Kaitaku Jikōkai Manshū Kaitakushi Kankōkai [hereafter NKJMK] 1984a:309, 719, 724).[12] Situated in southern Nagano, in central Japan, the Ina Valley lies between the Southern Alps (or the Akaishi mountain ridges) to the east and the Kiso mountain ridges to the west. The Tenryū River runs through the valley from the

north, and it widens in its midpoint to the south. Except in the north, the terrain is unsuitable for farming; hence in the early twentieth century the people of Ina relied on sericulture as their main source of income while at the same time engaging in small-scale farming. When the Great Depression hit the area in the early 1930s, however, the price of silk plummeted, devastating the region's sericulture. This was when the people of Ina began to leave for Manchuria. Indeed, as many as sixteen villages and counties in the Ina Valley participated in the state-initiated "group emigration" to Manchuria in the age of empire (see table 2 in chapter 3).[13] In the group emigration system, each village or county sent a certain number of households (often reaching about one-third of an entire village or county population) to northern Manchuria. The emigrants brought to the vast terrain of Manchuria the names of their "mother villages" (*bo-son*) in Ina and established "branch villages" (*bun-son*) of the same names. These names include Kawaji, Yasuoka, Chiyo, Kami-hisakata, Inatomi, Kōno, Shimoina, Mibu, Fukihara, Inan, Minami-shinano, Achi, and Matsushima. Today, these are still the names of local administrative bodies in Ina.

For this study, I did not conduct fieldwork only in the Ina Valley. The "returnees from Manchuria" (*manshū hikiage-sha*) have aged and moved to other parts of Nagano since their repatriation. Available documents occasionally led me to search for specific individuals beyond Ina. Hence my fieldwork site widened, incorporating other villages and towns of Nagano where former agrarian settlers in Manchuria were located. Furthermore, thousands of these agrarian settlers were forced to leave their children in Manchuria in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. The children were then adopted by Chinese couples. Since Japan did not normalize diplomatic relations with China until 1972, the children who grew up in China did not begin returning to Japan until the mid-1970s. Accompanied by their Chinese spouses and Japanese-Chinese children, these people tended to avoid rural regions such as Ina and lived instead in major cities, where job opportunities abounded. In 1998, I moved to Tokyo, where I conducted fieldwork for seven consecutive summers. That I conducted fieldwork in multiple sites reflects the fates of agrarian settlers and their descendants in Manchuria and Japan, both during wartime and in postwar periods.

Setting: A Brief History of Japanese Imperial Expansion

For the past several years, scholarship on Manchuria has gone through a gradual yet radical transformation. Understanding Manchuria as a place that global forces have crisscrossed since the seventeenth century, scholars of Chinese, Manchu, Japanese, Korean, and Slavic studies have challenged the hitherto dominant image of Manchuria as a region of warlords that was eventually victimized by Japanese imperial power. They have tran-

scended the barriers of area studies and together brought Manchuria into the imaginations of various national and ethnic groups, including the Japanese, Chinese, Manchu, Koreans, Russians, Polish, and Jews (Clausen and Thøgersen 1995; Janhunen 1996; Lahusen 2000; Tamanoi 2005). Here I will focus on Manchuria in the Japanese imagination.

Today Manchuria is unmistakably part of the sovereign territory of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and one of its thriving centers of industrialization. Nevertheless, the term Manzhou (Manchuria) does not officially exist in China. What exist are Dongbei (Northeast China) and Wei-Man (False Manchuria). The latter denies the existence of Manchuria and explains why the Chinese state refuses to use Manzhou: Manchuria is a product of Japanese imperialism, and calling it Manzhou recognizes Japan's imperial legacy. In postwar Japan, however, several names for Manchuria exist: Manshū (Manchuria), which can be written with two different sets of Chinese characters;[14] Manshūkoku (Manchukuo); Man-Mō (Manchuria-Mongolia) and its reverse, Mō-Man (Mongolia-Manchuria). Those who emigrated to Manchuria and were subsequently repatriated to Japan use these terms almost interchangeably, as do Japanese scholars of Manchuria. Further, referring to China, they use both Shina (a term with a pejorative connotation used mainly in the prewar period)[15] and Chūgoku (the Middle State, a postwar term that the Japanese state officially uses).[16] The presence of all these names in postwar Japan and their absence in China raise several questions, none of which is easy to answer. What precise geographical entity does "Manchuria" designate? To which historical era does it belong? And what warrants its separation, if any, from China in the Japanese mind?

Indeed, except for Manchuria's border with Japan (the Sea of Japan), all of its other borders—"the boreal forests of Siberia," "the steppes of Mongolia," "the geographical realm of China," and "the peninsula of Korea" (Janhunen 1996:3)—are not only continuous but also ambiguous. Juha Janhunen, a contemporary scholar of geography and history, argues that depending on *who* views Manchuria, "a variety of alternative divisions and delimitations" are allowed (ibid.). Since the viewer is also a historical being, the toponym of Manchuria becomes quite complex. Here Owen Lattimore, America's most prominent expert on Inner Asia in the early twentieth century, offers much insight. In his seminal work, *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict* (1935), Lattimore claims that "Manzhou" never existed in local people's parlance, largely because the region had been "a cradle of conflict" for many centuries:

> Manchuria, Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan were once important as the lands in which the "northern barbarians" of China's frontier maneuvered in war and migration, working out among their own tribes

> their destinies of conquest in China or migration toward the West. They are now becoming a field of contest between three types of civilization—the Chinese, the Russian and the Western. In our generation the most acute rivalry is in Manchuria, and the chief protagonist of the Western civilization is Japan—whose interpretation and application of a borrowed culture is of acute interest to the Western world, as on it turns to a great extent the choice which other nations have yet to make between their own indigenous cultures and the rival conquering cultures of Russia and the West. (1935;ix)

Contradicting Lattimore's claim regarding the absence of "Manzhou" in Chinese parlance, scholars of Manchu studies argue that the term has indeed existed since the seventeenth century (Elliot 2000, 2001; see also Crossley 1997, 1999; Rawski 1998; Rhoads 2000; Yamamuro 1993, 2006). According to these scholars, when the Manchu emperors established the Qing Empire south of the Great Wall, they claimed the land north of the wall as their homeland, trying to turn it "into a preserve of Manchu heritage unspoiled by Chinese or other foreign immigration" (Duara 2003:41). Still, they could not stop a large number of Han Chinese from emigrating to Manchuria from China proper. In Manchuria, the Qing Empire incorporated these Chinese immigrants into the institution known as "Eight Banners," the military-social system that organized Qing soldiers and their families into different groups called "banners" (Crossley 1997:6; see also Elliot 2001). The presence of Han Chinese in Manchuria, however, offered the West and Japan a fine excuse for their imperial passion: since the Manchu emperors had allowed the Chinese to "colonize" Manchuria, they should also allow "us" to do the same.

In Japan, beginning in the early twentieth century, the idea that Manchuria was "an empty land" open to anyone desiring to expand his living space began to appear in scholarly discourses. For example, in *Shinchō jidai no Manshū yori genjō made*, Ueda Kyōsuke compared Manchuria before and after the turn of the twentieth century, when Japan's influence reached the area. Manchuria "before," according to Ueda, was not known to the world; in fact, even the Chinese (in China proper) had hardly heard of it. Those who had heard of Manchuria imagined it to be the land of ginseng, tobacco, herbs, and bandits (1928:17). Further, in *Manshū kenkoku jūnenshi*, written around 1942, the authors claim that Manchuria did not, and does not, belong to any particular group of people; it was and is a land open to all, including Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, and Mongols. Even ethnic Manchus, they argue, cannot claim to be the legitimate occupants of Manchuria because they once left the area to the south to govern China; rather, they are "return migrants" (*de-modori*) to Manchuria (Manshū Teikoku Seifu 1969:3–7).[17] Thus, following Russia and other

Western nations, Japan began pushing for its share in Manchuria. In this respect, Manchuria is not merely the creation of the Qing emperors. It is also "a modern creation used mainly by Westerners and Japanese for their imperialistic ambitions" (Lee 1970:60). Let us now look at this Manchuria in the larger context of Japan's empire making in East Asia.

Japan's move toward Greater Japan began with the domination of its neighboring regions, which were densely populated (Peattie 1984:7). It was also an incremental process (Matsusaka 2001:1). First, a victory over China in 1895 permitted Japan to acquire its first colony, Taiwan. Second, at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan gained control of the southern tip of the Liaodong Peninsula and named it the Kwantung Leased Territory. Both victories effectively eliminated the Chinese and Russian powers from Korea. Next, Japan occupied Korea (first as a protectorate in 1905 and then as a colony in 1910), turning it into "a gateway to colonize Manchuria" (Park 2000:195). Thus, more than six hundred thousand Korean rice-cultivating farmers, who had moved to Jiandao (the area of Manchuria bordering Korea) by 1931, served as "molecules" in the diffusion of Japan's power from Korea to Manchuria (see also Park 2005:44).[18]

In 1905 and 1906, the Japanese state created three institutions in the Kwantung Leased Territory to not only "modernize" Manchuria but also "concentrate political power in [its] own hands, extract financial profits, and suppress any resistance to the Japanese-imposed political and economic order" (L. Young 1998:27). These institutions were the Office of the Governor General, the SMR, and the Kwantung (Guandong) Army. The first administered the Kwantung Leased Territory with executive, judicial, and legislative powers (ibid.:27, 29). The SMR, which eventually became much more than Japan's colonial railway company, owned and operated extensive railway lines and managed the so-called attached areas of land to these lines. The SMR also owned and managed numerous properties within these areas, launched several new industries, and set up its own research department, which carried out extensive economic and scientific research relevant to the government of Manchuria (see Itō 1964, 1988; Myers 1989). The Kwantung Army originated in the Japanese garrison defending the railway zones of the SMR at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. Over time, it grew into a massive institution with the important mission of protecting Manchuria from the nationalist movement spreading throughout China and from the threat posed by the Soviet Union after 1917 (L. Young: 1998:30; see also Coox 1989; Peattie 1984:20; Shimada 1965; Yamaguchi 1967:8). The last explains why the Kwantung Army placed more than 322,000 Japanese agrarian emigrants near the border between Manchuria and the Soviet Union for a purely strategic reason: to create a buffer zone against the possible invasion of Manchuria by the Soviets.

Meanwhile, since the mid-nineteenth century, Europe and the

United States had placed China under an unequal treaty system. This system was first created by the British, who imposed a free trade treaty on weaker states such as Persia, Turkey, Siam, and China (Duus 1989:xiv–xix). While creating this "empire without colonies," the Western powers honored China's territorial integrity. Japan, which was unable to escape from the same network of unequal treaties until 1911, initially took a cautious and realistic approach, relying on skillful diplomatic tactics within the framework of international cooperation (Hata 1988:277–278; Jansen 1984:62–64). As the military began to function as an increasingly independent and powerful group, however, Japan was caught in aggressive operations in Manchuria, and eventually in China proper, in order to join the Western imperial powers.

The history of Japan's expansion onto the continent between 1905 and 1931 is now the topic of several well-researched books (Matsusaka 2001; McCormack 1977; L. Young 1998). Here I introduce only the major events that took place during that period. First, the Qing dynasty ended in 1911. The internal turmoil in China emboldened foreign powers to further encroach into Manchuria and China. Russia, for example, succeeded in making Outer Mongolia independent. In turn, negotiations with Russia gave Japan "a sphere of influence in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia" (Hata 1988:279). Second, the Japanese military participated in a joint Allied intervention in the Russian Revolution. Although the intervention failed, the prolonged stay of the Japanese military in Siberia "enabled the Japanese troops to move freely throughout almost all of China" (ibid.:281). Third, Chinese nationalism presented a growing challenge to Japan's expansion. The establishment of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang) in 1912, its expansion under Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) in the 1920s, the nationalist movement (particularly after the infamous Twenty-one Demands), and the establishment of the CCP in 1921 all pointed to the power of Chinese nationalism. In 1928, Chiang's army pushed north to drive Zhang Zuolin, the most influential warlord in Northeast China, from power. Incensed by the Japanese cabinet's decision against military intervention, some extremist officers of the Kwantung Army organized a plot to blow up Zhang's train as it was returning to Shenyang (see McCormack 1977:124–126). Immediately after Zhang's death, his son, Zhang Xueliang, joined the Guomindang. Japan's reaction to the growing nationalism in China reached its apex in 1931. Having missed the opportunity to occupy southern Manchuria in 1928, the Kwantung Army began another round of intensive military action in Liutiaogou on September 18—the so-called Manchurian Incident. The army also expelled "the estimated 330,000 troops in Zhang Xueliang's army" from Manchuria (L. Young 1998:40) and finally created Manchukuo in 1932.

In the words of Peter Duus, Manchukuo—first a republic and later an

empire—was "a separate state under Chinese leaders who took their orders from Japanese officers and civilian officials" (1989:xxviii). In this respect, Manchukuo was a puppet state of Japan, and by 1933, the Kwantung Army had integrated the railway zone and the four provinces of Jilin, Liaoning, Heilongjiang, and Rehe into it. Still, Manchukuo was born with all the symbolic formalities possible of a modern, independent nation-state: a declaration of independence (*kenkoku sengen*); a head of state (the last Qing emperor, Puyi); a national flag; an anthem (which later changed twice); a capital, Xinjing (J: Shinkyō); and a state with an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary. Thus, while Duus is right in characterizing Manchukuo as a puppet state of Japan, Manchukuo was not like Japan's other colonies. The Japanese "labored mightily to convince themselves and others of the truth of Manchurian independence" (L. Young 1998:40–41), so among certain groups of Japanese and Chinese intellectuals there was a vision of sovereignty in Manchukuo.

Who made up the population of Manchuria in the age of empire? To shed light on this question, let me first examine the population census of the city of Harbin (in northern Manchuria) compiled by the Manchukuo state in 1933. This census encompasses as many as thirty national and ethnic groups, including Chinese, Taiwanese, Soviet (those with Soviet passports), Russian (those without Soviet passports), Japanese, Korean, British, American, German, French, Italian, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Dutch, Turkish, Austrian, Hungarian, Danish, Latvian, Portuguese, Czech, Armenian, Belgian, Serb, Swedish, Romanian, Swiss, and Indian (Dai Harubin Annaisha 1933:4–6). The populations of large cities such as Harbin may have been more diverse than those in Manchuria's countryside. Still, this census does not include Manchus, Mongols, and other northern (or Tungusic) tribes, who have lived on the soil of Manchuria since time immemorial. Nor does it include the approximately two thousand Nikkei, Japanese who had first emigrated to the United States and Hawaii and then emigrated from there to Manchuria after 1932. John Stephan states that these Nikkei, who left behind their relatives in the United States (most of whom were later sent to relocation camps), became part of "the Japanese" in Manchuria (1997; see also Sano 1997). Whether all these groups of people "melted" together in Manchuria is another question. Yet the existence of such a bewildering array of population groups is sufficient to claim that Manchuria in the age of empire was indeed "the imperial melting pot," the land of multinational and multiethnic groups (Mitter 2005).

How large was the Japanese population in Manchuria on the eve of the establishment of Manchukuo? The prewar statistics on Japanese emigration are scant and unreliable. Information is particularly meager when the destinations of emigrants were within areas under Japan's influence. The government seems to have paid little attention to the Japa-

nese who had left for these regions, which were regarded as a part or extension of Japan proper. A more compelling reason for the scant information is that Japan was a latecomer in colonial politics: Japanese migration to Japan's overseas territories began only in the late 1880s (Ichihashi 1931:618). Indeed, Japanese emigration to Manchuria did not begin until a few decades before the Russo-Japanese War.[19] From then on, however, the Japanese state encouraged its people to emigrate to Manchuria and Korea, partly in response to the worsening relationship between Japan and the United States over the Japanese emigration to California. By the early 1930s, about 240,000 Japanese had moved to cities in southern Manchuria, the region opened up by the SMR (Iriye 1981:457).[20] The number of Japanese, however, was insignificant in Manchuria for several reasons. First, the Japanese made up less than 1 percent of the total population of Manchuria (about 30 million), the majority of which was Han Chinese. Second, except for Japanese state employees, including soldiers, most Japanese residents in Manchuria before 1931 were so-called "continental drifters" (*tairiku rōnin*), not settlers in the strict sense of the term. Lattimore observes, "The average [Japanese] peasant would far rather move to a town [within Japan] and become a factory worker than go abroad to take up land" (1935:237). Before 1931 Japanese in Manchuria who were not on official duty were largely small-scale entrepreneurs, disadvantaged sons of mostly poor families, and women who catered to the first two groups. The number of Japanese agrarian settlers barely surpassed one thousand (see Araragi 1994:277).[21] Third, while the Japanese state encouraged its subjects to emigrate to Manchuria, it was Chinese (and Koreans) who actually immigrated to the region in large waves. Often described as the world's largest population movement, the average annual flow of Chinese from south of the Great Wall into Manchuria in the early twentieth century was estimated at five hundred thousand to 2 million. Thus, in 1930, W. H. Hinton (1919–2004), an American observer of the transformation of China, wrote: "Like a deep bass refrain, in the varied discords of historical events during the years since the Revolution, is the roar of this human Niagara pouring into empty Chinese lands dominated by alien powers" (quoted in Chang 1936:1). Similar views were expressed by several other Western journalists, politicians, and scholars, including V. A. Lytton, A. J. Toynbee, and J. E. Orchard (see also Gottschang 1987; Gottschang and Lary 2000). The war fever in Japan following the Manchurian Incident changed this situation considerably (see chapter 2). The Manchukuo government and the Kwantung Army needed more personnel from Japan. The railway and urban construction boom, supervised by the SMR, attracted many more fortune seekers from Japan (L. Young 1998:250–259). In addition, promoting an image of Manchu-

ria as Japan's lifeline, Prime Minister Hirota Kōki adopted in 1936 the policy of "1 million farm households [or 5 million Japanese] to Manchuria" over a period of twenty years (Nōrin-shō Keizai Kōseibu 1939:1). In the following year, he initiated a program to help finance "group emigration," in which a village, a county, or a town would send about a half of its population to Manchuria to build its branch village, county, or town. Though his plan stopped short of the goal, about 2.2 million Japanese, including civilians and military personnel, were said to be living in Manchuria on the eve of Japan's defeat (Kōsei-shō 1997:11, 32).

Trying to integrate these diverse populations, the Manchukuo state proclaimed an official slogan of "ethnic harmony" (*minzoku kyōwa*).[22] Referring to this slogan, the declaration of independence of Manchukuo states the following: "The will of 30 million people declares the establishment of Manchukuo and its separation from China. . . . There should be no differences among all the people who reside within this new land. In addition to the Han, Manchu, Mongol, Japanese, and Korean people who have already lived here, people of any other nationality will be treated equally, as long as they wish to live permanently in Manchukuo" (quoted in Manshūkoku-shi Hensan Kankōkai 1970:219–221). Historians seem to agree that the Manchurian Youth League (Manshū Seinen Renmei), formed in 1928, was a major force behind the creation of this ideology. Association members, already living and working in Manchuria, perceived Manchuria as a place where "Japan and China" (Nik-Ka) should coexist peacefully and together elevate the economy and culture of China. In addition, in the name of guiding other ethnic groups (*minzoku shidō*), they emphasized that the Japanese, as a superior race, should take leadership in this joint endeavor (Hirano Ken'ichirō 1972:238–239; Hirano Yoshitarō et al. 1966:644; Tachibana 1966:183; Yamamuro 1993:92–95). Here we should not ignore the political environment in which the association was formed—a rising Chinese nationalism opposing Japanese and Western imperialism. Yet we can also understand "ethnic harmony" as an ideology of the Chinese nationalists. In 1912, Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) proclaimed China's five ethnicities to be the Han, Man (Manchu), Meng (Mongol), Zang (Tibetan) and Hui (Moslem). While racism, assimilation, and autonomy (of each group) complicated Sun's idea, the notion of a unified Han nationality incorporating the other four ethnic groups constituted an important element in the Chinese nationalist movement (Duara 1995:142–144). The association members, then, utilized Sun's idea for the purpose of securing *their* leadership in Manchuria against the Chinese nationalists, despite the fact that the Japanese constituted only a small fraction of the Manchurian population.

During the Manchuko era, the Japanese settlers called the majority Han Chinese Manjin, which I translate as "Manchurians" in order to distinguish them from ethnic Manchus.[23] Ian Buruma calls this practice

a "Japanese deceit" (1994:74).[24] Indeed, this is parallel to the Western practice of referring to the natives of the African continent as "Africans": both are imperial practices (Wallerstein 1991:127–129). Here let me cite a passage from the travelogue of Honda Katsuichi (1971), who visited Northeast China in the late 1960s. As a prominent left-wing journalist, Honda is quite critical of Japan's colonial project in Manchuria. In the following, Honda presents an interview with the narrative of one of his Chinese informants, Mr. Xiao, who was living in Pingdingshan at the time of the interview. This village is known for the Pingdingshan Incident of 1932, in which Japanese soldiers killed about three thousand Chinese civilians in reprisal for a resistance raid that they suspected had originated nearby (see Mitter 2000:112–115). Here Mr. Xiao recalls Japanese brutality during the Manchukuo era:

> While passing by a Japanese police officer, [this informant] was asked, "What country are you from?" Japanese police officers and those Chinese who worked for them [as spies] often asked this question to search out anti-Japanese activists among the Chinese. If he answered, "I am Manchurian [Manjin]," the Japanese police officer would say, "All right." But if he answered, "I am Chinese," the officer would regard him as one such anti-Japanese dangerous element and would even jail him as a political criminal. Since imprisonment meant execution, none would have identified themselves as Chinese. (Honda 1971:115)[25]

Nonetheless, Mr. Xiao declared himself Chinese while trying to run away from the officer. His action enraged the officer so much that he chased Mr. Xiao, attacked him with his sword from behind, and cut off his right ear. This is why, Honda writes, the Chinese in Manchukuo had to identify themselves as Manjin. Over time, however, this term apparently created an illusion among the Japanese that Manjin were ethnically different from Chinese and that Manchuria and China were two different countries.

The category of "Manchurian," which was forced upon the people in Northeast China, has disappeared in contemporary China. In postwar Japan, however, the loss of Manchuria has not resulted in the disappearance of racial categories, ideas, and ideologies formed during the age of empire. Even though it was a deceit and a sign of ignorance, the term "Manjin" created potent political realities not only in the Japanese Empire but also in postwar Japan (see Stoler 1995:xxiv). When referring to the people of Manchuria, most Japanese still use Manjin or Mankei (those of Manchurian descent) and define themselves in relation to them as Nihonjin or Nikkei (those of Japanese descent). Japanese scholars of Manchuria are no exception. Aware of the colonial roots of these terms, they try to justify their continued usage with somewhat apolo-

getic explanations (see, for example, Araragi 1994:14). I am in sympathy with these scholars because my Japanese informants, who were repatriated from Manchuria after 1945, use Manjin and Mankei interchangeably in reference to the Chinese. I honor their usage of the terms but change them to "the Chinese" in my own discussion.

The expansion of the Japanese Empire did not stop at the Great Wall, which symbolically separates Manchuria from China proper. In 1937, Japan started a war against China, eventually killing and wounding, according to Guomindang estimates, 6,730,000 Chinese, both soldiers and civilians (Hane 1986:339).[26] The Japan-China War ultimately led Japan to war against the Allied Forces. The war thus spread to the entire region of Asia and the Pacific, and the people of Manchukuo were soon mobilized by the Japanese state for its war efforts. Chinese and Korean farmers were asked to increase the quota of various crops to be delivered to Japanese authorities. After the onset of the war against the United States, Japanese male agrarian settlers were increasingly mobilized by the Japanese military and sent to China proper or Southeast Asia. By the spring of 1944, this mobilization became "bottom scraping." The number of enlisted men who had first moved to Manchuria as agrarian settlers is said to have been about forty-seven thousand (Wakatsuki 1995:163).

This mobilization of male agrarian settlers radically altered the composition of the Japanese population in northern Manchuria; those who were left behind were largely women, children, and the elderly. When the Soviets invaded Manchuria on August 9, 1945, these unprotected civilians were quickly abandoned by fleeing Japanese forces and became easy targets for enemy attack. The local peasants, many of whom had earlier been displaced by the Japanese agrarian immigrants, turned their rage against the immigrants. In addition, the civil war between the Communists and the Nationalists in China, both of whom tried to mobilize Japanese civilians for their own military operations, created more confusion among the Japanese. As the civil war intensified, severe winters and poor hygienic conditions caused malnutrition and disease, from which many more Japanese agrarian settlers, now refugees, died.[27] In order to save the lives of their children, as well as their own lives, thousands of women who had been left to themselves were forced to, in their own words, "leave," "give up," "abandon," "sell," or "entrust" their loved ones to Chinese families.

The number of deaths among agrarian immigrants from Nagano is staggering (see table 2 in chapter 3). Among those who were not mobilized—namely, women, children, and the elderly—about 60 percent died before reaching Japan's shores (NKJMK 1984a:719). The rest took months and years to return home. Ironically, the survival rate among the settlers who were mobilized was higher; although many of them were taken to Siberia as prisoners of war by the Soviets, more than 70 percent

returned safely to Japan, as they were better protected by international treaties. Children who had been entrusted to Chinese couples were not allowed to return to Japan until the mid-1970s. While the number at the local level is unavailable, it is believed that approximately thirty thousand Japanese nationals were still in China in 1972, when Japan normalized relations with the PRC (see Yampol 2005:129).

Memory Maps

The history of the present that I intend to write in this book is complex. To mitigate this complexity, I have created "memory maps," which I draw from the memories of former agrarian settlers in Manchuria, their children who had been left in China but began returning to Japan in the mid-1970s as well as their Japanese-Chinese children, and Chinese people who lived under Japan's rule in Manchuria, including those who eventually adopted the children of Japanese agrarian settlers. I am aware that memory maps usually designate the maps of destroyed places. Hence such maps, which indicate how the places used to look, are "visual analogues to taped oral histories" about events that occurred in places that no longer exist (Slyomovics 1998:7). Memory maps often appear in so-called memorial books, along with photographs; such maps are found "among East European Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, among Armenian survivors of the 1915–20 genocide by Ottoman Turkey, as well as in German-speaking communities in Eastern Europe uprooted after World War II, and among Palestinians transformed into refugees by the establishment of the State of Israel" (ibid.:1–2). Memory maps in this book, however, are not intended to be visual for the very reason I have already discussed: one cannot easily visualize the (Japanese) state.[28] Instead, memory maps in this book serve to organize, in terms of time and space, the narratives of those who remember, and they reveal complex interactions between "the present" and "the past." In other words, these maps are the voices of people. While I will create four such memory maps (in the four chapters that follow), I will first discuss several ideas on memory that memory maps purport to reflect.

First, memory maps reflect the idea that memory never exists in isolation from historical, social, geographical, and cultural contexts and that the memory of a particular event in the past varies depending on who remembers and when, where, for whom, and how he or she remembers. Thus, in each memory map, the interviewees (who provide oral memories) or authors (who provide written memories or memoirs) do not "speak to us pure and neat, unmediated by intellectual reflection" (Das 1995:175). They have thought ahead of time about what, for whom, and how to remember, and they have then narrated their memories. In addition, since our profession often transforms how individuals remember, their memo-

ries are relative to *our* queries and desires. In these respects, memory maps are not dissimilar to what Pierre Nora has called *les lieux de mémoire,* or "sites of memory." This concept, according to Nora, is based on the assumption that *milieux de mémoire,* or "real environments of memory," no longer exist, for historians have already entered such environments, pushing memory (the present) into history (the past) while simultaneously creating sites of memory (1989:18). Here we might even say that each historian has become a site of memory. Nonetheless, we should not lament the loss of the *milieux de mémoire.* Rather, we should consider as valuable the role of historians, who transform what is remembered (and what is forgotten) into "something that can be conceived." In other words, it is historians who make personal memories "knowable" for others (Le Goff 1992:xii).

Second, memory maps reflect the idea that memory is not only individual but also inter-subjective (Boyarin 1994b:23; Fentress and Wickham 1992:7). Memory is social because people speak and/or write their memories. This means that people can remember the past that they did not directly experience through the medium of memory. On this nature of memory, Rubie Watson writes, "Many Americans 'remember' the American Civil War and many Jews 'remember' the Nazi Holocaust, but not because they personally experienced those events or because they have read master narratives written by professional historians detailing the great battles or the sufferings in the camps. Rather, they 'remember' because they share with others sets of images that have been passed down to them through the media of memory—through paintings, architecture, monuments, ritual, storytelling, poetry, music, photos, and film" (1994:8). Restated, the past to be remembered does not cover only facts; it also covers the images into which those facts have already been transformed. Hence the facts that do not fit in such images may have been forgotten.[29] Here I add to Watson's insight by arguing that memory is also about "those enduring sentiments and sensibilities that cast a much longer shadow over people's lives and what they choose to remember and tell about them" (Stoler and Strassler 2000:8).

The inter-subjectivity of memory also means that it is collective. Maurice Halbwachs, whose works on collective memory made him a major figure in the history of sociology, argued that "no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their collections" (1992:43; see also Halbwachs 1980).[30] Nevertheless, Halbwachs, who has often been criticized for having neglected individual memory, was never oblivious of the fact that it is the individual who remembers.[31] To stress the inseparability of individual and collective memories, scholars later replaced *collective memory* with other terms. James Fentress and Chris Wickham, for example, opt for *social memory* in order to avoid the image of Jungian collective unconsciousness inherent in *collec-*

tive memory (1992). James Young relies on *collected memory* to emphasize "the many discrete memories that are gathered into common memorial spaces and assigned common meaning" (1993:xi).

Last, memory maps reject the idea that memory is a repository of alternative histories and subaltern truths. I am quite aware that this idea is still quite popular among scholars, however much many of them have already discredited the idea of memory as a container of truths. The strength of this model lies in the fact that memory constitutes one of the "weapons of the weak" (see Scott 1985). Nevertheless, as Stoler and Strassler have argued, presenting subaltern memory against official memory (or state-managed historiography) is less useful for the following reasons. First, a commitment to write a counter-history privileges some memories over others. Second, such a commitment merely assumes that it is the subaltern memory that represents the truth (2000:8). Thus, in the memory maps I am about to draw, I have no intention of negating Japan's state-sanctioned history by presenting the memories of Japanese, Japanese-Chinese, and Chinese groups of people. Note, however, that official history has also changed since 1945, and it has always been presented in multiple, often mutually conflicting, views. These memory maps will present instead the complex relationship between what is remembered and what is forgotten. After all, the people whose voices we will hear in this book remembered for the present so that they could make their past meaningful for the present. Nonetheless, we should also keep in mind that memory does not always constitute a functional response to the needs of the present; by remembering, people invariably examine not just the past but their own interpretation of that past as well.[32]

Memory map 1 (Chapter 2) presents oral memories of the farmers who emigrated from Nagano to Manchuria between 1932 and 1945 and returned to Nagano between 1946 and 1949. "The present" in this map refers to various moments over a twenty-five-year period between 1971 and 1996, when a Japanese historian (Yamada Shōji) and I solicited the farmers' oral memories in Nagano. Hence the geographical location of this map is Nagano, Japan. Since we asked our interviewees to remember the colonization of Manchuria, "the past" in this map refers to the age of empire.

Memory map 2 (chapter 3) presents written memories—memoirs of the former agrarian settlers in Manchuria who returned to various corners of Japan between 1946 and 1949. (Known as *hikiage-mono* in Japanese, they are a subcategory of autobiographies.) This is therefore a national map of Japan. At many points between the 1970s and the early twenty-first century, which constitutes "the present" in this map, they wrote and published autobiographies. Such autobiographies, however,

do not represent the entire life histories of their authors. Rather, the writers remember only their journeys of repatriation. Thus "the past" in this map refers to the period from the Soviet invasion of Manchuria on August 9, 1945, to sometime between 1946 and 1949, when the authors finally reached the entry ports to Japan. In spatial terms, then, memory map 2 refers to the space between Manchuria and Japan.

Memory map 3 (chapter 4), titled "Orphans' Memories," examines the oral and written memories of the children of Japanese agrarian settlers who were left behind in China in the aftermath of the war but returned to Japan after the mid-1970s. From the late 1970s to 2004, which constitutes "the present" in this map, I heard and read their narratives in my fieldwork sites of Nagano (1996) and Tokyo (between 1998 and 2004). I also included in the group of interviewees several children of these children—that is, Japanese-Chinese who were born in China but later joined their Japanese parents in Japan. In this memory map, the past refers to the life courses of these children from their births in the 1930s and '40s to the present.

Memory map 4 (chapter 5), "Chinese People's Memories," presents the memories of the Chinese who lived the age of empire in Manchuria. This map also includes the memories of Chinese couples who adopted children of the Japanese agrarian settlers, as well as those of the adopted children who, having renounced their Japanese nationality, chose to stay in China as Chinese nationals. The present in this map, which in geographical terms is Northeast China, refers to the period between the 1980s and the early twenty-first century, when members of the CCP and Chinese and Japanese scholars listened to the memories of these Chinese people. The past of this map covers the age of empire. Yet for the Chinese adoptive parents and their adopted children, the past covers their entire life courses from the age of empire to the present. In the final chapter, I will consider the theoretical questions of "the state" and the relationship among place, voice, and nostalgia. In addition, since these memory maps, which often produce sub- or local-memory maps, are by no means mutually exclusive but overlap, I try to integrate these four memory maps in the transnational space covering Japan and China.

Facing this proliferation of memories, can we scholars still retain the will to historicize? It is true that today we live in an age when history and memory diverge and are in conflict in many ways. Thus Arif Dirlik argues, "We may view the proliferation of memory as an indication of the impossibility of history. We may also view it as the proliferation of histories: many histories do not cohere, and have no hope of doing so, which may be the price to be paid for 'the democratization of social memory'" (2000:49). I too am aware of this obvious political consequence of the proliferation of memories. Yet our obligation, I believe, is to maintain a dialogue between us and those who lived in the past, be-

tween the historian's construction of the past and the way that the past was or is constructed by those who lived it. Here, then, following LeGoff, "let us act in such a way that collective memory may serve the liberation and not the enslavement of human beings" (1992:99).

Following Japanese custom, I have cited Japanese names surname first throughout. Except for those who have authored and published their autobiographies, the names of my informants in my fieldwork sites in Nagano and Tokyo are all first-name pseudonyms to protect their identities. Some of these informants, however, authored short essays for alumni magazines and women's groups magazines. Even when I quote from these essays, however, I continue to use the pseudonyms I created for the authors. Most Japanese, including the repatriates from China, customarily read Chinese place names in Japanese ways. For example, the Japanese pronounce the place name of Chongqing (in Chinese) Jūkei (in Japanese). In addition, during the age of empire, the Japanese, ignoring the Chinese place names, gave such places Japanese names. This is particularly notable in the Japanese naming of agrarian colonies. Thus, in table 2 (in chapter 3), I have hyphenated the Japanese and Chinese place names for each agrarian colony—for example, Ōhinata-Sijiafang. This means that the Japanese settlers built the branch village of Ōhinata in the place that the locals called Sijiafang. To mitigate the complexity of place names, I have adopted the following policies:

(1) In principle, I use the Chinese place names throughout this text.
(2) When my informants and the authors of autobiographies refer to certain places in China in Japanese, I honor those names but add their Chinese names in parentheses wherever possible.
(3) When only the Japanese names are available, I add "J" in parentheses after such names, as in Koshiro (J).

Throughout this book, I honor the *pinyin* system of transliteration for Chinese words. However, for certain proper and personal names—the Guandong Army, Jiang Jieshi, and Sun Zhongshan—I bend the rule and used instead the Kwantung Army, Chiang Kai-shek, and Sun Yat-sen, with which the students of Japan are more familiar. Translations throughout this book are mine except for those specifically noted.

2
Memory Map 1

Oral Histories

Memory is infinite, yet oral memory is definitely more infinite than written memory.[1] When I ask a question, my informant, using some portion of his or her memories, offers me a story. When I ask a similar question in a different sentence, the same informant, relying this time on someone else's memories, which he or she heard or read, recounts for me yet another story. In this respect, the conventional definition of oral history, "the interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction" (Perks and Thomson 1998a:ix), refers to only some of what we researchers do in our fieldwork. The current state of oral history defies this definition, as this subfield has been engaged in "two major battles with the established tradition of historiography" for the past twenty years or so. First is "the struggle to ensure acceptance of the validity of oral sources . . . and to accord them the same importance as other [written] sources." Second is "the attempt to widen the horizons of historical research, whether in the sense of including new spheres of reality (such as daily life, and the experiences of oppressed and subordinate social strata), or that of amplifying and clarifying the political aims and objectives within historical writing" (Passerini 1979/80:84). Today oral historians seem to have won both battles. In addition, they tell us that while oral testimonies, like written records, can reveal historical truth, they also reveal interviewees' truths *in their remembering*—that is, their "intensive subjectivity" (Portelli 1998:67): "that area of symbolic activity which includes cognitive, cultural and psychological aspects" (Passerini 1979/80:85). Thus, while honoring memory as a depository of facts, oral historians are also expected to explore what happens to experience on the way to becoming memory. This means that we must also ask ourselves a similar question: what happens to our understanding of history on the way to transforming our informant's memory into the history that we write?

In this chapter, keeping in mind the above *history* of oral history, I will discuss the oral testimonies of the returnees from Manchuria to the Ina Valley and other parts of Nagano. These people emigrated to Manchuria in the age of empire but were subsequently repatriated to Japan between 1946 and 1949. Through analyses of their oral accounts, I will try to both reconstruct the everyday life of Japanese agrarian colonists in Manchuria

in the age of empire (historical truth) and explore the subjectivity of these former colonists in remembering the power of the Japanese state (interviewees' truth in their remembering). To interpret their memories for these goals, I will first examine written sources in order to understand the history of Manchurian colonization by the emigrants from Nagano.

Manchurian Colonization: A Product of Rural Poverty in Nagano

In Japan, historian Louise Young argues, war booms accompanied imperial wars against China and Russia and profoundly influenced the nation's cultural development. The publishing and entertainment industries actively cooperated with military propagandists to mobilize the nation behind the state. Such efforts, however, are by no means unique to Japan. Yet the fever that spread throughout Japan after the Manchurian Incident of 1931 needs our special attention, for it "marked a turning point from the era christened 'Taishō demokrasii' to what Japanese called the 'national emergency' (*hijōji*) of early Shōwa" (1998:55). Indeed, right after the "incident" on September 18, 1931, the Association of Japanese Farmers (Nihon Nōmin Kyōkai) held a national rally in the city of Matsumoto in Nagano Prefecture. On the last day of this rally, the participants, mostly middle-scale farmers (*chū-nō*) who came to Matsumoto from all over Japan, made the following appeals to the Japanese state: (1) Let us transform Manchuria, the "life-line" (*seimei-sen*) of the Yamato race, into our eternal Utopia; and (2) Let us not give up the rights that we finally obtained (from the Western imperial powers) to a handful of Japanese elite industrialists. These farmers affirmed Japan's domination in Manchuria and declared their willingness to participate in Manchurian colonization. They also asserted that if a handful of greedy Japanese industrialists, whom they called "Japanese bandits" (*nippi*), continued to neglect farming, they were willing to compete with them in the race to transform Manchuria into Japan's eternal Utopia (NKJMK 1984a:99–100).[2] These appeals reveal several aspects of Manchurian colonization in its early stages. First, such colonization represented a class-based movement of the politically motivated middle-scale farmers against the industrial elite. Second, it was a movement in which middle-scale farmers asserted their own vision of an empire based on their belief in agrarianism (*nōhon shugi*) (see L. Young 1998:307; Vlastos 1998).

Still, before the mid-1930s, the number of Japanese agrarian emigrants was extremely small. For example, between 1914 and 1917, thirty-four families of discharged Japanese soldiers (from the troops that had been sent to Siberia in 1917) settled on farmland within the SMR zone, but by 1937 half of them had gone home. After 1929, the Dalian Agricultural Company (Dairen Nōgyō Kabushiki Gaisha) made land available to Japanese emi-

grants. Since only seventy-two households settled on the land, however, the company stopped its recruiting three years later. Thus, before 1931, only about eight hundred Japanese households had settled in the Kwantung Leased Territory (Wilson 1995:252–253). What, then, explains the relative success of the mass emigration of Japanese farmers after the mid-1930s that resulted in the settlement of over 320,000 colonists in Manchuria?

Between 1930 and 1936, according to Louise Young, the number of tenancy disputes in the Japanese countryside rose from 2,478 to 6,804. While most early disputes were over the increase of rents, the majority of disputes in 1936 were over the eviction of tenant farmers from the land (1998:324–326). To cope with economic depression, the fluctuating prices of rice, and widespread crop failures, land-owning middle-scale farmers tried to evict their tenants from the land. In Nagano, in addition to these problems, a sharp drop in the price of silk cocoons aggravated the rural economy (see NKJMK 1984a:7, 27, 206). Hence there emerged a large pool of impoverished people who had lost both their land and their income from sericulture and thus their means of survival. Yokozeki Mitsue's autobiography reveals the life of such farmers: "The price of raw silk plummeted. My father uprooted all the mulberry trees and began to plant *nappa* [Japanese cabbage], but he could no longer make money. His land was taken away by the landlord. One night he declared to his family, 'We cannot live here anymore. Our land is gone. All that we can do is to run away to Manchuria!'" (1990:15). For Mitsue's father, Manchuria did not conjure up an image of a glorious empire. It was simply a place where he thought he could escape from his material misery. After all, those who emigrated to Manchuria as agrarian colonists were invariably poor. They were by no means "men with capital and prestige" who dominated European colonialism in Africa and Asia (see Kennedy 1987).[3]

To cope with economic depression, state officials designated thousands of villages throughout Japan as "special villages for economic rehabilitation" (*keizai kōsei-son*) (Takahashi 1976:54).[4] Arguing that overpopulation and land shortages were the causes of rural ills, they asked village councils to initiate plans to rehabilitate localities that had been hard hit by economic depression and natural disasters. In Nagano, the prefectural government selected forty-one such villages. One of them was Fujimi, located on the slope of the Southern Alps. Describing the condition of this village, the Imperial Agricultural Association (Teikoku Nōkai), which represented the interests of middle-scale farmers, wrote the following in 1942:

> Situated at an altitude of approximately 3,000 *shaku* [about 950 meters], only 13.8 percent of the total village land was under cultivation. Since the population was 4,735, or 951 households [in 1937], each family cultivated an extremely small plot of land. The number of families

> working on a plot of less than 0.5 hectare was 220, while the number working on a plot of less than 1 hectare was 505. For this reason, the village economy heavily relied on the village residents' seasonal migration to various destinations within Japan. In 1937, the number of men and women who worked elsewhere as carpenters, factory workers, day laborers, or itinerant merchants reached 532. (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; *Manshū imin kankei shiryō shūsei* [hereafter MIKSS] 1990:221–233)[5]

This association, then, encouraged farmers to create an alternative source of income other than sericulture and seasonal migration.[6]

In Ōhinata, the first in Nagano to be designated as a special village for economic rehabilitation, the village council tried to promote "charcoal making," but charcoal making did not generate high incomes owing to the presence of numerous middlemen (Yamada 1978:26). Having failed in this endeavor, the council members realized that they had exhausted every means of rehabilitating the rural economy. It was at this time that the Imperial Agricultural Association recommended Manchurian colonization as an alternative that, according to it, would kill two birds with one stone: ease the village economy and "expand the Japanese Empire, thereby securing peace in Asia" (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; MIKSS 1990:242). Thus, supported by the state, which offered grants, subsidies, technical know-how (for farming in Manchuria), and above all land, the first group of emigrants left Ōhinata in 1934 for Manchuria. Soon, encouraged by the achievements of the Ōhinata group, farmers of other villages, including Fujimi, began leaving for Manchuria. At this point the character of Manchurian colonization changed, from a class-based social movement founded on agrarianism to a state-initiated mobilization. Note that it was the middle-scale farmers themselves who mobilized the state to begin with and that in this very context of Manchurian colonization, the Japanese state expanded its empire (L. Young 1998:ch. 8). This fact is well reflected in one of the official slogans issued by the Nagano prefectural government: Emigrate to Manchuria! Let them emigrate to Manchuria! (*Ike Manshū e! Ikashimeyo Manshū e!*) (Nagano-ken Keizaibu 1939; MIKSS 1990:392). Those who were expected to emigrate to Manchuria were farmers who had been evicted from their rented land, and those who persuaded them to leave were middle-scale farmers.

State-initiated Manchurian colonization began modestly in 1932 with a trial period emigration project. The farmers who left for Manchuria under this project were called "armed emigrants" (*busō imin*). To understand why they had to "arm" themselves, let us look at the following passage from a report that was submitted in 1942 by the Manchuria Colonial Development Company (Manshū Takushoku Kōsha) to the Eighty-first Imperial Diet in Tokyo:[7]

> Even though Manchuria is a vast country, it has a history of three hundred years of cultivation by native farmers. There is absolutely no piece of land that does not belong to someone, and the laws regulating the ownership of land are extremely complex. The number of absentee landlords is substantial, and it is extremely difficult to draw exact boundaries among numerous tracts of land. We therefore find it impossible to purchase land [from native farmers] based on a thorough scientific survey. (Manshū Takushoku Kōsha 1942; MIKSS 1991:151)

As we will see below, the Nagano prefectural government advertised Manchuria as a vast empty land in order to attract local farmers. Agrarian emigrants were thus expected to settle on "noncultivated land" (*miriyō chi*) (Asada 1976:63). Nonetheless, the above passage demonstrates that every piece of land belonged to someone, either a local landlord or a local farmer. Hence the Japanese state had to purchase land, much of which had already been worked, from local people for a small remuneration and distribute it among the Japanese settlers.

What was it like to emigrate to a place where "there was absolutely no piece of land that did not belong to someone"? Below, based on my reading of two documents—the 1933 issue of *Umi no soto* (Across the seas), an official magazine of the Nagano Overseas Association, and a semi-fictional novel, *Manshū imin zenya monogatari* (The story of the dawn of Manchurian colonization), written by the association's director, Nagata Shigeshi (MKJMK 1984a:166; Nagata 1952:193–210)—I will recreate how the first group of 438 armed emigrants, of whom forty-one were from Nagano, traveled to and settled near Jiamusi in 1932.

Prior to their departure, the emigrants received rigorous training in Iwate, Yamagata, and Ibaraki Prefectures. At the end of the training period, each trainee was forced to take the following oath to the Japanese state: "I shall not let my family interfere with my decision [to emigrate to Manchuria]. In case I am expelled [from the group] for my own wrongdoing, I shall not complain. I shall sacrifice my life for our colony. I shall make every effort to settle down permanently in Manchuria." By the early 1930s, the Japanese state had already acquired twenty thousand hectares of land in the vicinity of Jiamusi, hence the group had to draw up a long-term plan on how to settle on this land. The plan was as follows. In the first year, armed emigrants would live in the houses that the Japanese military had confiscated from Chinese families. By the spring of the second year, they would complete the construction of a single dormitory building and move in there to live collectively. Also by then, they would complete the process of transforming the twenty thousand hectares to farmland. In the third year, they would complete the construction of individual houses. At this point, each colonist was expected to invite his family to come from Japan

and start farming an individual plot of land, as the land has now been distributed equally among all the settlers. The reality, however, was harsh enough discourage the armed emigrants. For example, on the emigrants' route to Jiamusi on the Amur River, Manchurian bandits (*manshū hizoku*) repeatedly attacked ships carrying the emigrants. Once in Jiamusi, the Japanese emigrants discovered that only about ninety Japanese had been living in the region, most of whom were "poor enough to owe debts to Manchurians." About fifty of them were women working as restaurant and bar waitresses. In addition to these Japanese, about ninety Koreans had been living in the region, but the whole town was filled with "strong anti-foreigner sentiments." Over a period of two years, seven Japanese emigrants were killed, and three more were injured. Fifty-nine guns, forty-five hundred pieces of ammunition, twelve horses, and two thousand yen in cash were stolen from the offices of the Manchuria Colonial Development Company, and the building was also burned down by the thieves. The number of those who withdrew from the emigration project rose rapidly. But, without the state's assistance, they had no means of returning home.

Records suggest that by 1941, the Manchuria Colonial Development Company had acquired 20 million hectares of land from Chinese farmers, including over 3 million hectares of cultivated land, and had distributed them among Japanese colonists (Takahashi 1976:60). Hence "strong anti-foreigner sentiments" remained in northern Manchuria for quite some time. In 1934, for example, a group of Chinese farmers organized themselves into the Northeast People's Self-Defense Army and fought against the Japanese immigrants under the slogan of "expel the Japanese immigrants and establish local self-government" (the Tulongshan Incident). This incident, which lasted for several months, took the lives of thousands of Chinese and hundreds of Japanese (see Eykholt 1993; see also Kuwajima 1979; Suleski 1981:363–372). Thus, to promote Manchurian colonization among farmers at home, the Japanese state had to resort to every possible means to tame—or, failing that, to annihilate—the "Manchurian bandits."

Louise Young states that to promote Manchurian colonization the Japanese state mobilized "a huge migration machine" at the national, prefectural, and local levels (1998:ch. 8). At the national level, this machine involved the Colonization Bureau, the Manchuria Colonial Development Company, the Colonial Ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, training centers (for agrarian emigrants), and colonial research stations (ibid.:356–358). At the (Nagano) prefectural level, this migration machine consisted of the Nagano School Board, the Nagano Overseas Association, the Patriotic Women's Association (Aikoku Fujinkai), the Prefectural Council of Mayors and Village Heads, and prefectural councils of agricultural cooperatives (ibid.:377). At the local level, the migration machine involved village and county councils, county school boards,

local chapters of the Imperial Agricultural Association, and farming cooperative organizations. It also involved school principals and teachers, heads of youth groups, women's groups, reservist associations, neighborhood associations, credit and marketing cooperatives, firefighters, and other voluntary organizations (ibid.:376; see also Yamada 1978:24–25).

As part of this migration machine, local newspapers played a crucial role in promoting Manchurian colonization in central and southern Nagano. Generically called *sonpō* or *jihō*, they were one of the mainstays of Taishō democracy, a brief period between the two world wars when (male) citizens, energized by the post–World War I economic boom and democratic trends, were allowed to express their political views (see Katō Shūichi 1974; Minichiello 1984). Thus, in the early 1920s, the young middle-scale farmers who formed the youth groups in each village began publishing newspapers, casting criticism upon urban modernity in order to realize a pro-farming nation (see Tamanoi 1998:138). We must remember, however, that Taishō democracy was also a period in which "deviance was tested against the polestars of respect for the emperor and for private property" (Dower 1979:306). After the Manchurian Incident, repression against such deviance became more forceful and transformed the content of such newspapers so as to be more in line with the state's imperial project.[8] Here I read only *Urazato sonpō,* the newspaper of the village of Urazato, in order to understand how the poor farmers decided to emigrate to Manchuria as agrarian colonists.[9]

All the articles on Manchurian colonization published in *Urazato sonpō* aim to entice farmers to emigrate to Manchuria. And yet they are of several different types. Some are so-called "public notices" that reached Urazato from the metropolitan government. Standard headlines for these notices announced that "application forms [for volunteer emigrants] have arrived" or that a "50 percent discount in train fares for those emigrating to Hokkaido, Manchuria, Karafuto, Korea, and Taiwan" was available. Others were letters sent to the editorial office of *Urazato sonpō* from village residents already in Manchuria. These letters vary from simple telegrams—such as "Arrived in peace," sent by a man named Shigeharu (*Urazato sonpō*, March 20, 1937)—to lengthy letters describing the everyday life of the Japanese colonists. Among the latter, I noticed the following passage: "Every afternoon I see the crimson sun setting on the horizon of this vast land. Every morning I see the sun rising again from the same horizon. And every day I see rows of fields and rice paddies continuing for thousands of miles. I cherish these moments because they assure me that my decision [to emigrate to Manchuria] was by no means wrong" (ibid., November, 1936). The "rows of fields and rice paddies continuing for thousands of miles" reveal the presence of local farmers in Manchuria. That is, long before the arrival of the Japanese colonists, Chinese (and Korean)

farmers had already worked the land in Manchuria.[10] It is unclear whether the writer of this letter was aware of this evident fact.

Another letter published in *Urazato sonpō* in 1939 acknowledges the presence of local people. However, these people speak Japanese and act Japanese. In other words, they are exemplary subjects of the Japanese Empire. The author writes: "The Manchurian children whom we meet on the street say *sayonara* and greet us in Japanese. How grateful I am for the Japanese state." Furthermore, he apparently ate Japanese food every day, such as noodles with pork, broiled fish with sake, and sushi "by the brook in between work or, if on the weekends, on a grassy picnic site" (*Urazato sonpō*, June 10, 1939). While this writer's village was located in Manchuria, it was indeed a Japanese village, well protected by the Japanese military. The sense that Manchuria was a remote and alien country is entirely missing in this letter.

In addition to the colonists already in Manchuria, village notables (including schoolteachers) who made trips of inspection to Manchuria often contributed articles to *Urazato sonpō*. For example, to stir up the spirits of the youth in Urazato, one schoolteacher sent the following to the editorial office: "Go to the vast land of Manchuria and Mongolia. Build a base to support the expansion of our economy and race. There you can find a solution for the ills of the [Japanese] countryside and a place for the ever-growing Yamato race" (*Urazato sonpō*, June 20, 1932). Other articles in *Urazato sonpō* exhort village youth to abandon their "island insular mentality," instruct younger sons to cease worrying about their meager inheritances, and encourage village women to become "continental brides" (*tairiku no hanayome*)—that is, to marry agrarian colonists. Such articles contrast a vast, scarcely populated, promising, and youthful Manchuria with the insular, overpopulated, backward, and old village of Urazato. Still, most of these village notables (many of whom were middle-scale farmers) chose (or could afford) to stay in Urazato; their mission was to get others to emigrate to Manchuria.

In addition to contributing articles to local newspapers, village notables also wrote official reports that, according to historian Sakuramoto Tomio, contain many "lively sentences" (*keiki no yoi bunshō*) (1987). A prime example of such documents is the one authored by a group of village mayors who participated in a fact-finding trip to Manchuria in 1934. Their destination was Sijiafang in northern Manchuria, to which the village of Ōhinata had already sent 35 colonists earlier in the same year. Ōhinata's plan was to send a total of 150 farm families, as well as 50 single men who would establish families in Manchuria, and to build Japan's first "branch village" of the "mother village" of Ōhinata. Stunned by "such a heroic deed," the mayors of other villages in Nagano tried to follow Ōhinata's example. Immediately after their return, the members

of the fact-finding trip wrote a report in which they mentioned the following "facts" about Sijiafang.

> Sijiafang is a Utopia, a place of a remarkable natural beauty. Its landscape resembles that of rural Nagano.
> The headquarters of the branch village of Ōhinata is located next to the office of the prefectural government of Shulan. For this reason, colonists do not have to worry about anti-Japanese rebels.
> About 3,000 Manchurians and 1,000 Koreans live within the branch village of Ōhinata. These local farmers are on good terms with the Japanese colonists.
> The branch village of Ōhinata owns 1,400 hectares of rice paddies and 2,600 hectares of dry field. The plan is to rent out most of the rice paddies and a large tract of dry field to local farmers.
> A plan to build schools and hospitals is underway.
> Houses for individual families will soon be built. Each house will be built on a plot of 120 *tsubo* [1 *tsubo* is about 3.3 square meters], and each family will enjoy the fruits of its own vegetable garden. (Quoted in Yamada 1978:280–287)

We do not know how effective these "lively sentences" were to entice impoverished farmers to emigrate to Manchuria. What we know is that these mayors, except for the mayor of Fujimi, never returned to Manchuria before the war's end.

Did Manchurian colonization rehabilitate the rural economy in Nagano and elsewhere in Japan proper? The first one hundred farm households that emigrated from Fujimi to Manchuria left behind ninety-seven hectares of land (about 19 percent of the cultivated land in the village) and seventy houses (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; MIKSS 1990:262, 265). The land was then distributed "appropriately among neighborhood cooperatives for communal farm plots" (L. Young 1998:337). In addition, the village council rented fifty houses to schoolteachers (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; MIKSS 1990:265). Note, however, that those who had emigrated to Manchuria were excluded from the economic rehabilitation plan at home. After all, they were expected not to return to Fujimi. A passage of the edict that the village council issued to the emigrants states, "Those who return to Fujimi within ten years of their emigration [to Manchuria] shall not enjoy the privileges customarily given to the village residents. If they return, they may have to repay the debts [from which they were exempted when they emigrated to Manchuria] and return the subsidies that they received [from the state]" (ibid.; MIKSS 1990:249).[11] While middle-scale farmers were expected to create a classless Utopia in Japan proper, small-scale farmers were expected to build a colonial Utopia in Manchuria. In this respect,

emigrants were not only the vanguards of imperialism but also victims of the economic rehabilitation program at home.

The Present: Nagano (1971–1996)

Let us now return to my fieldwork site and listen to the voices of the former agrarian settlers and their families in Manchuria. All the interviews that I will present in this section were conducted in the homes of my informants in Ina and elsewhere in Nagano between 1988 and 1996. In Fujimi, the members of a women's group often gathered in the village community center and recounted their memories of Manchuria to me and among themselves. Some narratives are parts of my casual conversations with the people in Ina on the streets and on trains and buses. To draw a better map, I have also quoted some of the oral testimonies collected and published by Yamada Shōji, who headed an oral history project team. Over the three-year period between 1971 and 1973, this team, which consisted of Yamada's eleven students, paid four visits to former agrarian colonists who had been repatriated from Manchuria to the village of Ōhinata (see Yamada 1978:335–336). The information in parentheses at the end of each testimony includes the name (pseudonym) of the interviewee, the year in which the interview was conducted, and the name of the interviewer. Italicized sentences inserted in the testimonies are questions from the interviewer.

How Emigrants Remember the Japanese State during the Colonization of Manchuria

I go, so you go,
To the vast plain of northern Manchuria,
Which extends thousands of miles without boundaries.
The land of Manchuria awaits us. (Takayama Sumiko, 1991, Tamanoi)

Sumiko was born in the village of Mizuho in 1924. Her father, a farmer without land, was born with a weak heart, so his wife, Sumiko's mother, was the main provider of labor on a tiny rented piece of land. When her father died after a long illness, Sumiko's brother, her mother's only son, joined a group of emigrants to Manchuria. A few months later, he temporarily returned to Nagano, married his classmate ("by force," according to Sumiko), sold his house (which was built on rented land), and persuaded his sixty-two-year-old mother and Sumiko to leave with him for Manchuria. With no alternatives at hand, Sumiko left for Manchuria in 1940 with her mother, brother, and sister-in-law. The above quotation is a song that she remembered from that period. The lyric encourages poor farmers, such as Sumiko's brother, to emigrate to Manchuria by offering one particular image

of Manchuria—a vast plain without boundaries—while "verbally depopulating" the landscapes (see Pratt 1986:145).[12] At the time of the interview, Sumiko confided to me that she genuinely believed that Manchuria was a vast, virgin land. Consequently, before emigrating, she "did not think about the Manjin [the Manchurians]." Sumiko also remembered two poster slogans from the 1930s: "Give up unreliable seasonal migrations [within Japan]" and "Emigrate to Manchuria—the land that promises you a bright future." The Japanese state was indeed busy creating this particular image of Manchuria to entice farmers to leave for the continent.

> There were five hamlets in the village of Ōhinata, and every hamlet sent at least some families to Manchuria. Every member of the family emigrated, including small children and elderly grandparents. Some of those who owned houses or who could afford to stay [in Ōhinata] also emigrated. They were usually village leaders. They had to persuade poor farmers to emigrate to Manchuria. If they themselves had not emigrated to Manchuria, others would not have gone to Manchuria, see? They couldn't lose face. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:339)[13]

> We were much better off [than other families who emigrated to Manchuria], but we were four brothers and four sisters. If we had divided our land among four of us, we could not have survived. This is when we heard an unbelievable story. That is, if we went to Manchuria, each one of us would become a landowner of twenty hectares of land! That's why I left for Manchuria because the life here was really tough. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; ibid.:340)

These narratives suggest that in addition to poor farmers, at least some middle-scale farmers emigrated to Manchuria. Indeed, the village records of Ōhinata indicate that while more than 70 percent of the emigrants were farmers who owned either no land or less than 1.25 acres of land, the rest included the younger sons of middle-scale families who owned more than 5 acres of land (Yamada 1978:33–34). Note that these farmers were also part of the migration machine. In other words, they had to serve as "role models," sacrificing their relatively comfortable life at home. Miyako, whom I met in Fujimi in 1988, noted, "The village head [the mayor] kept his promise [of emigrating to Manchuria] and left for Manchuria together with more than one hundred farm families. It was quite a scene when the first group of these families left the village. Those of us who had remained in Fujimi visited the houses of emigrants in our hamlet, followed them to the train station, and celebrated their departure with band music. We, the children, waved tiny [Japanese] flags. When they left the village, I remem-

ber, we wished them much luck in Manchuria" (Miyako, 1988, Tamanoi). Although the mayor of Fujimi did not have to emigrate to Manchuria to rehabilitate his household economy, he did so because his fellow villagers needed a strong leader. The Imperial Agricultural Association attributed this positive response to Manchurian colonization to "spiritual training," the indoctrination that farmers received about the glory of the Japanese Empire (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; MIKSS 1990:264).

> You are asking me about the food we ate daily in Manchuria? Well, we ate many different kinds of meat—pork, deer, hare, and pheasant. We had an abundance of sugar and honey. Those who had stayed in Japan would not have been able to imagine how rich our life was! In spring, adonis bloomed everywhere. Our village was indeed a Utopia. We heard that the cities [in Japan] had been heavily bombed and people were running off to the countryside. I could not believe such stories. Back then, I had no doubt about Japan's victory. (Aki, 1988, Tamanoi)

When she left for Manchuria to join her parents (who were already in the branch village of Fujimi), Aki was in her early teens. As a young woman, she seems to have had high hopes for her future in Manchuria. Yet her narrative also anticipates the ominous ending of what she called "a Utopia."

> We belonged to the fourth group of emigrants from Fujimi. When we arrived at the branch village, members of the second and third groups temporarily returned to Fujimi to bring their families back to Manchuria. The houses for individual families were still under construction, so all of us had to stay in one dorm-like building. Looking back, I think the wall of this building was not yet dry. It was very damp. But, you know, every night we returned to this dorm after many hours of heavy labor only to sleep. It started to snow already in October. The village headquarters did not distribute winter clothes among us until well into November. (Tokie, 1988, Tamanoi)

> My mother used to say, "What kind of place is this? We'd better commit suicide." She could not stand Manchuria, so she returned to Japan to join my older sister in Tokyo. After she left, we settled in our house with *ondoru* [*ondol*, a Korean term for floor heaters] built underneath the floor, but the walls were still not dry. When warm air from the floor went up, water oozed out of the walls and ceiling, and drops of water fell from the ceiling. It was as if it were raining inside the house. (Sumiko, 1991, Tamanoi)

In 1941, the mayor of Kōsha-gō (J), where Sumiko settled with her mother, brother, and sister-in-law, tried to persuade her to marry one of

her fellow settlers. She did not know this man, who was fifteen years older, except for having seen him once in Mizuho in Nagano. Nevertheless, reluctant to refuse her superior's orders, she married the man and soon gave birth to two children. The testimonies of Tokie, Sumiko, and others whom I interviewed reveal the harsh realities in northern Manchuria: heavy labor was a daily routine; both women and men had no other choice but to marry others in the same colonies, often chosen for them by their leaders; and daily life was far harder than they had imagined it would be. Their testimonies do not contain "lively sentences." "You know, back in those days, we could not openly complain. If we did, we would have been marked as unpatriotic citizens," said Sumiko. Almost half a century after repatriation, the act of remembering finally offered Sumiko a chance to voice her complaints about the wartime Japanese state's policies.

> When we heard about the *kokusaku*, all [adult members] in my family danced a little dance of joy, but in fact, they were forced to do so. (Kazuko, 1996, Tamanoi)

The returnees from Manchuria often use the term *kokusaku,* "a policy implemented by the [Japanese] state." For them, however, *kokusaku* means only one particular policy—the state-initiated Manchurian colonization. Although all in Kazuko's family first "executed a little dance of joy," Kazuko reinterpreted "the truth" after looking back on her painful journey of repatriation: they were in fact forced to dance as they had no other means of economic support for the household.

Nonetheless, evidence suggests that the majority of emigrants from Fujimi were willing to accept the colonization policy at that time. For example, a survey conducted by the Imperial Agricultural Association in the late 1930s indicates that 50 among 137 respondents said that they accepted it because they wanted to cooperate with the state and become exemplary subjects (see table 1). Another 68 responded that they had failed to restart their household economies in Fujimi and wished to do so in Manchuria. As noted, back then, they could not voice any criticism against the policy. What emerges in this survey, however, is an image of farmers who were willing not only to begin anew to sustain their households but also to be exemplary subjects of the Japanese Empire. Yet Kazuko was unable to accept that her father eagerly went along with the colonization policy. On the contrary, at the time of my interview, Kazuko expressed unrelenting anger against the Japanese state, which, she claimed, had enticed her family to Manchuria but "abandoned" it once Japan's defeat was imminent. By focusing on "abandonment," she could attribute her suffering solely to the Japanese state.

> Looking back on those days, I can now see that the land allocated to us was someone else's. It was land that local farmers had reclaimed and worked since time immemorial. The state-run corporation purchased their land at an extraordinarily cheap price—well, almost for free. And then the corporation gave it to us. Everyone [in Japan] believes that we worked uncultivated land in Manchuria with our own hoes, but such a story is totally untrue. (Musha Masako, 1970s, Shinano Jidō Bungaku-kai oral history project; quoted in Yamada 1978:13)

> I already knew, before leaving for Manchuria, that the branch village of Ōhinata would be built on the land [that had already been] cultivated by someone else. Well, that's the reason I joined the group [of emigrants]. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:340)

> Employees of the Manchuria Colonial Development Company had no mercy. They purchased cultivated land from local farmers and then forced them to move elsewhere, yet the confiscated land lay fallow for a long time. . . . Manchurian colonization was nothing more than Japan's invasion. I thought the whole project would collapse some day, but I did not think it would collapse in my generation. At least in our generation, I thought, we would be just fine. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:343)

Table 1. Reasons for emigration from Fujimi to Manchuria in the age of empire

Reason given by farmer-respondent	No. of respondents
I accepted Manchurian colonization as state policy and cooperated with the state.	40
I went along with the policy to improve/restart my household economy.	27
I went along with the colonization policy in order to be an exemplary citizen of Japan.	10
I had failed to restart my household economy in Fujimi.	41
As a younger son, I wanted to establish a branch household in Manchuria.	7
I had been to Manchuria before.	3
I was invited to join my relatives in Manchuria.	8
I was burdened with miscellaneous chores in Fujimi.	1

Source: "Manshū kaitakumin sōshutsu chōsa: Nagano-ken Suwa-gun Fujimi mura" (Survey on emigration to Manchuria: The case of Fujimi Village in Suwa County, Nagano Prefecture) (Teikoku Nōkai 1942a; MIKSS 1990:326).

Despite the popular image of Manchuria as virgin territory, some (or perhaps most) emigrants knew, while still in Japan, that they would be working somebody else's land, and to have some arable land was apparently the most important reason why they ventured to move to Manchuria. Other colonists, such as Musha Masako, seem to have discovered the presence of local farmers only after they arrived in Manchuria. Sumiko, who had imagined Manchuria to be free of people, said, "Once I arrived at Kōshagō (J), I noticed a hamlet of Manchurians within our colony. I also noticed a barracks for Manchukuoan soldiers, another hamlet of Manchurians, and yet another hamlet of Koreans (Senjin) on the other side of the river. I quickly changed my image of Manchuria. It was no longer a virgin land" (Sumiko, 1991, Tamanoi). Looking back, some settlers resented the merciless stance of Japanese officers toward local farmers. Nevertheless, once they received some land, they had no other choice but to farm it.

> In order to survive in Manchuria, we had to grow cash crops. So we lied, falsified documents, and submitted them to the Manchuria Colonial Development Company. We wrote down crops we never grew. One day, the company sent us a big agricultural machine. We were supposed to use it to grow soybeans. But if we had grown only soybeans, we wouldn't have survived. We secured a contract with the Manchuria Tobacco Company and grew tobacco. We also grew vegetables and sold them to the mining company in Shulan. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:345)

In 1935, the Colonial Ministry published a document titled "Hoku-Man ni okeru shūdan nōgyō imin no keiei hyōjun-an" (Proposed standards for the management of collective farm immigrants in northern Manchuria). In this document, which became "sacred writ for Japanese settlements" (L. Young 1998:342), the Colonial Ministry presented its ideal vision of a Japanese settler: a self-sufficient farmer living in isolation from the market economy—that is, a "yeoman farmer" (*jisaku-nō*). Such a farmer would cultivate land all by himself, with the help of his family. He would cultivate a variety of crops solely for his family's consumption. The Japanese state would provide him with all the necessities, including agricultural machines, tools, cows, horses, pigs, seed, and fertilizer, as well as free education and health care. Such a farmer would not need to earn cash, nor would he need to compete with local farmers (ibid.:343–344).

The publication of this document, however, made Japanese bureaucrats fear that if Chinese farmers (who in the view of the bureaucrats accepted a much lower standard of living than Japanese farmers) followed the same proposed standards, they would easily surpass the Japanese colonists (Takumu-shō 1939, MIKSS 1990:187). To ease such fears, the Colonial

Ministry published another document, titled "Hoku-Man ni okeru Man-jin chūryū nōka no einō-rei" (Typical work life of a middle-scale Manchurian farm household in northern Manchuria). According to this document, "a typical Manchurian farmer" had the following characteristics:

- He needed a minimum of three thousand yen in cash to cultivate twenty-five hectares, but he was unable to borrow such an amount from any money-lending institution in Manchuria.
- He needed at least a year to reclaim uncultivated land, during which he would lose any competitiveness with Japanese colonists.
- He did not grow rice.
- He was familiar with only rudimentary technologies.
- He did not purchase goods or market crops collectively with his fellow Manchurian farmers.
- His wife, as a Manchurian, did not engage in any farm work.

Oddly enough, "a typical Manchurian farmer" in this text appeared to be not only a yeoman farmer who could not rely on his wife's help, but also an immigrant who needed three thousand yen to settle in Manchuria. In other words, the text implicitly contrasted him to "a typical Japanese settler." The latter was able to borrow three thousand yen from the Japanese state, was familiar with high-level technologies, and purchased goods and sold crops collectively with his fellow colonists. And his wife, being Japanese, worked side by side with him in the rice paddies and dry fields. Yet the oral testimonies of former colonists suggest that neither "a typical Japanese colonist" nor "a typical Manchurian farmer" existed in reality. Rather, they suggest that the images of a yeoman farmer represented "the desires of promoters [of Manchurian colonization], not the aspirations of emigrants," and that the Japanese advance into rural Manchuria was not as well organized as the promoters implied (L. Young 1998:349). The agrarian settlers could not have survived in Manchuria without growing cash crops (soybeans, tobacco, and vegetables) and selling them for cash. Nor could they have survived without relying on Chinese and Korean farmers.

How Emigrants Remember Their Relationships with Chinese and Korean Farmers

> The people in my hamlet [in the mother village of Ōhinata in Nagano] knew only charcoal making. We did not even know how to hold a hoe. So [after I moved to Manchuria] I received instructions at the training center in Harbin, learned various skills, and taught my fellow settlers those skills. For example, it was a challenge to store vegetables. Their way [of the Chinese] was different from our way. In addition, each one of us had

> to take care of ten hectares of farmland [that had been allocated to us], but the Manchuria Colonial Development Company taught us nothing [about large-scale farming]. We got some hints from the people [of our mother village] in Japan. We also tried to copy the practices of the Manchurian farmers. But worms ate our crops, and the first year was a total disaster. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:346)

> We employed many Manchurians as tenants [*kosakunin*]. Some of us asked them to live nearby, on the compounds of our farms. Others asked them to commute to their farms from their hamlets. (Masaru, 1988, Tamanoi)

Note first that the Japanese colonists suddenly became owners of large tracts of land but had no knowledge about the form of farming suitable for the Manchurian climate. For this reason, they had to maintain close relations with local farmers, who earlier had had to give up their land and houses for them (see chapter 5). Indeed, the colonists were always in need of "Manchurian coolies" (*Manjin kūrii*), and it was this relationship that troubled the colonists. Chinese farmers tended to remember coolie life as the life of a slave. In contrast, Shimaki Kensaku (1903–1945), a Japanese writer who traveled through northern Manchuria in the 1930s, quoted a Japanese settler who told him, "The problem is the wage I must pay the Manchurian coolies. If I could only keep it at a minimum or not pay at all, I feel I could succeed here" (1940:64).[14] However, because of the acute shortage of labor among the Japanese, the wages that the colonists had to pay local farmers kept rising (ibid.:53). Furthermore, as indicated, since the Japanese were unfamiliar with the soil and climate of Manchuria, they were dependent upon the prescient skills of the Chinese farmers. Believing that the climates in northern Japan and Manchuria were similar, the Japanese state had recommended "an agricultural system suitable for Hokkaidō." When Shimaki observed them, the colonists were indeed experimenting with such a system, but apparently they had little confidence in its success. Masaru said, "We were expected to teach Manchurian farmers superior technologies, but we had nothing to teach them" (1988, Tamanoi).

Did the Japanese settlers have the option to become absentee landlords? My answer is a definitive no. The Japanese state gave them land, houses, tools, and draft animals, but once in Manchuria, they had to survive as working landowners. Although the colonists could afford to employ Chinese coolies and eventually rented out large portions of their land to them, they could not expand their operations because (1) the cost of Chinese labor was not cheap, and (2) the Japanese state dissuaded the colonists from becoming commercial farmers.[15] Nevertheless, we must remember that in the age of empire, the Japanese state was the largest and most powerful absentee landlord in Manchuria. We must

also remember that of the land to which the Japanese state held deeds in 1941, only 1 percent (about two hundred thousand hectares) was used by the Japanese settlers; the remaining land was simply allowed to lie fallow (L. Young 1998:401, 402, n. 8). While Chinese tenant farmers paid large rents in kind to the colonists, the latter had to give up most of them to the Japanese state. The structure of victimization was indeed complex, yet the ultimate victims were always the Chinese farmers.

Some of our informants remembered the blatant racism that they exercised toward the Chinese and Korean people and their sense of superiority over them.

> Take the ration of cotton fabric, for example. The Manchurians and the Koreans received only a third of our share or perhaps none at all, so we occasionally gave away some of our share to those Manchurians or Koreans who delivered us soybeans or *kaoliang* [sorghum] over the quota. I was a kid then, but even a small child like me noticed [such discriminatory practices]. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:348)

> The village head was Manchurian, but the vice-head was Japanese. The section heads of the village office were all Manchurians, but the vice-heads were, again, all Japanese. (Yoshio, 1991, Tamanoi)

> I knew it was bad, but we often stole [the bags of dried] pumpkin seeds from the Manchurian vendors by the roadside. (Toshiko, 1988, Tamanoi)

> Manchurian kids ate such things as the peels of watermelon we had discarded on the streets. (Sumiko, 1991, Tamanoi)

Recall that most of the Japanese agrarian settlers had been impoverished farmers before emigrating to Manchuria. Yet once in Manchuria, some of them took Japanese superiority for granted. While some were sympathetic to the conditions of the local farmers, they had to side with the Japanese vice-heads, who in reality held more power than their Chinese superiors, in order to survive as agrarian colonists. Indeed, in the age of empire, Japanese children were often instructed to nurture a sense of racial superiority in both Japan proper and its overseas empire. Yamada states, "Around 1943, one of my teachers [in Japan proper] told us that the Japanese military was using chemical weapons on the battlefront in China. Yet I remember I did not feel that it was particularly wrong. In those days, we were taught not to consider the Chinese or the Koreans as humans" (1978:13). If that was the case, the acts of stealing

bags of dried pumpkin seeds from Chinese vendors or barging ahead of the Chinese to buy train tickets seem trivial. However, in the sense that the Japanese did so with little sense of remorse, these actions represented "institutional racism" against the local people.[16]

At this point, let me briefly go back to 1939 and quote from the diary of Sugano Masao, a member of the Manchuria Youth Brigade. Sugano was then living at one of the training centers run by the Colonization Bureau. One day, out of curiosity, he visited a hamlet of Chinese farmers near his barracks. Describing their children, he writes as follows:

> Their faces, hands, and legs are all filthy. They probably have never cut their hair. I bet they do not bathe, nor wash their faces either. I saw their houses, made of dirt, grasses, and *kaoliang* husks. I noticed a pig carcass and the bones of a horse scattered all over and sighted several Manchurians excreting in public under the eaves and by the roadside. I then realized that harmony among the five races would not come easily. Even after I returned from their hamlet, I felt their filthy odor enveloping my entire body. Although our barracks were made of simple wood, I found them superbly clean and realized anew that we should lead them into a better future. (1939:9–10)

Sugano probably wrote this diary entry shortly after he returned to his barracks. In it, the Chinese hamlet and the Japanese training center are presented as two starkly different places, and the contrast crystallizes Sugano's understanding of Japanese superiority. While the former is filthy and smelly, the latter is immaculate and redolent of fresh wood.

Sugano seems to have had no doubt about his superiority over the Chinese. Yet this does not mean that the Japanese racism went unnoticed. To the contrary, the Japanese settlers who committed serious crimes against the Chinese were prosecuted by the Manchukuoan judicial authorities for their overt demonstrations of national pride. The Japanese who were prosecuted, however, did not receive full punishment on the official grounds of "ethnic harmony." This is amply demonstrated in a report issued by the Public Prosecutor's Office of Manchukuo (Manshūkoku Saikō Kensatsu-chō) (quoted in Yamada 1978:431–518).[17] For example, in 1939, after the nominal abrogation of Japanese extraterritoriality in Manchukuo, a man named Iwata Tatsuo and some sixty Japanese agrarian settlers assaulted a group of Chinese farmers, illegally arrested them, confined them to a shack, and injured some of them.[18] Although these local farmers carried a certificate of permission to cut trees in the area, the Japanese, "out of their sense of superiority," confiscated the certificate. The Japanese colonists were also criticized for failing to understand the language of the native farmers (report quoted in Yamada 1978:503–504).

Another incident took place in 1939. Suzuki Hisashi, a twenty-four-year-old Japanese farmer, was in charge of recruiting "Manchurian coolies." As some of these coolies were dissatisfied with the daily wages paid by their Japanese employer, they did not respond to Suzuki's attempts at recruitment. Enraged, Suzuki shot and killed one of them. He committed this crime "out of his racial pride as Japanese" (ibid.:497–478). In both of the 1939 cases, the prosecutors identified the suspects' motives as "the Japanese sense of superiority" (*nihonjin no yūetsukan*). In the end, however, they dropped the cases, "honoring the ideology of ethnic harmony," and asked the accused (the Japanese) and the accusers (the Chinese) to reach mutual agreements through the Manchukuo police office (ibid.:504).

> Manchurians lived within mud walls and hung corn on the walls to dry. I always smelled drying corn, mixed with the smell of animals and their excrement. In contrast, Koreans always lived near rice paddies. (Sumiko, 1991, Tamanoi)

> I remember that Koreans were rather haughty toward their Manchurian neighbors. Some of them spoke fairly good Japanese, so my father could easily communicate with them. (Aki, Tamanoi, 1988)

> In Manchuria, Koreans were often quite arrogant toward the Manchurians. They also identified themselves with the Japanese. The Koreans invaded Manchuria and exploited the labor of Manchurian farmers for free, making them work in the rice paddies. We, the Japanese, did not exploit the Manchurians like the Koreans did. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:348)

> When Japan was defeated, the Manchurians did not harm the Koreans at all. The Manchurians attacked only us, the Japanese. The divide was therefore between the Japanese, on the one hand, and the Manchurians and Koreans on the other. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:347)

In the early twentieth century, both official and popular discourses in Japan designated the Koreans as "compatriots." At the same time, the same discourses referred to "the recalcitrant Koreans" (*futei senjin*), who opposed Japan's colonial expansion. However, the Koreans, while in the ranks of the colonized in their own societies, fell into grayer, often impermanent categories when displaced to other realms of the Japanese Empire, such as Manchuria. Throughout the 1920s, historian Barbara Brooks argues, the Japanese state regarded the Korean settlers in Manchuria as Japanese subjects and encouraged them to become naturalized Chinese

so that they could purchase and own land in Manchuria (1998:29–31, 36). After the establishment of Manchukuo, however, "the Koreans" became one of the five ethnic groups making up Manchukuo's population in the Japanese state's discourse. Nevertheless, relations between Japanese and Koreans remained unstable. This is reflected, for example, in the fact that the official category of "Japanese" often included Koreans, but the "Korean" catagory never included Japanese (Tamanoi 2000a:257). Yet the above testimonies suggest that Japanese settlers clearly distinguished Koreans not only from the Japanese but also from the Chinese. At the same time, they recognized a complicated relationship between the Koreans and the Chinese. Remembering the haughty attitude of Korean farmers toward Chinese farmers, some settlers criticized the Koreans for their racism against the Chinese. Referring to the Koreans, some of my informants used such terms as Senjin or Hantōjin (people of the peninsula) perjorative terms that implicitly placed the speakers above the Koreans.[19] For one former colonist, whom Yamada interviewed, however, the tension between the Chinese and the Koreans did not matter; what mattered was the Japanese domination over them both.

I encountered several instances in Nagano in which my informants identified themselves with the "Manchurians." For example, in a 1991 interview, Tokie sang a song titled "A Manchurian Daughter." It was, according to her, "an extremely popular song among the youth in my village [in Manchuria]."

> I am sixteen,
> And I am a Manchurian daughter.
> When snow melts,
> And when the *yingchunhua* blooms,
> I am going to marry
> A man living in the village next to mine.

Tokie told me that she always sang this song with her (Japanese) neighbors and to her daughter, who was born in Manchuria. I later learned that there was yet one more line to this song: "Please wait for me, Mr. Wang." Mr. Wang is the name of the Manchurian daughter's fiancé, who is Manchurian—that is, Chinese.[20]

"A Manchurian Daughter" is not native to Manchuria; it is a Japanese popular song.[21] Composed and sung by the Japanese, it became a sensation in the late 1930s in both Japan proper and its overseas territories, especially in Manchuria (Mainichi Shinbunsha 1978:85). Put another way, by identifying with the colonized subjects, the colonizers created this song

in Japanese. While the Japanese in Japan proper may have imagined an "exotic" Chinese girl while singing this song, Tokie did not need such an image. Instead, she identified herself and her child with the "Manchurian daughters." To support my argument, I cite a passage from the autobiography of Mizoguchi Setsu, a young Japanese student who lived in Harbin from 1934 to 1946: "Harbin Higher School for Japanese Women gave us such a lot of freedom. We ignored the remark that our school principal often made: 'Manchurian daughters must behave especially well. Otherwise, you cannot find your life partners.' To the contrary, we acquired a mass of knowledge from our teachers [who did not place as much emphasis on the importance of a womanly disposition as the principal did]" (1997:27–28). In this passage, "Manchurian daughters" refers to Japanese schoolgirls studying in Manchuria. Its counterpart, "Manchurian boys" (*manshū otoko*), refers to young Japanese men who settled in Manchuria and were influenced by what the Japanese called "continental culture" (*tairiku bunka*). The term implies a more magnanimous and manlier character (in comparison to that of young Japanese men in Japan proper), someone who is not constrained by small worries. "Manchurian daughters" also implies a freer but less feminine character (in comparison to that of young Japanese women in Japan proper). In the above quote, the school principal advocates the virtue of Japanese women. Setsu, on the other hand, embraces the freer education she received in Manchuria. The colonists' identification with the Manchurians, then, suggests that they once shared a common frontier spirit and that in their remembrance they still shared the same spirit to mark a certain distance from the Japanese who had never left Japan proper. Yet read the following.

> Yes, I remember. I rode on a steamship [to Seoul, Korea] and then took many trains with Manchurian passengers who smelled of garlic. [*How could you tell that they were Manchurians?*] They were wearing black Manchurian robes. Those robes looked very grimy because, I guess, they had never washed them. When I arrived at the branch village [of Fujimi] and saw the huge crimson sun setting on the horizon, I felt as if I had gotten a new life. One of the scenes I remember well, because it was so recurrent, is one in which Manchurian farmers were plowing, using Manchurian spades. They plowed hilly land, lightly whipping their Manchurian horses. I was very fond of observing them until they would disappear over the top of the hill. (Aki, 1996, Tamanoi)

In this passage, Aki demonstrates both her frontier spirit for Manchuria and her disdain toward Manchurians. Once settled, Aki recognized the Manchurians plowing near her father's farm. She therefore began calling the spades they used "Manchurian spades" and the horses they rode

"Manchurian horses." Indeed, the term "Manchurian" served as a descriptive term for almost everything that the Japanese settlers saw or heard for the first time, from Manchurian hoes, clothes, and pots to the Manchurian (Chinese) language and Manchurian (Chinese) people.

How Emigrants Remember the Decline of Manchukuo

> We had to send at least 250 households more [to Manchuria], so we tried every means to persuade those who were still undecided. But we could not reach the target. Consequently, we had to expand our recruitment drive to our neighboring villages. Eventually, several families from those villages joined us. But in the official document, we did not record the names of the villages from which they came. Instead, we wrote "Ōhinata," pretending that we had fulfilled our obligation. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:342)

By the late 1930s, the prices of most agricultural crops (except for raw silk) had returned to pre-Depression levels. Consequently, the mother villages in Nagano began to suffer from acute labor shortages, owing not only to the active mobilization of farmers as emigrants and soldiers but also to the recovery of the agricultural economy. A severe shortage of industrial labor further aggravated the problem. Under these conditions, village notables found it increasingly difficult to recruit farmers for Manchurian colonization, to the point that one recruitment officer in the village of Yasuoka committed suicide when he failed to fulfill the state's orders (Yamada 1978:39).

In the late 1930s, then, momentum shifted to the Manchuria Patriotic Youth Brigade. This program recruited young boys between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who were exempted from the draft because "they elected to join other adult settlers in the farm communities" (L. Young 1998:357; see also Suleski 1981).[22] However, as the state's war efforts mounted, adult settlers left for the battlefields, and so did brigade members. Isao, whom I met in Ina, was one of the brigade members who was eventually drafted, arrested by the Soviets, and sent to Siberia as a prisoner of war (POW).

> In Manchuria, we were able to farm for only about four months, from May to August. Around the end of July, the temperature began to drop, sometimes sharply. For those four months, we had to work frantically. In summer, when the moon shined, we worked without much sleep. Otherwise, we could not harvest enough crops. We had summers and long winters but only seven days of spring and another seven days of autumn. At the training center, every meal was exactly the same—*kaoliang* mixed

> with a bit of rice and black beans and salty soup with dried fish and dried radish. But we all knew that our teachers were eating white steamed rice every day. . . . We were always suffering from starvation and fatigue. We also suffered from the [physical] violence that our own teachers exercised against us. This was the reality of the training center for the Patriotic Youth Brigade. The state advertised it with all those rosy pictures, but they were all untrue. (Isao, Tamanoi, 1996)

Although Isao would have wanted to go home, the Japanese state assiduously prevented brigade members from doing so. Thus, Tōmiya Kaneo (1892–1937), one of the brigade founders, advocated the need to recruit "continental brides" (*tairiku hanayome*) for brigade members. As a high-ranking military officer who embraced the expansionist cause, Tōmiya not only "pushed hard for paramilitary Japanese settlements in north Manchuria as a bulwark against the Soviet Union" (L. Young 1998:385) but he also created slogans to recruit young Japanese women as wives for single male settlers. One of the slogans read, "Girls of new Japan, marry the continent" (*Shin Nippon no shōjo yo, tairiku ni totsuge*) (Ogawa 1995:68). With such slogans, he asked young women to emigrate to Manchuria, marry Japanese settlers, give birth to Japanese children, and become the soil of Manchuria. Following his plan, the Japanese state built "schools for the (Japanese) female settlers in Manchuria" (*manshū jo-juku*) in Japan and in Manchuria (see Sugiyama 1996:129). Ogawa Tsuneko reports that by 1944, there were over one thousand young Japanese women studying at these training centers in Manchuria alone and that 90 percent of them were to marry brigade members (1995:110).

Sadako, one of the continental brides recruited in 1944, recalls the following:

> The reason I emigrated to Manchuria in 1944 was the state colonization policy; the state persuaded me to go to Manchuria. I joined a group called the Young Women's Brigade. We were told to work for our nation. In reality, we were expected to become continental brides, but I did not understand the meaning of that term back then. Before emigrating to Manchuria, I was helping my family to farm. The head of my village and teachers at my school told us to go to Manchuria, see various places, and, when we returned, tell stories about Manchuria to the village residents. Then I was only eighteen years old. (Kurihara Sadako, 1996, Sugiyama Haru)[23]

Only six months after settling in Manchuria, her teacher asked Sadako to marry a young man of the Patriotic Youth Brigade. By 1944, however, the state did not need agrarian colonists but soldiers. Her husband was

drafted in July 1945. At the time of Japan's capitulation, Sadako was pregnant, and her husband's location was unknown. Without protection, she had no way to survive other than to marry a Chinese farmer. Ten days after her wedding, she gave birth to her son. "Even though he was not the father of my child, he and his family held a big celebration for me," said Sadako (quoted in Ōba and Hashimoto 1986:66).

> When I first visited Manchuria in 1938, the Manchurians always let us cross the street first. At the train station, we did not have to wait in line at the ticket counter, the Manchurians let us buy tickets first. . . . When I returned to Manchuria and finally settled [in the branch village of Ōhinata] in 1943, it was a different story. The Manchurians told me to go to elsewhere [to buy train tickets] because, they said, it was their train station. Looking back, I think they already sensed Japan's imminent defeat. I said to myself that I had come to the wrong place at the wrong time. (Anonymous, 1971–1973, Yamada; quoted in Yamada 1978:349)

After the onset of the Pacific War, rural Manchuria had been emptied of able-bodied men because of aggressive conscription. In consequence, the Japanese state continued to send agrarian colonists to Manchuria until the very end of the war. Indeed, the record shows that only three months before Japan's capitulation, the county of Achi in the lower Ina Valley sent about two hundred colonists to a remote area of Manchuria on the border with the Soviet Union (NKJMK 1984b:482). Those who arrived in Manchuria late rarely met local farmers who were willing to let them cross the street first. In addition, they had to work much harder, as the following testimony amply indicates.

> Our life got harder and harder toward the end. Particularly after 1942, the state sharply increased the quotas for this or that agrarian product that we had to deliver to local authorities. Since we had to rely on Chinese and Korean farmers to deliver us their quotas, I guess their lives must have been much harder than ours. You say that we were expected to become "self-sufficient farmers." But we never became such farmers in Manchuria. (Masaru, 1988, Tamanoi)

Masaru also told me that around May 1945, the settlers had very little to eat except for soybeans and potatoes. It was around this time that he was mobilized into the army.

The brevity of this section does not mean that my informants scarcely remembered the end of the Japanese Empire in Manchuria. Completely the opposite was true: they had much to tell me about the end of Manchukuo. For example, in 1996, when the women's group in Fujimi invited me

for a gathering before my departure for the United States, all the members recounted stories of their escape from Manchuria after the Soviet invasion. For this reason, I find it appropriate to dedicate an entire chapter to their memories of the Soviet invasion, Japan's capitulation, and their repatriation journeys. Before doing so, let me conclude this chapter with a discussion on the role of the Japanese state in Manchurian colonization.

Remembering the Japanese State in Manchurian Colonization, 1930–1945

In *The Expansion of England*, published in London in 1883, British imperial historian Robert Seeley examines the history of England, which occupied parts of the globe that were "quite empty." Since they were so empty, they offered unbounded scope for new settlement for the people of England (1883:46). Seeley raises the following point: "But if the State is the Nation (not the Country, observe, but the Nation), then we see a sufficient ground for the universal usage of modern states, which has been to regard their emigrants not as going out of the State but as *carrying the State with them*" (ibid.:41, my emphasis). Calling England "the Nation," Seeley presents it as a historical community based on a common race, language, and culture. This community, according to Seeley, is destined to expand into every corner of the world. At the core of this expanding territory, called an empire, Seeley places the modern State of England. He expects British citizens to carry this state as they emigrate overseas. He also expects them to carry the mission of spreading British nationalism. Since the corners of the world into which the expansion extends are empty, Seeley states, British citizens do not have to worry about encountering aliens who may reject their mission.

After the Manchurian Incident of 1931, the promoters of Manchurian colonization often referred to Seeley as they equated Japan with England. For them, Japan was also a modern nation-state on its way to an empire. For example, in 1935, at a conference held by the Institute of Oriental Studies (Tōyō Kyōkai), Nagao Sakurō, then an employee of the SMR, made use of Seeley's work in the following remark: "In his famous work, titled *The Expansion of England*, historian Seeley of Great Britain argues that [British] emigrants always carry the State with them. According to Seeley, only when we speak of the emigrant moving with the power of the Nation, of which he is a citizen, can we correctly say, 'He carries the State with him' [*kare to tomo ni kokka o hakobu*]" (quoted in Tōyō Kyōkai 1935:59). As the British who settled on the east coast of North America called the area "New England," Nagao suggests, the Japanese who settled in Manchuria should call the area "New Japan." However, according to Nagao, not every Japanese emigrant carried the state with him. Those who emigrated to South America, for example,

did not carry the state with them. Instead, they moved there "to make money" for their own selfish purposes. Hence they were not contributing to the formation of an empire (ibid.).[24]

While the local discourses published in Nagano do not refer to Seeley, they do refer to Manchuria as an empty land. Furthermore, they refer to China as a place *without a state.* Japan is the only nation in Asia that has a state, and its power is destined to spread to "eight corners of the world" (*hakkō ichiu*). For example, in one newspaper the author, who apparently ranked among the village wealthy, writes that: "The Japanese and the Chinese [Shinajin] are different in every respect. To confuse them is to confuse the Japanese with the Portuguese. . . . The Chinese do not live beyond the household boundary. They do not have a notion of the state, and most of them are illiterate" (*Urazato sonpō,* June 10, 1939). Yet, he claims, "the Chinese" do not live in Manchuria; they live in China proper. Thus, along with Nagao, this writer also envisions Manchuria as quite empty and argues that the Japanese should carry the state with them.

Indeed, our informants' oral memories suggest that when they were faced with impending poverty in rural Nagano, they emigrated to Manchuria, "carrying the state with them." However, the notion of the state as presented by Seeley is extremely diffused. In one case, the state is the office of a branch village that was late in distributing winter clothes to its settlers. In another, it is a village mayor who has arranged a marriage for a female settler without eliciting her opinion. In yet another, it is the colonization company, whose staff was quite merciless in confiscating land and houses from local farmers. But in remembering, the informants always see Manchuria as an extension of Japan, governed by the Japanese state. Backed by this state, the poor farmers of Nagano set out, with band music wafting in the background as they boarded train or ship for Manchuria.[25]

Upon arrival, the colonists discovered that Manchuria was a populated land; they were not there to transform virgin territory into fertile ground but to work on already cultivated land. As they had to rely on the labor provided by Manchurian coolies, the idea of "yeoman farmers" did not work. Since they had already received land, grants, and subsidies from the state, it was impossible for them to interfere in this colonial structure. In remembering, then, these former colonists criticized the ineffectiveness of the Manchurian colonization policy. At the same time, they remembered their own disdainful stance toward the Chinese and the Koreans, on whom they heavily relied as a source of labor. Most of our informants remembered their sense of supremacy in terms of Japanese racial purity. Yoshio, whom I met in Nagano in 1996, is a former agrarian colonist who emigrated to Manchuria in 1942. After mentioning "the Manchurians" (Manjin), I initiated the following dialogue. My questions are prefaced with a "T."

T: Who are the Manjin?
YOSHIO: They are those who lived in Manchuria.
T: Aren't they Chinese?
YOSHIO: I guess not, because they lived in Manchuria.
T: But I read that many Chinese had emigrated to Manchuria before Japan established Manchukuo.
YOSHIO: Yeah? But many of them wore Manchurian clothes. . . .
T: You did not call them Manchukuoans?
YOSHIO: No; wasn't that the official term?
T: So you too were a Manchukuoan.
YOSHIO: No; I was Japanese because I am Japanese.

This dialogue sounds almost ridiculous as I refer only to the official, abstract categories. Yoshio cannot accept my categories for a number of reasons: they sound too formal; he has hardly ever heard them; and consequently he has rarely used them. More important, his identity as Japanese is primordial. For him, "Japanese" is the identity he never discarded nor will ever discard in the future. Yoshio remembered his teacher at the training center saying, "Manchuria is where numerous Japanese [soldiers] shed their blood. We [Japanese] must protect it with our own hands." In 1996, he no longer believed his teacher's words. But he seemed not to have remembered that in Manchukuo no one forced Yoshio to identify himself as Japanese, while the Chinese were daily reminded of their identity as Manchurians.

Memory map 1, then, suggests that the former agrarian settlers in Manchuria who returned to Nagano between 1946 and 1949 have been struggling with the gap between what they remember about the Japanese state and how they should remember it. In remembering, they are seldom critical of their own decisions and actions. They emigrated to Manchuria as agrarian colonists and worked and lived on land that had belonged to the Chinese, but they remember those decisions and actions as those of the Japanese state; they simply chose to follow state policy to regenerate their household economies. At the same time, however, they are highly critical of the Japanese state, which, they claim, tricked them into Manchurian colonization. Here, then, they fail to relate their own decisions and actions to the power of the Japanese state.

Shall we honor only the memories of those who reached the realization that they had victimized the Chinese? My answer is no. If we criticize our informants for failing to acknowledge their complicity in Japan's imperial expansion, we must also criticize most of the Japanese people who never left Japan proper in the age of empire. Agreeing with some Marxist scholars, the latter began calling the former agrarian colonists "retainers of Japanese imperialism" (*nihon teikoku shugi no tesaki*) soon

after the war's end (Yamazaki 1972). By the same token, we must also criticize the U.S. Occupation Forces, which, understanding Japanese agrarian settlers as the retainers of militarism, did not allow the Japanese state to extend special aid to them after they were finally repatriated to Japan. We need to understand the following: while the agrarian settlers in Manchuria were complicit in Japanese colonialism, they were also the victims of not only rural poverty in the age of empire but also postwar Japanese society, which saw them only as the victimizers. Our role, then, is to detach them from their image as faceless agents of oppression and see each one of them as human beings who either enthusiastically or reluctantly participated in Manchurian colonization (Guelcher 2000:4). After all, they carried the Japanese state with them in emigrating to Manchuria, returned home to bring it back, and then relied on it to start their second lives in postwar Japan. Memory map 1 therefore should bring to the fore the power of the Japanese state by shedding light on what our informants remembered, how they remembered, and what they forgot.

3
Memory Map 2

Repatriate Memoirs

In Japanese, the verb "to repatriate" (*hikiage-ru*) has multiple meanings; among these are to pull up, raise, refloat, pull out (of a place), and (close a business and) return home. As a noun, "repatriate/s" (*hikiage-sha*) becomes not only historically but also morally charged in postwar Japan (Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 2001:172). Repatriates are those who emigrated to Japan's overseas territories in the age of empire but were forced to (close their businesses and) return home after Japan's capitulation in the Asia-Pacific War. Once in Japan, however, they were often seen as social misfits, largely because the dominant perception of them dramatically changed over the divide of August 15, 1945. Before then, they were *imin* (emigrants) who were hailed as the vanguards of imperialism in official discourses. After Japan's defeat, they were *hikiage-sha*, who were greeted with pity, suspicion, and callousness by their compatriots who had never left Japan proper. Here, the oral narrative of Aki, who appeared in chapter 2, is helpful: "When we returned home [to Fujimi in 1946], our neighbors were very cold to us Manchurian daughters. I truly worried that I might become an old mistress" (1996, Tamanoi). An arranged marriage for Aki would fail largely because she was "a returnee from Manchuria" who might carry "foreign sexual diseases" (Watt 2002:82). In the end, she married a "Manchurian boy" whom I could not meet since he died a few years before the beginning of my fieldwork. After all, *kaitaku imin* (agrarian emigrants) were not supposed to return, for they had left Japan to rehabilitate the rural economy at home. With Japan's capitulation, they lost land and houses in Manchuria that the state had taken away from Chinese farmers. Hence they had no recourse but to return to Japan, the only country on earth that was obliged to take them. Yet in the immediate postwar period, when resources were so meager, the people of their mother villages, who had sent them off enthusiastically, were reluctant to welcome the repatriates back to their home (ibid.:63).

The idea that the repatriates were social misfits, however, does not apply to everyone who returned home from the former empire. For example, Mutō Tomio (1904–1998), a high-ranking officer of the Manchukuo state and later of the Japanese Embassy in Manchukuo, reminisces upon his return trip from Xinjing to Tokyo:

> At the lunch table, our conversation focused on how to book a seat on the plane [to return to Japan]. Although I had made a reservation for a flight due to leave on July 23 [1945], Japanese military officers had already taken all the seats [on that flight]. Hence, every staff member [in my office] had his reservation cancelled. The belongings I had brought to Manchuria had now increased severalfold. Since goods were scarce in Tokyo, I wanted to please my family. The contents [of my luggage] were now largely food and other household items. (1988:441)

Mutō apparently knew that the end of the Japanese Empire was imminent. So did the high-ranking military officers stationed in Manchuria. On July 26, 1945, the United States, Britain, and China issued the Potsdam Declaration, which outlined the terms by which Japan was to surrender. On that day, Mutō finally secured a reservation for a flight that would leave on the following day. In his pocket, he had five thousand yen, which he had received from his superior, to begin a new career in postwar Japan (Mutō 1988:440–442). Nowhere in his memoir does Mutō identify himself as a repatriate. After all, wherever he was, he was always a part of the Japanese state, which, though defeated, had never betrayed him. Postwar Japan welcomed Mutō warmly. He swiftly resumed his career as a founder of Nichi-Bei Kaiwa Gakuin (Japan-America English Conversation School). Moreover, as a devout Christian, he became the chief editor for *Kirisuto Shinbun* (a Christian newspaper), a crusader for world peace, and chancellor of several missionary schools.[1] Repatriation was by no means always such a short trip by plane for the returnees. Returning to Japan took months, years, or even decades. What was it like to be repatriated from the former Japanese Empire?

In December 1945, Kuramitsu Toshio made a visit to Uraga, a major entry port in Japan for repatriates.[2] He describes the scene at the port:

> "URAGA PORT," a sign written in yellow paint, stands obliquely under a cloudy sky. The color of the sea is leaden. A ship of a leaden color is floating far away. I see the mark of the Red Cross on its side. On the street along the quay are the storage units for undersea cables. At the entrance to one of them, a small blackboard is hanging. This is the office of the Uraga Landing Port, run by the army. On the blackboard, the names of the ships landing on December 23 are written in white chalk. They are (1) the *Edward Everret*, from Miyako-jima, with 2,047 soldiers;[3] (2) the SS *Masonia*, from Seattle, with 1,233 civilians; and (3) LST 1108 and 1058 from the Truk Islands. Landing times unknown. (1946:26)

Kuramitsu writes that the Uraga Landing Port office was divided in two and had two separate entrances. One led to the office while the other led to

an emergency clinic for the sick. A nearby storage unit was for the repatriates to rest, and yet another storage unit was for *eirei*, "the spirits of extraordinary people." In reality, piled up in this storage unit were thousands of boxes, each wrapped in white cloth and containing the remains of the dead (such as bone fragments or locks of hair).[4] Most repatriates, Kuramitsu writes, had yellow faces, indicating that they had been suffering from various diseases. Many among the sick died at the makeshift clinic if they did not die on the repatriation vessels. According to Kuramitsu, the death toll was especially high among the young and the old, and officers were kept busy transporting corpses to the crematorium. Uraga was a place for the exhausted, the sick, and the dead. Even the healthy repatriates, Kuramitsu writes, did not have a place to go, spending hours and days gambling. But who returned to Uraga in December 1945, and from where did they return? They were mostly demilitarized soldiers from Okinawa and the islands of the South Pacific. Civilians were from Seattle. Most of these civilians had been interned in relocation camps in the United States, and they had not fought, nor witnessed, the Asia-Pacific War. In December 1945, about 2,720,000 Japanese who had been stranded in the Soviet-occupied regions of Manchuria, Korea (north of the thirty-eighth parallel), Sakhalin, and the Kurils were still on their way back to Japan.[5]

In this chapter, we will read the memoirs of the agrarian colonists who were stranded in Manchuria for many months, or even years, and then repatriated to Japan between 1946 and 1949. Together with the memoirs of repatriates from other parts of the former empire, they constitute the literary subgenre called *hikiage-mono* (as noted in chapter 2), and they share several prominent characteristics. Note that most of the authors of the repatriate memoirs are women and/or those who were children at the time of Japan's capitulation. This means that they were amateur writers. Even those who are now regarded as professional writers did not start out as professionals. Because of their exceptional writing skills, they caught the literary world's attention, receiving prizes and embarking on careers as professionals.

First, the central theme of repatriate memoirs is suffering, which their authors, as well as their families, friends, and neighbors, experienced on their way home from Japan's former overseas empire. In other words, they wrote from the position of victims. Although measuring (in numbers) the degree of such suffering among agrarian colonists-turned-repatriates is impossible, I have made an attempt to do so in table 2. This table records (1) the population of each agrarian colony (built by the emigrants from Nagano) at the time of the Soviet invasion on August 9, 1945; (2) the numbers of those who returned to Nagano safely between 1946 and 1949; (3) the numbers of those who died in

Manchuria after the Soviet invasion; and (4) the numbers of those missing in China as of August 9, 1945. I have also indicated the colonists' status—military personnel or civilian—as most male colonists younger than forty had already been mobilized before the Soviet attack. In contrast, in table 3, I have tried to give faces to these numbers by describing the fates that awaited specific families of agrarian colonists from Nagano in the wake of the Soviet invasion. This table reveals that all the men who had been mobilized by the Japanese army (Yoneichi, Yoshitomi, and Fumie) eventually returned home safely. In contrast, Yoshitomi's father, Masayoshi, was too old to be drafted; he was murdered, together with his wife and three of his children, by Soviet soldiers and local farmers. The young died of typhoid, malnutrition, and other diseases. In Mizuho, every member of the Dobashi family, save Fumie, died of *shūdan jiketsu*, or compulsory group suicide, which I will discuss shortly. For some unknown reason, however, Fumie survived this ordeal. Thus, gender, age, status, and location in Manchuria greatly affected the degree of suffering of each colonist.

Table 2. Survivors and victims among agrarian emigrants from Nagano to Manchuria

Colony[a]	Population (and number in army) on August 9, 1945	Survivors	Victims (civilians/ soldiers)	Missing
Branch villages				
Ōhinata-Sijiafang	786 (64)	343/52	377/12	2/0
Fujimi-Wangjiatun	895 (122)	582/97	189/25	2/0
Kawaji-Laoshifang[b]	524 (97)	313/78	105/19	9/0
Yasuoka-Dadalang[b]	1,021 (160)	303/109	451/49	107/2
Yomikaki-Gongxinji	715 (103)	170/73	389/29	53/1
Chiyo-Wandangang[b]	446 (70)	212/54	157/16	7/0
Kami Hisataka-Xinlitun[b]	789 (109)	128/92	494/17	58/0
Inatomi-Nanyang[b]	161 (25)	39/23	92/2	5/0
Ochiai-Xui	171 (35)	67/29	69/6	
Narakawa-Lanhua	185 (20)	103/13	61/7	1/0
Kōno-Shibeiling[b]	95 (17)	9/16	69/1	
Ontake-Tuifeng	30 (20)	4/14	6/6	
Branch counties				
Tateshina-Xiaogudong	557 (102)	115/80	301/22	36/3
Shimoina-Dagudong[b]	950 (128)	407/99	381/29	31/3
Daimon-Luoquanhe	615 (116)	176/92	299/24	24/0
Kōsha-Wanjun Shan	708 (76)	56/64	556/11	20/1
Shimo-minochi-Suolunhe	607 (108)	115/81	341/27	43/0
Sarashina-Jianshan	471 (64)	19/43	383/21	5/0

Colony[a]	Population (and number in army) on August 9, 1945	Survivors	Victims (civilians/ soldiers)	Missing
Fuyō-Liudagui	364 (45)	155/34	154/11	10/0
Chikuma-Mishan	545 (47)	183/31	294/16	21/1
Yatsugatake-Sunchuan	647 (90)	278/67	269/23	7/3
Hanishina-Dongsuolunhe	288 (59)	17/48	199/11	13/0
Kurohime-Lequanshan	156 (20)	26/13	92/7	18/0
Komoro-Santaizi	245 (33)	174/27	36/6	1/1
Chiisagata-Lihuatun	380 (54)	131/42	187/12	8/0
Kiso-Shuangquan	111 (30)	24/21	52/9	4/1
Kami takai-Zhushan	197 (36)	62/29	86/7	13/0
Minami azumi-Xiaozhu	150 (37)	27/24	82/13	4/0
Mibu-Yonghe[b]	289 (29)	136/16	113/13	11/0
Fukihara-Taipinggou[b]	289 (33)	168/23	74/10	13/1
Inan-Miaodi[b]	256 (33)	120/26	86/7	16/1
Kiso-Baoquan	490 (81)	188/57	211/24	10/0
Higashi Chikuma-Malanghe	361 (74)	99/55	163/19	25/0
Minami shinano-Donghenglin[b]	478 (34)	133/23	290/11	21/1
Kita azumi-Jinsha	229 (24)	93/17	104/7	6/2
Achi-Beihama[b]	190 (15)	47/10	116/5	12/0
Branch prefectures				
Shinano-Heitai	1,564 (229)	277/173	967/54	91/2
Nagano-Manwudaogang	1,343 (212)	332/129	759/80	40/3
Shinano-Zhonghe	1,154 (153)	351/177	599/36	51/0
Shinano-Zhangjiatun	1,203 (199)	277/152	690/45	37/2
Armed colonies				
Iyasaka	173 (23)	86/23	63/0	1/0
Chiburi	187 (42)	101/35	44/7	
Mizuho	168 (16)	17/14	129/2	6/0
Kaibara	49 (7)	9/4	31/3	2/0
Hataho	197 (14)	22/11	157/3	4/0
Nishi Iyasaka	38 (10)	13/7	14/3	1/0
Colonies of free emigrants				
SMR Self-Defense Colony	127 (19)	88/18	13/1	7/0
Matsushima-Baishanzi[b]	83 (14)	69/11	10/3	
Matsushima-Jiangmifeng[b]	107 (8)	88/6	9/2	2/0
Matsushima-Shuanghezhen[b]	122 (9)	81/6	31/3	1/0
Matsushima-Shuiquliu[b]	1,079 (99)	658/78	286/19	36/2
Kasai-Hulunbeier	27 (6)	14/6	7/0	
Total	23,012 (3,270)	7,705/2,462	11,377/795	894/28

[a] The colonies listed here do not include the ones built by the Manchuria Patriotic Youth Brigade members, students, or people who had no farming experience. For the name of each colony, I combined the Japanese name and the Chinese name of the location.
[b] Colony built by emigrants from the Ina Valley in Nagano Prefecture.

Table 3. Fate of three agrarian colonist families in Manchuria in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation

Family and individual members	Age/position in family	Status
Ikegami family in Shimoina		
Yoneichi	31 (husband)	Demobilized from army and repatriated at an unknown date
Yoshie	26 (wife)	Repatriated on October 30, 1946
Kazuo	11 (son 1)	Died of malnutrition on August 7, 1946
Mitsuko	9 (daughter 1)	Died of typhoid on July 27, 1946
Kiyoko	7 (daughter 2)	Died of malnutrition on July 7, 1946
Hashimoto family in Tateshina		
Masayoshi	44 (husband)	Murdered on August 21, 1945
Kichiji	43 (wife)	Murdered on August 21, 1945
Yoshitomi	20 (son 1)	Demobilized from army and repatriated in 1949 from Siberia
Sanao	13 (son 2)	Murdered on August 21, 1945
Sakie	22 (daughter 1)	Murdered on August 21, 1945
Kesako	18 (daughter 2)	Repatriated on October 18, 1946
Ayako	15 (daughter 3)	Remained in China
Hamako	11 (daughter 4)	Murdered on August 21, 1945
Dobashi family in Mizuho		
Fumie	32 (husband)	Demobilized from army and repatriated in 1948
Haruju	32 (wife)	Died in mass suicide on September 17, 1945
Keiko	8 (daughter 1)	Died in mass suicide on September 17, 1945
Sukenori	6 (son 1)	Died in mass suicide on September 17, 1945
Mitsue	3 (daughter 2)	Died in mass suicide on September 17, 1945
Shin'ichi	1 (son 2)	Died in mass suicide on September 17, 1945

Source: NKJMK (1984c:12, 85, 452, 532).

Second, the memoirs closely resemble each other in narrative structure. This is because authors employ a single formula to recount their memories, beginning their stories with either the Soviet invasion of Manchuria or Japan's capitulation and ending with their arrival in the ports of disembarkation in China or the entry ports in Japan. In between these two points in time and place, they recount their painful, but not dissimilar, experiences as the victims of empire. I am not the first to point this out. Analyzing the narrative style of the memoirs written by the former agrarian settlers of Manchuria, Yamada Shōji writes, "First, authors always begin their narratives with the Soviet invasion of China or Japan's surrender. When they refer to the period before then, they say very little. They hardly mention their relationships with Chinese or Korean farmers"

(1978:49). *Manshū: Shura no mure,* by Gotō Kurando (1978), serves as an example. Gotō emigrated to Manchuria as an elementary school teacher and taught Japanese children in the village of Sihetun (J: Shigōton). Yet the reader of his memoir cannot fathom his daily life in Manchuria as he begins his work with the following exchange with his wife:

> Wife: Just a minute ago, a Manchurian police officer stationed in Koshiro (J) came around here and told us that the Soviet Union invaded yesterday or the day before yesterday.
> Gotō: The Soviet Union invaded? Where?
> Wife: Where? Manchuria, of course!
> Gotō: Manchuria? The Soviet Union? The Soviet Union invaded Manchuria?
> Wife: Yes, he surely did say so. (1978:14)[6]

In the rest of his memoir, Gotō remembers his arduous journey of repatriation, which culminated in the death of his daughter from measles. He ends his book with an event that took place on June 12, 1946, in Huludao (J: Korotō), a port of disembarkation in China. There he saw the *Hakuun-maru*, "White Cloud," the repatriation vessel that would take him to Japan.[7]

Third, although the first memoir written by a returnee from Manchuria appeared as early as 1949 (and was reprinted in 1976) (Fujiwara), the upsurge in this genre came decades later, from the late 1960s to the 1990s, with several published in the early years of the twenty-first century. This means that the majority of authors waited for more than two decades before publishing their memoirs—in order, possibly, to keep a certain distance from the past. What characterizes the memoirs is that most authors rely only on their personal memories, as well as the memories of their fellow settlers that they (over)heard while fleeing from Manchuria. In addition, they cite each other's memoirs, rather than primary or secondary sources on Japanese imperial history. After all, *hikiage-mono* are the authors' eyewitness reports and they force the reader to believe in the authenticity of their personal memories.

For all these reasons, the genre is called *hikiage-mono* rather than *hikiage-bungaku*, "repatriate literature." Though a generic term for "genre," *mono* is primarily used for classifying popular cultural productions such as movies, comedy shows, and songs.[8] In other words, the term indicates the genre's lower position in the hierarchy of cultural production: it is neither "literature" (*bungaku*) nor "history." Indeed, most repatriate memoirs have small readerships, as the authors, being amateurs, submitted their works to small, local publishing houses. Many of the works are not even for sale. Others are not books at all but short essays printed in magazines published by organizations of former colonists and soldiers, as well as alumni

organizations of the Japanese schools built in Manchuria. In fact, I bought most of the works that I examined in secondhand bookstores in Japan since the collections at university libraries are rather limited. It is for this reason, I believe, that Japanese as well as Anglophone scholars have hardly paid attention to them.

It is wrong, however, to assume that repatriate memoirs have nothing to do with the state-sanctioned history of what Lori Watt has called "the unmaking of Japanese Empire" (2002). In fact, the postwar Japanese state has largely endorsed the contents of repatriate memoirs written by those who speak from the position of victims. Nonetheless, the memoirs occasionally challenge the official history. When this happens, the distinction between repatriate memoirs and repatriate literature becomes blurry. While the literary world tends to define the latter as works by professional writers with critical minds (toward Japanese imperialism) (see, for example, Abe 1970; Gomikawa 1956–1958; Miki 1973a, 1973b; Murakami 1994; see also Kawamura 1990:23–25), some of the repatriate memoirs express humanitarianism to not only their fellow repatriates but also the Chinese and Korean people. Hence it is this dialectical relationship between "national history" and the history created by the repatriates that this memory map purports to examine. Before we consider this relationship, however, I will turn to the official narrative of the unmaking of the Japanese Empire in Northeast China.

From Imperial History to National History

In 1950, only five years after Japan's defeat, the Japanese state—or more specifically the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Kōsei-shō; hereafter MHW)—published *Hikiage engo no kiroku* (Records on the support of repatriation). Since 1950, the MHW has revised this official history several times (1955, 1963, 1978, 1997) as the number of repatriates from the former empire first increased and then rapidly decreased. Still, all editions of the official history begin on August 15, 1945; none refer to the period before then, when Japan was actively involved in the making of an empire. As a result, the publication does not question *why* 6.5 million Japanese were stranded overseas at the time of Japan's surrender. Instead, these millions of Japanese suddenly appear on the horizon of Japanese *national history*. In other words, in the state narrative, *imperial history*, which was once considered to be an "organic and irreversible process" (Fieldhouse 1984:9), disappears without a trace. In this postwar national history, the official narrative follows a methodical chronology along an arrow of empty time. On this time scale, the narrator—the Japanese state—incorporates all the repatriates into a monolithic group under the label of *dōhō*, "our compatriots." The state distinguishes them by the geographical locations from which they

were repatriated—that is, by the countries that before 1945 were parts of the Japanese Empire. It also separates "soldiers" from "civilians," but it does not separate them according to age, gender, class, occupation, rank, or place of domicile within each colony. Furthermore, *dōhō* refers only to Japanese nationals. Hence the Japanese left overseas after 1945 who were not able to prove their Japanese nationality are not regarded as *dōhō*. The repatriation of Japanese nationals from the former empire, however, is not over, and the state is duly aware of this fact, as the preface to its latest publication, *Engo gojūnenshi* (The fifty-year history of assistance extended to repatriates), indicates. My summary of the preface is as follows:

> Identifying the repatriates as war victims, the Japanese state began assisting them immediately after the end of the last war. While the repatriation was under way, Japan quickly recovered from the defeat and has now come to enjoy peace and prosperity. Nonetheless, even at present, relief for war victims is not yet complete as the last war involved a countless number of people and has left a huge wound. Considering that the Japanese war victims have rapidly been aging, the state is determined to put an end to the still ongoing wave of repatriation. (Kōsei-shō 1997:preface)

In other words, if the last Japanese national (*saigo no hitori*) who still remains in the former empire returns home, the state will no longer need to revise its official history of the unmaking of an empire. Indeed, in postwar Japan, whenever a Japanese national is "discovered" in a remote area of the former empire, the state and the media hail him as a hero who had endured hardships and finally returned home triumphantly. Yet the state and the media can never be sure that *this* returnee is the last Japanese national. At the same time, the returnee invariably brings back memories of the nation's imperial past. Hence, the more eager the state is to bring closure to the imperial history, the more difficult it is for it to do so. In this respect, the official history can be read as the Japanese state's struggle with ghosts from its past.

In the official narrative, the repatriation of Japanese nationals from Manchuria looms large, not only because the area contained more than 2 million Japanese civilians and soldiers but also because the area fell under the political turmoil that eventually contributed to the formation of the cold war system. Those who contributed to this turmoil were the Soviet troops, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops, Mao Zedong's Communist troops, and the U.S. Occupation Forces. The fates of the Japanese stranded in Manchuria were entrusted to them until 1952. How does the official history describe the relationships among the Soviets, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Americans in (Northeast) China?

In Manchuria, the civil war between Chiang's Nationalists and Mao's

Communists was already under way before Japan's capitulation, with the Communists in control. By the spring of 1946, however, the Nationalists had gained power with U.S. assistance, and they occupied major cities in southern Manchuria. By then, the Soviet troops, which had supported Mao's troops, had retreated from the area, except for the cities of Dalian and Harbin. Between May and October 1946, under an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek, the U.S. Occupation Forces repatriated more than 1 million Japanese nationals from southern Manchuria. Between the fall of 1946 and the summer of 1948, another group of about 37,000 Japanese who were still stranded in the Communist area was transported to the Nationalist area and eventually repatriated to Japan. In addition, by 1949, approximately 226,000 Japanese civilians who had remained in Dalian had completed their repatriation. If we accept the state's estimate that the Japanese population in Manchuria at the end of the war was 2,214,000 (1,550,000 civilians and 664,000 military personnel), this means that about 85 percent of the population had returned to Japan before 1949 (Kōsei-shō 1997:11, 32–33). This does not mean, however, that all of these people returned directly from Manchuria to Japan. About 575,000 Japanese men, mostly demilitarized soldiers, were dragooned by the Soviets and sent to labor camps in Siberia. If they were too sick to be mobilized as forced laborers, they were deported to Yanji, on the border between China and Korea, from where they were mobilized again once they had regained their health (Wakatsuki 1995:129–130).[9] Some state officials and demilitarized soldiers were retained as war criminals in Siberia to be later extradited to the PRC (Kōsei-shō 1978:96–99; 1997:42–49). In addition, more than 10,000 Japanese men and women were mobilized by the Chinese Communist troops, while an almost equal number were mobilized by the Chinese Nationalist troops. After 1949, Japanese from both the Communist and the Nationalist troops were again mobilized, this time by the PRC. The absence of diplomatic relations between Japan and the PRC until 1972 made the repatriation of these Japanese difficult. Still, between 1953 and 1958, about 32,000 Japanese returned home thanks to collaboration between the Japanese and Chinese Red Cross (Kōsei-shō 1997:43).[10] For the Japanese who still remained in China in 1958, however, a chance to return home did not arise until after 1972.

For the Japanese state, the repatriation of its citizens from the former empire represents "a large-scale population movement rare in world history" (Kōsei-shō 1978:26). However, to present an orderly story, the postwar Japanese state seems to have highlighted certain facts while neglecting others. Of course, the state records the numbers of Japanese victims who died while fleeing from the former empire; specifies the areas where the human remains of such victims were discovered; and acknowledges fallen soldiers, upon whom it posthumously conferred decorations. Nonethe-

less, since the state does not explain *why* or *how* they died, the dead appear only as numbers; they are simply remembered as the collectivity of Japanese who contributed to the peace and prosperity of postwar Japan.

In the state's narrative, institutional history—which also begins on August 15, 1945—looms large. In October of that year, the U.S. Occupation Forces designated the Japanese MHW as the primary institution for the affairs of Japanese repatriation from the former empire. Before 1948, the Japanese military, which was about to be abolished in the name of democracy, supervised the repatriation of soldiers separately from civilians. In May 1948, the Repatriates' Relief Bureau (Hikiage Engo-chō) was established within the MHW. Although its name and institutional affiliation have changed several times since then, this bureau still oversees the Japanese repatriation to this day.[11] (Note that *engo* [relief] is a military term that signifies "the protection of the actions and facilities of allies from the attack of enemies" [Nihon Kokugo Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 2001:743].) In the aftermath of Japan's capitulation, the state included the families of the war dead, soldiers wounded in the war, children orphaned in the war, and repatriates from the former empire as "subjects for relief." Interestingly, the predecessor of the Repatriates' Relief Bureau was called Kenmin-kyoku; before 1945, its aim was to produce "strong soldiers and healthy civilians" (*kenmin*) in both Japan proper and its overseas empire. With Japan's defeat, "strong soldiers and healthy civilians" became sick of body and soul. With the war's human cost being so high, most Japanese needed some kind of assistance from the state. In this context, the Japanese returning home in large numbers from overseas constituted yet another symbol of the defeated nation, in addition to the survivors of atom bombings and aerial bombings, crippled and maimed soldiers, and war widows and orphans. Moreover, the returnees from overseas were suspected of bringing home "germs" (in both a physical and a metaphorical sense) that were unknown to the people in Japan proper (see Watt 2002:63–64). This is why the official history chronicles "the heroic efforts" of state officials to combat such germs, in collaboration with the U.S. Occupation troops.

Once on Japanese soil, the repatriates were subjected to harsh medical and hygienic regimens that the U.S. Occupation Forces had earlier introduced into Japan proper (see Igarashi 2000:ch. 2).[12] While the repatriates were inoculated against several types of disease before boarding repatriation vessels, they underwent far more rigorous physical examinations at the ports of entry in Japan. Upon landing on Japanese soil (or while they were still on board the repatriation vessels), they, along with their belongings, were repeatedly disinfected with DDT. They were bathed thoroughly and inoculated against such diseases as cholera, typhoid, typhus, smallpox, and tetanus. Repatriates who were suffering from cholera, malaria, or typhoid were quarantined on board for days and weeks along with healthy

returnees (who were barred from disembarking). Those suffering from tuberculosis were sent to isolation hospitals near the ports of entry (Kōsei-shō 1978:128–129).[13] The MHW claims that the worst year was 1946, when more than twenty ships were found contaminated with cholera germs before entering Japanese ports. However, owing to the "self-sacrificing devotion" of Japanese doctors and nurses, the state succeeded in preventing the cholera germs from infecting the nation (ibid.:129). Indeed, for state builders in modern Japan, hygiene had long been "a key link in the creation of a wealthy and powerful nation" (Rogaski 2004:ch. 5).

What, then, are the facts that the official history has ignored or downplayed? First, while the official narrative mentions that women older than fifteen years of age were encouraged to receive medical exams at the ports of entry into Japan, it stops short of explaining what such exams entailed (Kōsei-shō 1978:134). A document published in 1949 by the Sasebo Regional Repatriation Center discusses "abortion" only euphemistically while mentioning that thousands of women (who were suspected of having been impregnated by the enemy) "made use of the consultation office" (quoted in Watt 2002:86). Second, the official narrative fails to elaborate on the now infamous "stay-put" directive of the Japanese state (Wakatsuki 1995:48–51; Watt 2002:64–69). This directive, which the Japanese state issued "during the six-week gray area of Japanese authority" from surrender to the formal start of the Occupation, entails a series of recommendations that point to the state's desire that overseas Japanese "should be made to stay out" (Watt 2002:66–67). In other words, after Japan's capitulation, more than 2 million Japanese still stranded in Manchuria were directed to remain overseas and voluntarily renounce their Japanese nationality.[14] Third, the official history published after 1959 is silent about the following: in March 1959, the Japanese state declared via legislation that approximately 13,600 Japanese citizens who had been missing in China since 1945 had died during wartime (*senji shibō senkoku*).[15] Furthermore, the official history does not acknowledge the fact that the state did not begin searching for these missing Japanese until 1975, three years after the normalization of diplomatic relations with China.

Major Themes of the Repatriate Memoirs

In this section, I will organize my discussion of the repatriate memoirs around their seven major themes: "Manchurian bandits," compulsory group suicide, the Kwantung Army, victims of rape, epidemics, the sale of Japanese children, and the will to live. My goal is to see how this genre is complicit in the state's narrative of the unmaking of empire and yet how it challenges such a narrative at the same time.

Manchurian Bandits

> More than four decades have passed since the end of the war. Today I will write my memories of the horrible events that took place in Manchuria in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1984:83)

In accordance with the narrative structure of the repatriate memoirs, Aki (who appeared in chapter 2) begins her short autobiographical essay with these sentences. She contributed her memoir to one of two collections of essays compiled by a group of housewives in Fujimi (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1984, 1995). Neither volume is about the repatriation of former colonists from Manchuria to Fujimi. Rather, each presents more than one hundred articles by middle-aged or older women in Fujimi who reflect upon their individual life histories. Nevertheless, since Fujimi sent more than nine hundred agrarian emigrants to Manchuria, each collection contains a cluster of essays by those who were repatriated from Manchuria as the young wives or daughters of agrarian colonists. Aki's essay is one of them, and in it she remembers only "the horrible events that took place in Manchuria" in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation.

Shortly after August 15, 1945, leaders of the branch village of Fujimi, one of whom was Aki's father, made a decision to divide the settlers into two groups to protect them from the attacks of "Manchurian bandits." One group headed for the hospital, which had been closed, while the other went to the school building. Aki and her family joined the group heading for the hospital. On their way, they were repeatedly attacked by Manchurian bandits, who stole most of their belongings. At the hospital, Aki and her family cooperated with other survivors, and together they managed to gather enough food (soybeans and soy flour) to survive one harsh winter. However, on January 21, 1946, the situation took a turn for the worse: Manchurian bandits stormed into the storage hut and stole every sack of soybeans and flour. They then killed Aki's father, who had tried to protect the food from "the mob of thieves." Aki did not see her father's corpse until late that evening because of the confusion. Three days later, she witnessed yet another attack by Manchurian bandits:

> On January 24, those on the lookout told us that they saw hundreds of "something black" on the horizon, and they were fast approaching. Minutes later, an order [from the leader] reached us: against the imminent attack by Manchurian bandits, each person must guard his or her own position. . . . "Bang!" We heard the first gunshot, followed by several more. The upper window glass was shattered, and the mattress [*futon*] we had used to shield us from gunshots now caught fire. I was told to flee to the corridor. The moment I looked back, I saw that Mrs.

> Natori had been shot in the face. She immediately fell on her back, and I saw her cheek turning brown from the gunshot; it looked just like a pomegranate cut in half. Since she had been nursing her baby a moment ago, the child was still on her breast, crying. The bandits were already coming into our building through the windows, so all that I could do was to run away, ignoring Mrs. Natori. . . . In the room next to the bathroom, Mr. Natori was lying, as he had been shot in the chest. Out of anger and sadness, Mr. Komatsu tried to follow the bandits who had shot Mr. Natori. But they killed him instantly. I felt so angry [at these bandits] that I could not even cry. I remember vividly an old couple who followed the bandits barefoot on the frozen road. But they too were murdered with bayonets. (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1984:84–85)

Who were these Manchurian bandits who, "burning bonfires at night, were ready to attack the village to steal every valuable item from the Japanese"? (NKJMK 1984b:42). Sachiko, another author of a short essay published in the 1995 Fujimi women's group collection, defines "Manchurian bandits" as follows. They were the Manchurian coolies whom the Japanese colonists had employed but who had turned into thieves, looters, and murderers of the Japanese in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. "With long scythes and guns that they had stolen from the Japanese colonists," they attacked the Japanese night after night (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1995:14). However, contrary to Sachiko's claim, the term "Manchurian bandits" had been popular among the Japanese for decades before Japan's capitulation; the Kwantung Army thus called the Chinese nationalists who refused to cooperate with the Japanese authorities (see ch. 2). The bandits who attacked the branch village of Fujimi, however, were not political activists; they were local farmers who had been prohibited from publicly expressing their anger against the Japanese settlers before then.

Why do these bandits have to be specifically "Manchurian" bandits? Here again Aki's narrative sheds light on this question:

> On January 25, another piece of news was brought to us: thousands of Manchurian bandits, many more than those who had attacked us on the previous day, were already surrounding us, ready to attack us again. . . . Around eleven o'clock at night, I remember, I heard several gunshots. I tried to see [the bandits] through the little bit of the window that was not covered. I saw mounted [Chinese] Communist soldiers shooting at Manchurian bandits. The bandits were trying to flee like black ants [whose nest had just been destroyed]. We could not understand what was going on, but finally we went out [of the hospital building] and sat on the snow-covered ground. We were saved! We cried and hugged each other. We saw off those Chinese soldiers, who were still

> shooting at the bandits, reverently thanking them [in our minds] again and again. (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1995:85–86)

In this passage, Aki creates two categories of Chinese: "Manchurian bandits" and "Chinese saviors." Interestingly, most of the Manchurians who were supposed to be living only in Manchuria became "bad" after Japan's defeat. The rest, the ones kinder to the Japanese, joined the groups of "Chinese saviors," who came to rescue the Japanese from China proper as Communist soldiers.

Not every author of repatriate memoirs, however, paints an image of Manchurian bandits as murderers and thieves. Gotō, for example, remembers them as "respectable human beings." As of September 1945, Gotō writes, the settlement of Sihetun, to which Gotō had emigrated with his family, was under heavy attack by Manchurian bandits. These bandits stole "everything" and destroyed "all the doors and windows of the settlers' houses" (1978:115). With their long spears, they also killed some colonists who tried to counterattack. Nevertheless, Gotō states, these bandits were interested only in taking back *their* property from the Japanese. At one of the village-wide meetings, he therefore proposed to his fellow compatriots that "we would give up all of our belongings and go naked." His proposal was accepted. Hence to demonstrate that they had nothing more to lose, both men and women began walking around in only their underpants until the autumn weather set in. Gotō writes, "As far as I know, not a single Chinese or Korean man attacked a Japanese woman, despite the fact that these women were all walking around wearing only underpants. I find this a miracle: not even a single local man attacked them. At the same time, I feel so ashamed of myself remembering local farmers only in this manner. Both the Japanese [who raped the Chinese women] and the Russians [who raped the Japanese women] are far inferior to these Chinese and Korean men" (ibid.: 127–128). Gotō seems to suggest that it is the Japanese who should be called the "bandits" for having earlier stolen the land and houses of the local farmers. His view of Manchurian bandits, however, presents a rare exception to the general rule.

Compulsory Group Suicide

Jiketsu means both "self-determination" and "suicide." In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, suicides were apparently committed on numerous occasions. Women killed themselves when their husbands were captured by the Soviets. Single women killed themselves when they could no longer escape from the Russian soldiers who might rape them. Mothers killed their children when they found them too sick to endure escape journeys. And elderly people, when they realized they

were a source of trouble for others, lost the will to live. However, what occurred in the colonies of Kōno, Shimoina, Kōsha, Shimo-minochi, Daimon, Mizuho, Hataho, Sarashina, Tateshina, Kaibara, and Shinano-Heitai is somewhat different from individual suicides (see table 2); later historians call it *shūdan jiketsu*. Since *shūdan* means "group" or "mass," the term is usually translated as "mass suicide." Referring to the many forms of *shūdan jiketsu* that occurred in Okinawa toward the end of the Asia-Pacific War, however, Norma Field argues that this translation could be quite misleading, for the decision to commit suicide was made by only a few individuals, never *collectively* (1991:61). What occurred in the aforementioned colonies is indeed this type of suicide. I therefore follow Field and use "compulsory group suicide" for *shūdan jiketsu*.

In Mizuho, about five hundred settlers took poison when they found themselves surrounded by Manchurian bandits. In this case, as in every other case of compulsory group suicide, the victims were largely women and children. Those who ordered them to take poison were men. After making sure that all had died, these men blindly attacked the Manchurian bandits; if they survived the conflict, they then killed themselves (NKJMK 1984b:42). Among the settlers of Kōno, a decision for suicide was made when their leader was severely injured by Manchurian bandits. He then asked two young men, Kubota and Nakagawa, to strangle him, which they did. Then mothers killed their children by strangling them. They then asked Kubota and Nakagawa to strangle them. Three women, however, escaped. Finally, Kubota and Nakagawa tried to kill themselves by stoning one another but failed in this attempt. In the end, both men and the three women decided to escape and were able to return home (ibid.:260). In Shimo-minochi, about a hundred women and children either took poison or drowned themselves in the river (NKJMK 1984a:687). Among the settlers of Hataho, a decision for suicide was made after they fled to Mashan (J: Masan), where they were fiercely attacked by Soviet troops. In this case, the leader first committed suicide. Next, about fifty men shot and killed their women and children. They then courageously fought the Soviet soldiers (ibid.:55–56). Evidence shows, however, that some of the men chose not to fight, fled the site, and eventually returned to Japan (see Nakamura Yukiko 1983).

Survivors of compulsory group suicides rarely wrote memoirs; they must have lived in the postwar era with an acute sense of guilt. Sumiko, who appeared in chapter 2, is an exception. As one of the few survivors of the compulsory group suicide in Kōsha-gō, she said (at the time of my interview with her in 1991) that her mission was to tell the next generation of Japanese what had happened to her children. Thus, in her memoir, which she published in 1987, she tries to explain the compulsory group suicide of her village as follows.

In Kōsha-gō, which lost its mayor to the "bottom scraping" draft of the Japanese military three months before the Soviet invasion, the vice-mayor decided to resort to a compulsory group suicide if "the situation reached its worst." Having contemplated which method to use for this final moment (guns, potassium cyanide, or razors), this vice-mayor set out two rules: (1) he would be responsible for shooting the members of families whose heads had already been drafted, and (2) if the household head had not yet been drafted and was still with his family, he would be responsible for shooting his family members before killing himself. Thus, the decision was by no means made collectively: the voices of women, children, and the elderly—the victims—were hardly heard. Yet contrary to what the vice-mayor had said—that is, that suicide would be a last resort—compulsory group suicide occurred three times among the settlers of Kōsha-gō. First, when the settlers were on their way to Boli, "grandmas and mothers holding their grandchildren and children were shot to death from behind" (Takayama 1987:124). The rest continued their march. They then reached the Weiken River. Here, writes Sumiko, "I saw Mrs. Shirakawa Kakuno shooting her twin children to death, and I thought I would be able to do the same when my turn came. Mrs. Horiuchi threw her child into the river, but no one tried to stop her from doing so" (ibid.:126). The survivors again continued to walk and reached the village of Sado (J). Here, when they were surrounded by Soviet soldiers, the village vice-mayor saw that the situation had reached its worst—again. Sumiko remembered that after he had gathered all the surviving colonists in the stable, he first shot his wife and children to death. The following is a passage from Sumiko's memoir. (The book's title, *I Will Take You to the Land of the Buddha,* is the last thing that she remembers telling her two children before they were killed.)

> By the time I entered the stable with Akira [her son] and Reiko [her daughter], [the vice-mayor] had already killed most of my fellow colonists and their children. I gave my children the last candies and told them, "I will take you to the land of the Buddha, so you do what I tell you to do." "Who is in the land of the Buddha?" asked Akira. "Your grandma. You can also eat as much steamed white rice as you want." My kids both smiled. "O.K., then, take me, but how do I get there?" Akira asked. "You must put your hands together like this." Facing the east, I put my hands together. I made Reiko sit on my right side and Akira on my left. Immediately, I heard the sound of gunshots that [the vice-mayor] had fired. Like a rabbit, Reiko jumped about two meters. Akira too died instantly, vomiting a lot of blood. Their faces, which looked straight at me, and the sight of their bodies have frequently flashed across my mind since then. I cleared away their bodies. It was my turn. "I will go with you," I said to my children. I said [to the village vice-

> mayor], "Please," and straightened my posture. I put my hands together and closed my eyes. I don't remember whether I chanted a prayer, called out my parents' names, or apologized to my husband for dying before him. Then, a Soviet tank pushed its way into the stable, firing guns. I don't know whether I was lucky or not, but the tank gun shot the vice-mayor, who was supposed to shoot me. He tapped on my leg and told me, "Run." But the tank approached me, and I could not move. The corpses were already piled up to the ceiling, and those who were still alive could not move, for they were in shock. I fainted. I do not know for how long I lay there. I woke up as if from a horrendous nightmare. The entire stable was filled with corpses. I raised my head and saw a child of Mrs. Maebara's still alive. He was leaning on a wall and eating a piece of half-rotten [horse] meat. . . . I pinched the back of my hand and found it strange to be alive. I looked around again and saw my two kids dead. I told myself, "I could not die with them. Perhaps it is my fate to live." I killed my children, but I was pregnant with my third. In fact, this child was already dead, but I did not know that. (Takayama 1987:133–135).

Sumiko's memoir suggests that compulsory group suicide involved several layers of power relationships: the vice-mayor was more powerful than Sumiko, parents were more powerful than children, and women and the elderly never "voluntarily" killed themselves. "I killed my children," therefore, reveals her genuine remorse for her action, from which she would never be able to free herself. Yet I believe the fact that she herself did not decide to kill them, and that she did not kill them by her own hands, enabled her to pen her autobiography.

Many repatriate memoirs refer to the now well-known incidents of compulsory group suicides that occurred in Manchuria shortly after the war's end. While the repatriates were still on their way to Japan, these were simply rumors they heard at the refugee camps. But by the time they wrote their memoirs, they were historical facts. The authors refer to these incidents to measure the degree of their own suffering. Interestingly, they hardly ever question why some executioners of compulsory group suicides survived. Instead, they emphasize that even though they killed their fellow compatriots, the executioners had no wish to live but survived *accidentally*. The repatriate memoirs were written solely by those who expected to be killed but who for one reason or another survived, or by those who heard and/or read the stories of compulsory group suicides.

The Kwantung Army

In his memoir, Gotō tries to recall "a strange train" that he happened to see four days before Japan's capitulation: all the people who boarded this train were Japanese women and children. Months later, in conversation

with a man at the refugee camp in Fushun, he discovered that they were the wives and children of high-ranking officers of the Kwantung Army; the army apparently knew that the end of the Asia-Pacific War was imminent (1978:30–33, 108–110). At this point, Gotō keenly felt that he and his fellow agrarian settlers had been "abandoned" by the Japanese state: "each time I reached a city [during the journey of repatriation], I discovered that Japanese policemen as well as soldiers had already deserted the place. . . . We were trying to flee northern Manchuria, but the Kwantung Army destroyed every bridge to block the advancement of Soviet troops into southern Manchuria. Consequently we were unable to cross the rivers" (ibid.: 157–158; see also Takayama 1987:123–124). When Sumiko reached Harbin and found the house of a Japanese army officer already vacated, she realized that "these Japanese officers already knew the outcome of Japan's surrender." When she finally reached the train station, she saw Japanese soldiers boarding the first train to arrive, leaving her and other settlers behind; most of them were women, children, and the elderly (Takayama 1987:120; also interview in 1991). The Japanese military officers who were caught in the confusion and were unable to leave Manchuria dramatically changed their attitude once Japan surrendered; they began flattering the local authorities. They welcomed the Russian soldiers when the latter entered Changchun (formerly Xinjing). They also welcomed the Chinese soldiers, whether they were Nationalists or Communists (Yasui 1978:102).[16]

Describing these situations, the authors of *hikiage-mono* often use the term *kimin*, "the abandoned people," to refer to the Japanese stranded abroad in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. They were abandoned by the Japanese state or, more specifically, the Kwantung Army.[17] Thus, the term implies a sense of betrayal that many overseas Japanese keenly felt during the liminal time-space in which they were without the Japanese state's protection. Note that upon surrender, the Japanese state lost the power to control the fate of its own citizens. For this reason, the Japanese stranded in Manchuria had to rely on either the Soviet, Chinese Communist, or Chinese Nationalist authorities, depending on where they happened to be in their escape journeys from Manchuria. In this liminal time-space, the Japanese state did not have the capacity to make any decisions. What troubled "the abandoned people," however, is that in their perception, the Japanese state did not even consider making appropriate decisions. It is this failure that the authors of repatriate memoirs bitterly resent.

Some authors try to see beyond the Kwantung Army and the Japanese state in an effort to pinpoint the ultimate victimizer who abandoned them. Though not a former agrarian settler, Wakatsuki Yasuo, a young repatriate from China proper, is one such author. He is still clearly resentful of the Kwantung Army, which, before the war's end, tried to repatriate about

thirty-five thousand military officers and their families and personnel from the SMR, the Manchukuo government, and the Japanese Embassy, as well as about twenty-three thousand members and families of large Japanese corporations (1995:315–316). Nevertheless, he writes, in every part of the Japanese Empire, the Japanese military took exactly the same actions toward the end of the Asia-Pacific War. Such actions, he states, were part of the inherent nature of the Japanese military, which was created not for Japanese citizens but for the Japanese emperor. Furthermore, he writes, if the army of a defeated country had continued to fight to protect its citizens, there would have been many more (Japanese) victims. While Wakatsuki was of the opinion that the Kwantung Army and the Japanese state deserved to be criticized, those who should truly be blamed were the Soviet troops who occupied Manchuria at the conclusion of the war (ibid.:326). To support his view, Wakatsuki cites Articles 43 and 46 of the Hague Convention, which was concluded in 1907 among the major imperial powers of Europe, the United States, and Japan.[18] The Soviets, Wakatsuki claims, failed to protect the honor, rights, and lives of Japanese civilians, ignoring their safety by creating chaos; as a result, many Japanese women were raped and killed by Soviet soldiers in Manchuria (ibid.:327–328).

Victims of Rape

On July 17, 1946, *Nishi Nippon shinbun* (Western Japan news) published "a public notice" that encouraged repatriated women who suspected that they had been impregnated by any of Japan's enemies to report to nearby clinics at the ports of entry. The notice portrayed these women as the fragile victims of empire who had survived by giving up their bodies to Japan's enemies but who dared not confess their "secrets" to their parents or husbands (article quoted in Kamitsubo 1979:181–183). According to Kamitsubo Takashi, the Japanese state called such pregnancies "illegal pregnancies" (*fuhō ninshin*); if children were born of such pregnancies, they would harm the national (and therefore legal) integrity of Japan. Thus women who had been *illegally* impregnated underwent painful abortion procedures without anesthesia (ibid.:167–209; Jin'no 1992:188–191; Watt 2002:82–96).[19] Here "enemies" mean "Manchurian bandits" and "Russian soldiers." Yet I have found that the Japanese nation collectively remembers only the latter as "the enemy (rapist)" of its women. For this reason Gotō admires the Chinese, who did not rape even the nearly naked Japanese women in his settlement of Sihetun, and Wakatsuki views the Russians as the ultimate victimizers of the Japanese. After Japan's capitulation, however, many Chinese men "bought" Japanese women as their wives. Postwar Japan does not remember these men as "rapists" but as "saviors," making us wonder what differentiates "rape" from the sexual intercourse sanctioned by a marriage that is forced upon a Japanese refugee

woman (see Furukubo 1999; Ogawa 1995; Suzuki 1992). Hence, in the repatriate memoirs, the perpetrators of rape are the Russians; in one single case, the perpetrator is a Chinese (Yasui 1978:187), and in another single case, a Japanese (Kuriwaki 1981).

To my knowledge, none of the victims of rape committed by Russians has ever written a memoir, but the authors of memoirs often write *about* such victims. In such cases, the author's gender determines the narrative style. Female authors stress that they used their own resourcefulness to avoid rapists. At a refugee camp for Japanese, Sumiko writes, "hairy men" destroyed the gate to the refugee camp in search of young women. They came to the camp almost every night, and stories of women who had been dragooned, raped, and killed by Russian soldiers spread quickly. Sumiko also heard the screams of one such woman. To protect herself, Sumiko hid in the attic every night after dark. Since she took a large bucket—a portable toilet—with her, she could spend many hours in the attic without going downstairs. One day, when a group of women made a commotion at the sight of Russian soldiers, one soldier fired his gun through the ceiling, the bullet nearly striking Sumiko as it passed through her hair and scalp. Although half of her hair fell out, her life and honor were luckily saved (Takayama 1987:154–155).

Another female author who succeeded in guarding her honor is Yasui Tomoko. At the time of the Soviet invasion, she was alone in Xinjing (Changchun) with her four children, as her husband had already been drafted. Anticipating an onslaught by Russian soldiers, she built a barricade at the entrance to her apartment. One day, when her children were away playing, "a huge Soviet soldier" charged through the barricade and chased her upstairs. Using her wits, she invited him in while remaining outside and immediately locked the door behind him. She then ran to a neighbor's house and stayed there for several days. Fortunately, she did not see this soldier again (Yasui 1978:103). On yet another occasion of an unexpected visit by Russian soldiers, Yasui was with several other women in her apartment. All the other women were childless. "When we realized [the soldiers] were coming, I placed one of my children on my lap and held him fast. Others did the same, each holding one of my other children. A child was indeed the best shield. I pinched my child's buttocks to make him cry. One soldier, apparently irritated by the child's crying, exclaimed [in Russian, something like], "Shut up; give him candy." I pointed to his tummy, pretending that he had a tummy ache and that he would not eat any thing. I then pinched his buttocks harder. The soldiers, all disgruntled, soon left my place" (ibid.:176–177). In these passages, the reader is able to see the faces of the assailants and learn that they offered the women space and time to come up with a way to protect themselves from attack.

In contrast, male authors are invariably observers of the aftermath of

an alleged rape. Thus, Hiramoto Noriyuki, a Japanese demilitarized soldier who happened to be at the hospital to which the victims were brought, writes the following: "About ten women, whose ages ranged from twelve or thirteen to about twenty, were brought to the hospital on stretchers. I did not dare look at them. They were all stark naked. The girls who had not yet developed pubic hair had vaginas swollen and purple. Their thighs were smeared in their own blood. They were groaning in agony, but I could not understand what they were saying" (quoted in Wakatsuki 1995:126). Another male author estimates the number of raped women at 30,000–40,000 (Takeda Shigetarō, quoted in Watt 2002:47).

Among the male authors of repatriate memiors, Gotō came closest to actually witnessing incidents of rape. These incidents took place in the village of Sihetun on September 8, 1945, when a group of Russian soldiers came to confiscate weapons that the settlers still possessed. Pairs of Soviet soldiers began inspecting the settlers' houses. Almost all the colonists had already vacated their houses and gathered in an open field, quietly watching the soldiers steal weapons and valuable household items. Two housewives, however, were late coming out of their houses, and they were trapped inside during the inspection. It is these women who were allegedly raped by the soldiers. Although Gotō did not witness a crime, he tries to protect the honor of these two women, but he does so by making them eventually "disappear" in his memoir. One of the husbands, he writes, tried to kill one of the attackers. Gotō's job was to prevent him from doing so in order to save everyone else in the colony: "I told him, 'I know you are eager to kill him, but this time only, please be patient. If you go into the house and kill him, you may feel better, but what will happen to your wife and us? If you kill him, his army will kill us all. So, please, please, do not move from here.' I bowed to him again and again but felt really sick inside, having nothing else to tell him" (Gotō 1978:106). The couple in question apparently left the group soon after this incident; they do not reappear in Gotō's memoir.

Gotō later gives voice to another woman, whose husband was absent at the time of the above-mentioned incident as he had already been mobilized by the military. This woman later confided her "secret" to Gotō's wife at a refugee camp for the Japanese in Fushun. Gotō apparently overheard the dialogue between the two women and recorded it in his autobiography:

> WOMAN: I am so afraid of returning home.
> GOTŌ'S WIFE: Why?
> WOMAN: Well, you know what happened. . . .
> WIFE: What was that?
> WOMAN: Something that happened in our settlement of Shigōton (J), don't you remember? Soviet soldiers came and [silence]. When I think of what happened to me then, I cannot go on with my life.

> Even if I manage to return to Japan, I dreadfully fear facing my husband again.
>
> WIFE: I truly understand you, but you kept you honor, didn't you?
>
> WOMAN: Yes, I sort of. . . .

At this moment, Gotō, who knew that she had indeed been raped, intervened and told the woman the following: "You could not help it. No one could help it. It was a battlefield. What happened to you is just the same as what happened to any soldier in the battlefield—a wound he would sustain for the rest of his life. I am sure your husband will understand" (Gotō 1978:227–228). Gotō writes that this woman died a few months later of an epidemic disease. Her husband is found nowhere in his memoir.

Some authors of repatriate memoirs suggest that there were Japanese "professional women" in Manchuria who were "willing" to protect the "innocent" Japanese women. For example, Yamamoto Kiyoko writes the following: "Since [we heard that] the Russian soldiers would attack and rape us, all of us women shaved our heads and wore men's work clothes. Even so, we heard, they would rape us. Hence those who were willing to sacrifice their bodies for us, such as former geisha or women who used to work at bars, ended up going with the Soviet soldiers. Behind their backs, we clasped our hands in prayer and called them *tokkōtai* (kamikaze, or suicide pilots)" (1981:550).

Another narrative of this sort comes from the memoir of Komiya Kiyoshi. At the time described, Komiya, then an eleven-year-old boy, was living in the city of Liaoyang with his mother. "A group of Soviet military officers came to visit our neighborhood with a Chinese interpreter. These officers then asked the head of our neighborhood to provide them with several Japanese women. Of course, our neighborhood head was against the idea of offering them war widows or young single women, so he managed to gather some 'professional women' and sent them to the house where these officers were staying. My mother told me, 'Because of those women, we can sleep without worry.' She also said that those women became breakwaters for us" (1990:145–146). These authors equate the "professional women" with suicide pilots and breakwaters and believe that they went willingly to serve the Russian soldiers. Yet these "professional women," as far as I know, have never penned their own memoirs.

In 2006, however, I read an article by Furukubo Sakura (1999) that alerted me to a memoir written by Kuriwaki Tatsu (1981). Tatsu was not an agrarian settler but had lived in Xinjing as a young single woman at the time of the Soviet invasion. After the war's end, she left the city, joined the Japanese refugees, and fled to Yizhou, where she lived in a school dormitory with hundreds of other Japanese. Here she was raped. In her case, however, she was raped by the Japanese head of the refugee camp.

> One day, I went to an outdoor toilet as usual. Someone was following me, but it was pitch dark. I then realized that it was the head of the dormitory, Mr. Hirayama. He grabbed my right arm and took me to a remote place. My protests were in vain. I knew I had to follow him [as our leader], but I had never dreamt of following him in this particular manner. I was locked in a small room afterward. I was nothing but a doll for this man's sexual desire. Since he brought me food every day, I did not have to work. But when I thought of my sister and her two children [who were with her in the dormitory at this time], I did not know what to do. (1981:645–646)

While Tatsu was raped by a Japanese man, her sister was brutally attacked and raped by a Russian soldier. In this case, the rapist's superior sent her to a hospital, where she received ample treatment. Nevertheless, she died in June 1946. Her children died of malnutrition soon after their mother's death (Kuriwaki 1981:646–647). Tatsu herself tried to flee from Hirayama several times, first in Manchuria and then back in Japan, but in vain. Eventually she agreed to marry him, gave birth to four children, and led a life surrounded by offspring who "were all born out of a loveless marriage" (ibid.:654). But in the end, Tatsu survived while her sister vanished.

Epidemics

It is now a historical truism that epidemics killed the largest number of Japanese stranded in Manchuria. In this respect, epidemics were far worse than Manchurian bandits or Russian soldiers. At every shelter for the Japanese, typhoid, measles, dysentery, diphtheria, cholera, and tuberculosis spread like wildfire. The victims were predominantly the young and the old. Even those who survived an epidemic suffered afterward from malnutrition, and often died anyway. Sumiko notes that of about 4,500 Japanese refugees at one shelter about 3,000 had died of epidemic diseases by the spring of 1946 (Takayama 1987:164). Gotō also writes that measles was rampant among the Japanese refugees in Harbin, where his daughter succumbed to the disease. He then moved to Fushun with his wife and son to join another group of about 3,700 Japanese refugees. This time, typhoid spread quickly among them. Between November 1945 and June 1946, about 2,000 refugees died of the disease (1978:215–225). Gotō himself remained relatively healthy, largely because he had already suffered from typhoid and was immune to it. Thus, his job was to take care of the dead:

> A team of two, one being myself, went around to every room at the shelter. Standing at the entrance of each room, we would ask, "Has anyone died today?" In a few seconds, someone would raise his arm—an arm of only bones covered with darkened skin—and point to the dead. We

> would then walk over a couple of bodies [of sick men and women] and reach a corpse. Since the body was already cold, we saw thousands of lice moving over the body of someone else, someone who was still alive and warm. We repeated the same task every day. Still, it was extremely difficult to distinguish the dead from those who were alive. (ibid.: 222)

Gotō and several other men who had the energy to move around buried about thirty corpses every day. During the winter, however, they could not dig deep enough for burial, but the snow that had fallen upon the bodies froze them anyway. When the snow melted, it became a major task for them to deal with the corpses again. With the help of Chinese soldiers, Gotō writes, they transported thousands of dead bodies to the riverbank and burned them (ibid.: 242–243).

Since epidemics attacked the young in particular, mothers vividly remember their children's suffering. In her memoir, Yasui records the voice of a woman whom she met on her journey of escape. This woman's child died in an epidemic on board a packed train: "Holding my child tightly, I cried and cried. I wanted to hold him forever. All the other mothers, however, were afraid that their children would contract the same disease. Hence when the train was about to pass the bridge, they asked me to throw the body into the river" (1978:165). In one of the collections of essays compiled by the Fujimi women's group, Hisayo writes, "I covered the face of my son with a scarf. As the soil was completely frozen, my neighbors could not properly bury him. But later I wondered, and I still wonder, whether he might have still been alive then and whether he is still alive today somewhere in China (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1984:88). While it is quite unlikely that Hisayo's son survived in post-colonial China, many mothers who gave up their children to Chinese families still think that they will someday find them alive.

The Sale of Japanese Children

> My husband came home one day and told me, "Go and see what is going on at the Kamo (J) elementary school. The Japanese refugees are selling their children to the Chinese." I could not believe his story but went to the school anyway half out of curiosity. Indeed, I saw the Chinese buyers, wearing backpacks, wandering among the Japanese refugees. The refugees, all women and children who had fled from their colonies, had nowhere to sleep and nothing to wear. No one was helping them. . . . One woman, who was carrying a small child on her back while holding the hand of another child, was in the midst of negotiations with a Chinese buyer. She sold her son, who was probably two or three years old, for about five hundred yen and her daughter for about two or three hundred yen. The buyer then handed the money to her and took the children

> away from her. The mother patted the shoulder of the older child, telling him, "Make sure to be well taken care of." The other child, who was apparently suffering from malnutrition, walked away while looking back at her again and again. (Yamamoto 1981:553–554).

While showing sympathy for the refugees, Yamamoto, who was not an agrarian colonist, injects a subtle criticism of parents who refused to take responsibility for the fate of their own children.

Sumiko also observed children being sold: "Those Manchurians brought warm and big dumplings and other food items to the shelter," and only the Japanese who either gave up their children to them or consented to marry them could have those dumplings (Takayama 1987:162). Similarly, Gotō writes, "The Chinese wanted to buy our children because they thought Japanese children were really smart. They visited from one room to another [at the shelter], asking us refugees to sell our children. The Chinese who had already bought Japanese children made them wear pretty clothes and makeup and had them hold dumplings in their hands. I think they were showing them off to us" (1978:237). Gotō recalls that the price of one Japanese child ranged from ten to twenty yen, but he also writes that it might have been from one to two hundred yen. Gotō remembers that the price of a bowl of rice with a cup of soup cost about fifty sen in Manchuria. Since fifty sen was equivalent to half a yen, some Japanese children were indeed quite cheap. In extreme circumstances, parents are said to have sold their children for a potato (Ōkubo 2004:64). The parents of such "cheap" children might have been too sick to care for them, and they might have thought that as long as the children were taken care of, they might as well give them up for nothing to Chinese buyers.

The sale of children also meant the sale of young women. At the time that Sachiko and her family were in the hospital in May 1946, "several women wearing beautiful Chinese dresses" visited her mother. Knowing that she had "as many as four daughters," the women had come to ask her to relinquish them to Chinese families. They reassured Sachiko's mother by saying, "We are happy as we have been well treated by the Manchurian families." These women, Sachiko writes, were Japanese. For lack of any alternative, they had married Chinese citizens. Sachiko's mother did not listen to them and retorted that she would take care of her family without any assistance from the Manchurians (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1995:17).

At the time of my interview with her in 1991, Sumiko told me of the custom of *baibai-kon*, the sale and purchase of brides among the Chinese in Northeast China. Since a Chinese man customarily "purchased" a bride, a poor or disabled man could not afford to marry. Thus, in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation, such men looked among the Japanese

women for "free brides." Sumiko writes that several Manchurian men approached her during her solitary journey of repatriation. Each one of them asked her to marry him in exchange for food and shelter. One of them was a Manchurian soldier. He told her, "Since Japan has surrendered, you must marry me" (Takayama 1987:151). While Sumiko rejected each offer, she writes of a fellow settler from Kōsha-gō (J), another survivor of compulsory group suicide, who married a Chinese man. This woman eventually returned to Nagano in 1953, only to discover that her first (Japanese) husband had already remarried. Consequently, she had no recourse other than to return to China (ibid.:145). As far as I know, no one among the Japanese who had sold their children penned a memoir: only those who had fulfilled their responsibility as parents did so.

The Will to Live

It is amazing to a reader of the repatriate memoirs that throughout their journeys of repatriation, the Japanese refugees remained quite talkative, even when they were at death's door. Gotō writes, "Once we had become accustomed to life at the shelter [in Fushun], we began to talk, while cooking in the courtyard or lying on the bare floor of the room assigned to us. Not one of us could keep silent. Instead, we wanted to tell our stories, our experiences after the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. Each time I heard someone else's story, I realized that my suffering was not even comparable to his suffering or that my story would not be worth telling to him" (1978:202).

For the Japanese refugees stranded in Manchuria, the only sources of information were their fellow refugees; they had to exchange every possible rumor to assess the present and predict the future. In this context, *kokkuri-san* appeared everywhere refugees gathered. A *kokkuri-san* is a Japanese person (himself or herself a refugee) whose body is believed to be inhabited by "spirits." Hence such a person, who could be an adult or a child, was thought to be able to predict the future. Thus, Yasui gave "a piece of fried bean curd" to such a person, a boy aged about twelve, and asked whether her husband was still alive. He told her that he was still alive somewhere to the west, and then he demanded an offering of either noodles or ham (1978:178–189). For the refugees, then, the *kokkuri-san* was a source of not only diversion but also hope.[20] Although Yasui wanted to laugh at this boy (since she knew he liked both noodles and ham), she was happy to cling to his words, which turned out to be true.

Refugees who stayed in shelters did not stay there all day long. Those who were relatively healthy woke up early, went to work, and did not return until dark. Sumiko writes that rich Japanese from the city were lazy, egotistical (refusing to share their warm clothes with others), and always complaining about the weather (Takayama 1987:159). Sumiko presents herself

as a woman who was far more resilient and resourceful. She went out to the street daily, scavenging among the trash that Chinese people threw by the roadside. After leaving the hospital site for fear of another attack by Manchurian bandits, Aki and one of her brothers, who pretended to be a married couple, worked for the owner of a bean curd shop. Her two younger brothers, aged nine and seven, tended pigs at a nearby farm. When her mother got sick, Aki went to town to buy soybean paste and garlic to feed her (Fujimi-chō Fujin-kai 1984:86–87). Other settlers worked as street vendors of bread, noodles, dumplings, *natto* (fermented beans), bicycle tires, and old kimono sashes (Yasui 1978:75–76, 89, 168).

In addition, some young refugees were willing to be mobilized by the Chinese troops in exchange for food. Sumiko, for example, was lucky enough to be recruited as a nurse for the Chinese Nationalist Army. She accompanied one battalion and took care of the wounded soldiers. Yet she was afraid of losing the chance to return home, so one day she told the army doctor, who happened to speak Japanese, that she was pregnant. The following day she was released from the army camp (Takayama 1987:168–169). Kikuchi Kazuo, a young demilitarized soldier, was mobilized by the Chinese Communist troops. In this case, however, the soldiers turned out to be just bandits. Kikuchi and his (Japanese) companion were with these bandits for several days before the friend managed to gather enough money to win their release. The bandits released them the following day (Kikuchi 2000:78–79).

In postwar Japan, one often hears the term *hikiage-sha seishin*, or "the spirit of [Japanese] repatriates." Because I had been exposed to the postwar "theory of Japaneseness" (*nihonjin-ron*), which centers on concepts such as *wa* (harmony), I had long understood *hikiage-sha seishin* to mean the spirit of harmony among the Japanese who were stranded in the former empire: they cooperated willingly with one another in order to realize their goal of returning home. Indeed, the official history of Japanese repatriation invokes such a spirit of harmony by neglecting the issue of tensions among repatriates. Yet while reading the repatriate memoirs, I began to realize that *hikiage-sha seishin* means something entirely different. It refers to the strong will of each individual Japanese to fulfill his or her goal of repatriation. To that end, refugees were willing to do anything, including sell their children or deceive—and even kill—their compatriots. It is this spirit that eventually enabled the strongest to return home.

The Suffering of Repatriates and the Japanese State

The agrarian colonists, themselves the victims of economic depression at home, "carried the state with them" to Manchuria. Then many of them suffered after Japan's capitulation and lost their loved ones before finally

reaching their mother villages. Thus, what distinguishes the repatriate memoirs most prominently from the official discourse of Japanese repatriation is that the authors harshly criticize how the Japanese state treated them after the fall of the Japanese Empire. At the same time, they had to rely on this same state to survive in postwar Japan. In this respect, a poem by Sumiko, a survivor of compulsory group suicide, is insightful:

> Japan was finally defeated in the war.
> My friends were killed in front of my eyes.
> Their piled-up bodies emitted a horrible odor.
> The dead were all genuine patriots.
> They all died for the sake of our country.
> They were different in age and positions.
> The life of each one of them had an equal value.
> Did the [Japanese] state do something honorable
> For the dead children of agrarian colonists?
> The state gave me a total of fifteen thousand yen
> To compensate for the deaths of Akira and Reiko.
> The state paid me this [small] amount of money
> Over a period of ten years.
> Are the lives of my children worth only fifteen thousand yen?
> The Japanese state, I heard, gave our property in China
> To the Chinese government as part of war indemnities.
> The state paid us nothing [for our lost property]. (Takayama 1987: 220–221)

In this poem, Sumiko has remarkably transformed herself from a victim who could not identify the victimizer to a plaintiff who could identify the victimizer, and she points to the Japanese state.[21] Yet as a plaintiff, she asks the Japanese state to compensate her for the loss of her children, her property, and part of her life, thereby asking the same state to protect her again.

In *The Victim as Hero*, James Orr (2001) has beautifully documented the process, at the national level, in which repatriates transform themselves from "victim" to "hero." Although the U.S. Occupation Forces established "an impartial social security system" for all Japanese citizens in need of welfare, after the end of the occupation, the Japanese state reinstated "veterans' pensions, aid for disabled veterans, and assistance to bereaved families" (Orr 2001:140; see also Tanaka Nobumasa, Tanaka Hiroshi, and Hata Nagami 1995). Following the precedent set by the veterans, bereaved families, and landlords (who claimed to be victims of a U.S.-led land reform), repatriates formed a powerful lobby, the National Federation of Repatriate Groups (Hikiagesha Dantai Zenkoku Rengōkai), known as Zenren. Zenren claimed that the repatriates' experiences as victims were equally traumatic;

like veterans and bereaved families, they had physically suffered, and like landlords, they had lost property. Such experiences, Zenren further claimed, represent a special service to the Japanese nation. Hence repatriates should be entitled to "special treatment," including honoraria, solatia, and compensation (ibid.:141). Thus, in both 1957 and 1967, repatriates received compensation from the Japanese state. In exchange, they dropped "their open disparagement of the wartime government's continental expansion policy and put a positive spin on their cooperation with that policy" (ibid.: 165–166).[22] Describing this cultural condition in postwar Japan, Orr has invented the phrase "the mythologies of victimhood" (ibid.:139). Such mythologies refer to a sense that quickly spread among the Japanese after the end of the occupation in 1952—i.e., most Japanese were more or less the victims of the Asia-Pacific War. With compensation from the state, the repatriates became part of "the mythologies of victimhood" by reaffirming their loyalty to the postwar Japanese state.

We must bear in mind, however, that certain Japanese groups and individuals have voluntarily excluded themselves from this community of sufferers by not writing memoirs. It is not that these people did not suffer; to the contrary, they may have suffered more, both physically and emotionally, than the authors of repatriate memoirs, yet they have chosen not to let other Japanese know of their suffering. These people include the following: (1) Japanese women who were raped by Russian soldiers; (2) Japanese "professional women" who sacrificed their bodies to the Russians; (3) Japanese parents who sold their children to the Chinese; and (4) Japanese who killed their compatriots as part of compulsory group suicides but accidentally survived themselves. In other words, these are the women who were "dishonored" and "soiled" and the women and men who abandoned their responsibility as parents, neighbors, and friends. At the same time, the authors of repatriate memoirs have excluded from the community of sufferers the Japanese state employees and their families who escaped Manchuria ahead of the other Japanese. Moreover, at the conclusions of the memoirs, Japanese children who were sold to Chinese individuals and Japanese women who were forced to marry Chinese men were left in China, both physically and figuratively. Only when they proved their Japanese nationality and returned to Japan were they reintegrated into the community of Japanese sufferers (see chapter 4). In contrast, the authors of memoirs invited the Japanese who killed their compatriots as part of compulsory group suicides into the community, along with Japanese women raped by Japanese men.[23]

Why did so many repatriates write memoirs that were merely a slice of their entire life histories? Did they want to tell the world how much they suffered? Did they want to uncover the meaning of their suffering? Did they want to seek compensation for their suffering from the state?

Did they want to educate Japanese youth who had no personal experience of war? Or did they want to be reintegrated into postwar Japanese society? I believe that they wanted all these things and thus wrote only abbreviated autobiographies. At the same time, this particular genre of memoirs often makes us question the authenticity of the memories presented.[24] We often become skeptical of such memories, according to Hannah Arendt, because the events that trauma victims—repatriates in this case—experienced tend to "evade human understanding" (1973:439). Hence the victims of severely traumatic events—repatriation in this case—emotionally repeat what is for them a still present past (LaCapra 1996:xii; see also Levi 1959, 1965). We should therefore oppose a simple questioning of the authenticity of the repatriate memoirs, for such a practice may facilitate our inclination to blame the victims. Nonetheless, a "dry historical construction of facts" does not present a solution (LaCapra 1996:59). One solution that I present here, temporarily for now, is to continue remembering the Japanese colonization of Manchuria together with the repatriates, for both what they remembered and forgot seem to offer some valuable historical lessons for us.[25]

In chapter 4 we will once again take up the sale of Japanese children, one of the major themes of the repatriate memoirs, as those who had been sold to Chinese couples began returning to Japan in the mid-1970s. The chapter aims to chronicle the encounters between these children and their long-lost parents in the 1980s and '90s, in a country caught in the wave of globalization.

4
Memory Map 3

Orphans' Memories

Modern wars always result in a large number of orphans. The last war that Japan fought in Asia and the Pacific is no exception. *Sensō koji* (war orphans) were the youngest of the war victims, and they involuntarily participated in the making of an empire. In postwar Japan, war orphans are usually associated with the U.S. bombings of major cities in Japan. The bombings deprived over one hundred thousand children of their parents and homes.[1] They were therefore forced to live "in railroad stations, under trestles and railway overpasses, in abandoned ruins," and they captured the attention of writers and filmmakers in postwar Japan (Dower 1999:62–63). While these war orphans had never left Japan proper, other children were orphaned in Japan's overseas territories. The MHW estimates the number of these orphans—who returned from Manchuria, the Philippines, Korea, and Saipan in the immediate postwar period—at three thousand (Kōsei-shō 1978:134–135; 1997:401; see also Kaneda 2002;171).[2] Those who had places to go in Japan (usually to relatives) were lucky. For others who had no relatives to join, the U.S. Occupation Forces, the MHW, and private aid groups built temporary orphanages, using school buildings or temples, near the ports of entry.

One such orphanage, Seifuku-ryō, was built sometime in the fall of 1945 near the port of Hakata in Fukuoka Prefecture. Located on the compound of a Buddhist temple, it became home to 162 orphans, 118 of whom had returned from Manchuria.[3] Among them was a boy named Mae Kōichirō. His short biographical records indicate that Kōichirō returned to Hakata in 1946 from Harbin, where he had already been interned in an orphanage. His mother, the wife of an agrarian colonist, died from an unknown cause while she was in Manchuria. His father, who had been drafted into the Japanese army, was missing at the time of Kōichirō's return. The boy spent a couple of months at Seifuku-ryō, waiting in vain for the return of his father. In the meantime, the MHW had located the child's grandparents on his mother's side and entrusted Kōichirō to them. In 1952, however, his father, who had been a POW in a labor camp in Siberia, unexpectedly returned to Japan. Thus, Kōichirō was finally and happily reunited with his father.

In comparison to Kōichirō's story, the story of Abe Misako, another child who was repatriated from Manchuria and interned at Seifuku-ryō,

is more tragic. Her biography suggests that her parents and siblings all died in Manchuria, and Misako was already suffering from a life-threatening disease. Although she made it to Japan, she died forty-nine days after her return. No relative claimed her ashes. According to Kamitsubo Takashi, the biographical records of such orphans are brief and incomplete (1979:54, 58). Still, they tell us much about the end of empire and its impact on the lives of overseas Japanese children.

Here let me return to the repatriate memoirs, which I discussed in chapter 3. During her escape from Xinjing, Yasui Tomoko met the wife of a Japanese agrarian settler who told her the following story. "We [mothers] gathered the children who could no longer walk around one big tree. With long strings that we managed to find, we tied each child to this tree. [The strings were long enough so that the children could walk around the tree.] Next, we scattered candy and crackers around the tree. We prayed that they could live for at least another few days, during which time some good-hearted Chinese people might save them" (1978:164). If "some good-hearted Chinese people" saved them, these children must be living somewhere in China today. If in 1945 they were old enough to remember what happened, they must still have some recollections of their mothers. In turn, if their mothers survived and managed to return home, they will never forget the children they tied to a tree. Unlike Kōichirō and Misako, however, these children stayed overseas. Hence, the Japanese public, which had never left Japan proper, soon forgot about them. In the following section, before discussing the orphans themselves, I must therefore digress slightly to discuss the amnesia that made them disappear from consideration.

Amnesia and Altered Memories

In 1965, journalist Ide Magoroku received an invitation from the Chinese state to visit the country. Still seven years before the resumption of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, only those who were officially invited could travel to China. Furthermore, foreign visitors had to follow an itinerary set by the Chinese authorities. Among the places Ide and his fellow journalists visited was the city of Anshan, which is known for a steel industry built during the Manchukuo era. On board the train on their return to Beijing at the conclusion of their visit, they heard a woman saying clearly in Japanese, "Please take care of yourselves, good-bye." She was apparently standing apart from a Chinese crowd that had come to say goodbye to the journalists. Ide was stunned to hear the voice of a Japanese woman in this Chinese town in Northeast China but could not see her from the train window. Although he wondered whether it was at all possible for a Japanese to live in Anshan in 1965, he could not connect the woman's voice to Japan's imperial past, much less to the approximately thirty thousand

Japanese then living in Northeast China. Born in Nagano in 1931, Ide vividly remembered his friends and neighbors emigrating from his hometown to Manchuria as agrarian settlers or brigade members. He himself left home for Tokyo as a student. In 1965, he was utterly ignorant of the presence of Japanese in China. It was only after 1972, Ide writes, that he fully realized the scope of Japanese imperialism in China and its relationship to the Japanese children left in Manchuria (1993:13–16).

One might think that this national amnesia would not apply easily to postwar Nagano, to which about seventeen thousand agrarian settlers had returned from Manchuria between 1946 and 1949. Since another fifteen thousand had died in Manchuria or Siberia before 1949, tens of thousands of people in Nagano knew at least one person who had left for Northeast China in the age of empire (NKJMK 1984a:800). Yet even in Nagano, public memories of the children who had been left behind in China after the war's end did not loom large until the early 1970s. Standing in the present (while writing this manuscript), I cannot pinpoint the reason; I can only assume that the returnees from Manchuria, who were deeply preoccupied with rebuilding their lives, had no time to turn their private memories into public memories. Indeed, since the postwar Japanese state's assistance to the returning colonists was far from adequate, they had to rely on a variety of private aid organizations (*engo-kai*) that were set up in Nagano. Note that these organizations originated in the institutions that before Japan's defeat actively promoted Manchurian colonization. Relying on subsidies from local governments, donations, and membership fees, the aid organizations offered the repatriates temporary housing; free furniture, bedding, and other household items; rehabilitation loans; and free health care (NKJMK 1984a:727). These groups were duly aware that the repatriates to Nagano, who were former agrarian settlers, were clearly distinct from all the other repatriates from the former empire; when they returned home, they once again became peasants without land (ibid.:728). Hence the major task was to resettle them onto farmland. Thus, between 1946 and 1955, 4,038 households were resettled onto undeveloped land within Nagano Prefecture, while 1,874 households were resettled in other prefectures (ibid.:736–743).[4]

It is interesting that those who shared their memories in the immediate postwar era were the village notables—the promoters of Manchurian colonization, most of whom had remained in Nagano. These included local government officials, businessmen, labor union leaders, religious leaders, and members of the aforementioned private aid groups. They also included a small number of "overseas Chinese" (*kakyō*) who had lived in Nagano since long before the war's end and an equally small number of former agrarian settlers who had held prominent positions (such as mayor or vice-mayor) in Manchuria. At the same time,

these village notables belonged to the local chapters of national organizations, including the Japanese Red Cross, Manshū Kaitaku Jikōkai (Self-Help Organization for Former Agrarian Colonists in Manchuria; hereafter Jikōkai), and Nit-Chū Yūkō Kyōkai (Sino-Japan Friendship Society; hereafter Yūkō Kyōkai). Curiously, what they remembered was not "Manchuria" but "China" (Chūgoku). As Aki separated "good Chinese" from "bad Manchurians" in remembering the end of the Japanese Empire, these village notables remembered "friendly China," as if "bad Manchurians" had suddenly disappeared from Northeast China. By so doing, they also denied the separation of Manchuria from the rest of China, which they had enthusiastically affirmed in the age of empire.

Such memories are in part due to the presence of the U.S. Occupation Forces in Nagano. Until 1949 the Occupation Forces censored "criticism of Russia, criticism of Koreans, criticism of China, criticisms of other allies, criticism of Japanese treatment in Manchuria, greater East Asian propaganda, black market activities, overplaying starvation, incitement to violence or unrest" (Watt 2002:212–214). Hence the local notables' memories of "friendly China" (instead of the suffering caused by "Manchurian bandits") were greatly tolerated, or perhaps even encouraged. In consequence, these memories became integral to the post-surrender explosion of Japanese people's freedom (Halliday 1975:170, 206).[5] That is, the leftist "thought offenders" were freed. The Communist Party and other leftist organizations were legalized (ibid.:171). Women were given suffrage, and workers were given the right to form labor unions. By the early 1950s, however, this explosion had subsided considerably. After all, the real objective of the occupation of Japan had been "the restoration of Japanese capitalism via an induced 'cleansing' operation, which provided attempts at both the subordination and the integration of Japan into the American empire" (ibid.:170). Thus, the link between the conservative state and the labor federations forged as part of the "anti-Communist drive" gradually changed the memories of the village notables in Nagano (ibid.:218).

Local memories in Nagano of China from 1945 to the 1960s seem to stand on three sets of logic: (1) We (those who remember) understand that tens of thousands of Chinese laborers who were brought to work in poor conditions at various construction sites in Nagano during wartime died in Nagano. To appease their souls, we must return their remains to China (or the PRC after 1949), and we expect China to do the same—that is, return the remains of our loved ones who died in China. (2) We must appease the souls of our compatriots who died in China, particularly in Northeast China. Since we wish to perform memorial services for them in China, we must normalize our relationship with China as soon as possible. (3) After Japan's capitulation, the Chinese people kindly assisted the Japa-

nese agrarian colonists to return home. We shall never forget the friendship they extended to our compatriots. We must also affirm that the friendship is mutual. We therefore situate this friendship in the long history of amicable relations between Japan and China since the ancient era, and we pledge that we shall never wage another war against China. Below I will discuss each of these three sets of logic.

The Chinese Conscripted Laborers Who Died in Nagano

A history of the Chinese laborers who were conscripted by the Japanese military in the age of empire and brought to the mines and construction sites in Japan to perform heavy labor has not yet been written. This is largely because the postwar Japanese state deliberately forgot them, denying until 1993 the existence of official documents on the so-called *kajin rōmusha* (Chinese conscripted laborers).[6] Nevertheless, in the immediate postwar era, several labor union leaders in Nagano (and in other prefectures to which the Chinese were brought) tried to remember them. They were later joined by a group of scholars. Thanks to them, the following has been revealed.

Since 1942, Japan had mobilized 169 groups of Chinese—41,762 people—in China and brought them to Japan. Among them 2,893 died before boarding ship for Japan. The large number of deaths is understandable, given that many of these Chinese were kidnapped in areas where Nationalist movements were strong. In other words, they were treated harshly from the very beginning of their abduction. On the ships to Japan, 584 more died, and another 230 died before reaching work sites in Japan. The rest were sent to 135 locations throughout Japan and worked under extremely poor conditions. At these sites, 5,999 more Chinese died of diseases, injuries, and malnutrition. Furthermore, 1,169 Chinese were remobilized and taken from Japan to Manchukuo. When we subtract the number of Chinese who died after Japan's capitulation and who have been missing since then, the number of Chinese who remained in Japan at the time of Japan's surrender was 30,737.

Of the conscripted Chinese, 1,521 had been brought to Nagano; 182 of them died before the summer of 1945 (NKJMK 1984a:777–778). Under instructions from the U.S. Occupation Forces, the Japanese state deported the survivors back to China immediately after the war's end because both the Occupation Forces and the Japanese state wanted to be rid of them to avoid an additional administrative burden (see Dower 1999:54; Watt 2002:97–98).[7]

In a labor strike in 1950, the workers at an electronics company in Nagano accused the employer of having "massacred" the company's Chinese laborers at a dam construction site along the Kiso River before the war's end (NKJMK 1984a:774). The Nagano chapter of Japan's Com-

munist Party reported this strike widely. In 1953, a committee was set up to appease the souls of the Chinese laborers who had died in Nagano. This committee, which consisted of the leaders of labor unions and religious organizations, overseas Chinese, and local members of the Japanese Red Cross, immediately began a search for the remains of the Chinese victims. In 1954, the Japanese Red Cross invited Li Dequan, head of the Chinese Red Cross, to Japan and returned to her the remains of twenty-four Chinese victims (ibid.:778). Three years later, Li invited the committee members to China. On that occasion, the Japanese delegation, headed by Handa Kōkai, head monk of the Zenkōji Temple in Nagano City (the prefectural capital), returned the remains of another ninety-eight Chinese victims. Further, in 1964, with donations from local notables, the committee built a cenotaph in the Ina Valley for the Chinese who had died in Nagano. On the back of the epitaph the following is written:

> Wishing for eternal friendship with China and the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, we the people of the Ina Valley dedicate this cenotaph for the sixty-two Chinese laborers who were forcefully brought from the province of Hebei to the Hiraoka Dam construction site and died here. In building this cenotaph, we were greatly aided by the members of Yūkō Kyōkai, as well as some twenty thousand local people, many of whom were repatriated from China. The souls of these people, who came from our neighboring country, sleep here, in a land alien to them. Before them, we pledge that we shall never wage another war against the Chinese people.

On the occasion of the completion of the cenotaph, Handa sent a message to Li: in exchange for returning the remains of Chinese victims to China, we would like for the Chinese Red Cross to search for the remains of Japanese who died in Northeast China and return them to Japan (NKJMK:1984a:784). Note that until 1958, the Japanese state did not participate in the search for the remains of Chinese conscripted laborers.

Let Us Appease the Souls of Our Loved Ones in Manchuria

Although the primary objective of Jikōkai was to resettle the repatriates from Manchuria onto undeveloped land in Japan, the group had another two objectives. One was to accelerate the repatriation of the Japanese still remaining in China. The other was to appease the souls of the agrarian settlers who had died in Manchuria. To realize the second objective, the group vigorously lobbied the Japanese state to normalize diplomatic relations with China. Since the birth of the PRC, the Japanese state had maintained a fierce anti-China stance. Thus, when members of Jikōkai

visited Tokyo in 1965, cabinet members were utterly uninterested in listening to their pleas, and the minister of foreign affairs seems to have worried only about ill feelings among the Chinese toward the Japanese (NKJMK 1984b:799). The group members therefore returned to Nagano with the realization that to achieve their goal, they would have to rely on Yūkō Kyōkai, which, in the eyes of Jikōkai, was too progressive.

Indeed, cooperation between Jikōkai and Yūkō Kyōkai was difficult for several reasons. First, Jikōkai, which criticized the state's refusal to normalize diplomatic relations with China, had to rely on this same state for the welfare of the repatriates from Manchuria. To ensure the state's aid, Jikōkai emphasized three areas in which the former agrarian settlers had contributed to the Japanese state: (1) they had saved Japan's domestic agriculture by reducing the rural population and freeing up more land for those who remained in Japan; (2) in Manchuria, they had created a buffer zone against the Soviet invasion; and (3) they had increased food production for the Japanese Empire. Concurrently, the group pointed out that the Kwantung Army—but not the Japanese state—was responsible for the deaths of about fifteen thousand agrarian settlers whose homes had been in Nagano (NKJMK 1984b:799). Obviously, the group's approval of the wartime state's imperial project invited harsh criticism from Yūkō Kyōkai. At the same time, the latter was not free from its own internal problems. Ideological rifts between the Communist and Socialist Parties overshadowed the group's activities. Hence in 1966, the group split in two, leaving the Communist faction in disarray (ibid.:787). The Socialist faction, which inherited the society's name, continued to emphasize the importance of normalizing diplomatic relations with the PRC (ibid.:788). With the departure of the Communist Party from Yūkō Kyōkai, Jikōkai found it easier to collaborate with it. Thus in the fall of 1966, a delegation of sixteen members of the Nagano chapter of Jikōkai visited China. Although their one-month stay was largely restricted to China proper, they were allowed to visit Harbin in Northeast China to conduct a memorial service for the Japanese victims (ibid.:802–803).

Friendship between Japan and China

Between 1945 and 1972, the term *yūkō* (friendship) seems to have been widely heard in Nagano. In this specific context, the term refers to the friendship that *Chinese* people, who were no longer *Manchurian* people, extended to Japanese settlers in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. They taught individual Japanese settlers the best locations to cross the rivers, fed them, and dried their wet clothes. They also adopted sick and starving Japanese children. These gestures, however, were by no means the outgrowth of mutual friendship; they were the expression of the Chinese people's humanity toward the individual citizens of a de-

feated country. In postwar Nagano, the meaning of *yūkō* seems to have been greatly exaggerated: it was linked to the history of the Japan-China relationship, which was described as continuously amicable since the ancient era. It is clear that village notables in the immediate postwar era exaggerated *yūkō* for the sake of the present: they wanted to restore diplomatic relations with the PRC so that they could appease the souls of Japanese victims in China.

In the mid-1950s, another group joined in and began "remembering" this friendship. This was a group of local businessmen, most of whom had never set foot in Northeast China. Since 1953, the volume of exports from Japan to China had increased significantly. By 1955, Japan had become one of the top five most important trade partners for China (NKJMK 1984a:780). These businessmen began claiming that the laws limiting trade with Communist countries were hurting their businesses; they began traveling to China in 1956. In addition, they held trade fairs of Japanese products in Beijing and Shanghai, as well as fairs of Chinese products in Nagano. Soon, local writers and artists joined this circle of friendship. The flow of people and goods between Japan and China continued until 1958, when the Japanese state completely broke off diplomatic relations with China.

What I emphasize here is that all these memories of China in Nagano in the immediate postwar era have very little relation with the memories that I heard in the same locality in the 1980s and 1990s.

Women and Children Left Behind in China

When I began my first stint of fieldwork in Nagano in 1988, the people of Ina often recounted to me what they called "Manshū no omoide" (memories of Manchuria). These were not recollections of Chinese who had extended friendship to the Japanese. Instead, my informants were remembering the suffering of the Japanese who had been separated from their loved ones in Manchuria and the loved ones who might be still alive in Northeast China. In 1965, when Ide visited Anshan with his fellow journalists, he was not aware that about thirty thousand Japanese were in Northeast China. In the 1970s, hundreds of repatriate memoirs were published, and the Japanese reader came to understand the suffering of agrarian colonists-turned-repatriates. The explosion of memories about Manchuria—and not China—in Nagano in 1988 seems to have been triggered by the long- awaited return, beginning in 1973 and continuing into the 1980s, of Japanese nationals who had been left behind in China.

Here I would like to return to Anshan in 1965. The woman whom Ide overheard was speaking Japanese. When she was separated from her family in Manchuria, she must have been older than those children who had been tied to a tree. Today the Japanese state and media call this

woman and other women in similar circumstances *chūgoku zanryū fujin* (Japanese women left behind in China) and distinguish them from *chūgoku zanryū koji* (Japanese orphans left behind in China) in terms of age and gender. The latter were born of Japanese parents, mostly agrarian colonists, in either Japan or Manchuria, and were younger than thirteen at the time of the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. In the wake of Japan's capitulation, their parents entrusted them to Chinese families, either because they were too sick to take care of their children or because the latter had little hope of survival. Children who were orphaned or accidentally separated from their families were also adopted by Chinese families. Today, owing to the tender age of these children at the time they were separated from their relatives, they are unsure of their *mimoto*, their "roots." Since the mid-1970s, such children have been urged by the Japanese state to prove their identities *as Japanese* in the system of nation-states. Only those who have successfully proved their Japanese nationality have been officially allowed to return to Japan permanently.

In contrast, *chūgoku zanryū fujin* is a gendered category, referring to women who were over the age of thirteen when separated from their families. By 1945, most Japanese men older than thirteen had already been mobilized into the Youth Brigade or military. Hence, whether they were married or not, the women in this category had been left to take care of themselves and all the children. In the turmoil after Japan's capitulation, some of these women chose to marry Chinese citizens for their own survival, and they stayed in China. These women are different from the children who were left behind in one important way: because they were older, they firmly remember their roots as well as the Japanese language. Precisely for this reason, the Japanese state deemed these women old enough to make choices when they were left on their own. Thus until 1993, the state did not permit them to return permanently to Japan; they were regarded as belonging to China as the spouses of Chinese citizens.

The set of terminology is confusing largely because the difference between the women and the children was artificially created by the Japanese state and media. In addition, the categories excluded Japanese men older than thirteen who left in China as of 1945. In 1994, the Japanese state admitted this confusion. Through the Repatriation Support Law (Kikoku shienhō), the state eliminated the differences between the two categories and combined them under the umbrella term of *chūgoku zanryū hōjin* (Japanese left behind in China). Nevertheless, this term too has generated confusion; as a result, the state and media continue to use the two earlier terms today.[8] In this section, I will use the term "orphan" for every Japanese left in China after 1945, regardless of age or gender, for I believe that the term serves as a powerful metaphor for the state of being abandoned (Ching 2001:179). Note that the term also suggests the

normality of belonging: an orphan is expected to belong in a proper place—a family in a single nation-state. The war orphans who never left Japan proper, grew up in Japan, and ceased to be orphans were unquestionably of Japanese nationality. Although they will never forget their childhood experiences, the Japanese public assumes that peace and prosperity in postwar Japan have enabled them to find a proper place in Japanese society. Thus, in contemporary Japan they belong solely to the past. In contrast, the women and children left behind in China followed an entirely different path. While their parents remembered them across the divide between Japan and China, the Japanese public forgot them. The Japanese state soon placed them in the category of "the missing" and eventually terminated their Japanese citizenship in 1959. Yet in the mid-1970s these ghosts of a vanquished empire began appearing in Japan. Will the children of the ex-colonizer, who were raised by the ex-colonized, ever be able to find a proper place in either Japan or China?

In *Traces of Forgotten Empire*, Hiromi Takahashi Yampol (2005) states that there were three obvious peaks in the repatriation of these orphans: 1975, 1987, and 1995. The first came several years after the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and the PRC in 1972. Note that the Japanese state continued to neglect these orphans and their Japanese relatives until 1975, for "the missing" had already been "dead" since 1959. This state inertia was shaken by a private citizen, Yamamoto Jishō. Yamamoto was born in the Achi County in Nagano Prefecture to the family of a Buddhist priest. In 1945, only three months before Japan's capitulation, he emigrated to northern Manchuria; he was to be an elementary school teacher in the branch of Achi County. The end of empire, however, came soon. Between 1945 and 1946, 121 settlers in this county died, leaving 57 to return to Japan on their own. Although Yamamoto survived, he was separated from his oldest daughter (age five) and dozens of his students. He returned to Achi in 1946 and in the 1960s succeeded his father as head of the village temple. Frustrated by the Japanese state's negligence of the missing Japanese in China, he established Nit-Chū Yūkō te o Tsunagu-kai (Friendship Organization between Japan and China; hereafter Tsunagu-kai) within his temple. This group soon became the active site of memory for those who had lost their children in Manchuria.

In 1974, Tsunagu-kai asked the editorial board of *Asahi*, a leading national newspaper in Japan, to publish "Iki wakareta mono no kiroku" (Records of those separated from their loved ones) (*Asahi*, August 15, 1974). The article consisted of two sections. One section, "Tracing Memories [*kioku*] from China," introduced readers to the narratives that Tsunagu-kai gathered from orphans (through correspondence), translated (if written in Chinese), and summarized. The other section, "Tracing Memories from Japan," printed the narratives of those who had been separated from

their relatives—usually children—and consequently had no idea of their whereabouts. Below I first quote two entries from the first section.

> Wang Guiqin (female): In the fall of 1944, I arrived at the farm colony in Dunhua Prefecture in Jilin Province. (According to the Japanese state's investigation, no Japanese were recorded to have arrived at this settlement in 1944.) My parents were both around thirty. I was nine years old and was their oldest daughter. My sister was seven, and my brothers were four and two. Before emigrating to Manchuria, my mother had some kind of surgery. After Japan's defeat, my brothers died, and we buried them in a place called Beishan. My parents and I stayed with a Chinese family for two nights. My parents then asked this Chinese family to take care of us, and they left for Jilin. I now live with my sister. Please search for our parents.
>
> Wu Guilan (female): Although I do not remember when and where this happened, my mother and I boarded a freight train and arrived at Fushun. There we lived in the big garage of a house with a huge gate. A Chinese man later arranged an adoption for me so that I began to live with Wu Qinglin. In the spring of the following year, when my mother was about to return to Japan, my neighbor, a Chinese lady, hid me in a bureau [in her home]. My mother frantically searched for me but could not find me and returned [to Japan] alone. I am now thirty-four years old. I live with my adoptive father. According to him, the current age of my mother is probably between fifty-nine and sixty-one.

The memories of child orphans are extremely vague because they were so young at the time of Japan's capitulation. We must also remember that the Great Leap Forward (which is now considered a great failure), natural calamities that devastated rural China, and the Cultural Revolution (during which orphans were often referred to as "Japanese devils") all forced the children (and their adoptive parents) to suppress their memories. In the above entries, the two orphans tried to garner as many pieces of information as possible to search for their root identities—the ages of their parents and siblings, a surgical scar on a mother's body, a feature of the house in which they lived, and so forth. To do so, these orphans relied on the memories of their adoptive parents, neighbors, and friends. In addition, they relied on the memories of other Japanese orpans (usually older women married to Chinese men) who happened to live in their vicinity. It was often the case that such older women, fluent in Japanese, helped the child orphans by writing letters to Tsunagu-kai or translating letters from Japanese into Chinese. Nevertheless, searching for Japanese relatives turned out to be extremely

daunting, as the following entries from "Tracing Memories from Japan" amply demonstrate. (The numbers in parentheses indicate the ages of these missing children at the time of Japan's capitulation.)

> Nonaka Kikumi (eighteen), Tanaka Yoshiko (seventeen): These girls are the daughters of agrarian settlers in the colony of Sado, located in Boli Prefecture. At the end of August 1945, in the midst of their journey of repatriation, these two women were abducted by five or six Chinese men, who apparently demanded them in matrimony. This happened near a field in the suburbs of Ludaotai in the Boli Prefecture. Someone later reported that Yoshiko was living in the tenth district of Changxing Village in the same prefecture. Nonaka Tadaichi, Kikumi's father, and Tanaka Kyūzō, Yoshiko's brother, are searching for them.
>
> Shimizu Miyoko (two): She is the fourth child of Tomohide [father] and Hamako [mother]. The parents were agrarian settlers in the Yamanashi colony in Heilongjiang Province. During the journey of repatriation, Miyoko became quite ill from starvation. This happened around February of 1946. Her parents gave her up to two Chinese men who visited the shelter for Japanese. These men made an arrangement for Miyoko to be adopted by a Chinese couple living in the town of Acheng. Later someone saw her and noticed that her health had greatly improved. When her parents were about to return to Japan, they visited this Chinese couple, as they wanted to be reunited with Miyoko. But they were told that "she died a week ago as she ate too many tomatoes." Her parents thus returned [to Japan] without her. Her sister is searching for her.

In the first entry, Nonaka Kikumi and Tanaka Yoshiko may have married their abductors. The entry for Shimizu Miyoko suggests that her parents tried to bring her home to Japan, only to be refused by her adoptive mother. Like the adoptive mother of Wu Guilan, Miyoko's adoptive mother might have wanted to keep her as a daughter, a future daughter-in-law, or a source of labor. In 1974 and 1975, *Asahi* (and all the other major national newspapers in Japan) published the narratives of orphans and their Japanese relatives several times. Soon their efforts moved the Japanese state. In 1975, the state finally agreed to initiate a search for missing Japanese children in Manchuria. According to Yampol, a total of 2,364 orphans visited Japan between 1973 and 1975. She also states that women left behind in China accounted for 98 percent of this peak figure (2005:41). Note again that these women firmly knew their root identities and were thus able to respond to the Japanese state's invitation to visit the country. Note also that they merely visited Japan; they were prevented from returning to Japan permanently as they had already married Chinese men.

Between 1975 and 1987, the Japanese state changed its policy toward orphans several times. First, in 1975, the state began a coordinated effort with the Chinese state for state-sponsored group visits to Japan for orphans to find blood relatives (*shūdan hō-nichi chōsa*). This led to the second peak of Japanese repatriation from China in 1987. Second, in 1984, Kikokusha Teichaku Sokushin Sentā (Centers for the Promotion of Permanent Living [in Japan] of Returnees from China) were built in six locations in Japan, to provide Japanese-language instruction to orphans.[9] Third, in 1985, the state began accepting "special volunteers" to host orphans in Japan. Before then, orphans could permanently return to Japan only under two conditions: (1) they had successfully located blood relatives in Japan; and (2) the latter had agreed to take financial responsibility for them. The new policy, under which organizations such as Tsunagu-kai could volunteer to be guarantors, greatly facilitated the orphans' permanent return to Japan.[10]

In table 4, using data provided by the Organization for Returnees from China (Chūgoku Kikokusha no Kai), I show the numbers of group visitors from China and the numbers of those who proved their root—Japanese—identities between 1981 and 2005. Apparently, some visitors entered Japan to meet with already identified Japanese relatives, while others were granted at most two-week visits, during which they were expected to identify blood relatives (Yampol 2005:45). Between 1985 and 1987, 1,186 orphans visited Japan through state-initiated group visits; 378 of them found blood relatives and subsequently returned to Japan. Compare, however, tables 4 and 5. Table 5 shows that between 1985 and 1987, 3,064 orphans permanently settled in Japan, while 443 orphans made temporary visits. In other words, many more orphans who were outside the purview of the state-initiated group visits returned to Japan during the same peak period. In addition, before the mid-1990s, the Japanese state had failed to collect information about the return of these orphans' spouses and children, for the latter were considered "aliens" unless they had been naturalized to become Japanese citizens.

The final peak, in 1995, followed the so-called Narita airport incident on September 5, 1993. On this particular day, twelve women left behind in China arrived at the Tokyo International Airport in Narita. Since they arrived on a Sunday, all the government offices to which they had planned to bring letters of protest were closed. Short of cash and social support, they spent a night in the airport lobby with a banner attached to their piled-up luggage. The banner read, "Dear Prime Minister Hosokawa, please let us die in Japan" (*Yomiuri* [evening edition], September 6, 1993). This incident triggered another change in the state's policy: the state now regards such women as Japanese nationals who stayed in China against their will; hence they are allowed to return permanently to Japan. Between 1994 and 1996, 2,406 women who had

Table 4. Group visits to Japan and rates of positive identification, 1981–2005

Time period	Visitors	Positive IDs	Success rate (%)
March 1981	47	30	63.8
February–March 1982	60	45	75.0
February–March 1983	45	25	55.6
December 1983	60	37	61.7
February–March 1984	50	27	54.0
November–December 1984	90	39	43.3
February–March 1985	90	39	43.3
September 1985	135	41	30.4
November–December 1985	135	34	25.2
February–March 1986	130	34	26.2
June 1986	200	80	40.0
September 1986	200	64	32.0
October–November 1986	100	33	33.0
December 1986	42	15	35.7
February–March 1987	104	28	26.9
November 1987	50	10	20.0
February–March 1988	50	13	26.0
June–July 1988	35	12	34.3
February–March 1989	57	9	15.8
February–March 1990	46	12	26.1
November–December 1990	37	4	10.8
November–December 1991	50	6	12.0
November–December 1992	33	4	12.1
October–November 1993	32	5	15.6
November–December 1994	36	5	13.9
October–November 1995	67	7	10.4
October–November 1996	43	4	9.3
October 1997	45(1)[a]	3	6.8
November 1998	27	5	18.5
November 1999	20	2	10.0
2000	20	3	15.0
2001	20	4	20.0
2002	6	1	16.7
2003	10	1	10.0
2004	12	1	8.3
2005	5	0	0.0

Source: http://www.kikiokusha-center.or.jp.

[a] The number in parentheses indicates a person with a negative identification. This person was removed from the category; see also Yampol (2005:130).

Table 5. Japanese repatriation from China, 1972–2005

	PERMANENT SETTLEMENT			TEMPORARY VISITS		
Year	Total	Children (*zanryū koji*)	Women (*zanryū fujin*)	Total	Children (*zanryū koji*)	Women (*zanryū fujin*)
1972	57	0	57	0	0	0
1973	143	0	143	67	0	67
1974	383	5	378	860	0	860
1975	515	30	485	1,437	29	1,408
1976	359	43	316	725	63	662
1977	255	56	199	458	38	420
1978	280	74	206	400	67	333
1979	470	80	390	510	84	426
1980	596	110	486	437	118	319
1981	681	172	509	400	140	260
1982	554	120	434	292	128	164
1983	626	154	472	233	104	129
1984	475	155	320	170	87	83
1985	626	154	368	233	104	60
1986	1,014	645	369	108	70	38
1987	1,424	1,094	330	171	117	54
1988	1,353	1,097	256	190	79	111
1989	1,174	831	343	138	38	100
1990	929	604	325	249	31	218
1991	750	463	287	167	18	149
1992	650	353	297	150	4	146
1993	638	285	353	196	22	174
1994	870	245	625	139	39	100
1995	1,229	259	970	220	96	124
1996	1,136	325	811	252	141	111
1997	914	407	507	207	118	89
1998	622	380	242	147	99	48
1999	440	266	174	119	63	56
2000	322	216	106	77	45	32
2001	272	164	108	84	51	33
2002	141	90	51	101	50	51
2003	99	54	45	80	43	37
2004	104	63	41	89	55	34
2005	35	13	22	37	9	28
Total	20,136	9,111	11,025	9,074	2,150	6,924

Source: http://www.kikokusha-center.or.jp; accessed October 16, 2006; see also Yampol (2005:129).

been left behind in China moved to Japan. In addition, another 335 Japanese women made temporary visits to Japan (Yampol 2005:48). This final peak was also a result of the Repatriation Support Law, promulgated in 1994. With this law, the Japanese state acknowledged, for the first time since 1945, the presence of Japanese individuals still in China and their desire to return to Japan permanently. The state also demonstrated a commitment to repatriate not only those individuals but also their Chinese spouses and Japanese-Chinese children (ibid.:49). Between 1972 and 2005, 20,136 orphans who had been left in China after 1945 moved to Japan permanently. This number excludes the spouses, children, and other relatives who also moved to Japan.

The Present: Nagano and Tokyo, 1970s–2004

Memory map 3, which is based largely on my fieldwork in Nagano from 1988 to 1996 and in Tokyo from 1998 to 2004, is, like memory map 2, a national map. What makes this map national is not merely the print media but the powerful combination of the written word and graphic media. For this reason, I find it appropriate to begin drawing this map with figure 1, a four-panel cartoon titled Fuji Santarō, which was serialized in the *Asahi* newspaper from 1965 to 1991. Created by Satō Sanpei, the main character, Fuji Santarō, is a so-called "salaried man" who has no interest in climbing the corporate ladder. Through his eyes, Satō often expressed his satirical views of societal conditions in Japan. The cartoon in figure 1 was published on March 6, 1981, when the first group of forty-seven orphans were in Japan searching for their Japanese relatives. The first panel depicts a flock of Japanese wild geese, which are believed to transport letters. In the second panel, we see the hands of Fuji Santarō, who has just finished a *haiku*: "From today on, you, the wild geese in Japan, can sleep in peace." The third panel depicts an airplane transporting orphans from China to Japan. In the last panel, with Mt. Fuji in the background, another phrase appears: "This is the country of your fathers and mothers." This figure (as well as the newspaper articles I have already discussed) suggests that the memory map in Nagano after the early 1970s did not stay local; almost three decades after the war's end, the entire nation of Japan as one collective parent began remembering the Japanese still living in Manchuria.

The media, however, tend to homogenize the life histories of orphans, which in reality vary greatly. In so doing, they attempt to *construct* orphans' memories. Resigning myself for the moment to the idea that in the mass media we cannot possibly hear the genuine memories of orphans, I will examine a television news program that reported on the visit of the first group of orphans to Japan in 1981. Below is a brief synopsis of this program.

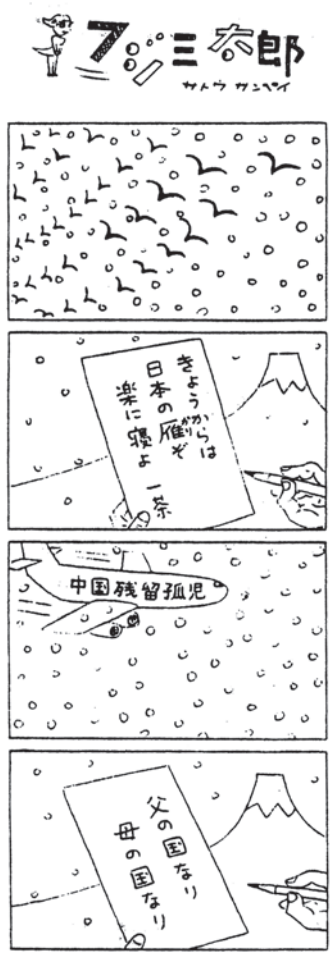

Figure 1. *Fuji Santarō*, by Satō Sanpei, published in *Asahi*, March 6, 1981. (Courtesy of Asahi Shinbunsha.)

The program first shows the airplane landing at Tokyo International Airport with forty-seven orphans on board. It then shows much embracing between these orphans and members of the Japanese MHW and Yūkō Kyōkai. Both organizations helped these orphans to make the return trip to Japan. Each time an orphan succeeds in discovering his or her root identity, the program shows a dramatic encounter between the orphan and his or her relatives: they embrace and often cry profusely. At the same time, close-up shots of tears on the faces of orphans who have been unable to prove their identities are televised. To his great disappointment, one orphan discovers that his parents died several years before his visit. Although he has discovered his root identity, he could do no more than visit the tomb of his parents and weep. The program shows

> him talking (in Chinese) to his parents at the tomb, with the Japanese subtitle, "Please forgive this unfaithful son of yours." In the final scene, the program airs a farewell party before the orphans' return to China. Once again, the camera shows the tears of orphans who are still searching for their Japanese roots. The camera contrasts them with those happily smiling because they have found their root identities. In a few months, they will return to Japan, finally and permanently. (National Broadcasting Company [NHK] News Highlights video, 1993)

Since 1981, the media have portrayed the group visits of orphans to Japan in almost exactly the same manner as in the above summary, and I watched these programs during my fieldwork in Ina in 1988.

In their treatment of orphans, the media have been deeply sympathetic, always portraying them as innocent victims who were once powerless children, incapable of making decisions. They "were tossed around by the waves of history" (*rekishi ni honrō sareta*)—although the programs hardly explained this history. On the television screen, the orphans always looked poor and uneducated, suggesting that these "Japanese" from rural China would never fit in a modern, affluent Japan. They did not speak Japanese, nor did they have a knowledge of Japanese customs. Scenes with state employees teaching orphans Japanese songs or the art of paper folding (*origami*) surely made them look like children. The state and media insistence on the continuous use of the word *koji* (orphan) seemed only to reinforce this image on the screen.[11] Moreover, the memories of those who had indeed suffered—that is, the orphans themselves—seem to have been erased from the media's portrayal of them.

By the late 1980s, books allegedly written by orphans had become available. Many of these books, however, are based on interviews that Japanese journalists had with the orphans—so much so that one book, which was indeed written by two orphans, was published with the title *Having Lived between Japan and China: Records Written by Left-Behind Orphans Themselves* (Daidō and Suzuki 1988). Yet even this book is not free from editorial bias. In the preface to this book, the editor writes the following:

> When do we Japanese use the word "fatherland" [*sokoku*]? For those of us who were born and grew up in Japan after the war's end, the meaning of "fatherland" seems to have become hollow. But here is a group of people who badly needed the concept in order to search for their identities. These people are left-behind orphans. In the aftermath of Japan's capitulation, they were separated not only from their loved ones but also from their fatherland. For this reason, they were forced to live in an alien country. Among them, there are those who firmly know their "Japanese" identities. Others were told all of a sudden that they were "Japanese." They

> were so young at the time of Japan's surrender that they hardly remember anything. In either case, they have been longing for their biological parents and for their genuine fatherland. (Noda 1988:5)

The editor entirely neglects any mentiopn of the Chinese adoptive parents who raised, clothed, and educated the Japanese orphans. In addition, she firmly believes that the orphans, being Japanese, belong to the Japanese nation.

In summary, the Japanese media of the late 1980s stressed the following "facts" in their portrayal of the orphans left behind in China:

- At the time of Japan's capitulation, the orphans were helpless small children.
- They grew up in a country that was alien to them.
- They grew up in a poor, rural region of Northeast China.
- They were raised by Chinese adoptive parents who used them as a source of labor.
- They did not learn their mother tongue (Japanese) or have forgotten it.
- They did not learn Japanese culture or have forgotten it.
- They suffered from various discriminatory practices in China because they were Japanese; their suffering was particularly acute during the Cultural Revolution.
- They were deprived of the love of their birth parents.
- They lost their fatherland, Japan, and they were deprived of their Japanese nationality.
- They were deprived of the universal human right to a nationality. Hence they have been unable to find their place in the system of nation-states.[12]
- As a result of all of the above, they are ignorant of their root identities.

If all these "facts" are valid, there is only one way to redress the suffering of the orphans: by restoring to them their Japanese nationality, thereby enabling them to permanently settle in Japan with their Japanese relatives. Predictably, this has been the solution of the Japanese state since the mid-1970s, as the following passage from a document published by the MHW suggests: "For returnees from China, to settle down in Japanese society as independent [*jiritsu*] citizens means to live in Japan without relying on state assistance. Yet to be accepted as full-fledged citizens of Japan, they must fulfill certain obligations. First, they must adapt to the Japanese way of life. Second, they must acquire a deep understanding of Japanese culture. They indeed must be serious and patient in ful-

filling both obligations" (Kōsei-shō 1997:427). For the Japanese state, the ideal image of an orphan is a modern, respectable, and above all independent Japanese citizen.

Let us go back to Nagano. Out of a deep sympathy for these orphans and a firm belief that they should return home, some of my neighbors in Ina volunteered to help them by joining Yūkō Kyōkai. As Aki put it, these volunteers found many ways to assist the returning orphans from China. They could offer moral support to those orphans in search of their identities. Once orphans settled in Nagano City, the volunteers could teach them how to shop at grocery stores, install home telephones, and open bank accounts. They could also accompany the returnees to city halls to help them with the complicated processes of restoring their Japanese nationality or applying for welfare assistance.

Trying to listen to the orphans' voices myself, I attended a speech contest in 1996 that was organized by Yūkō Kyōkai in Nagano City. The speakers, students in a Japanese-language class offered by this institution, included three orphans (speakers 1–3) and one Japanese-Chinese child of an orphan (speaker 4). They were asked to demonstrate their mastery of Japanese through speeches and thus show that they were now "independent Japanese citizens." Below I translate several passages from these speeches.

> Speaker 1: It has been two years since I returned to Japan. I find that the relationship between parents and children or among relatives [in Japan] is superficial. This is quite different from the way relatives interact with each other in China.

> Speaker 2: Since the end of World War II, the Chinese state has never requested war indemnities from the Japanese government. The Chinese state has also provided special protection for Japanese who experienced difficulties in attending schools or acquiring a job [in China]. The Japanese state has actively encouraged orphans to return to Japan with their spouses. But once these orphans become independent, the state asks them to pay for everything. . . . Even though we do not understand what they are talking about [on television], we must pay our dues for NHK programs.

> Speaker 3: [On returning to Japan] my living environment changed overnight. At first, I found everything novel. I could not speak a word of Japanese. I did not know which way to go. I was afraid of everything. I did not have any friends either. Everyone was a stranger to me. I felt like crying all the time. "Why did I return to Japan?" I asked myself. I regretted [my decision] a lot then. I wanted to return to China.

> Speaker 4: Everyone on the street [in Japan] is energetic. The Japanese people wear nice clothes, and they are clean. They are not arrogant, but they do not have big hearts. They do not treat us as Japanese. They look at us from a strange angle.

These speakers did not resent the fact that they had grown up in China. Rather, they recalled China fondly, often referring to it as their home. They were eager to learn Japanese, not because they were Japanese or half-Japanese, but because they were willing to survive in Japan rather than return to China. In addition, they did not dwell on their past (about which the Japanese public would wish to hear); they spoke of their current concerns and future aspirations.

Since the late 1990s, as noted, the number of orphans returning to Nagano and other rural prefectures in Japan has greatly decreased. This is in part due to a change in state policy: orphans are now able to return to Japan only with the consent of "special guarantors." A more important reason is that in order to become independent citizens of Japan, the orphans and their families must live in large cities, where they are more likely to find (menial) jobs.[13] In 1998, I too moved to Tokyo to complete memory map 3. There, with the help of an interpreter, Yukiko, I recorded the narratives of two male orphans whom I call Takashi and Toshio. They spoke in Chinese, and Yukiko, who was then teaching them Japanese, translated their stories for me. Below are summaries of what they told us.

> Takashi: I was about two when I was separated from my family, so I hardly remember what happened then. Many years later, I found out that my father died soon after his arrival in Manchuria. [After Japan's capitulation] I was dying of malnutrition, so my mother entrusted me to my adoptive parents in exchange for food. My adoptive parents did not have children of their own. They were very poor and made me work once I regained my health. But they let me attend school when I was about seven. When I was eleven or so, my adoptive father died. My adoptive mother remarried, but my second adoptive father died soon after, in 1961. I have known I was Japanese since I was seven because the kids at my school called me "the little Japanese" all the time. However hard I pressed my adoptive mother, she did not tell me anything about my parents. In 1960, I married a Chinese woman, and we had four sons and one daughter. A few years after 1972 [the year of the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations], two Japanese women in the village where I lived returned temporarily to Japan. They were sisters and older than I was. While in Japan, these two sisters had a visit from my mother and elder sister. I wanted to return to Japan badly, but my adoptive mother pleaded with me not to leave her. In the end, I waited until she passed

away. That was 1988. The following year, I returned to Japan with my wife and fourth son. My mother lives in Wakayama with my sister and her family. She has three sons, all of whom are married. They were all good to us, but we decided to move out of my mother's house to Yokohama. We did not want to be dependent on them, and this way, I was able to find a job.

Toshio: What I will tell you is what I later learned. I was about four when Japan surrendered. I am a survivor of the compulsory group suicide that took place in the colony of Hadahe (J: Hataho). My mother, my two brothers, and one sister all died in this collective suicide. As my father had been drafted, he was then not with us. My elder sister and I survived this ordeal. Later, a Chinese man took me to his home, while someone else took my sister to his home. My adoptive parents were poor. I remember they had five or six children of their own, but the children died one after another, except for one daughter. I guess they needed a boy. I worked very hard. When I first went to school, I was already ten years old. I knew I was Japanese. My friends called me "the little Japanese" and often ridiculed me. In 1960, I married a Chinese woman, and we had two daughters and one son. Soon after, I met a Japanese woman who was able to speak and write Japanese. [After 1972] I wrote many letters and asked the Japanese government to search for my relatives in Japan. When in 1980 a group of Japanese visited our village to pay their respects to Japanese who had died there, I asked them to search for my relatives. In 1982, to my great surprise, I received a letter from my father. He had remarried, to a woman who had lost her husband in Manchuria. She already had three children from her previous marriage. Later, my father had two more boys with her. I visited my father for a short while in 1982 and told him that I would like to return to Japan, but his wife—that is, my stepmother—adamantly opposed my return. My father told me that I would have nothing to inherit from him. I guess it was his wife who made him say this. But after 1982, both my father and stepmother died. Finally, in 1986, I returned with my wife and three children to Hiratsuka. My children quickly learned Japanese and now have good jobs. But they have left home. I worked at a small factory for more than ten years, and we now live on my small pension. My wife is still able to work. When she stops working, I wonder whether we may have to ask the Japanese state for livelihood assistance.

The narratives of Takashi and Toshio reveal several common elements among the orphans. First, they have many "families," each of which has suffered from the forces of war, imperialism, and the system of nation-states. The families to which they were born were shattered in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. While the situations of families into which they were adopted varied greatly, the adoptive families were,

generally speaking, poor. In postwar Japan, two mutually opposing images of the adoptive parents coexist: benevolent parents who sacrificed everything to raise their Japanese children and abusive parents who exploited the children's labor for their own survival. Both are media creations and are probably untrue. Both Takashi and Toshio tell us that their adoptive parents, though poor, "saved our lives and enabled us to live," for which they are very grateful. Finally, the immediate families of orphans have also suffered because of the system of nation-states. When they decided to return to Japan, some of their family members opposed the idea. While Toshio returned with his entire family, Takashi returned with only his wife and fourth son. For some orphans, then, returning home meant severing ties with some of their Chinese relatives. When this happened, it was usually the adoptive parents who suffered most; it was not only a financial loss but also an incalculable social loss.[14] In addition, the Japanese state closely controls which members of an orphan's family are entitled to return to Japan.[15] It is true that since 1992 the state has allowed more members of orphans' families to move to Japan. Yet this may also be a reflection of the state's novel policy to decrease its welfare expenditures. In other words, the Japanese-Chinese children of the orphans are now expected to take care of their aged parents—the orphans—in Japan.

Second, while in China, these orphans were on the margins of Chinese society. Once they return to Japan, they are on the margins of Japanese society. As I have already discussed, for quite some time after 1972, the Japanese state regarded them as "aliens." Even though some were able to locate their family registers (*koseki*), where their names are recorded in Japanese, they still had to carry alien registration cards (*gaikokujin tōrokusho*) while in Japan. Hence for orphans, restoring their Japanese nationality has become first on the list of things to do after they return to Japan. Moreover, some of the children and grandchildren of orphans do not necessarily wish to become naturalized Japanese. In such cases, the orphans (who must prove their Japanese nationality) and their family members must live with two distinct nationalities in Japan, which does not allow its citizens to hold double nationalities. In the end, orphans and their families must struggle with the laws of both Japan and China as they move between these two countries, and repatriation in itself to Japan as Japanese nationals hardly lessens their struggle.

Satoshi, whom I met in Tokyo in 1998, was born in Tokyo in 1928. He "did not like studying," so at age fifteen he applied to join the Manchuria Youth Brigade and emigrated to Manchuria with the intention of becoming an agrarian colonist. His dream, however, was crushed when the Soviets invaded Manchuria. He was arrested and sent to Siberia, where he

spent four years at labor camps as a POW, before finally returning to Japan in 1949. Back in Tokyo, he spent years rebuilding his father's small business. When I met him, he had been retired from his business for quite some time and was enjoying working as a volunteer, assisting orphans and their families as they tried to adapt to life in Tokyo. During an interview at his home, he told me the following: "These days, it is hard to tell who is 'Japanese' and who is 'Chinese.' How can you tell the difference between Japanese children left behind in China [and their family members] and those [Chinese] smuggled into Japan from Fujian Province?" Indeed, Chinese from Fujian Province had emigrated in mass to Manchuria in the age of empire (see Nonini and Ong 1997:3). There they became a source of irritation to the Japanese authorities, who wished to see Japanese, not Chinese, immigrating to Manchuria. Since the 1980s, Chinese from Fujian Province have been emigrating again, not to Manchuria but to Japan. These immigrants are apparently irritating not only Satoshi and his fellow volunteers who work with the orphans but also the Japanese state and the Japanese public.

According to statistics provided by the Immigration Bureau of Japan, 462,396 Chinese (from the PRC alone) held a "certificate of alien status" in 2003. This figure represented about 24 percent of the total number of "aliens" living in Japan in that year. In addition, 29,676 Chinese (from the PRC alone) lived illegally in Japan in 2003. This means that the number of Chinese immigrants has increased about ten times since 1972. Foreigners who hold certificates of alien status tend to stay in Japan for longer periods, in comparison to temporary visitors such as tourists. However, unlike the earlier immigrants from China and Taiwan, most of the more recent Chinese immigrants have no intention of settling down in Japan.[16] Rather, they tend to go back and forth between Japan and China for economic reasons. That is, they first enter Japan for the purpose of "studying abroad" (*ryūgaku*) or "professional training" (*kenshū*), and when their terms (as students or trainees) are over, they tend to stay on expired visas for economic reasons, to send money back to their families in China. They may eventually be deported or may voluntarily return to China. However, many of them return again to Japan for the same reasons—so much so that in Japan hundreds of marriage brokers have emerged in the past ten years or so to facilitate the migration of young Chinese to Japan as the spouses of the Chinese-speaking people already living there, including orphans' children and grandchildren, many of whom are Japanese nationals or permanent residents of Japan.[17] The following case illustrates the difficulty of distinguishing Japanese children left behind in China and their families in Japan from illegal Chinese immigrants in Japan.

In 1997, a woman who was later identified as Chinese was "repatriated" to Japan. The Japanese government, which had earlier identified

her as a Japanese child left behind, paid for her trip to Japan and her initial stay in Tokyo. Once the woman arrived in Tokyo, however, it did not take long for the government to prove that her identity had been falsified. She was immediately deported back to China. In this case, the woman had paid an immigration broker to falsify her passport. (It is interesting that this broker was a son of children left behind who had already been repatriated to Japan.) Reporting on this and other similar incidents, the Japanese media soon coined the term "false orphans" (*nise koji*).[18] Defying and utilizing the nation-state system, false orphans entered Japan at their own risk and joined thousands of other illegal Chinese immigrants to Japan. False orphans, who have no ties to Japan, are also called "false refugees" (*gisō nan'min*), another term coined by the media in the early 1990s. Having been smuggled into Japan by immigration brokers, false refugees carry few, if any, personal belongings when they enter the country; hence they appear to be refugees.[19] The Japanese state rarely accepts applications for asylum or refugee status. However much they resemble refugees, false refugees are considered illegal immigrants, but if they are identified as orphans or family members of orphans, they are legally allowed to enter Japan. [20] Thus repatriation has become an object of manipulation by both smuggling syndicates and those who seek illegal immigration to Japan.

The arrival of false orphans or false refugees in Japan in the 1990s seems to have revived the notion of Japanese racial supremacy over the Chinese (and other Asian) peoples. Note that such racism had not appeared anew in postwar Japan once a large number of Chinese unskilled laborers reached Japan's shores. Rather, as the narratives of Takashi and Toshio have amply demonstrated, the post-repatriation life of orphans has always been difficult, even after they have proved their Japanese nationality. In the 1980s, the Japanese media extended tremendous sympathy to them as poor orphans who were unable to enjoy the peace and prosperity of postwar Japan. For this reason, a drastic change in the media's portrayal of orphans and their families in the 1990s merits attention.

The media began reporting on "mental instability" among orphans and their children and pointed to tendencies among the latter to fail in schoolwork, commit petty crimes, or join gangs. In addition, several newspaper articles reported that it was the children of orphans who, out of greed, had persuaded their parents to return to Japan, even though the latter had no desire to do so. One such article in 1999 was about a sixty-year-old orphan who killed his son-in-law with the help of his wife and daughter. He confessed to the police that the victim, who was a Chinese citizen, had married his daughter only because he wished to emigrate to Japan. Once in Japan, his son-in-law sent all the money he earned back to his parents in China without contributing a penny to his wife's family.[21] In these portrayals, the children left behind and their children are no longer

the tragic victims of Japanese imperialism. Rather, they are regarded as potential threats to the imagined integrity of Japanese society. Against these negative images of the recent returnees from China, an increasing number of children and women left behind have begun to emerge as active agents on their own behalf. In so doing, they have been greatly helped by their "parents," the repatriates-turned-volunteers who have been assisting orphans since the early 1980s. In what follows, I will present the voices of orphans and their children in a series of ethnographic scenes that unfolded in Tokyo between 1998 and 2001.

Ethnographic Scene 1 (Tokyo, 2001)

In 2001, on the anniversary of the end of the war, I witnessed about six hundred people quietly marching from the Tokyo train station to the busy commercial district of Ginza through Hibiya Park (see *Asahi*, evening edition, August 15, 2001). They were not young; they seemed to vary in age from fifty into their seventies. Some were holding white and yellow banners with messages reading, "We are the orphans from China," "Assure our post-retirement life," and "Please do not forget us." The protesters were evidently the Japanese children and women who had been left behind in China and had returned to Japan after the mid-1970s. I recalled Satoshi's words: even if an orphan worked for ten years after repatriation, he or she would be eligible for a monthly annuity of only fifty thousand yen (about $420 in 2001) after retirement. Because this is by no means enough to live on, such retirees inevitably receive welfare assistance, inviting criticism from the Japanese public (who considers them "lazy"). However, welfare assistance restricts the orphans in many ways. If an orphan returns to China to spend several weeks with his or her adoptive parents, he or she loses the entitlement to welfare during that time. If an orphan buys a television set, employees of the welfare office inquire why he or she is able to buy such a luxury item. Thus, in this march, orphans beseeched a Japanese state that had offered them Japanese nationality but not full Japanese citizenship.

While the Japan Hall of Martial Arts and the Yasukuni Shrine symbolize the Japanese imperial past, the Ginza district symbolizes global capitalism and the lifestyle of middle-class Japanese citizens.[22] Businessmen and shoppers who encountered the protest march might have been unaware of the Japanese colonization of Manchuria. I do not know whether the protesters' message—that they would like to emulate the lifestyle of these businessmen and shoppers—reached the latter. On the contrary, the march might have aroused certain misgivings about the recent returnees from China. Yet the orphans were persistent. The following year they went far beyond staging a protest march and brought a lawsuit before the Tokyo Metropolitan Circuit Court against the Japa-

nese government. Each of the plaintiffs, numbering 637, claimed compensation from the Japanese state for his or her "ruined life" in the amount of 33 million yen (about $280,000 in 2001) and presented the following reasons for his or her claim. First, the Japanese state had deserted them in Manchuria after the fall of its empire. Second, without due investigation, the Japanese state changed (in 1959) the status of "the missing" to "the dead" in the Japanese household registries. Third, since repatriation, the Japanese state had not provided orphans with adequate assistance (*Asahi*, December 20, 2002). Put differently, in this lawsuit the orphans transformed a gift from the Japanese state—Japanese nationality—into a vehicle for demanding full Japanese citizenship.[23]

The age of global capitalism thus resonates with the age of empire in one important way. In the age of empire, only those Chinese who were eager to build Manchukuo together with the Japanese could become "citizens of Manchukuo." The rest remained Manjin—objects of Japanese racism. In the age of global capitalism, orphans must prove their root—Japanese—identities in order to settle in Japan. If they fail to make efforts to become independent citizens, they cannot enjoy their post-repatriation life. Nevertheless, the monetary assistance provided by the Japanese state has been inadequate. In addition, racism against the Chinese, which has reemerged in postwar Japan, has prevented them from becoming genuinely independent Japanese citizens.

Ethnographic Scene 2 (Tokyo, 1998)

In 1998, Satoshi introduced me to Mr. Wang, who told me the following: "I do not care whether my father is Japanese or not. He made me retain my Chinese nationality, but my brother obtained Japanese nationality. This is good for us, as we are planning to start a taxi company in China in the near future, after we earn enough money in Japan." Mr. Wang's father is Japanese, the son of agrarian colonists in Manchuria. Although Mr. Wang's father was able to prove his root identity, he has never met his biological parents (who died years before his arrival in Japan) or his (quite distant) relatives. Although Mr. Wang returned to Japan at the Japanese state's expense, he retained his Chinese name and nationality (because, he said, "my father does not even remember his Japanese name"). Mr. Wang's father lives on a pension, but he has been leading a busy life in Tokyo with his brother. Once an elementary school teacher in Northeast China, he now works six days a week, thirteen hours a day, in a small factory. After China joined the World Trade Organization, many family members of orphans apparently opted to keep their Chinese nationality. Instead of permanently returning to Japan, they combine, within their extended families, their Japanese and Chinese nationalities in order to attain various economic goals. Mr. Wang's story suggests the emergence of

"flexible citizens" among orphans and their families—that is, those who try to use the system of nation-states to their own advantage.

According to Aihwa Ong, flexible citizenship refers to "the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work, and family locations" (2002:174). In Britain, for example, a change in immigration policy in 1990 granted full citizenship to fifty thousand elite Hong Kong Chinese.[24] "The members of this special subcategory of Chinese," Ong states, "were carefully chosen from among householders (presumably predominantly male) who had connections in British government, business, or some other organizations" (ibid.:180). These Hong Kong Chinese enjoy flexible citizenship beyond Britain; owing largely to the position of Britain in the system of nation-states, they can obtain citizenship in other countries as well by a variety of means, including purchase. Mr. Wang, however, is not like these affluent Chinese; he is merely trying to survive in Japan, which, as noted, is not free from racism against Chinese immigrants. Nevertheless, with his Chinese nationality and his brother's Japanese nationality, Mr. Wang has been trying to survive in both Japan and China.[25]

Note that the orphans who appear in the first ethnographic scene and their children (such as Mr. Wang) conceptualize nationality and citizenship in post-colonial East Asia quite differently. The protesters in Ginza assert that they are Japanese, just like the businessmen and shoppers who flock through the busy shopping district. Because they are Japanese, they claim, they are entitled to full Japanese citizenship. In contrast, Mr. Wang refuses to become Japanese. As an immigrant who is able to navigate between China and Japan, he is trying to reestablish his life back in China. In ethnographic scene 1, one cannot ignore the role played by people such as Satoshi and other volunteers, who returned to Japan from China soon after the war's end. In the protest march, they walked with the orphans. They contacted many lawyers and chose some among them who were eager to fight for the orphans against the Japanese state. Moreover, the orphans in the protest march endorse the Japanese state's position: the orphans are Japanese, and to be accepted in Japanese society they must become independent Japanese citizens. For this end, they demanded compensation from the Japanese state for their "ruined life." In this formulation, such people as Mr. Wang have no place.

Here a series of poignant questions that Sharon Stephens asks are extremely insightful: "What sorts of social visions and notions of culture underlie assertions within international-rights discourses that every child has a right to a cultural identity? To what extent is this identity conceived as singular and exclusive, and what sorts of priorities are asserted in cases where various forms of cultural identity—regional, na-

tional, ethnic minority, or indigenous—come up against one another?" (1995:3). Stephens is interested in children growing up in an era of global capitalism and the impact of "international-rights discourses" on them (see also Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998). Here I overlap the orphans with their children who "grew up" in Japan, and I argue that these Japanese, Japanese-Chinese, and Chinese people have the right not to be constrained within an exclusionary Japanese cultural identity. They also have a right not to be constrained by "international-rights discourses," such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which entitles them to only a single nationality. In the case of orphans and their families, "cultural battles" often take place—among representatives of the Japanese state, the media, society at large, Japanese volunteers, Japanese and Chinese relatives of orphans, and the Chinese state—without the involvement of the orphans and their families. Unless these institutions and individuals find many more ways to communicate with orphans and their families, the voices of the latter may be left unheard.

It is no longer possible to group together the two (or more) generations of Japanese colonists into the single category of repatriates to Japan. Repatriation is a phenomenon that is intrinsically connected to war, colonization, empire making, and the system of nation-states. Hence its relationship to globalization must be discussed anew. The two generations of colonists seem to correspond to several sets of binaries: the classical age of nationalism versus the global age of nomadism, colonialism versus post-colonialism, and colonization versus globalization (Hall 1997; see also Anderson 1994). Yet when conceptualizing the generational differences along with these binaries, one may easily miss the relations and tensions between the two in each set of binaries. Instead, we must examine those relations and tensions and ask, for example, how the agrarian colonists of the parental generation can challenge the resurgence of racism in postwar Japan. They can simply join mainstream Japanese society and become, once again, the bearers of racism against not only Chinese immigrants but also their own descendants who had been left behind in China but have now returned to Japan. They can also live with profound guilt, a conviction that "we caused the suffering of orphans," and concurrently agree with the state's policy—the restoration of Japanese "nationality" (but not necessarily "citizenship") to the orphans returning from China. Yet another option is to listen to the voices of the orphans and their children and challenge, with them and through their experiences, the colonial legacy in contemporary Japan. I will therefore conclude this chapter with an ethnographic scene that suggests that at least some repatriates from Manchuria are indeed taking this last option.

Ethnographic Scene 3 (Tokyo, 1998; Liutiaogou, 1999)

In 1998, I was introduced to Kōji, a repatriate from Manchuria and a volunteer who assists orphans and their families. When I visited him at his home in downtown Tokyo, he showed me some fifty tiny figurines of Jizō, placed neatly in a box. Jizō, one of the most important Buddhist deities in Japan, is believed to comfort the souls of dead children while simultaneously comforting their mourning parents. Jizō statues are found throughout Japan, and the deity is "perhaps the most ubiquitous, popular, and widely loved in Japanese religion" (Ivy 1995:144–145; see also Schattschneider 2001). Kōji makes these little figurines. He starts by collecting tiny stones on the beach or by the roadside. Using his artistic skills, he smoothes the surface of each stone, paints a child's face on it, and transforms the stone into Jizō. Each Jizō represents an immigrant child who died in Manchuria, as well as the sorrow of the child's parents. According to Kōji, however, each Jizō also represents an immigrant child who has survived in China, as well as the devotion of the child's Chinese adoptive parents. While the postwar Japanese state regarded orphans as "the dead" for quite some time, Kōji resurrected them in tiny stones and made the compassion of their adoptive parents known to the Japanese public. Kōji also took me to a gallery near his home. Located in the posh Roppongi district of Tokyo, the small gallery attracted many young women and men. There he displayed his figurines—called Manshū Jizō (Manchurian Jizō)—and sold them to gallery visitors. The money he made from the sale of these statues, Kōji said, would go into a fund to support another project: a stone monument to be built in China to express gratitude to the Chinese adoptive parents of the Japanese orphans. Indeed, by the time I met Kōji, the project was already well under way; a well-known artist, himself a repatriate from Manchuria, was already building a monument of a Chinese couple and their adopted son, a child of the Japanese agrarian colonists.

In 1999, Kōji and his group finally completed this grand project. When I read the newspaper report of this event, it surprised me greatly that they had built the monument in Liutiaogou, the very site of the Japanese invasion into Manchuria on September 18, 1931. In addition, they held the ceremony celebrating the completion of this monument inside the September Eighteenth Museum, which is known for its displays condemning Japan's imperialism. The monument, then, embodies more than the suffering of the orphans. It embodies the pain of their adoptive parents and, by extension, the pain of the people in China who suffered not only from the departure of their adopted children to Japan but also from the Japanese invasion in the age of empire. Representing the orphans, Fumio spoke at the ceremony to an audience of about two hundred, including his eighty-four-year-old adoptive father. He is re-

ported to have said the following: "After the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, my adoptive father saw me off to Japan while crying. . . . My adoptive parents made me eat steamed rice every other day while they ate corn and *kaoliang*" (*Asahi*, August 21, 1999). Fumio now lives in Japan as a Japanese citizen and yet has never forgotten the adoptive parents he left behind in China.

Kōji and his friends, who erected the monument and organized the ceremony in Liutiaogou, represent the parental generation of Japanese colonists. I later learned that Kōji, along with Satoshi, was one of the key figures who helped the orphans stage their protest march in downtown Tokyo. These volunteers, who themselves experienced tremendous hardships during the journeys of repatriation, are now keenly aware that the suffering of the orphans belongs not only to the past but to the present and the future as well. They are also aware that to understand their concerns and worries, they must go back to the past, and that is why they traveled to Liutiaogou. By so doing, they went far beyond Japan's national space to understand not only the fates of the orphans and their adoptive parents but also their own involvement in Japanese imperialism. Are the children of orphans, being Japanese-Chinese, no longer Japanese? Is it necessary for the Japanese public to distinguish orphans and their families from Chinese "economic refugees"? I will leave these questions unanswered for now, but note that the wisdom of people such as Kōji gives us the hope that people, regardless of nationality, can learn the value of humanism from a past that they once shared in some ways.

5
Memory Map 4

Chinese People's Memories

"We are beginning to understand Manchuria as a place in the Japanese imagination. Yet situating Manchuria in the *Chinese* imagination seems to be a work still at an earlier stage of progress," writes Rana Mitter (2005:25, emphasis in original). Although the works of scholars such as Mitter (see also Mitter 2000), Carter (2002), Duara (2003), Fogel (1995, 2005), and Shao (2005) have brought to the Anglophone reader much about the Chinese imagination of Manchuria in the age of empire, we are still short on knowledge about *ordinary* Chinese people's memories. In part, in China, where "history writing has been the prerogative of a single-party state and its agents," it is difficult, if not impossible, to listen to the voices of these ordinary people (Watson 1994:1). Indeed, the published memoirs of such ordinary people—peasants and laborers—seem to reflect the CCP's commemoration project, which glorifies Chinese nationalism but rebukes Japanese imperialism. Such memoirs therefore tend to create the black-and-white understanding of the history of Manchuria shaped by Chinese nationalist politics, which "channel histories into very narrow passages" (Duara 2003:59; see also Tamanoi 2005:9–10).

In China today, most of these memoirs can be found in collections that were compiled, edited, and published in the 1980s and '90s by the Chinese state-sponsored press, such as Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi (People's Political Consultative Conference) or Renmin Chubanshe (People's Press). The most conspicuous among them are *wenshi ziliao* (documents on culture and history), collections of about ten thousand volumes of memoirs and interviews on local history and culture that were published mainly at the county and city levels.[1] (For easy reference, I will call these collections "cultural and historical documents.") These are thus first-person narratives in which authors and interviewees rely on their memories as eyewitnesses to various events. Hence they are written in a colloquial style. In addition, the authors or interviewees appear to be isolated individuals who seem never to have disclosed their memories to others until they were interviewed by members of the CCP. It is interesting, then, that the interviewers (and their questions) do not appear in the published memoirs.

That said, in this chapter I will first discuss the memories of the Japanese colonization of Manchuria that were recounted by ordinary Chinese

people and then published in the cultural and historical documents collections.[2] These authors and interviewees—farmers during the Manchukuo era—lived, at the time they were solicited to write memoirs or interviewed, in the provinces of Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning in Northeast China. Hence the volumes of cultural and historical documents that I read were published in the counties and towns of these three provinces, which formed the core of Manchukuo in the age of empire. With the understanding that they hardly offer us alternative remembrances to the official history, I will approach these collections with the question of not only *what* the authors and interviewees remembered but also *how* they remembered (or how they were asked to remember) Manchuria. Such an approach requires that I read these memoirs "against the grain of their ostensible meaning" (Rafael 1992:71), specifically with the following questions in mind. What kinds of frameworks do the authors and interviewees use in remembering the age of empire in Manchuria? Why are the interviewers' voices absent? What kind of information is being left out, and who is excluded from the memorializing? Are readers able to trace the editing in these memoirs and interviews? Note that my intention is by no means to deny the authenticity of these memoirs. Rather, I would like to examine the effects of reading such state-sponsored memoirs on our understanding of the history of Manchuria in the age of empire.

Second, I will present oral narratives of the Chinese who adopted the children of Japanese agrarian settlers in the aftermath of the war. These narratives were collected by a team assembled by a Japanese scholar, Asano Shin'ichi, and a Chinese scholar, Dong Yan, in Northeast China between 2002 and 2004. Although official statistics are lacking, the number of such adoptive parents is said to range between six thousand and ten thousand. While most of them died long ago, about three hundred of them are believed to still be alive. One Japanese human rights watch group estimates that around thirty of these are physically able to speak to interviewers (Asano and Dong 2006:vii). Asano and Dong interviewed a total of fourteen Chinese adoptive parents at length, transcribed their testimonies in Chinese, translated them into Japanese, and compiled and published them as a book. It is these testimonies that I will translate into English in this chapter.

Finally, I will present the oral narratives of three men, the children of Japanese colonists, who were left behind in China in 1945. Like the orphans who appeared in memory map 3, they visited Japan at the state's expense to meet their Japanese relatives in the late 1980s, but they renounced Japanese nationality and decided to stay in China as Chinese nationals. They took care of their aged Chinese adoptive parents instead of leaving them behind. Mitome Tadao, a Japanese journalist, met the men in Tokyo and followed them to Northeast China to interview them in 1987. He later translated their oral testimonies into Japanese and

published them as a book. Although the testimonies of orphans living in China were also published in the cultural and historical documents, here I will focus on those complied by Mitome.

The Site of Memories for Chinese Peasants

In 1963, in Heilongjiang Province, the Chinese state erected a tomb for the Japanese agrarian settlers who died in Manchuria in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion. This is not a tomb for individuals but for the collectivity of Japanese victims, and at that time it expressed the CCP's interpretation of the Japanese colonization of Manchuria: Japanese agrarian settlers were like Chinese peasants in the puppet state of Manchukuo; both were the victims of Japanese imperialism. However, during the Cultural Revolution, the site was desecrated several times by local residents (Mitome 1988). Since the late 1980s, increasing numbers of Japanese tourists, many of them repatriates from Manchuria or their children and grandchildren, have visited this tomb. Whether these tourists are in dialogue with local Chinese residents is the question that concerns me in chapter 6. Here I note only that the Chinese who lived through the age of empire have been living under the Chinese state since 1945, and that their memories reflect the post-colonial history of China. Indeed, this is a point that historian Shao Dan has already made.

To explore the changing identities of ethnic Manchu people through the Qing era, the early Republican years, the Manchukuo era, and the 1980s, Shao examined local gazetteers. Although local gazetteers are similar to the cultural and historical document collections in several ways, they are also different in format, history, and topics of discussion. While the latter are products of the CCP, local gazetteers have hundreds of years of tradition, originating in imperial China. They cover topics as varied as geography, administration, history, local events, customs, temples, currency, the military, local clans, biographies of the local elite, filial sons, and chaste women; they also have literary works by local authors. Since 1949, local gazetteers have added such "modern" topics as the environment, agriculture, industry, commerce, education, minority groups, and "revolutionary martyrs." Nonetheless, like the cultural and historical documents, they are not free from the views of the regime in each period, for the local elite compiled and/or revised gazetteers in order to redefine the place of their community after each regime collapsed (Shao, forthcoming:6–7). Thus since the 1980s, when CCP members became compilers of local gazetteers, compilers have been trying to redefine the place of their community in accord with party views—precisely as do the compilers of the cultural and historical documents. In other words, since the 1980s, the two publications have more similari-

ties than differences. Let us now turn to the memoirs and interviews compiled in the cultural and historical documents.

Among the narratives collected in the cultural and historical documents, the theme of exploitation looms large: Chinese peasants were exploited by the Japanese people, Japanese imperialists, Japanese intruders, the puppet state of Manchukuo, the Agricultural Development Cooperative, Japanese soldiers, Japanese policemen, and the colonies of (Japanese) agrarian settlers—all of which committed "fascistic and sadistic crimes" against the Chinese people (quoted in Nishi, Sun, and Zheng 2007:30).[3] For example, in one article published in Baoqing County in 1985, Shi Picheng recalls the following: "In the spring of 1938, my brother, Shi Pijun, was recruited by the Japanese to build two model villages. Soon my father and I were also recruited to build other such villages." These model villages, however, turned out to be "concentration camps," which the puppet state of Manchukuo built in the Baoqing region to separate ordinary—apolitical—Chinese farmers from anti-Japanese activists. In Shi's neighborhood, "All the males older than twelve were forced to work on the construction sites. All the farm animals were also mobilized." Each concentration camp was in "the shape of a rectangle or a square," surrounded by earthen walls that were almost three meters high. After completion, "peasants, particularly those living near the mountains, were forced to move in." The houses of those who failed to move within the time specified were burned. The residents of a concentration camp always had to carry identification cards issued by the police. They could leave the camp only after sunrise and had to return home before sunset. They were also exploited "by heavy taxation and fees, such as a household registration fee, an investment tax, a cart license tax, and so on" (Shi Picheng, *Baoqing wenshi ziliao*, vol. 4, 1985).

Chinese farmers were forced to leave their homes not only for the sake of the Japanese military's plan to "clean up" anti-Japanese activities but also to make room for Japanese agrarian emigrants. These farmers were then remobilized by the Japanese as coolies and/or tenant farmers. In an article published in Harbin in 1985, Zhang Quanlao was interviewed by Zhou Fumin: "One day, in the fall of 1936, when I was having lunch, over twenty Japanese soldiers rushed into my house and forced me to move. They said that if I did not follow their orders, they would burn my house down. Before I could say anything, they grabbed the dining table, threw it on the bed and poured gasoline on it to burn it. After burning my house, they went on to burn my neighbors' houses." After this incident, Japanese soldiers built a police station and eventually a colony for Japanese settlers, who did not allow "any Chinese to enter their territory set aside for farming, hunting, or collecting firewood or wild plants" (Zhou Fumin, *Harbin wenshi ziliao*, vol. 6, 1985).

Xie Guizhi and Du Yuan-en were also the victims of brutal exploitation by the Japanese imperialists. In 1987, they wrote the following:

> The community of Fangjia Street was located approximately three hundred meters to the east of today's Fangjia Street Village. In 1935, Japanese and Manchukuo officials came to the Fangjia Street community. In the name of the "Manchukuo Agricultural Association," they took 1,966 *mu* [about 140 hectares] of already cultivated farm land and declared that they would establish a Japanese village on it. As a matter of fact, to build a Japanese village on Chinese soil was unheard of even among the Japanese imperialists. The land was purchased at a price far lower than current market prices. . . . Though it did not deeply affect landlord families, it left many poor peasants without land; they later had to make a living as tenants. The [imperialists'] plan was to invite forty-two Japanese families to this community. Thus, before their arrival, we local farmers were forced to build houses for them. (Xie Guizhi and Du Yuanen, *Meihekou wenshi ziliao*, vol. 2, 1987)

The Chinese farmers were also exploited by the Agricultural Development Cooperative, founded by the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1940 (Jin Guanyu, *Meihekou wenshi ziliao*, vol. 2, 1987). One of its policies was a quota system, under which, according to Yan Linsen,

> A large portion of the harvest had to be turned in [to the cooperative], and the quota had to be strictly fulfilled. Some of those who failed to do so chose to kill themselves for fear of being punished or sanctioned. In addition, what was left of a whole family's food, of next year's seed, and of the livestock was sometimes looted by the cruel authorities. . . . On one bitterly cold January morning in 1941, nearly 150 officials suddenly arrived at Sanhe Village in four or five trucks. They were soon divided into four teams and rushed toward the residential area. They went to each family and insisted on confiscating all the grain. The shocked peasants could do nothing but follow their orders; otherwise, they could not imagine what penalties awaited them. (Yan Linsen, *Boli wenshi ziliao*, vol. 11, 1994)

According to Wang Dongjin, "The quota for soybeans and rice was 90 percent of the total yield; *kaoliang* and corn were 60–70 percent of the total harvest. However, of the rest, 10 percent of the soybeans and rice could not be traded but had to be stored as seed for the next year. Therefore, peasants who had planted rice could not eat any rice at all" (Wang Dongjin, *Meihekou wenshi ziliao*, vol. 4, 1990).

Another system of exploitation involved "Manchurian coolies." In

1986, Zhao Youfeng, "a Chinese coolie hired by a Japanese colony," was interviewed by Yu Jinting and stated the following:

> I can still remember that day clearly. It was the twenty-fourth day of the sixth lunar month. Three Japanese came to see me. One caught me and put a knife to my neck, threatening to kill me. I struggled and insisted on an explanation. They then told me that the head of Team Five was missing the money that he had received from selling cows, sheep, and several pieces of equipment. They suspected that the Chinese coolie whom I had introduced [to the team] had stolen the money. They also thought I was an accomplice. I denied all the charges, but they refused to listen to me. At that point, a Japanese woman came toward us and vouched for my innocence and suggested that they search my home. They followed me home and searched everywhere, but nothing was found. They released me but insisted that I have a drink with them. When they were drunk, they told me that the coolies named Ma, Lu, and Yang were all dead, and I realized that these Chinese coolies had been tortured to death by them. Though I was very scared, I did not show any emotion. I pretended to get drunk and lay on the bed. They saw me drunk and laughed loudly. They thought I was an honest person and told me [jokingly], "Zhao, from now on, you are *taijun*.[4] All our possessions are yours." They then left. (Yu Jinting, *Fuyu wenshi ziliao*, vol. 5, 1986)

Yet another "exploiter" in the cultural and historical documents was the Japanese soldier. In a memoir titled "Two Brutal Acts of the Japanese Invaders," Wang Jicai remembered the following:

> One summer day when I was seven, my brother and I went out to buy a pair of rubber shoes. While walking, we noticed that people on the street suddenly retreated to the sidewalks as three Japanese soldiers and a big dog came along. The dog attempted to attack people on both sides, and the soldiers burst into loud laughter. At this moment, a young peasant showed up . . . ; as he had just turned the corner, he did not see the unexpected danger. As soon as he saw the soldiers and their dog, he quickly ran back as the dog tried to chase after him. Instead of dragging the dog back, the soldiers let the dog loose and let him bite the young peasant's face and chest. The pedestrians all shouted, "Drag the dog back," but the three soldiers kept laughing and made no effort to take any action. Nearly twenty Chinese people rushed angrily toward them and demanded that they drag the dog back. Becoming afraid, the soldiers finally relented and left quickly with the dog. People helped the injured peasant get up and walk back home. On our way back home, an elderly man said to my brother in a low voice, "Young fellow, do you

> know how Japanese soldiers train their dogs to bite Chinese? They hang meat on the chests of straw men. While doing this, they let the dogs watch. They then dress the straw men in the clothes of Chinese peasants. For sure, the angry dogs, after being unleashed, will run at the straw men and tear at their clothes to get at the meat. That's why those dogs attack people in Chinese clothes. You boys need to be cautious!" After witnessing the accident and hearing this, I could not help wondering what was meant by so-called "Japanese-Manchurian harmony." (Wang Jicai, *Baoqing wenshi ziliao*, vol. 4, 1985)

In the cultural and historical documents one also finds resistance heroes. As ordinary people, these heroes use the "weapons of the weak" against the Japanese. One such hero appears in the documents compiled by the Beixing Office of Agrarian History. In this particular case, however, he is Japanese: "There was a young [Japanese] man named Akichi. He was a member of the Patriotic Youth Brigade. Since he did not want to act as a tool for the Japanese invasion into China, he hid in the jungle of a remote area. Even after Japan's capitulation, he refused to return home and stayed in China. He died many years ago" (quoted in Nishi, Sun, and Zheng 2007:96).[5] Another hero is Li Shufang, a young Chinese man. In the fall of 1939, Li was fishing under the bridge of a nearby river with his friends. All of a sudden, they heard a young girl screaming and crying. They ran up and saw the girl being chased by Japanese boys. This girl was with an adult Chinese woman. The boys had a lizard and threw it at the girl's face. They then tried to put the lizard in the pocket of her pants. The woman was obviously reluctant to hit the boys since they were Japanese. Li and his friends got very mad. They separated the boys from the girl by force and threw them into the river. Li himself continues the story:

> That afternoon, the Japanese colony [in Gangjietun where Li lived] sent dozens of armed "Japanese devils" to my village. They brought several Japanese kids with them. They visited every house on every street to search for us. . . . Their search lasted for more than a month. We first hid out in the West Mountains. We then lived in a small hut built on the cornfield that my family worked. When we were hungry, we ate corn and potatoes. Some nights, we went home and caught up on what was going on with our families and friends. In this way, we spent about two months. We suffered, but since we had done what we were expected to do as Chinese, we truly felt good. (Quoted in Nishi, Sun, and Zheng 2007:105)[6]

Did the Chinese perceive Japanese agrarian settlers as equally cruel exploiters as the soldiers and policemen? In the cultural and historical documents published in the city of Jilin in 1987, Ma Kun writes the following:

> In 1941, for the first time in my life, I saw Japanese agrarian colonists in Dunhua County, Jilin Province. By then, approximately ten Japanese communities had been built in Dunhua County. The Japanese arrived in groups before 1941. They occupied land, established villages, planted farmland, and set themselves apart from the local Chinese. At that time, I was living on the southern tip of Dunhua and often saw Japanese colonists arrive. These Japanese were short and rough skinned and wore linen shirts, riding breeches, and *tabi* socks. They also carried large backpacks. They had emigrated from different regions of Japan. The women colonists were often in dark clothes, covering their heads with white towels. Unlike Japanese women living in the city, they did not wear makeup or kimonos, as they needed to work all the time. At festival times, they would visit city temples to worship deities. Though these Japanese agrarian colonists did not look as arrogant as those living in the city, they were very cruel and regarded themselves as superior to Chinese farmers. (Ma Kun, *Jilin City wenshi ziliao*, vol. 6, 1987)

Nonetheless, when the Chinese farmers think back to the period after the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, they express deep sympathy for the Japanese colonists. Ma Kun recalls, "After Japan's capitulation in August 1945, I saw guns and swords left about everywhere at the Japanese army encampment in Dunhua. The Japanese soldiers gathered at the train station, waiting to be sent back to their home country, and so did the agrarian colonists. The kind Chinese peasants did not scorn them; they felt sorry for those poor peasants. Instead of taking revenge on them, they offered help when needed, assisting or adopting the lost Japanese children and women" (ibid.).

The memoirs published in the cultural and historical documents also reveal a profound gap between the memories of the Chinese and the Japanese. For example, in 1988, another survivor of Japanese imperialism, Liu Hongyi, contributed the following to the Boli documents:

> In October 1945, my hometown, Sanhe Hamlet of Sanhe Village, Boli County, took in about three hundred Japanese agrarian colonists from Baoqing County. They were assigned to each family for food and lodging, waiting to be sent back to Japan. Their leaders were two elderly men in their fifties, Ozawa Fumio and Suzuki Issei. Both were peasants from Nagano, Japan. They came to my home once or twice each day to ask me to represent them in negotiations with local officials, as I could speak Japanese, and they were very grateful for my help. The one who stayed with my family was Yamada Akiko, a woman in her forties. She was a nurse. She had a son and two daughters, ages thirteen, ten, and seven, respectively. All were elementary school students. Her husband

> used to drive a tractor at agricultural peak seasons, but he was later drafted into the army. No one knew his whereabouts. Akiko and her children were worried about him and wondered when they would be reunited with him. During the half month that Akiko lived with us, she tried to offer some help each day. She was also very sensitive to our moods. When she noticed that we were not happy, she would ask me whether her family had caused any inconvenience. I had to comfort her. She told her children to call me "uncle," and the three children became very close to me. They were very polite. (Liu Hongyi, *Boli wenshi ziliao*, vol. 5, 1988)[7]

According to Liu, Akiko was very talkative. She expressed a "profound disappointment with the emigration project." She also said that Soviet soldiers were very brave, as they could easily cross all the blockades that Chinese coolies had been forced to build for years. Akiko also expressed "her gratitude for the Chinese families hosting Japanese refugees so they could return home and be reunited with their families." Liu continues, "During the month after the Japanese surrender, Akiko and her fellow colonists were all worried about whether they could survive the turmoil in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. They thought that the Chinese might murder them, but fortunately the Chinese treated them as civilians instead of army personnel. Akiko was therefore deeply indebted. Other Japanese shared her feelings and were sincerely impressed by the humanity of the Chinese" (ibid.).

According to Liu, not every Chinese was kind to the Japanese colonists:

> One early morning, Ozawa and Suzuki came to my house and told me of an unexpected event. Yamashiro Noriko, a twenty-one-year-old Japanese girl, had been assigned to live with the Chinese team leader's family. The leader let her stay with his adult son in one room. . . . [One] night, at about nine o'clock, the son attempted to rape the girl. Noriko fought back and wanted to escape, but the door was locked. Luckily, she found some corncobs and threw them at the window to break it. She then escaped, ran to Ozawa and Suzuki, and asked for a new shelter. The villagers learned about this incident and felt very sorry for her and immediately changed her residence. This team leader was a loyal running dog who had collaborated with the Japanese invaders before August [1945]. Every time he met a Japanese official, [this collaborator] would show him the highest respect. But after Japan's capitulation, he suddenly betrayed his former master. Anyway, his behavior did not represent the majority of Chinese people. (Liu Hongyi, *Boli wenshi ziliao*, vol. 5, 1988)

Excluded from the community of Chinese people are the Chinese "running dogs," who were loyal to the Japanese before the war's end. Liu further states, "When the three hundred community members left China, the young ones walked, and the elderly, women, and children sat on carts. They returned [to Japan] with gratitude toward their Chinese host families. When Akiko left, she kept saying, 'thank you; we will never forget you.' The two leaders, Ozawa and Suzuki, came to my family to say goodbye. Mr. Ozawa said, 'We deeply appreciate all the help you extended to us during this half month. Thank you, my Chinese friend, and farewell.' These words are still clearly in my mind after forty-three years" (ibid.). "Harmony" between the Chinese and the Japanese was thus established *after* Japan's defeat.

In the cultural and historical documents, "Manchurian bandits," one of the main themes of Japanese repatriate memoirs, hardly appear. Rather, in this collection of memoirs, after Japan's capitulation many Japanese colonists die in compulsory group suicides. The only memoir mentioning figures whom I could associate with "Manchurian bandits" is by Wang Shaoqing. This memoir was written by Yu Jinting, who interviewed Wang: "I was the Chinese coolie for the Fourth Team. After Japan's capitulation, four or five days before the compulsory group suicide incident, the Japanese colonists visited me, and we had dinner together. At that time, they told me, 'Wang, you can sell all of our stuff, and whatever is left will belong to you.' I was confused and did not know what was going on. In the following days, they sold lots of things. . . . They prepared to return to Japan. Then I realized that Manchukuo had fallen to pieces" (Yu Jinting, *Fuyu wenshi ziliao*, vol. 5, 1986). At this point "more and more Chinese [eventually over one thousand] came and surrounded the colony's walls. By then all the Japanese [who had earlier given up their rifles] were in despair. . . . It seemed that they had to die anyway. They therefore thought suicide to be a better solution. They gathered all the people and possessions in fourteen rooms and made each group stand next to a pile of stuff and a bucket of diesel oil. Someone prepared torches" (ibid.).

In this process of the Japanese preparing for mass suicide, the Japanese themselves acted like "Manchurian bandits": they killed an old man, a coolie, with a Japanese sword, and they ordered another two coolies to dig holes; when these coolies had completed the job, the Japanese kicked them into the holes and buried them alive. According to Liu, in retaliation a Chinese mob killed only the specific Japanese individuals who had been involved. Facing this situation, the Japanese became even more desperate and began to set fire to themselves and their possessions. In the end, about 260 Japanese died, most of whom were women and children.

Zhao Youfeng, who was also interviewed by Yu Jinting, ends his statement with the visits to China of the relatives of Japanese victims of mass suicide:

> In the midsummer of 1982, after the normalization of diplomatic relations, a group of eighteen Japanese visited China. They were the relatives of Japanese colonists who had died in mass suicides. . . . They brought incense, candles, and paper to mourn the dead. The leader of this group was Toyota Kazuyoshi. He was a former settler and once took care of the [colony's] accounts. [At the time of the mass suicides, he was not in the colony as] he had already been mobilized by the Japanese army. On the occasion of his visit, he immediately recognized Wang Shaoqing, now an old man. Toyota stood, went toward Wang, clutched his shoulders, called out his name in excitement, hugged him, and wept profusely. Toyota and Wang talked for about an hour through interpreters. They talked about what had happened to them after Japan's defeat and the long-term friendship between China and Japan. Neither one mentioned those unpleasant days. At the formal gathering, Toyota said, "We are the victims of Japanese imperialism. At the same time, we are the imperialists who hurt the Chinese people." . . . When leaving, the group gave us a gift of one hundred fans. On each fan, "Japan-China friendship" was printed. These Japanese said they would visit us again. Yes, please! We sincerely hope they will do so many times. Both the Chinese and the Japanese will carry the memories of this sad incident [the Japanese mass suicides] for generations to come. China and Japan shall never fight again! (Yu Jinting, *Fuyu wenshi ziliao*, vol. 5, 1986)

Like Japanese repatriate memoirs, the cultural and historical documents purport to create a national community of victims and resistance heroes. Yet after Japan's defeat, the loyal "running dogs" of the Japanese, like some high-ranking Japanese state officials, immediately changed their stance and began attacking the Japanese agrarian settlers. In some episodes, these "dogs" were killed by the Chinese. For example, in the incident recounted above by Wang Shaoqing, Liu Gaoli, a police officer in Manchukuo, was one such "running dog." According to Wang, "The Chinese people hated him and killed him outside the wall." It is interesting that in the cultural and historical documents the Russian soldiers who attacked Japanese colonists and raped many Japanese women (in the Japanese repatriate memoirs) hardly appear. In a few instances when they do appear, they are remembered as "brave soldiers."

It is quite clear that the authors of the memoirs published in the cultural and historical documents were affected by what happened in China after 1949. Thus, what they remembered in the 1980s and '90s clearly supports the Communist ideology. For example, in the Manchukuo era, they remembered the class distinctions among both the Chinese and the Japanese. They remembered that "landlord families" were

less affected by the presence of Japanese settlers than "poor peasants." They also remembered the Japanese agrarian colonists as less arrogant than the Japanese living in cities. Furthermore, as they were rehabilitated under communism, they in turn rehabilitated the Japanese whom they remembered. Thus, Yamada Akiko, the wife of a Japanese colonist, expressed her profound disapproval of the Japanese emigration project right after Japan's defeat (noted above in Liu Hongyi's memoir)

The cultural and historical documents have just begun to draw the attention of some Japanese historians. Most of these historians tend to read the memoirs published therein as representations of "the historical truth." While they use these memoirs to explain successive historical events in order to support their view of Manchukuo as Japan's colonial project, they hardly question who compiled, edited, and framed those memoirs for the purpose of publishing them in the cultural and historical documents. Consequently, like their Chinese counterparts, these Japanese historians tend to produce a black-and-white understanding of the history of Northeast China. For example, *Chūgoku nōmin ga akasu "manshū kaitaku" no jissō* (Nishi, Sun, and Zheng 2007), the product of a long-term collaboration between a Japanese historian and two Chinese historians who together translated numerous memoirs published in the cultural and historical documents into Japanese, organizes the narratives of Chinese peasants chronologically, from the arrival of Japanese armed immigrants to Manchuria in the early 1930s, through Japan's capitulation and the fall of Manchukuo, to the 1980s and '90s. The focus, however, is solely on *what* the peasants remembered. Consequently, the authors have retained the simple dichotomy of the Chinese as victims and the Japanese as victimizers.[8] Yet there are some exceptions to this general rule.

During the Manchukuo era, the Kwantung Army mobilized hundreds of Chinese farmers as conscripted laborers to build a fortress. Sakabe Akiko (2007), a Japanese historian, tried to examine the memoirs published in the cultural and historical documents that were allegedly written by these conscripted laborers. In addition to simply reading such memoirs for "historical facts," she visited the prefecture in question and accompanied the Chinese interviewers to the actual sites of interviews. In other words, she tried to pay closer attention to the context of collective memory making in contemporary Northeast China. One of the interviewees, an old man, was an active member of the local chapter of Kyōwakai (the Concordia Association) and collaborated with the Japanese officials of Manchukuo.[9] For this reason, he had already been interviewed several times by the CCP prior to Sakabe's visit. When the interviewer said that ordinary

people were always the victims of power, this man, according to Sakabe, hesitated but finally said, "Yes indeed. . . . In the past, we [the Chinese and Japanese of the Concordia Association] spent time together, as we are now spending time together. Every human being has feelings and emotions, right?" (Sakabe 2007:199).

It is clear that the presence of a Japanese historian (Sakabe) made him say what he did. But after this comment, the old man began telling a story that had never been recorded in the cultural and historical documents: When his father was arrested by the Japanese thought police, this man brought up the matter with his superior. This officer, who was Japanese, then wrote something [in Japanese] on the back of one of his calling cards and asked the man to bring it to the police, which he did. His father was then released and came home. Yet the narrative of this old man in the cultural and historical documents had already painted him as "one of the slaves who had worked for the Japanese" (see Gao X. 2002). Sakabe thus argues, "Owing to his experiences as a youth in Manchukuo, this old man was accused and rehabilitated by the CCP during the Cultural Revolution. . . . His memories [of the good Japanese who helped him] do not fit in with the collective memory in Dongning, where hundreds of Chinese people were mobilized by the Japanese army to build a fortress. The collective memory has forced him not to speak of his personal memories" (2007:201).

While I agree with Sakabe, I wonder whether the search for the memories of "good Japanese people" will produce a more nuanced history of Manchuria without creating yet another dichotomy, that of the good versus the bad Japanese. The narratives of ordinary Chinese people published in the cultural and historical documents are complex. While these ordinary people are expected to remember events that would satisfy the interviewers, they occasionally fail to do so. Yet can we criticize the interviewers—the CCP members—for their ideological orientation? After all, Japanese officials and scholars in the age of empire were instructed to conduct research in a way dictated by the Japanese state; among other things, they were not allowed to describe interactions between ordinary Chinese people and Japanese state officials, including soldiers and policemen (Nakao 2005:243; see also Tamanoi 2006b).

Voices of Chinese Adoptive Parents

The narratives of Chinese who raised the children of Japanese agrarian settlers follow a chronological path of how they adopted them, how they tried to hide their Japanese identity from them, how they agonized over the children's permanent departure for Japan, and how they suffer today, both materially and emotionally, in the absence of the adopted

children who have returned to Japan permanently. They conclude their stories with a plea to the Japanese state to ease not only their current suffering in China but also the suffering of their adopted children, most of whom receive welfare from the Japanese state for their daily survival.

One adoptive father, Kong Shaoren, was born in 1917. When interviewed in 2002, he was living in the China-Japan Friendship Apartments, which had been built by an anonymous Japanese businessman in gratitude for the Chinese adoptive parents who had saved thousands of Japanese children. Kong attended only elementary school. When he and his wife adopted a child of agrarian settlers, he was an itinerant vendor of soap and other household items. He then worked at an ironworks. After that, he labored as a ragpicker and a cleaner. His narrative is as follows:

> In 1945, Japanese settlers began to flee in groups. The girl whom I later adopted had been abandoned by the roadside. We saw children like her everywhere at that time. . . . In the beginning, I did not want to take her with me. She looked blind. She had a high fever and was barely breathing. She indeed looked hopeless. But looking back, that's why I adopted her. Besides, shortly before then, we had lost our first son [to illness], so my wife was able to breast-feed her. . . . I do not regard those Japanese who abandoned their children as cruel. To the contrary, I find them wise. Otherwise, those children would not have survived. Because their parents abandoned them, they could live. Since we suffered under Japanese rule, I wouldn't say I had no hesitation in adopting a Japanese child. We were starving then, as Japanese settlers were taking the lion's share of rationed food. Besides, I was once a conscripted laborer for the Japanese military, though I managed to run away and return home. But when I saw this child, something changed in me, and I decided to save this tiny life. I said to myself, "Let's save this child." Well, it is like saving someone's life, regardless of his or her nationality. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:3–4)

Indeed, none of the adoptive parents who were interviewed by Asano and Dong criticized the Japanese parents who left their children in China. One of them, Shen Fengxian, states, "The Japanese parents did not wish to leave [the children], but they had to. Otherwise [neither parents nor children] would have survived. Anyone who knows the situation back then would agree with me" (quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:14). Shen, who was born in 1924, never attended school. Even today she remains illiterate. When young, she worked as an itinerant egg vendor. One day, when she tried to sell eggs to a Japanese police officer, she enraged him with something she said. Consequently, he kicked her in the abdomen, which left her barren for the rest of her life. This is part of the reason she was eager to adopt a Japanese girl. Still, she named the girl

she adopted Daixiao, which means in Chinese "someone who will bring a son." In other words, since she had adopted Daixiao, she hoped she would be blessed with a biological child, hopefully a son. Shen remembered, "I have never said anything harsh to my adopted child solely because she was Japanese. Such an idea [of making an issue of her nationality] never occurred to me. These children did nothing wrong. They would have died if we had refused to raise them. All I did was to raise her as my child. I never thought of her nationality. After all, I am her mother. I kept telling my neighbors that I gave birth to her. Although some of them knew she was the child of Japanese settlers, they kept the secret to themselves. My daughter grew up believing that I was her biological mother" (ibid.:15).

Unfortunately, Daixiao did not bring Shen another child. Adoptive mothers like Shen, who had no child other than the adopted one, suffered most if the child returned to Japan permanently. Likewise, it was hard for a child to leave his or her adoptive parents. Still, Daixiao began searching for her root identity without telling Shen. When her adoptive father—that is, Shen's husband—died in 1993, she decided to return to Japan with her husband and two children. Describing her current situation, Shen says:

> I now live in the China-Japan Friendship Apartments with my younger sister and her husband. My life is harsh since neither my sister nor I are entitled to receive state pensions. We all rely on the monthly pension of eight hundred yuan that my sister's husband brings home. I have heart and stomach problems. I have to take medication. My right eye is blind, and I can barely see with my left eye. Hospital? No, I cannot go there because a single visit to a doctor costs me the entire monthly income of my brother-in-law. Yes, I did receive an honorarium from the Japanese state, but it disappeared after the operation on my right eye. But I cannot ask my adopted daughter to send me more money as she depends on welfare in Japan. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:17–18)

Although Shen was not blessed with son, Ma Wenyu, who had been childless for more than ten years before adopting a Japanese child, was indeed blessed with two sons after naming her adopted child Daixiao. Daixiao's biological mother apparently died of illness. Her father then brought his seven children to Shenyang and entrusted the youngest two (one of whom was Daixiao) to a Chinese couple. In the early 1980s, the Japanese state identified one of Daixiao's biological brothers in Japan. Since Ma's husband was in favor of eventually moving to Japan following Daixiao, Ma decided to let her return to Japan permanently in 1986. However, Ma's husband died shortly after Daixiao's departure for Japan. Ma currently lives with her second son and his family:

> Our life is not easy, as we rely on only one source of income, that of my son. I receive no pension. My son works for a construction company and earns 1,000 yuan a month, but he has no job during the winter season. Hence our average monthly income is only about 500 yuan. My daughter-in-law, who works at a printing company, earns a monthly salary of 400 yuan. My grandson's schooling costs a lot, so with a monthly income of 900 yuan, we can barely eat. I am anemic and feel dizzy all the time. Since I also suffer from emphysema, I often find it hard to breathe. I have little appetite. In addition, I have a heart ailment, but I cannot go to hospitals. I simply take generic medicine. If I go to a hospital, the doctor gives me a shot instead of prescribing medicine. An injection costs a lot. If he orders me to stay in the hospital, it costs me 1,000 yuan a day. I cannot afford that. About ten adoptive parents live here in the China-Japan Friendship Apartments. Since we are all in a similar situation, I like to talk to them very much. While Mr. K [who built this apartment] was alive, all we had to pay was rent. Now that he has passed away, the manager charges us for rent and heat. This year, we paid 1,560 yuan for heating alone. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:28–29)

In general, the adoptive parents are poor: they hardly attended school, married young, and worked as itinerant vendors or artisans, categories of work that did not qualify them to receive state pensions. Even Kong, one of the few among the interviewees who receives a state pension, suffered in the economic recession in Northeast China in the 2000s.

> We cannot rely on our children. Our oldest son was killed in a motorbike accident. Our four daughters have all been laid off. Since they have children attending high schools and colleges, their education alone costs them from thirty to forty thousand yuan a year. Of course [aside from money matters], they have been helping us by doing all the household chores. Indeed, we cannot live without their help. . . . We received eighteen thousand yuan from the Japanese state but have already spent all the money. This money is supposed to reimburse us for what we spent in raising our adopted child and to help with our current living situation. If so, this is too small an amount. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:8).

Note that the life of the adopted children in Japan is as harsh as the life of these adoptive parents in China. Shen observes the following:

> My adopted daughter seems to be barely surviving in Japan. After her arrival in Japan, she was diagnosed with lung cancer, so she could not find a job. Since she no longer works, she has been receiving welfare.

> Her husband, who used to be a vegetable vendor, could not find a permanent job either. My daughter does not have money to return to China. If she does, for the duration of her visit, the Japanese state stops the payment of her welfare. It has been nine years since she left, during which time she has come back only twice. I want her to visit me more often. Calling me from Japan also costs her a lot, so she calls me only a few times a year. It looks like all the other orphans who returned to Japan are in situations similar to hers. Of course, she cannot send me money. Is she eating well in Japan? I do not think so. I do not expect her to send me money at all. I just hope that her living conditions in Japan will improve some day. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:18–19)

Statistics for 2006 showed that more than 60 percent of the orphans who had returned to Japan relied on welfare (see *Asahi*, December 6, 2006). Thus the adoptive parents who were left in China could not possibly rely on monetary assistance from their adopted children. Some adoptive parents, however, must depend on remittances from their adopted children because they have no one else on whom they can rely. He Xiuyu, who was widowed about thirty years ago, is one of those adoptive parents: "My adopted daughter [who returned to Japan in 1986 with her husband and three children] always thinks of me. She phones me once every two months. She also sends me four hundred yuan a month and some clothes. This is my only income. . . . She works at a restaurant washing dishes. She is older than sixty but must continue working for a living. She was a teacher before moving to Japan, but she is not entitled to receive [a Chinese] state pension as she has moved to Japan. Once in Japan, her husband moved from one small part-time job to another. Now he is too old to get a job" (quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:44–45).

To improve the lives of their adopted children who are now in Japan, the adoptive parents have made numerous pleas to the Japanese state: "I have asked the Japanese state to improve the quality of my adopted daughter's life in Japan. She is a Japanese citizen, isn't she? This is my only wish. I can have peace of mind only if my adopted daughter's life improves. No state should make its children suffer. Every child should be protected by the state to which he or she belongs. The Japanese state is responsible for the welfare of these orphans because it is the Japanese state that first sowed the seeds of their suffering" (Shen Fengxian, quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:19). Even adoptive mothers such as Wang Yunxiang, who has long been estranged from her adopted son, thinks as Shen does, and she has asked the Japanese state to take care of him.

> After Japan's capitulation, chaos reigned in Changchung because it was occupied by the Soviets. Several months passed, and this time Nationalist

> troops came and replaced [the Soviets]. Soon, however, Communist soldiers surrounded the city. There was little food in the city, so Changchung's residents were dying of starvation. They were eager to get out of the city. My husband was one of them. One day, when he was waiting at the city gate, he was caught by a Japanese woman, a refugee holding her toddler son's hand. She pleaded with him to take her and her child with him, but my husband, unsure of his own safety, refused her plea. Instead, he offered her a bag of fried beans. When Communist troops opened the city gate, Nationalist soldiers began shooting in retaliation. This Japanese woman was caught in the gunfire, and before dying, she asked my husband to save her child. He could not help but run away with this child. Back then, we had no child. If we had already had a child, we would not have adopted him. About six years later, I gave birth to our first daughter. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:33–34)

At the time of the interview, in 2002, Wang lived with her daughter and her family. Her daughter used to work at a department store, but she was then out of job. Her husband was a taxi driver, and his income was unstable. Hence Wang had to rely on the monthly unemployment allowances that her daughter received. As to her adopted son, all she knew was that he had returned to Japan and reclaimed his Japanese nationality but that he had come back again to China as he had been unable to find a job in Japan. Knowing that he was no longer a Chinese national, she worried about how he was making a living in China:

> My adopted son is supposed to be in Japan, but no one knows where he is now. Two years ago, he returned from Japan and told me that this house was his. I told him that he should inquire at city hall because this apartment was built for the Chinese adoptive parents of Japanese orphans. I feel he is unhappy about the fact that I have been taken care of by my daughter. He told me he would no longer care for me and left. I have no idea where he is now. He cannot receive welfare from the Chinese state as he is no longer a Chinese national. He cannot find a job here. I guess he is surviving on the money sent from his children [who are in Japan]. He never calls me. Since he is illiterate, he cannot write letters to me either. I have no hope for him. But I have a request for the Japanese state: please make him return to Japan. Once in Japan, he is at least entitled to receive welfare from the Japanese state. Can the Japanese state offer him a job? He is over sixty years old now and is sickly. He does not understand Japanese. His life in Japan was a mess. But even though he has returned to China, his visa [to stay in China] seems to have expired. He has to pay 120 yuan to renew it but he has not even a penny. I think it has been two or three years since his visa expired. Re-

> member, he is not a Chinese national. He can no longer lead a good life here. (Quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:37–38)

These adoptive parents have also appealed to the Japanese state to take care of the orphans who are still in China. These orphans do not even appear in official statistics because the Japanese state refuses to acknowledge their Japanese nationality.[10] Hence they are not entitled to return to Japan at the state's expense. Kong Shaoren has stated, "I ask the Japanese state to help those Japanese who are still in China. Here, where I live, there still remain many Japanese nationals whom the Japanese state refuses to acknowledge. Generally speaking, those who are still in China are quite poor. Last year, I met one of them who did not even have decent clothes! It is obvious that they are the orphans left in China. Why does the Japanese state not acknowledge them?" (quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:10).

There are some exceptions regarding the status of the orphans who remained in China. Zhang Guizhi's adopted daughter is a well-known veterinarian in the region where she works, and so is her husband. Their oldest son is also a veterinarian, and together they run an animal hospital. Zhang's daughter is therefore utterly uninterested in returning to Japan as she is quite aware that in Japan she could not continue working in the same profession. Still, Zhang has the following to say: "It is important for the Japanese state to assist the adoptive parents. Yet it is equally important for Japan to help those Japanese who still remain in China. My adopted daughter is simply an exception. How about offering those still in China jobs in Japan if they are laid off in China? . . . Of course, each one of them should make efforts, but the Japanese state should not leave them to fend for themselves (quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:100).

The adoptive parents have also appealed to the Japanese state to improve their own lives in China.

> Now that my daughter has returned to Japan, I feel so lonely. I am afraid for my own future. I would like the Japanese state to help us to live together. If not, I would like for the state to help us to see each other more often. Isn't it the Japanese state that abandoned these children in China and made them orphans? Isn't it the same state that made them return to Japan but separated them from us? The Japanese state must take responsibility on both fronts. First, it must take care of the orphans who have returned to Japan because they are the products of a war that Japan initiated. Second, it should make every effort to help us live together. If that is not possible, the Japanese state should adopt a policy so that we can at least see each other more often. (Shen Fengxian, quoted in Asano and Dong 2006:19–20)

Shen would like to move to Japan and live with her adopted daughter, but she states, "Since she is on welfare, I do not think I can move to Japan. If I do, her life will become much more difficult. Even now, her life is harsh. How much I wish to move to Japan! But I know I cannot move to [Japan]" (quoted in ibid.:20–21).

As Shen's narrative clearly suggests, the Chinese adoptive parents have fallen into the cracks between China and Japan precisely because they rescued the children of Japanese agrarian colonists. Hence, to recount their personal memories, they must bring both the Japanese state and the Chinese state into the picture. While raising their adopted children, they tried to hide the children's Japanese identity, but in vain. After the Cultural Revolution got under way, the adopted children realized that they were after all "little Japanese devils," as their friends called them. Soon the Japanese state, which has collaborated with the Chinese state since the mid-1970s on issues regarding the adopted children, reached these children, urging them to return "home." In a way, then, the Japanese state, which "sowed the seeds of suffering" of these children, this time made their adoptive parents suffer by taking away those who could have cared for them in their old age. However, unlike the authors of the cultural and historical documents, these adoptive parents refuse to call the Japanese state "imperialist." Rather, they view it as an institution that should offer compensation and welfare to them and to their adopted children. Even though both the Chinese adoptive parents and the Japanese adopted children are the products of the age of empire, they are far more preoccupied with the present and the future than the past. The narratives of the Chinese adoptive parents make the power of the Chinese state, which dictated the contributors' memories in the cultural and historical documents, seem much smaller.

Orphans Who Decided to Be "Chinese"

Sun Yanming, whose Japanese name is Nomura Noboru, was only three years old when Soviet troops invaded Manchuria. His parents were settlers in the branch village of Yomikaki, established by farmers who had emigrated from the village of the same name in Nagano. At the time of the Soviet invasion, Sun's father was not with him because he had already been drafted. In 1949, the father was able to return to Japan as a demilitarized soldier. Until the mid-1980s, he believed that his son had died in Manchuria in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. In fact, Sun was alive and living in the suburbs of Jiamusi in Heilongjiang Province and was the head of a wealthy farm family. In 1987, Sun recounted his memories of the end of the Japanese Empire in Manchuria to Mitome: "I was with a group of Japanese women, ten of them; my mother was one of them. She was the only one who was with her child—myself. I think all

the other women had already given up their children during their escape. . . . [We ran deep into the mountains, and there] we were attacked by bandits. But what could we do? All we could do was to run away from them. My mother and I hid behind a bush. When the sound of gunshots stopped, we went to the site where we had been. There, we saw two corpses of those women. We then began walking again" (quoted in Mitome 1988: 21–22). Sun and his mother soon reached a small village. Exhausted and starving, his mother knocked on the door of a farmhouse. The head of the house was entertaining a friend, Sun Guowen, who happened to be visiting him. This man took Sun and his mother into his carriage and brought them to his house. According to Sun, it was in either 1946 or 1947 that his mother, who was still unsure of her husband's whereabouts, married Sun Guowen. In 1949, she gave birth to her second (and her husband's first) son. In 1955, she fell gravely ill.

> My mother was in the hospital for about a year and a half. My adoptive father sold everything to cure her and devoted his time to the care of my mother. Since he literally lived at the hospital, he hardly came home. My brother and I lived here [at the house where Mitome interviewed him]. Since I was already thirteen years old then, I had to take care of my brother. I also had to earn money. I had little time to see my mother at the hospital. . . . Right before my mother's death, my adoptive father had a photo taken of him with my mother. I still have this photo. After the death of my mother, my adoptive father had a stroke. Half his body was paralyzed, which forced him to be in bed all the time. I quit school and began working in the production brigade of the people's commune. (Quoted in ibid.:25)

In 1959, in the midst of the Great Leap Forward, which devastated the agrarian base of his village, Sun's adoptive father died. It was at this moment, Sun said, that he began yearning for his fatherland, Japan.

In 1987, Sun visited Japan at the invitation of the Japanese state, which had identified an uncle on his mother's side prior to his visit. The Japanese state also discovered that his father was still alive. Yet Sun decided not to permanently return to Japan and went back to his village in Heilongjiang:

> In Tokyo, my uncle, my mother's brother, and his wife came to see me. But my father failed to come to see me. According to my uncle, my father was too old to come to Tokyo. He also said that he had a serious leg problem. Well, Japan has an excellent system of transportation. Even though he could barely walk, if he really wanted to see his son, he would have come to see me at any cost. My uncle gave me 150,000 yen. I really felt sick inside when he handed me the money. . . . He told me that I

> should write to my father, but I sensed he was not interested in taking me to his home. So I said to him, "If he genuinely wished to see me, he would have come to see me despite his illness." My uncle nodded and said, "Well, but, let's not say any more. It is good enough that we have met." I have not recovered from the shock that my father refused to see me. I still do not understand why a father does not want to see his own son. (Quoted in Mitome 1988:15–16)

His father's indifference is not the only reason that Sun chose not to return to Japan. He had become the head of a so-called *wanyuan hu*, a household that earns more than ten thousand yuan a year. In other words, Sun was thriving as a rich farmer in Northeast China.

> I now own about seventy *mu* (about 4.7 hectares) of dry land. There are about one hundred households in this village, and my family ranks well above the average [in terms of household income]. I grow mainly corn and wheat. Wheat is only for our family consumption, though I sometimes trade it for rice. . . . In addition, with my brother, Sun Yanfeng, we own two factories, one to make bean curd and another to make corn oil. My income from these nonfarming sources amounts to about 9,000 yuan. . . . I also own a tractor, which cost me about 6,600 yuan. Roads in this area are in such bad condition that cars are utterly useless, so I do not own a car. Instead, I have three bicycles. Even before my visit to Japan, I already owned a black-and-white television set, a radio cassette, and an electric washer. (Quoted in ibid.:18–19, 20)

In other words, Sun is a farmer who, according to the Chinese adage, "sunk deep roots in the soil of the place where he happened to land" (*luo di sheng gen*)—that is, China. At the interview with Mitome, he was with his Chinese wife and five children, the oldest of whom was already working as a middle school teacher (Mitome 1988:20).

Unlike Sun, Li Maosen (whose Japanese name is Yamane Yūichi) hardly remembers his parents. His memory goes back only to 1945 or 1946, when Li and his three brothers were starving to death in Harbin. Many years later, he learned that his father died in Changchun while his mother died somewhere in Heilongjiang Province. He is unable to recall the days when he and his brothers were with their parents, agrarian emigrants from Japan: "I do not remember how we survived. We had nothing to eat and I was ill. I only remember that strange sensation that all of us would die soon. I think this is why my [two] elder brothers entrusted me to Li Xuewen. Years later, I learned that they also entrusted my younger brother to another Chinese man" (quoted in Mitome 1988:32).

Li's adoptive father, Li Xuewen, and his wife already had a daugh-

ter, but they also wanted to have a son, so they adopted Li. Li Xuewen also extended help to his two older brothers: he offered them employment at a furniture shop. Soon Li Maosen had forgotten about his Japanese identity. In 1983, his stepuncle told him what had happened to him in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. Li recalls this moment: "I was very excited when I found out that I was Japanese. The one who told me so was the brother of my adoptive father. While I got excited over my identity, I said to myself that I should be grateful for my adoptive parents. They raised me, a child of a different nationality, with love. Yet to tell you the truth, since then, I have wished to see my brothers very badly" (quoted in Mitome 1988:35).

In 1986, Li visited Japan and met his three brothers. During his stay, he learned that his oldest brother had been mobilized by Chinese Communist forces and did not return to Japan until 1954. Li also learned that his second oldest brother had managed to join a group of Japanese and returned to Japan in 1946. In the late 1970s, these two brothers began searching for their missing brothers. The Japanese state soon found one of them, Li's younger brother, who had been entrusted to another Chinese family. He returned to Japan in 1980. As of 1986, Li was the only one who had not yet decided to make a permanent return to Japan.

Li held a high-ranking position at a furniture manufacturing factory in Heilongjiang that employed more than seven thousand workers. He did not want to give up his position by returning to Japan. His wife, two sons, and adoptive mother were also against the idea of moving to Japan. Thus, at the time of his interview with Mitome, Li stated the following:

> Though my adoptive father died in 1978, my adoptive mother, fortunately, is fine and lives with me. Thanks to my adoptive parents, I have been able to achieve this position and this life. I would like to take care of my adoptive mother until her death. I have yet another reason why I have decided to stay in China: I would like to do something for China, which has welcomed me warmly. By staying in China, I think, I can work better to promote friendship between Japan and China. I also love my work and my colleagues. My superiors as well as my colleagues also find my work important. I do not want to give up my work, position, and family to go to Japan. (Quoted in Mitome 1988:36–37)

Wishing to convey these sentiments to Li's eldest brother, Mitome called him once he returned to Japan. But in the conversation with Mitome, Li's brother adamantly refused any contact with Li. Apparently, his long ago association with Chinese Communist forces had wreaked havoc with his life in Japan since his return in 1954. He had already chosen to forget his experiences in China, and though he had welcomed Li's tempo-

rary return, he feared that his younger brother's permanent return would open up a box of memories that he had carefully sealed.

To be recognized as the orphans of Japanese settlers, those who are still uncertain about their identity must report directly to the local police and ask them to search for their Japanese relatives. Some simply wait until the local police contact them. In either case, the local police conduct a thorough investigation of a given individual through repetitive interviews with his or her adoptive parents, neighbors, and friends. Ding Wancai (whose Japanese name is Sakai Masaaki) simply waited until the local police contacted him even though he was clearly aware of his Japanese nationality. His reasons were twofold: (1) he did not want to lose his position as a labor union leader of a mining company, and (2) he vividly remembered what had happened to him in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation and wanted to be free of these memories. In 1987, after returning from Japan, Ding told Mitome the following:

> After Japan's defeat, we fled to Harbin and stayed at a shelter for Japanese. It was at this shelter that my mother and my sister Fumiko died. After their deaths, my father entrusted my younger brother, Fujio, to a Chinese couple. Then my father disappeared. My older sister and I became orphans. . . . I was sold to a Chinese couple. The man who sold me was Japanese, a stranger to me. I remember his name was Yamaita. My price was five hundred yuan. . . . Since I was already six years old, I understood I was being sold. As to the price, my adoptive mother later disclosed it to me. (Quoted in Mitome 1988:50–53)

Five hundred yuan was an extraordinarily high price in the mid-1940s in China. It is even more shocking that Yamaita sold Ding as a pure commodity. Of course, the couple who adopted him did not have five hundred yuan. Yet since they badly wanted to adopt him, they managed to gather together three hundred yuan. Yamaita apparently came back to collect the remaining two hundred yuan but failed to do so because, Ding explains, "My mother heard that this Japanese man would come back to collect the money, so she hid me from him. She then hid herself as well. He could not find us. Without receiving the two hundred yuan, this man apparently returned to Japan" (quoted in ibid.:54). In 1987, Ding visited Japan at the Japanese state's invitation. Two days after his arrival, he was reunited with his uncle and aunt. Yet Ding had no intention of returning to Japan. He only expressed a desire to understand "Japan."

The stories of the three orphans who decided to stay in China as Chinese nationals reveal that they all had unpleasant experiences with both Japanese relatives and strangers. Sun Yanming's Japanese father refused to see Sun; instead he asked his brother to give him money. Li Maosen's

Japanese brother refused to have any contact with him, and Ding Wancai wanted to forget about the Japanese man who sold him to his adoptive parents. These three men had been recognized by the Japanese state as Japanese nationals, but they chose to renounce their Japanese nationality and stay in China as Chinese nationals. Here we must also recall—from the memories of Chinese adoptive parents—that a significant number of Japanese orphans who have not yet been recognized by the Japanese or Chinese states still remain poor in China. These three men discussed here could afford to choose their nationality and the country in which they wished to live. For the unrecognized orphans, such a path is still closed.

I admit that this memory map must be further expanded, incorporating the voices of more Chinese people and of Korean people, whose voices I have neglected. In this respect, the work of such scholars as Shao Dan, who has examined the memories of ethnic Manchu people who lived through the Manchukuo era, and Sakabe Akiko, who has questioned the official process of memory gathering in contemporary China, will make this memory map significantly more complex. Nonetheless, even at this stage of map making, memory map 4 has filled some holes in the first three memory maps. In sum, the recent war of memory between China and Japan is not so much about "the truth"; it is more about how to represent the truth.

6
Conclusions

"The State" and Nostalgia in Postwar Japan

The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan

Today the state is conventionally understood as "a system of public organs, powers or authorities through which an independent nation, a sovereign community, governs itself" (Pelczynski 1984a:55–56). This state is the nation-state, the idea of which did not emerge in Western Europe until the late fifteenth century. Before then, there were Greek city-states, the Roman republic, multiethnic empires, small dynastic states, and so forth. While the system of modern nation-states, often called the "Westphalian system," grew in Western Europe in the late seventeenth century, it did not spread into every corner of the world until the second half of the twentieth century. Historically, then, the state has changed (and will change) not only in its personnel and ideological orientation but also in its form and functions. We should therefore keep in mind that the world's great thinkers who wrote about the state were historical beings: their ideas of the state reflect the specific historical settings in which the idea of the state was used for a particular social subordination (Abrams 1988:81). Nonetheless, we tend to ask universal questions about the state: "What is the state?" or "Does the state exist?" Given that the state has its own history, it is quite understandable that we now recognize multiple and competing definitions of the state (including the one that denies its existence).

In remembering Manchuria, those who have appeared in this book depicted the Japanese state differently, depending on who they were and where in the present they stood. Curiously, their narratives may remind us of the ideas about the state expounded by the great thinkers of the past and present. For example, in emigrating to Manchuria, the Japanese agrarian colonists carried with them the state that to them represented "those spiritual powers which live within the [Japanese] nation and rule over it" (Hegel, quoted in Pelczynski 1984a:56; see also Durkheim 1986).[1] Though their primary goal was economic, they also tried to be the exemplary subjects of imperial Japan who were capable of understanding the spiritual power of the Japanese emperor. Some of them imagined their branch villages in Manchuria as Utopias, communities in which individual freedom would blossom (Bakunin 1973; see also Engels 1968), and Manchukuo as "a vast association of the whole nation" (Marx 1993:111–112). In

this respect, the Utopian agrarianism that the middle-scale farmers in Nagano cherished in the age of empire resonated well with the ideas of Michael Bakunin, Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels. Here we should also recall that having been disillusioned by the conditions of life in the United States, about two thousand Japanese Americans emigrated to Manchukuo in search for *their* Utopia, a place free of racism.

After Japan's capitulation, however, the Japanese state failed to protect these agrarian colonists. The contemporary notion of a "failed state," one that can no longer deliver positive political goods to its people (Rotberg 2002:85), applies mostly to non- or semi-industrialized nations. Yet in the aftermath of its defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, the Japanese state was indeed a failed state in the eyes of its overseas citizens. In contemporary failed states the military often remains the only institution with any integrity, but the Japanese military after the Soviet invasion of Manchuria failed to protect its overseas citizens. In this respect, the Japanese state was more like "a national security state [that] assumes not only the right to decide who is to live and who is to die but also the citizens' ignorance of where and when they may be forced to die" (Schirmer 1994:191). A large body of the repatriate memoirs published in postwar Japan precisely recalls this "failed" Japanese state. Once in Japan, however, these former-colonists-turned-repatriates shifted their relationship to the phenomenon of the Japanese state by this time remembering their suffering as a contribution to the peace and prosperity of postwar Japan.

The children of Japanese agrarian colonists who were left behind in China but then returned to Japan beginning in the mid-1970s remembered the Japanese state quite differently from their parents. The following is from *After the Gunshots*, a novel that is based on the personal experiences of its author, Miki Taku, who was repatriated from Manchuria in 1946 as an eleven-year-old boy.

> "What is going to happen to me?" wonders the boy. His people seem to be all heading to a place located on the other side of the sea. The boy, however, has no recollection of the place. Although the boy has never made a big deal of it, his people, until now, enjoyed a wonderful life here. . . . Now that the war has ended, the people of this country look at his people, the colonizers, with eyes filled with anger. The colonizers lost all of their privileges, and their lives were turned upside down. The boy still finds it hard to understand the concept of the state [*kokka*], but he can at least understand that the state, which brought his people over here and has protected them since then, has been shattered to pieces. This is why his people look like thousands of worms that have just been taken out of their sack by force. (Miki 1973a:207)

In this passage, "the boy" is Miki himself. Hence "his people" refers to the Japanese, and the "place located on the other side of the sea" is Japan. "The people of this country," then, refers to the Chinese. But "the boy" grew up in "this country," so he has no recollection of the place called Japan. In the 1970s *in Japan*, Miki tries to remember the power of the Japanese state that made his life so pleasant in Manchuria before Japan's capitulation. Yet what he remembers is the (Japanese) state that has been shattered to pieces.

Unlike Miki, who was able to return to Japan in 1946, many orphans fell into the cracks between Japan and China after the war's end. Hence both the Japanese and Chinese states intruded into their everyday lives, whether they wanted them to or not, and it was the recollection of these postwar states that forced them to remember the wartime Japanese state. Those who restored their Japanese nationality and returned to Japan permanently had to leave their adoptive parents in China, and they lost their Chinese nationality. In contrast, those who kept their Chinese nationality and stayed in China lost their entitlement to the protection offered by the Japanese state. Those who could afford to choose their nationality or country were exceptions to the rule. Most suffered from economic deprivation, whether they returned to Japan or remained in China. These orphans were forced to keep shifting their identities between being Japanese and being Chinese. Since the Japanese state asked them to be "independent" of welfare, they sued the Japanese state *as Japanese nationals*, demanding full citizenship. Yet other orphans remained in China *as Chinese nationals* to protect their positions and families, even though the Japanese state asked them to return to Japan as Japanese nationals. In sum, these orphans have always had to rely on the state to survive. Yet some orphans seem to be riding the wave of global capitalism; they send money back to their hometowns in China by keeping both Japanese and Chinese nationalities within their extended families. The Chinese state welcomes the monetary contributions from overseas Chinese in Japan (see, for example, Douw, Huang, and Godley 1999; see also chapter 4, n. 17).

The Chinese peasants who lived in Manchuria in the age of empire remembered the Japanese state as a "form of human community that *successfully* [laid] claim to the monopoly of legitimate physical violence within a particular territory," in this case Manchukuo (Weber 2004:33, emphasis in original). For them, the Japanese state was the same as "the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo," the "Agricultural Development Cooperatives," "Japanese soldiers," "Japanese police officers," and even "Japanese agrarian settlers." Yet in the collected memoirs of the Chinese, the contributions were written under the absolute power of the Chinese Communist state, which, perhaps equally successfully, has laid claim to the monopoly of its citizens' memories (see Bakunin 1973:196–197).

How did the Japanese intellectuals who wrote extensively on the subject of the state in the age of empire perceive the (Japanese) state? These intellectuals closely connected the idea of the state to the ideas of *nihon minzoku* (Japanese race or ethnicity), China, and the West. In addition, the concept of *kokutai*, which can be translated as "the (Japanese) national body," considerably complicated their debates. The term depicts the Japanese nation as a single family and the emperor as its benevolent father. How did these thinkers imagine the relationships between the state and the emperor, between the national body and China, and between it and the West? How did their ideas, which might have reached popular audiences through political cartoons, literature, school textbooks, and popular writings, inform the ways in which the former colonists and their descendants remembered or forgot the Japanese state?

Kokutai-ron, theory on the national body, emerged in the 1880s. Among those who propagated this theory at the onset of the age of empire were Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944) and Hozumi Yatsuka (1860–1912). In *Chokugo engi* (On the imperial rescript), published in 1891, Inoue states the following: "In the East of today, only China and Japan remain independent and are able to compete for their national interests with the [Western] powers. However, China's eyes are fixed firmly on her past, and she shows few signs of a progressive spirit. Only Japan is making progress day and night, and will produce a glorious culture in the future if she plays her cards right" (quoted in Oguma 1995:51; translated in Oguma 2002:34).[2] While in this passage Inoue does not mention "the state," he understands "Japan" as a national community governed by a benevolent father, the emperor. Furthermore, he envisions this community to be pure, free of any outsiders or their influence. Hence in his works, following the tradition of nativism (*kokugaku*), he tries to extricate Japan's polity from Chinese influence.

Inoue, who studied in Germany, considered Japan far inferior to the West (Oguma 1995:35). In contrast, Hozumi Yatsuka thought it best to resist the influence of the West in order to safeguard Japan. In *Kokumin kyōiku aikokushin* (National education and patriotism), published in 1891, Hozumi argues, "Integrating a nation through shared interests or artificial contracts is inferior to kinship in generating national solidarity. This is because interests change from situation to situation, and artificial contracts can be artificially rescinded, but 'for kinsmen to rely upon one another is a natural form of solidarity'" (quoted in Oguma 1995:54; 2002:37). Here "interests" and "contracts" represent the West, while "kinship" (between the emperor and his subjects) represents Japan. Thus, both Inoue and Hozumi tried to imagine a national body of Japan free of Chinese (Inoue) or Western (Hozumi) influence, and for that end, they tried to

imagine a strong state that was capable of maintaining its independence. According to Hozumi, "If we allow ourselves to become intoxicated with the idea of world peace, and disarm, we will be defenseless and inevitably become the prey of the strong if and when the world is not unified as promised. . . . Given the state of things in the world today, it is clear that now is not the time to criticize patriotism as narrow-minded intolerance, nor to weaken our power of solidarity" (quoted in Oguma 1995:53–54; 2002:36). What is unclear in Hozumi's works is the relationship between the state and the emperor, which the national body conceals.

Kawakami Hajime (1879–1946) was an economic historian instrumental in introducing Marxism into Japan. In "Nihon dokutoku no kokkashugi," Kawakami wrote, "Japanese people came to realize that there was something extraordinary in their own civilization" (1911:18). He reached this conclusion after he had observed Japan's victory over Russia, and he named this "something extraordinary" *kokkashugi*: "In my opinion, one of the most salient characteristics of contemporary Japan is *kokkashugi*. Since this term is uniquely Japanese, it is impossible to translate it into any European language. For this reason, European and American people will be unable to understand the spirit of this idea" (ibid.:21). Kawakami then defined *kokkashugi* in its contrast to *kojinshugi* (individualism), which, he argued, was unique to the West and absent in Japan. While I am sympathetic to Kawakami, I translate *kokkashugi* as "statism" and summarize his argument as follows.

- Under statism, individuals serve the state to fulfill its goals.
- Under individualism, the state serves individuals to fulfill their goals.
- Under statism, only the state possesses inherent character, values, and goals, while individuals living under the state do not possess these. Instead, they affirm their existence only through the state.
- In Japan, individuals are the slaves of the state, while in the West the state is the slave of individuals.
- In Japan, the state is identical to God or the emperor. Hence the state (as well as the emperor) is vested with the supreme spiritual power to govern its individual subjects.
- Hence the Japanese state does not harm, nor is it capable of harming, individual subjects.
- In Japan, the state can always ask individual subjects to sacrifice their lives for the state. Individual subjects are in turn willing to do so.
- In the West, individuals have their own rights, and it is considered to be morally "right" to exercise them.
- In Japan, individuals have no such rights, and it is considered to be morally "wrong" if they seek to exercise them.
- In conclusion, for the Japanese, nothing stands above the state.

The idea of statism is thus based on a clear divide between Japan and the West. However, Kawakami does not seem to be interested in exploring the nature of the Japanese state other than identifying it with the emperor, a constitutional monarchy that controlled the modern state with armed force, administrative machinery, and parliamentary institutions. Japanese scholars who were interested in China seem to have replaced the divide between Japan and the West (in Kawakami's idea of statism) with another divide, that between Japan and China.

In 1916, in "Bunmei kokumin nanka no taisei" (The general trend among civilized people moving to the south), Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), a professor of colonial policy at Tokyo Imperial University, stated the following:

> When I visited Manchuria, I tried to examine the Chinese people's national character. What follows are my observations. Chinese people faithfully follow contractual rules, deeply trust each other, and are exceedingly successful as merchants. Nevertheless, they have little ability to create a state and exercise its power. . . . In China, individual subjects cannot expect the state to protect their lives and property. Since the state never functions effectively, Chinese people must necessarily help each other through complicated contractual relationships. The Chinese are indeed good people. We must genuinely appreciate their obedient, gentle, and industrious characters. (Quoted in Asada 1990:129)

Nitobe understands Manchuria as "a newly acquired territory" (Asada 1990:32). Yet in 1916, he is still short of arguing that China, which is unable to "create a state and exercise its power," should be governed by the Japanese state.[3] Rather, for Nitobe, the positive characteristics of the Chinese people originate in this very absence of the state; the Chinese people, who faithfully follow contractual rules, can be left to govern themselves. However, after the Manchurian Incident, the tone of Nitobe's argument changed.

On October 10, 1931, immediately after the Manchurian Incident, Nitobe contributed a short editorial, titled "Premature Democracy," to the English edition of the *Osaka mainichi* and the *Tokyo nichi nichi* newspapers; in it he compared the Republican revolution in China and the revolutionary war of independence in the United States:

> In spite of the oft-repeated comparisons made by Chinese students between the American Revolution and theirs, philosophical historians will find it difficult to detect much likeness between the two. On the contrary, some remarkable differences will attract their attention. Among these the most glaring is the total absence of any leading spirit. This amounts to the

> same thing as the presence of too many leaders. As our adage says, too many sailors land a boat on a hill. The young republic is still dominated by a crude and textbook definition of democracy that does not distinguish it from demagogy. [China's] college boys may discourse on Republican principles in the classroom, but they identify them with mobocracy when on the street. And it is these boys that "lead" the nation. When in a few years these boys grow to manhood, they will find that a rabble is not a demos, that liberty has its duties as well as its rights, that equality cannot take the place of order in the life of a body politic. But why address myself to our celestial neighbors when we need the same lesson for ourselves?

In 1931, ignorant student agitators replaced the obedient, gentle, and industrious Chinese in China, which still lacked "any leading spirit." Whether Nitobe identified the concept of a "leading spirit" with "the emperor" or "the democratic spirit" is unclear, but yet the last line of this editorial seems to suggest that Nitobe was also preoccupied with the Japanese state, which, in his eyes, lacked "any leading spirit."

After Japan established its puppet state of Manchukuo, Nitobe revisited the issue of the Chinese people's national character. In an editorial published in the same newspapers on November 13, 1932, Nitobe saw "one remarkable difference in the psychological character of the Chinese and the Japanese." While Japanese people were "identificationists" and Japan was an "identificationist" nation, Chinese people were "projectionists" and China was a "projectionist" nation. Restated, Chinese people had "the mental habit of shifting blame upon others or upon the conditions of life to relieve themselves of responsibility and attribute their failure to some causes or agents outside of themselves." This habit explained the xenophobic anti-Japanese movement among the Chinese, who were unable to criticize their own state, which did not exist anyway. Instead, they criticized what existed among the Japanese—the state. Hence, if "projection blinds one's eyes to one's own shortcomings or . . . induces him to lay the blame upon others, identification opens one's eyes to the excellent qualities of others [the West] and makes him believe he, too, has them even if he has not." This editorial reveals the ideal state that Nitobe envisioned: a Western, democratic nation-state. While his people had been trying hard to imitate it, Chinese people still had a long way to go to attain it.

Stefan Tanaka argues that Japanese Sinologists such as Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942) and Naitō Konan (1866–1934) viewed China (and Japan) in a larger framework of *tōyō* (the East or the Orient) and summarizes their view as follows: Both believed that Japan was equal to the West; both saw Japan as the modern pinnacle of *tōyō* culture; both worked within a dynamic framework that located Shina in a category that suggested decay, senility, and lethargy, whereas Japan was young and vi-

brant; both assumed that international conflict was inevitable and could lead to progress (or decline); both depicted an increasingly conservative Chinese society incapable of generating its own forces for change; both used the "northern barbarians" to explain this conservatism; both separated the horizontal society, or the masses organized around self-governing villages, from the bureaucracy; and both disavowed any sense of nationalism among the Chinese (1993:198–199).

This summary, however, ignores subtle differences of opinions among Japanese Sinologists. For example, in scholarly essays published in the 1910s and 1920s, Naitō argued that China still required reform or "modernization." At the same time, however, he "angrily attacked Japanese and other foreign critics who bought the fallacious argument that, since China had long lived under an imperial system and lacked sufficient experience for republicanism, the Chinese people were unprepared for anything short of the guiding hand of a despotic sovereign" (Fogel 1984:216). Yet Naitō gradually lost hope that republicanism could be implemented in China, and in a New Year's Day article of 1921, he completely gave up on "warlords, students, and bureaucrats in China as effective reformers" (ibid.:219). Because he had always been ambivalent about the use of force to attain reform, he turned his attention to Manchuria in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident. Naitō was not against the idea of Manchukuo as long as it was ruled by its own people, but he was adamantly opposed to the Japanese intellectuals who advocated the "kingly way." For Naitō, this term was merely a device that would allow the Kwantung Army to rule Manchuria (ibid.: 254–264).[4]

One of the most crucial questions in sustaining the concept of the Japanese national body was who should be included in this body. During the age of empire, the answer seems to have been in *fukugō minzoku-ron* (theory of a mixed nation). This theory (or myth), according to Oguma Eiji, has two components, both of which point to the origin of Japanese as a racial group: (1) long and complicated processes of intermarriage among the multiple races in Asia gave birth to the Japanese; and (2) these multiple races, who had contributed their blood to the birth of the Japanese, inhabited the Japanese Empire. While this theory is based on a considerable distortion of the idea of *minzoku* (ethnicity), it is clear that it supported the formation of the Japanese Empire *in theory*: since the Japanese already had the spirit of ethnic harmony in their blood, they were entitled to form an empire (Oguma 1995, 2002).

The theory of a mixed nation was popular among the frequent contributors to *Man-Mō*, one of the Japanese language journals published in Manchukuo. In an article titled "Minzoku mondai zatsuron," for example, Kanesaki Ken (1942) advocates interracial marriage among the

Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol peoples. He argues that such mixed marriages would produce "citizens of Manchukuo" who would be superior to either the Chinese, Manchus, or Mongols. Kanesaki, however, also argues that the children of such interracial marriages will always be inferior to the Japanese precisely because the latter embody a higher degree of racial mixing. In other words, Kanesaki understands the Japanese to be the products of interracial marriages, and he thus has no doubt about the superiority of the Japanese people, who "possess the spirit of racial harmony in their own blood."

Ironically, the theory on the national body (*kokutai*), which depicts the Japanese as unique and pure, does not coordinate with the theory of a mixed nation. Hence scholars such as Inoue and Hozumi denied the merit of assimilation (*dōka*), which was actively promoted by Japanese policy makers during the age of empire. With these disparate theories, it meant that to build an empire, the Japanese state could take one of the following three options: (1) abandon the idea of a single, homogeneous kinsfolk-state and continue to assimilate overseas territories; (2) abandon the policy of assimilation, abandon the superficial idea that rule by the emperor was natural, and openly admit that the new territories would be ruled through power relations; or (3) close the door to the outside world and abandon the path that had led out into the world by severing all interaction with alien peoples (Oguma 1995:71; 2002:51). History now demonstrates that Japan adopted the first option and with it the theory of a mixed nation. Indeed, most Japanese intellectuals of the early twentieth century, including anthropologists, tried to propagate the idea of the Japanese as a mixed race.[5] Sinologists such as Shiratori, who had earlier insisted on Japanese purity, later incorporated the idea of a mixed nation into their original positions: the Japanese had mixed with other races in ancient times, but since then, they had maintained their "purity," and this made the Japanese superior to other Asian races (ibid.:ch. 14).

Tsuda Sōkichi (1873–1961) is one of the rare scholars who insisted on the theory of a pure national body, which has become popular in postwar Japan in the name of *tan'itsu minzoku-ron* (theory of a homogenous nation).[6] The theory has the following components: (1) the Japanese people constitute a single, pure race, and they share a uniformity of language and culture, and (2) the Japanese people have inhabited the Japanese archipelago since ancient times. In *Jindaishi no atarashii kenkyū* (A new study on the era of myth), published in 1913, Tsuda stated the following on the Japanese state, and it certainly resonates with these two components: "The imperial household does not rule over the people from the outside but lies within the people and is the center of ethnic unity and the core of national unification. The relationship between the imperial household and the people is the close one of a family joined by kinship, not a relationship of

oppression and obedience based on power" (Tsuda 1966:123). For China, Tsuda argues the following: "[The Japanese concept of the national body] is completely different from the Chinese, where the difference between the emperor and the people is that between heaven and earth. To view heaven as the symbol of the emperor's power, and the emperor as ruling over the people on earth as the delegate of heaven, is to define the emperor and the people as opposites, between whom there is a huge gulf, and [it is to define] their relationship as that between the ruler and ruled, in which they are united only by an outside force" (ibid.).

For Tsuda the Japanese nation constituted a "peaceful farming people with no experience of war or foreign interaction" (1966:144–145), and the Japanese state was the emperor. For my argument, however, the fact that he refused to separate the Japanese nation from the Japanese state is important. Tsuda, who strongly disliked the idea of absolute power, depicted the emperor as if he were uninterested in extending his power over the rest of Asia. For him the emperor was more like a village elder, respected by all the villagers. In contrast, Tsuda argues, emperors exercised absolute power in China as despots. Indeed, in *Shina shisō to Nippon*, first published in 1938, Tsuda (1965) went so far as to argue that classes in the Chinese classics and Chinese literature should be abolished in the schools, and he advocated the prohibition of Chinese characters in the Japanese language solely because of the way in which the Chinese nation had so far been governed. Hence it was not the absence of the state in China that Tsuda criticized. Yet for the purpose of supporting his theory of the homogeneous national body, he denied the authenticity of Japanese mythology, which was actively used by other scholars to propagate the theory of a mixed nation. He was therefore considered a heretic during wartime. In the end, however, his idea of the state prepared Japan for the postwar era: the theory of a homogeneous nation returned as the dominant theory on the origin of the Japanese, and the emperor survived as a mere symbol of the Japanese nation.

The idea of the state remained vague in Japan throughout the age of empire. Japanese intellectuals did not draw an unambiguous line between the state and the emperor, between the state and the nation, between Japanese people and the people of other ethnicities who resided in the Japanese Empire, between Japan and China, or between Japan and the West. However, when the intellectuals' complicated ideas on China reached a popular audience, they became exceedingly uncomplicated. Yoshio, who appears in memory map 1, once said to me, "Chinese people lived in chaos. Manchurian people suffered from in-fighting among all those warlords." His vision of (the absence of) the state in China, which was therefore incapable of governing Manchuria, clearly reveals such uncomplicated ideas of not only China but also Japan, which, in his view, had always had the state. Let me now return to the four memory maps.

Although there is no shortage of competing definitions on the state, Timothy Mitchell argues, "It remains difficult to explain exactly what is meant by the concept of the state." He also maintains that "a definition of the state always depends on distinguishing it from society, and the line between the two is difficult to draw in practice" (1991:77). Mitchell's argument is in fact a response and critique to ideas of the state proposed by two groups of American political sociologists in the 1950s and '60s. One group, identified as "systemists," replaced "the state" with "the political system" (see, for example, Almond 1960; Easton 1957, 1981; Nettl 1968). Reflecting on "the changed power relationship between American political science and American political power," these theorists maintained that the state's boundary had expanded "without limit to fill the entire space of society." In other words, as the U.S. government was eager to export "the principles of the Anglo-American political process" to the once colonized areas of the world, these scholars regarded the state as "a conscious instrument of social engineering." Yet the mere change in vocabulary failed to solve the problem of boundaries, for the systemists saw individuals who incorporated notions of the state in their thinking and actions everywhere in society, dismissing the importance of the state while disregarding the boundary between state and society (Mitchell 1991:78–80).

Another group, identified as "statists" (see, for example, Krasner 1978; Nordlinger 1988; Skocpol 1979, 1985), claimed that the state was too important to be dismissed and tried to reinterpret the state "to be not just distinguishable from society, but partially or wholly autonomous from it" (Mitchell 1991:77). Mitchell, along with Philip Abrams, is quite critical of the work of the statists. Most important, he argues, these scholars narrowed the phenomenon of the state substantially and reduced it to "a subjective system of decision making." Indeed, the statists emphasize the role of individual public officials but separate their subjective process of policy making from forces in society. Hence, contrary to their argument that the state is autonomous, they cannot prevent various societal elements—or what Abrams calls the "inputs" to the state—from penetrating the state on all sides (1988:64–65). In other words, for the statists, "the alleged autonomy of the state is in large part produced definitionally" (Mitchell 1991:82, 86).

Both systemists and statists speak of similar political phenomena. But, while systemists criticize statists for their lack of focus on society, statists criticize systemists for their lack of focus on the state. Neither side, however, attends to the demarcation between state and society. In the end, what separates systemists from statists evaporates. Mitchell then argues the following:

> A construct like the state occurs not merely as a subjective belief, incorporated in the thinking and action of individuals. It is represented and

> reproduced in visible, everyday forms, such as the language of legal practice, the architecture of public buildings, the wearing of military uniforms, or the marking out and policing of frontiers. The cultural forms of the state *are* an empirical phenomenon, as solid and discernible as a legal structure or a party system. Or rather, I argue, the distinction made between a conceptual realm and an empirical one needs to be placed in question if we are to understand the nature of a phenomenon like the state. (1991:81–82; emphasis in original)

According to Mitchell, we incorporate the state in our thinking while acting out our belief in the state. If so, it is futile to demarcate state from society. Rather, it is important to examine "the detailed political process through which the uncertain yet powerful distinction between state and society is produced" by those who are facing critical moments in life (1991:78).

Abrams seems to concur with Mitchell. He argues that the answer to the most frequently asked question on the state—"What is the state?"—is in itself predicated upon the unconvincing predisposition of its students: the state is a concrete yet hidden political agency and structure, separate from society. As a counterpoint to this thesis, he brings to the foreground the idea that "the state is not the reality which stands behind the mask of political practice. It is itself the mask which prevents our seeing political practice as it is" (1988:82). In other words, the state is an ideological artifact constituting the illusory common interests of a society. The state, then, is like "god," so "substituting the word god for the word state" in writings on the state (as Kawakami did) often makes the nature of the state clearer for us (ibid.:79).[7] I therefore argue that the memoirists and interviewees discussed in this book recounted to us their subjective beliefs about the Japanese state in several specific historical settings, in which they tried either to separate themselves from the state or to attach themselves to it.[8] At the same time, they acted out such subjective beliefs at various moments both before and after the war. While they remembered some such practices, they also forgot others. The four memory maps in this book, then, indicate the following: beliefs and practices do not always support each other, and this creates holes and gaps within a single memory map and among the four memory maps.

In memory map 1, the former agrarian colonists were part of the Japanese state, and they carried this state with them to Manchuria. Yet in memory maps 1 and 2, they also presented themselves as marginalized subjects of the state by resorting to a series of dichotomies: those who were forced to emigrate to Manchuria versus those who could afford to stay in their mother villages; those who were sent to remote areas of northern Manchuria versus those who were sent to the cities; agrarian colonists,

who were abandoned by the Japanese state, versus high-ranking civilian and military officials, whom the Japanese state never abandoned; and those who became repatriates versus those who scorned the repatriates in postwar Japan. In this scheme, the former-colonists-turned-repatriates see high-ranking officials, urban Japanese, and those who never left Japan proper as part of the state. They then align themselves with Chinese farmers against the Japanese state, as well as against those Japanese who never left Japan proper in the age of empire. In so doing, they remember the frontier spirit they thought they once shared with the Chinese. Indeed, the local memory map in Nagano between 1945 and the early 1960s can be overlapped, to a certain extent, with memory map 4, the memories of ordinary Chinese people solicited and published by the Chinese state. Remembering the Japanese *and* the Chinese who died in Manchuria and Nagano as the victims of Japanese imperialism, the Japanese who remembered "China" and the Chinese who were solicited to remember the Japanese both longed for an eternal friendship between the two countries.

After Japan's capitulation, however, the former agrarian colonists, now repatriates, began to look back on their experiences: emigration to Manchuria, settlement in branch villages, repatriation to Japan, and resettlement in mother villages. In looking back, they tried to draw and redraw the boundary between themselves and the Japanese state. Demanding compensation from the postwar Japanese state, they affirmed their position as the citizens of a new, democratic Japan. It is these processes that made the Japanese state *appear* to exist to them (and to us).

In memory map 3, the children of the agrarian colonists who had been left behind in China also kept redrawing the boundaries between themselves and the two postwar states of Japan and China. In their case, they had to decide to which state they were loyal, as both the Japanese and Chinese states require that their citizens choose only one nationality. Those who chose Japanese nationality often faced racism against "the Chinese" in contemporary Japan. In addition, they found it hard to survive in Japan without welfare. Those who chose Chinese nationality, however, lost their right to receive compensation from the Japanese state.

The way in which the adoptive parents have solved the problems of their relationship to the Chinese and Japanese states is also extremely complicated. In her interview with Asano and Dong in 2004, Zhang Guizhi stated, "The Japanese state has never assisted us, even though we are the adoptive parents [of a Japanese child]. We have not received even a penny of compensation from the Japanese state. We asked our local police officers why this was so and were told that unless our adopted daughter return to Japan, we were not eligible to receive such compensation" (Asano and Dong 2006:99). Zheng also said, "The [Japanese] father of my adopted daughter has never written to me and my husband. In his letter to my ad-

opted daughter, he mentions no word of us. I do not expect him to thank us, but we saved his daughter's life. Wouldn't it be natural for him to thank us as human beings?" (ibid.:97). In these passages, Zhang conflates the Japanese father of her adopted daughter with the Japanese state: both refused to acknowledge her generosity solely because her adopted daughter stayed in China. The memory maps of the Japanese orphans and their Chinese adoptive parents, then, teach us one important lesson about the state: the state is expected to play a very complicated role in the process of decolonization, but it is extremely hard to locate the ending of decolonization and the beginning of globalization (see Duara 2004:16–17).

Decolonization literally means an undoing of the entire process of colonization, which incorporated vast regions of the world into the modern capitalist system and transformed, often violently, the lives and worldviews of colonized people. It is, however, neither a coherent nor a well-defined phenomenon. The timing and patterns of colonization were extremely varied, and so were the timing and patterns of decolonization (Duara 2004:1). Furthermore, the question of who was expected to undo the process of colonization seems to have been taken for granted. The ex-colonized were expected to decolonize their minds by establishing a modern nation-state (often modeled upon that of the ex-colonizer). Yet in the age of empire, the states in the countries of both the colonized and the colonizer were in flux, absorbing energy from anti-imperialist and imperialist nationalist movements. If that was the case, decolonization needed to involve not only the ex-colonized but the ex-colonizer as well (see Cooper and Stoler 1989; Osterhammel 1997:ch. 10). Here we should not understand "this politically constructed dichotomy of colonizer and colonized as a given" (Stoler 1992:321). Rather, we should keep in mind that decolonization varies from one group to another and from one individual to another. We should also keep in mind that decolonization has produced groups of people who do not necessarily belong to either the ex-colonized or the ex-colonizer. While they are expected to belong to a single nation, they often find it impossible to do so.

Problems of national belonging did not arise simply with decolonization; people faced such problems in the age of empire as well. In "Princess, Traitor, Soldier, Spy," Shao (2005) focuses on the life of Aisin Gioro Xianyu (1906?–1948), a Manchu princess who is also known by the name of Jin Biui. Since she was adopted by Doihara Kenji, a Japanese friend of her father, she ascribed her individual responsibility not only to her ethnic group of the Manchu but also to the Japanese state and the Chinese state led by the Nationalist Party. After Japan's capitulation, however, she was arrested and tried as a traitor to republican China for her alleged collaboration with the wartime Japanese state. Aisin Gioro Xianyu tried to show that she was not "Chinese," but in vain. Thus she was executed by the Chi-

nese republican state. As she negotiated her ethnic and national identities to save her life, the descendants of Japanese agrarian colonists who were left in China in the aftermath of the war have also tried to save their lives by negotiating their nationalities. Such efforts do not support the idea that globalization is necessarily accompanied by the retreat of state sovereignty and a general desire all over the world for market-led democracy without the state. Rather, colonization, decolonization, and globalization must be understood as one continuing process—one reason why the children of Japanese colonists orphaned in China are today in dire need of the protections that only the Japanese and Chinese states can provide. Saskia Sassen argues that in the globalized world, in lieu of the state that still claims all its old splendor in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders, it is an "international human rights regime" that is able to protect such people as orphans (1996:ch. 3). Such a regime, however, has just begun to emerge in East Asia. I therefore find it appropriate to conclude this section with a passage from an essay written by Ishibashi Tanzan (1884–1973) in 1912: "The reason that people form a state and unite as its citizens is so that they can live as members of a universal humankind, individuals, and humans. Humans have never formed a state for the purpose of living as its citizens" (Ishibashi 1984:20).[9] If Ishibashi is correct, the states that humans have formed should protect these orphans and their adoptive parents as "members of a universal humankind."

Nostalgia, Place, and Voice

In *Watashi to Manshū*, a repatriate memoir published in 2000, Kikuchi Kazuo writes the following:

> I cannot help but think that Manchuria is my second home. I myself do not understand why I think in this particular way. In Manchuria, I experienced a hellish life: I moved back and forth between the zones of life and death. So why am I nostalgic about Manchuria? I think it is because Manchuria and its people have charmed me tremendously. [I feel a nostalgia toward] the vast virgin land, the fields that extend to far-off horizons, the Manchurians who feed horses with grass, the tiny hamlets scattered here and there, and the simple houses that cannot be compared with [contemporary] Japanese farmhouses. The Manchurians, who live in large extended families, never pursue luxurious lifestyles. They are completely self-sufficient. They are utterly content with the way they live. (2000:13–14)

Kikuchi was born to a farming family in Iwate Prefecture in northeastern Japan. He enlisted only six months before the war's end and was sent to

Manchuria. The Soviets, who arrested Kikuchi in August 1945, deemed him too sick (from malnutrition) to work in Siberia. Hence he had no other recourse but to join a group of Japanese refugees, the wives and children of agrarian colonists. Yet it is not only the suffering that Kikuchi remembers. He openly expresses a nostalgia for Manchuria that seems to have been frozen in time since 1945. Furthermore, this Manchuria represents what he thinks Japan has lost since then: the self-sufficient lifestyle of simple farmers who do not pursue a luxurious way of life. Kikuchi visited "his second home" several times in the 1990s with bosom friends who had served with him in the same battalion in Manchuria.

The reader may remember that Aki's father was killed by "Manchurian bandits" in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation. Nevertheless, Aki told me in 1996, since returning to Fujimi, she had gradually developed a keen sense of nostalgia for the place that she and her family once regarded as their second home. In 1982, the local government of Fujimi planned to send a delegation to Northeast China to pay proper respect to those from Fujimi who died in Manchuria. This delegation was part of a trip organized by the Nagano branch of Yūkō Kyōkai, with a delegation of sixty-six members. In the early 1980s, however, many parts of China were still closed to foreign visitors, so this group tour was limited to just one day in Northeast China. Still, when she heard about the trip, Aki realized that her dream of revisiting Manchuria would come true. She had long wanted to give her father a proper burial. She also wanted to satisfy her yearning to travel to Manchuria. However, in 1982, her father-in-law was bedridden, so her plan to go back was delayed, but she was hopeful that another such opportunity would arise in the near future. Ten years later, in 1992, her dream finally came true. The alumni association of the school that Aki and her three brothers had attended planned to visit Northeast China. Aki joined the group with her brothers and traveled to Manchuria forty-six years after her repatriation.

In her repatriate memoir, Aki enumerates the things for which she felt nostalgia (*natsukashii*) during her trip. They include the Amur River and the landing port on the river where she arrived in 1943 to join her family. They also include a paved street on both sides of which were planted white willow trees, and Number 7 Hamlet of the branch village of Fujimi; according to Aki, "[the hamlet] had been kept almost intact since 1945." She also felt a strong nostalgia for the crushed brick fragments on the school compound. Aki and her brothers attended this school, and she seems to believe that these fragments had been there since 1945, when the site was under attack by "Manchurian bandits." Indeed, her docket of "things nostalgic" seems limitless; it contains numer-

ous places and objects, among them soybean fields, cornfields, rice paddies, Manchurian horses, and Manchurian spades. All of them correspond to those that she (remembers she) saw in Manchuria in the age of empire (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1995:26–27).

Sociologist Gao Yuan (2001) calls the travel industry, which made it possible for both Aki and Kikuchi to fulfill their dreams, *kioku sangyō* (the memory industry). It creates opportunities for Japanese tourists to recall Manchuria and feel nostalgic about it. Indeed, since the early 1990s, in response to the travel industry's packaging of "Manchuria" in the name of nostalgia, millions of Japanese have traveled to Northeast China. The number of these tourists steadily increased after the ban on commercial travel to China was lifted in 1979. While 386,139 Japanese visited China in 1984, 1,141,225 did so in 1994. In 1997, when 1,581,743 Japanese visited China, China ranked fourth on the list of most visited countries by the Japanese (following the United States [mainland], Hawaii, and the Republic of Korea). In 2005, 3,389,976 Japanese visited China, and China became the most visited country by Japanese tourists (Gao Yuan 1998:68; Kokudo Kōtsu-shō 2002; Sōrifu 1984). Yet according to Gao, we can trace the origins of the memory industry back to the age of empire: such an industry was established in Japan and in Manchuria soon after the end of the Russo-Japanese War. Indeed, Japanese group tours to Manchuria began in 1906, and they became extremely popular after the establishment of Manchukuo. In 1934, for example, 374 groups, or 17,253 Japanese, traveled to Manchuria. In the major cities of Manchukuo, such as Xinjing and Harbin, tour bus companies multiplied, transporting Japanese tourists from one city to another (Gao Yuan 2002). These tourists included middle and high school students from Japan. As part of the learning culmination trips before graduation (*shūgaku ryokō*), young male students were given the opportunity to spend from five to twenty days in Taiwan, Korea, or Manchuria (see Kubo 1996).[10] The tourists also included village notables, who, in addition to visiting Xinjing, Dalian, Harbin, and Shenyang, visited "model" Japanese agrarian colonies as part of their fact-finding trips. Thus, from government officials and students to those who had no intention of moving overseas, Japanese travelers contributed to the formation of a type of mass travel that Gao Yuan calls "the Greater East Asian sphere of tourism" (*dai Tō-A ryokō-ken*). In these tours, however, Chinese hosts were entirely absent. Rather, those who played the role of hosts were Japanese who had emigrated to the cities of Manchuria and had lived there for several years. Gao calls these Japanese "hosts by proxy" (*dairi hosuto*). These hosts did not look at Manchuria through the eyes of the natives. Instead, relying on their imperial gaze, they chose several sightseeing attractions for Japanese tourists, many of which had earlier been built by the Japanese (Gao Yuan 2002: 218). In recent group

tours to China, Japanese travel agents have replaced these hosts by proxy and now employ Chinese guides who are able to speak Japanese.[11] How these native guides see Manchuria is a separate question. Here I note only that the local government of Dalian recently restored its "Japan town," supposedly to attract more Japanese tourists (Gao Yuan 1998:64).

The way in which the Japanese emigrated to Manchuria in the past and the way in which they travel to China in the present are not dissimilar. The only difference is that the role played by the Japanese state in the age of empire has been taken over by the memory industry since the late 1980s. Indeed, the way in which Aki revisited Manchuria with her former classmates in 1992 is almost parallel to the way in which she emigrated to the same destination in 1943. On both occasions, the emigrants (or travelers) formed a group in Fujimi, planned their itinerary in consultation with the Japanese state (or travel agents), and visited the (former) branch village of Fujimi. Of course, in 1992, they did not "carry the Japanese state with them." They were perfectly aware of their obligation to obey Chinese laws once they were in China. They had no intention of settling down in Manchuria, nor did they receive a subsidy from the Japanese state when traveling to Manchuria. Yet the parallel is obvious as we read Aki's narrative. Remembering the night before her departure in 1943, she wrote the following for publication in 1984: "My dream for the continent kept expanding. Finally, in April 1943, against the objections of my crying grandparents, I joined a group of Japanese volunteers and crossed the Sea of Japan to go to the continent" (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1984:83). Compare this with the following, which Aki wrote for publication in 1995: "How joyful I was! My return to Manchuria, which I had dreamt of for forty-eight years [since her return to Fujimi in 1946], had finally come true!" (Fujimi-chō Fujinkai 1995:25). In both instances, Aki anticipated her years or days in Manchuria with a sense of excitement and happiness. But was she nostalgic even for the suffering she had experienced after Japan's defeat in the war?

In 1998, I came across the following advertisement in the *Asahi* newspaper: "Travel by a repatriation vessel and a repatriation train. That touching emotion [*ano kandō*] will return after fifty-two years. Between 1945 and 1950, ships brought numerous repatriates back home to the port of Sasebo. Their number is said to be 1.4 million. Responding to the enthusiastic demands of many repatriates, we have organized an occasion for them to remember their past. Please gather with your dear friends again in the place of repatriation, a place full of memories" (*Asahi*, January 23, 1998). Issued by the Sasebo City Council in Nagasaki Prefecture, the Japan Travel Bureau, and Japan Airlines, this advertisement invited about 1.4 million Japanese who had landed in the port of Sasebo in the late 1940s to experience the virtual reality of a slice of their past: the return home from the vanquished empire. The travel itin-

erary included a one-day excursion in which the travelers, on board "a repatriation vessel," would enter the port of Sasebo in exactly the same manner as they had more than half a century ago. Three photographs accompanied this advertisement. One was of a ship that had carried repatriates from the perished empire. Another was of a steam engine that had brought them home into Japan from the Haenosaki train station near the port. Yet another photo was of a statue of a goddess symbolizing peace that was erected near the port of Sasebo many years after Japan's capitulation. The ship in the photo is a repatriation vessel, the *Takasago-maru*. Once a passenger ship, it traveled thirteen times between Japan and Northeast China. In this photo, however, it looks like a luxurious cruise ship.[12] Likewise, the train in the photo is a shining steam engine, not the dilapidated engine that so many repatriates remembered.

Figure 2. "Travel by a repatriation vessel and a repatriation train." Advertisement published in *Asahi,* January 23, 1998. (Courtesy of Asahi Shinbunsha, Japan Travel Bureau, Kyūshū Office, and Japan Airlines.)

In other words, this trip promised that travelers will enjoy not only "that touching emotion" of more than half a century ago but also the material comforts of the late twentieth century.

This advertisement turned out to be quite successful: more than a thousand people participated in the trip to the port of Sasebo. Furthermore, owing apparently to the enthusiastic demand, another trip with the same itinerary was organized in the same year. The participants, many of whom were repatriates from Manchuria, came from all over Japan. From a collection of articles that they later wrote, we see that they included demilitarized soldiers, agrarian settlers, housewives and "continental brides" of Youth Brigade members, and children at the time of repatriation.[13] These tours suggest that the travelers are not merely nostalgic for Manchuria, where they dreamt of constructing their second homes. They are nostalgic as well for every place, experience, and sentiment connected to "the entire history of expansion, dominance, and downfall of the Japanese Empire" (Gao Yuan 2001:227).

As Kathleen Stewart states, nostalgia "rises to importance as a cultural practice as culture becomes more and more diffuse" (1988:227; see also Davis 1979:6; Said 1979:18).[14] The age of empire, which made culture substantially more diffuse, played a major role in propagating a sense of nostalgia among people today. This nostalgia, however, is an emotion felt primarily by the former colonizer, or what Renato Rosaldo calls "imperialist nostalgia": a particular kind of nostalgia in which the agents of colonialism "mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed." Here nostalgia represents the irresponsible practices of former colonizers and their blatant arrogance. According to Rosaldo, imperialist nostalgia is "a particularly appropriate emotion to invoke in attempting to establish one's innocence and at the same time talk about what one has destroyed." For this reason, Rosaldo is harsh toward such films as *Heat and Dust*, *A Passage to India*, *Out of Africa*, and *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, which portray a benign, innocuous colonial era with an acute sense of nostalgia. In these films, the objects of nostalgia are the products of colonial transformation—white men's lifestyles that put the colonized people into the roles of nannies and gardeners. Thus, imperialist nostalgia is a form of mystification. Acknowledging that the meaning of nostalgia is time- and place-specific, Rosaldo warns that "'our' feelings of tender yearning are neither as natural nor as pan-human, and therefore not necessarily as innocent, as one might imagine" (1989:108–109).

In contemporary Japan, "nostalgia [for Manchuria], like the economy it runs with, is everywhere" (Stewart 1988:227; see also Iwabuchi 2002; Jameson 1983). Yet as I have already discussed in the introduction, the sense of nostalgia does not simply represent the nation's yearning for the landscapes, lifestyles, and spectacles of the lost empire; it also represents

the nation's strategy, enabling it to deny the existence of "the rupture in history." And the memory industry, which has replaced the Japanese state, has been playing the major role in assisting the Japanese people to forget the power of their own state, which once dominated ordinary Chinese people in a place where they now entertain themselves.

In *Remembering*, Edward Casey (1987) states that while memory is of the past, it "involves something more than the purely temporal in its own makeup." This "something more," according to Casey, is "a bodily basis of memory," in which a person who remembers does not have just a point of view but also a place in which he or she was situated. Casey asks, "How can place, plain old place, be so powerful in matters of memory? In what does the power of place for memory consist?" He then answers these questions as follows:

> Places are empowered by the lived bodies that occupy them; these bodies animate places, breathe new life into them by empowering them with directionality, level, and distance—all of which serve as essential anchoring points in the remembering of place. . . . [To be embodied] is to occupy a portion of space from out of which we both undergo given experiences and remember them. To be disembodied is not only to be deprived of place, *unplaced*; it is to be denied the basic stance on which every experience and its memory depend. (1987:197, 182, emphasis in original)

Here I must ask the following questions. To remember the power of the Japanese state, does one need only a portion of space? If a person is deprived of place, is this person unable to remember the Japanese state and its power? While it is possible to remember the place that has been destroyed, is it possible to remember a Japanese state that existed (and still exists) in myriad different places and yet in no particular place at the same time? Is it, then, possible to have "an unplaced point of view" to remember the Japanese state? It is indeed these questions with which I began this book. That is, Terashima's photograph of a particular place in southern Manchuria, taken sometime in 1934, made me "nostalgic" for a land about which I had heard so many stories while growing up in Japan. Although I have never animated this particular place with my own body, I have done so many times in my imagination. I then talked to Mr. Yamashita, and his story shattered my nostalgia for Manchuria but enabled me to "see" the power of the Japanese state in the figures of Japanese executioners. Once I saw them under the trees, I remembered the Japanese state in Manchuria that had exercised formidable power in the age of empire. To put this differently, to remember the Japanese state, I needed not only "a portion of space," represented by this photograph, but also the voice of Mr. Yamashita, Terashima's disciple.

In "Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory," Arjun Appadurai argues that for anthropological practice, "the problems of place and voice" are not only vital but also intertwined. Yet to produce a coherent ethnography, we anthropologists must put certain limits to both place and voice: anthropological fieldwork is conducted on a culturally named location, and such fieldwork is "organized talk," in which anthropologists creatively impose an order "on the many conversations that lie at the heart of fieldwork" (1988:16). In my research, I voluntarily displaced myself (as every anthropologist does except for those who identify themselves as "native anthropologists") and physically moved to Nagano Prefecture and Tokyo to collect the memories recounted by the former agrarian colonists and their descendants. I also moved, in my imagination, in Japan and Northeast China, collecting the memoirs written by Japanese and Chinese authors. While all these people's narratives are culturally mediated, my fieldwork did not specifically examine the "cultures" of these distinct places, for I was far more interested in yet another place, Manchuria, which is not only geographical but also historical, a place that no longer officially exists for the Chinese state. In the interviews and memoirs, these people remembered various portions of space of different scales that belonged to Manchuria under the Japanese state. They remembered facts and sensations that they witnessed, heard, and felt in those locations and commented on them. Furthermore, they related their memories to the power of the Japanese state (and the Chinese state), which existed in many points in time in both prewar and postwar Japan and China. In other words, I needed both places and people's voices to recall the power of the Japanese state. Yet as Appadurai argues, my research is "organized talk." I am aware that the memories belong to my informants and the writers of memoirs and that they are free to narrate what they want to narrate. It is my questions (in interviews) and readings (of memoirs) that "organized" their memories around the theme of the Japanese state, the power of which I wanted to understand. The memories of one person, whether he or she is a high-raking state official or an agrarian settler, never reveal the historical truth of the power of the Japanese state. But the memories of many people of different nationalities, classes, genders, and generations who try to remember at various points—the "presents"— bring us at least closer to such truth. The paradox of history and memory is always this: when we stop remembering, the truth may appear, but such truth is by no means the final answer to what we want to understand. And this is why we should never stop remembering the Japanese colonization of Manchuria, along with the former agrarian settlers, their descendents, and the Chinese farmers who remembered not only for them but for us as well.

Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. The duration of World War II varies depending on where in the world the war was fought. For the Japanese, the wartime period lasted from 1931 (the Manchurian Incident) through 1937 (the beginning of the Japan-China War) to 1945 (Japan's defeat in the war against the Allies). Japanese historian Ienaga Saburō calls this war the Pacific War (Taiheiyō Sensō) (1978). To stress this war's Asian dimension, I use the term Asia-Pacific War.

2. Itagaki Seishirō, a high-ranking officer of the Kwantung Army, asked the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to build the Manchukuo Pavilion adjacent to the Japan Pavilion. Naturally, this met with the fierce protests of the U.S. government, which had never acknowledged Manchukuo as an independent country. The Japanese state was thus forced to change the name to the SMR Pavilion (Takeba 1994).

3. One member of my extended family moved to Manchuria (Dalian) as a consultant for the SMR and as a director of one of its organs, the Central Experimental Agency, in 1936. Even after the war's end, he did not return to Japan; having responded to the request of the Chinese Communist Party, he remained in China until 1955. He later published his autobiography (Marusawa 1961, 1979). Another member also moved to Dalian but returned to Japan before Japan's capitulation. My parents are also repatriates from Beijing, China; they returned to Japan in 1946. My father was a military doctor in the Japanese Army while my mother was the daughter of a Japanese businessman.

4. I understand that remembering and forgetting are parts of the same process and that forgetting is anything but remembering differently.

5. Included in the Japanese Empire are China (south of the Great Wall), Korea, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Sakhalin, Australia, the Philippines, Micronesia, French Indo-China (Vietnam), the Netherlands Indies (Indonesia), Hawaii, and New Zealand (Kōsei-shō 1978:690; 1997:730; see also Dower 1999:49–50).

6. In 1976, referring to the nation's swift economic recovery, the Japanese state declared that the postwar era was over (Keizai Kikaku-chō 1976). Yet since 1945 Japan has been involved, though indirectly, in several wars, including the Korean War, Vietnam War, Gulf War, and Iraqi War. In this respect, "the postwar era" is a misnomer: the Japanese have never lived the postwar era. Nevertheless, the term continues to appear in both official and popular discourses in Japan to this day, for the term serves as a yardstick to measure the degree of Ja-

pan's "progress" since 1945. It is in this sense that I use the term "postwar Japan," rather than "post-imperial Japan" (see, for example, Watt 2002).

7. Pierre Nora describes such desultory oppositions of memory and history in the following terms. While memory appears to be life, history appears to be the reconstruction of what is no longer. While memory appears to accommodate the facts that suit it, history appears to call for analysis and criticism. While memory appears to be blind to all but the group it binds, history appears to belong to everyone and to no one. Memory appears to take root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects. In contrast, history appears to bind itself strictly to temporary continuities, to progressions, and to relations among things. While memory appears to be absolute, history appears to conceive the relative (1989:8–9).

8. Leo Ching argues that since "the rupture in history" was too "abrupt," the Japanese state and citizens failed to recognize it as a rupture; thus the Japanese people have hardly engaged in serious dialogue with the people of China, Korea, Taiwan, or other areas of the former Japanese Empire. Restated, "decolonization" has not become part of the postwar Japanese national consciousness (2001:20, 35). Though I agree with Ching in principle, I also note a large number of Japanese citizens' groups that have been criticizing this very absence of decolonization in Japanese minds.

9. In the introduction to *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State*, Joshua Fogel (2005a) states that the modern concept of the state in Japan emerged gradually. For example, in 1862, when fifty-one Japanese of samurai status visited Shanghai, some of them referred to *kokka*—the Japanese term for the state—in their writings. Yet it is unclear whether this meant the country of Japan or the domain within Japan. However, Kume Kunitake (1839–1931) wrote in 1912 about the presence of "society" in the West and its absence in Japan; he made the observation after he joined the Iwakura Mission's travels through Europe and America from 1871 to 1873. Fogel thus states that "we cannot fix a day on which the modern nation-states of China or Japan commenced" (ibid.:4). In this book I deal with the modern nation-state, but we must be aware of this historical background of the term itself in Japan.

10. In *Sovereignty and Authenticity* Prasenjit Duara (2003) has persuasively argued that the anti-imperialism of China and the imperialism of Japan in the age of empire rose directly from the nation-state building of both countries (see also Duara 1997).

11. Some scholars may argue that the state should be defined in terms of the specific element(s) that constitute it. In the case of this book, such elements can be the Japanese military, the Manchuria Colonial Development Company, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, civil bureaucrats, village mayors, and so forth. These scholars may also argue that in some contexts, "Japan" or "the Japanese" better express the power of the Japanese state. Other scholars may argue that I should examine the power of the puppet state of Manchukuo as

well. Yet when my informants invoke *kokka*, they mean the Japanese state. The term also suggests that the state cannot be divisive. For all these reasons, I will consistently use "the (Japanese) state" to examine the nature of its power.

12. The second-ranking prefecture in this race is Yamagata, in northeast Japan; it sent 17,177 agrarian emigrants to Manchuria. Together, Nagano and Yamagata Prefectures sent more than 55,000 farmers, accounting for 17 percent of the total (L. Young 1998:328–329).

13. Kären Wigen states that both political history and geography offer no clear basis for marking off the Ina Valley as a region but that the Meiji government (1868–1912) effectively converted Ina, particularly its lower section (called Shimoina) into "a low-level arm of the central administration, charged primarily with enforcing the aims of the state" (1995:12).

14. To differentiate between "Manchuria in the age of empire" and "Manchuria after 1945," Japanese scholars use 滿洲 and 滿州 respectively. In other words, even though in postwar Japan the character pronounced *shū* in Manshū (Manchuria) and Manshūkoku (Manchukuo) is written without the water radical on the left, most scholars adhere to the older form of the character to refer to "Manchuria in the age of empire." On this practice, Yamamuro Shin'ichi argues that "attaching the water radical [has] a great deal of significance in terms of demonstrating the Jurchen dynasty." Indeed, the Qing dynasty, which was first established in Manchuria, indicated its legitimacy on the basis of "water" and became a dynasty of "water morality" (2006:246).

15. Without going into the history of Sinology in Japan, I point out that in the early twentieth century, the term Shina had mostly negative connotations when it referred to contemporary China. This is why postwar Chinese intellectuals were "so outspokenly upset with the term *Shina*," although their arguments were not uniform (Fogel 1995:66–76). The Japanese government's adoption of Chūgoku can be interpreted as a response to the criticism of the Chinese intellectuals. Note, however, that some contemporary Japanese historians, such as Enoki Kazuo, still prefers Shina to Chūgoku, arguing that the former has historical roots in Japan extending far beyond the Meiji Restoration. Enoki is also critical of the "centrality" implied in the name Chūgoku (S. Tanaka 1993:5–7).

16. This does not mean that the term Chūgoku did not exist in Japanese parlance before 1945. Alexis Dudden, who carefully examined the languages of international treaties between and among Japan, China, and Korea in the age of empire, points out that Japanese authors often used Chūgoku as a replacement for *Dai Shin Koku* (the Great Qing Realm) (1999:180–181).

17. The Manchukuo state's project of writing the ten-year history of Manchukuo began in 1941. Owing to the short life of Manchukuo, however, the project was never completed. Although some chapters were missing, Takigawa Seijirō and Etō Shinkichi compiled the existing chapters and published them as a book in 1969.

18. Other territories that Japan acquired in the early twentieth century are Karafuto (1905) and the equatorial Pacific islands known as Nan'yō (1914).

Japan acquired the latter from Germany at the end of World War I, together with the Shantung Peninsula of China.

19. It is believed that the first Japanese individual who emigrated to Manchuria was a woman named Miyamoto Chiyo. She first emigrated to Siberia in 1886; from there she moved to Harbin in northern Manchuria, accompanying a Russian medical doctor, and took charge of Japanese immigration matters because of her close association with the Russians (Fogel 1998:48–49). Women such as Miyamoto Chiyo were part of a "troop of young women" (*jōshi-gun*). They were so called because of their contribution to the making of the Japanese Empire: they worked on the empire's frontiers as maids, waitresses, and prostitutes and sent large remittances back home (see Iriye 1981:chs. 20–23; see also Harbin Nichi-nichi Shinbunsha 1933).

20. Louise Young estimates the Japanese population in Manchuria in 1930 at 233,320 (1998:314), while other historians of Japan estimate it at 269,000 (in 1932) (Manshūkoku-shi Hensan Kankōkai 1970:632). The wide fluctuations in such estimates seem to relate to the unstable position of the Koreans in Japan's empire. While some estimates include the Koreans (as Japanese subjects), others exclude them from the category of "the Japanese."

21. I use the terms "agrarian emigrants/immigrants" (*nōgyō imin*) and "agrarian settlers/colonists" (*nōgyō kaitaku-min*) interchangeably. Note, however, that the Japanese state first called them *imin* (emigrants/immigrants), and gradually changed the term to *kaitaku-min* (settlers/colonists). For example, the monthly report of the Manchuria Colonization Bureau was first called *Manshū ijū geppō*. In 1939, it was renamed to *Manshū kaitaku geppō*. While *ijū* means "migration," *kaitaku* means "colonization."

22. Anyone who works on nationalism and imperialism in modern Japan faces a thorny translation problem, particularly of such terms as (*min*)*zoku*, *jinshu*, and *shuzoku*. Although it is customary to translate *minzoku* as "ethnicity" and *jinshu* or *shuzoku* as "race," it is hard to make a rigid distinction between "(cultural) ethnicity" and "(biological) race." Hence, Anglophone scholars of modern Japan do not always agree as to how to translate *minzoku* and use either "race," "nation," "ethnicity," or "people." Keeping this in mind, I maintain some fluidity and translate *minzoku* as either race or ethnicity, depending on the context in which the term is used (see Doak 1997).

23. In "Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classifications" (Tamanoi 2000a), I translated *Manjin* as "the Manchus." Consequently, I could not escape the confusion that I myself had created. I am grateful for Dan Shao for her gentle critique and thoughtful suggestions as to how to translate the racial category names in Japanese into English.

24. Erroneously translating "Manjin" as "Manchus," Ian Buruma has stated: "Not the least of Japanese deceits in Manchukuo was the idea that most of its inhabitants were not Chinese but *Manchus*. In fact, there were few *Manchus* left in the 1930s" (1994:74, emphasis added). Buruma's observation, then, is only

partially true. Owing to the flood of Chinese immigrants into Manchuria and the increasing assimilation of the Manchus to the Chinese lifestyle, there were indeed "few Manchus left in the 1930s." However, the people whom the Japanese called Manjin were the Chinese living in Manchuria. To confuse them with the ethnic Manchus creates a serious problem. Manjin refers to the people living in the space that the Japanese named Manshū.

25. Such figures as Mr. Xiao often appear in Nationalist Chinese writings from the age of empire. For example, writing for a periodical published in the international settlement of Shanghai during the Manchukuo era, Du Zhongyuan, a journalist and political activist from Northeast China, wrote the following story: "I heard someone who had come from the Northeast say, 'There was an X-nese soldier . . . who smiled at a Northeastern man from the countryside. . . . and asked, "What country are you from?" The old countryman . . . said, "I'm Chinese." The X-nese soldier . . . pummeled and kicked him, and the oldster . . . quickly said, "I'm Japanese" (in this case printed in full). The X-nese soldier was even angrier, and beat him more cruelly. The oldster had no choice but to say, "I'm not a person at all!" Only then did the soldier laugh and go'" (quoted in Mitter 2005:39). As a Chinese Nationalist, Du was careful enough to call this elderly gentleman "a Northeastern man" (and call "Japanese" "X-nese" to avoid Nationalist censorship that prevented him from referring to the Japanese in a hostile fashion in 1936). He was "at pains to erase any conception that a separate regional entity of any sort could exist in Manchuria" because for him, Manchuria was part of China's sovereign territory (or "Manchuria" did not exist). Since the elderly gentleman, who identified himself as Chinese and later as Japanese, invited the Japanese soldier's anger, Du could only erase his humanity to make him alive (ibid.).

26. Estimates of the human toll in China range from several million to 15 million deaths. According to John Dower, the official figure for Chinese soldiers killed in action is 1.3 million. A United Nations report in 1947 estimated that "nine million Chinese civilians were killed in the war, and 'an enormous number' died of starvation or diseases in 1945 and 1946 in the prolonged famine" (1986:295).

27. According to Wakatsuki Yasuo, about 45 percent of the Japanese civilians who died in Manchuria were agrarian colonists, even though (as noted above) the latter represented only about 17 percent of the total Japanese population in Manchuria (1995:149, 164).

28. Among the memoirs of Manchuria in the age of empire, I found one such visual memorial book, aptly titled *Manshū memorii mappu* (Memory map of Manchuria). Its author, Komiya Kiyoshi (1990), emigrated to the Bandai (J) colony in 1940 with his parents and was repatriated to Japan in 1946 as a ten-year-old boy. Based on his memories, he illustrates this book with not only the maps of Bandai colony and other places but also drawings of Manchurian landscapes, people, clothes, toys, and food (among other things).

29. Some scholars make distinctions between *historical memory*, which reaches us "only through written records and other types of records, such as

photography," and *autobiographical memory*, "memory of events we have personally experienced in the past" (Coser 1992:23–24).

30. Here I refer to *On Collective Memory*, by Maurice Halbwachs (1992). This volume is a translation of parts of two books authored by Halbwachs: *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1952) and *La topographie légendaire des evangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de mémoire collective* (1941).

31. In *Forget Colonialism?* Jennifer Cole argues that "though Halbwachs was right to emphasize the socially constructed nature of memory and the role of commemoration in enabling narrative memory, his analysis is flawed on two accounts." One is "his extreme tendency to see all remembering as a product of the social group," which led him to "completely overlook issues of individual or autobiographical memory." Another is his failure to explore the meaning of a group (2001:23). While the latter does not concern me here, I must criticize Cole's view by emphasizing that Halbwachs does indeed discuss the central role of an individual in remembering. While his focus is a group, he understands an individual as the one who draws on the group context to remember. In this respect, the introduction to *On Collective Memory* (1992), written by Lewis Coser, is extremely useful. Coser urges us to see the influence of not only Emile Durkheim but also Henri Bergson in the works of Halbwachs. Similarly, Paul Stoller argues, "Like Durkheim, [Halbwachs] situated his analysis of collective memory in rituals. Unlike Durkheim, he considered the relationship between individual and group as dynamic and interpenetrating" (1995:28).

32. In *The Holocaust Industry*, for example, Norman Finkelstein argues that the Holocaust's memories did not acquire the prominence they enjoy today until the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. The Jews in America, he argues, had to first integrate Israel's strength with U.S. foreign policy interests to "remember" the Holocaust. Examining recent Holocaust compensation agreements, Finkelstein argues that the Jews in America had to "discover" the Holocaust for their politics of collective memory. Heavily relying on a functional approach to memory, he thus urges us to "restore the Nazi holocaust as a rational subject of inquiry" (2000:150). His argument that Holocaust survivors living in dire poverty are often the victims of major, affluent Jewish organizations is a valid one. Nevertheless, I wonder whether Holocaust survivors can be rational, however this term is interpreted, in remembering the Holocaust.

Chapter 2: Memory Map 1

1. Discussing the testimonials of atom bomb survivors in Hiroshima, Lisa Yoneyama relates the difference between oral and written memories to their audiences: "writing limits the process of memorialization to the relation between the individual and her or his own past moment, to the dialogue between those who remember and the remembered event. By contrast, the survivors who engage in oral testimonial practices as witnesses or storytellers may be thought

of as those who have come to terms with audience intervention in the process of remembrance" (1999:91).

2. During the age of empire, several other terms that resonate with *nippi* (日匪) were coined, including *dohi* (土匪, local bandits) and *kyōhi* (共匪, communist bandits). After Japan's capitulation, Chinese peasants, in the eyes of the defeated Japanese agrarian colonists, became *manshū dohi* (満洲土匪, Manchurian local bandits) (see chapter 3).

3. According to Louise Young, "two other cases of rural migration stood alongside Japan" at that time. One was the migration of Russian peasants to Central Asia, particularly to Kazakhstan and Turkestan, which were newly acquired by tsarist Russia in the 1880s. Another was the migration of about twenty thousand Italian peasants to Libya, which Italy had colonized in 1938. Both cases involved large numbers of impoverished peasants who received state assistance on their way to new territories (1998:309).

4. Between 1932 and 1936, the Japanese state designated a total of 6,559 villages and towns as "special villages for economic rehabilitation" (see Nōson Kōsei Kyōkai 1937; MIKSS 1990:3).

5. This article has been reprinted in *Manshū imin kankei shiryō shūsei*, a forty-volume set published between 1990 and 1992. Cited hereafter as MIKSS.

6. Demographic and economic conditions in all the other villages in Nagano closely resembled those in Fujimi. For example, in the village of Ōhinata, where 406 farm families lived in 1937, only 7.5 percent of total village land was under cultivation, and the average farm household owned 0.1 hectare of rice paddy and 0.6 hectare of dry field (Nōson Kōsei Kyōkai 1937:33). In the village of Hirane, a typical farm household cultivated 0.3 hectare of rice paddy and 0.4 hectare of dry field (ibid.: 36). In the village of Yomikaki, an average farm household worked 0.6 hectare of land. While the population of this village had been increasing by about fifty-five annually since 1928, the village had also been losing about two hundred males every year, either temporarily or permanently. Furthermore, after the Great Depression, the number of day laborers who worked in the imperial household's forests located within the village dramatically increased to more than three hundred. This meant a sharp drop in wages for casual laborers (Takumu-shō 1942).

7. The predecessor of the Manchuria Colonial Development Company, Manshū Takushoku Kabushiki Gaisha, was established by order of the Manchukuo government in 1936 to "promote Japanese emigration to Manchuria and acquire land for the Japanese." In reality, it was one of the organs of the Kwantung Army. In 1937, it was renamed Manshū Takushoku Kōsha (see Asada 1989:247, n. 1). Here I translate both names as the Manchuria Colonial Development Company.

8. After Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, village newspapers printed only state notifications for local residents. By 1943, all the editorial offices of the *sonpō* gave up the idea of publishing newspapers altogether (see Tamanoi 1998:ch. 6).

9. The village of Urazato was designated as a special village for economic rehabilitation in 1936 (Takahashi 1976: 54).

10. Note also the contribution of Japanese anthropologists, who "verbally depopulated" the landscapes of Manchuria (see Pratt 1986:145). Ōmachi Tokuzō (1982), for example, was particularly interested in the ethnic minority Manchus, and he claimed that they were the sole natives in Manchuria. In his attempt to glorify and romanticize Manchu traditions, he traveled far north in search of "pure" Manchus. Yet his pursuit of the Manchus pictured Manchuria, where millions of Han Chinese lived, as largely empty (see also Tamanoi 2006b).

11. Similar edicts were issued by the village councils of both Ōhinata and Hirane (Nōson Kōsei Kyōkai 1937; MIKSS 1990:30).

12. Examining the travelogues written by British explorers in Africa in the nineteenth century, Mary Louise Pratt argues as follows: "Throughout much nineteenth-century exploration writing on the imperial frontier, this discursive configuration effaces the European presence and textually splits off indigenous inhabitants from habitat. It is a configuration which, in (mis)recognition of what was materially underway or in anticipation of what was to come, verbally depopulates landscapes" (1986:145). Here I apply Pratt's observation to the lyrics of the song that Sumiko remembered.

13. While I use "Yamada" as the interviewer's name, Yamada's students may have been the primary interviewers of the former colonists-turned-repatriates to Ōhinata.

14. Inspired by the proletarian movement, Shimaki Kensaku, whose real name was Asakura Kikuo, participated in laborers' and farmers' union movements when young. He eventually joined the Communist Party and was arrested in 1928. After being released from prison owing to illness, he was forced to forsake communism and worked as a writer. For a detailed biography, see Nishizaki (1959).

15. Asada Kyōji estimates the portion of land rented to the native farmers at about 26 percent of the total land area confiscated from the Chinese farmers (1989:201).

16. "Institutional racism" refers to the condition by which certain race relations are justified by powerful groups "in terms of some sort of deterministic theory (usually a biological or genetic one)" (Rex 1999:141).

17. This report is *Manshūkoku kaitakuchi hanzai gaiyō* (Summary report of crimes committed by Japanese agrarian settlers).

18. It is now well known that the abrogation of Japanese extraterritoriality in 1937 hardly changed the condition of Japanese domination in Manchukuo. For example, since abolition entailed the possibility of Japanese criminals being tried by Chinese judges, the Manchukuo government placed a Japanese judge in every existing court in its territory. It renovated existing prisons and constructed new ones exclusively for Japanese prisoners, and it also appointed

thousands of prison guards from Japan and increased the number of Japanese police. Furthermore, in matters of education, military conscription, and Shinto shrines, the Manchukuo government retained Japanese extraterritoriality. Thus, the nominal abrogation did not abolish the old privileges of the Japanese residing in Manchukuo. On the contrary, the Japanese state was able to "further strengthen its imperial control" (Fukushima 1993:132; see also Mutō 1988).

19. Senjin is an abbreviation for Chōsenjin (Koreans), while Hantōjin is a euphemism for Koreans. In Japanese, abbreviations and euphemisms for proper nouns often serve as pejorative terms, as is the case with both Senjin and Hantōjin.

20. I learned this last line from my mother, who lived in Beijing from 1940 to 1945. I am grateful to Toshie Marra, Ginoza Naomi, and Christine Yano, who indicated the proper references for me (see also Mainichi Shinbunsha 1978).

21. In some other colonies of Japan, notably the Micronesian islands of Palau and Yap, the colonized people created several songs imitating the Japanese folk songs. The islanders, who received a colonial education from Japanese teachers, created such songs by mixing their language with Japanese (see Nakamura Osamu 1993).

22. The founders of the Manchuria Patriotic Youth Brigade were Katō Kanji (1884–1965) and Tōmiya Kaneo. Katō, an educator, "hoped to put his religious nationalist theories in practice by having the boys of the Youth Corps demonstrate through their daily life the sacred characteristics of Japanese people." Tōmiya hoped the boys would "protect Manchukuo from the Soviet Union by building their camps near the borders." The implementation of these two men's ideas, however, meant an extremely harsh life for the brigade members (Suleski 1981:352–353).

23. This interview was conducted on stage on August 11, 1996, on the occasion of a conference called "Brides in the Agrarian Colonies of Manchuria" (*Kaitakuchi no hanayome*), organized by a women's group in Tokyo. The interviewer, Sugiyama Haru, also published a book on the history of continental brides (1996).

24. At the same conference, Nagao added the following: "Japanese bureaucrats in Manchukuo, who receive high salaries, are excessively concerned with the question of whether Japanese agrarian colonists can endure life without rice in rural Manchuria. They do not know that even in Japan, rice is not part of the daily diet for many farmers. . . . These bureaucrats also believe that since the Chinese work so diligently for many hours, Japanese farmers cannot compete with them. Well, it is clear that Chinese farmers are more diligent than these bureaucrats. I have no idea why they think that the Japanese farmers are less diligent than the Chinese farmers" (Tōyō Kyōkai 1935:58). As an advocate of the ideology of agrarianism, Nagao is bitter about the Japanese state, which had long ignored agriculture in the Japanese Empire.

25. Here a Japanese-German film titled *The New Earth* (*Atarashiki tsuchi*, 1937) is apposite. In the last scene of this film, the protagonist, a young man

named Teruo, and his wife, Mitsuko, move with their infant son to northern Manchuria, where he "happily farms the 'new earth' of Manchukuo under the protective gaze of imperial Japanese soldiers" (see Baskett 2005:134–138). The memoirs of former agrarian colonists, however, suggest that the presence of such soldiers on the land they formed was real merely in this fictional movie.

Chapter 3: Memory Map 2

1. Mutō Tomio, a local court judge, left for Manchuria in 1934 and first worked to reorganize the legal system in Manchukuo. Although he moved from one position to another within the Manchukuo government, he is largely remembered as the director of an information section of the General Affairs Board (Sōmucho). Both Mutō and Hoshino Naoki, who in 1936 was appointed general director of the General Affairs Board, were born into Christian families.

2. In addition to Uraga, six other ports—Sasebo, Hakata, Kagoshima, Shimonoseki, Kure, and Maizuru—served as the main ports of entry for repatriates (Kōsei-shō 1978:2). All of these, except for Uraga, are located in western Japan, with three on the island of Kyūshū.

3. Miyako-jima now forms part of Japan's southernmost prefecture, Okinawa Prefecture. Okinawa consists of hundreds of islands in a chain over one thousand kilometers long. It was under U.S. administration from 1945 to 1972.

4. According to burial customs in Japan, a box for *eirei* should contain the ashes of the cremated body of a war victim. With the confusion following Japan's capitulation, however, the overseas Japanese could not conduct proper burials for the deceased. Some of my informants told me that boxes such as those in the storage unit often contained only pieces of cloth, clipped nails, or stones collected on the spot where a victim had died. Note that the term *eirei* did not appear in Japanese official discourse until the time of the Russo-Japanese War (Tanaka Nobumasa 2002:20).

5. Wakatsuki reports that six groups of agrarian colonists began their exoduses from Manchuria a week before Japan's capitulation. One group reached the port of Senzaki on September 4, 1945. Among the 616 people on board, 12 died en route to Japan. This is a rare exception, however. The majority of those who began their journey of repatriation relatively early were forced to go back via the same route, thereby encountering more dangers, which resulted in a large number of deaths (1995:151).

6. Another example of the beginnings of repatriate memoirs is as follows: "At around 10:30 in the evening of August 9, 1945, we heard repeated knocks on the door of our house. We had been renting this house from the government. Our children were all fast asleep, and my husband and I were about to go to bed as we had sat up very late the previous night. 'Mr. Fujiwara, Mr. Fujiwara, we are from the Weather Bureau.' We heard the voice of a young man. Opening the door, we saw two men with wooden guns. 'Oh, Mr. Fujiwara, please come to the

bureau immediately.' 'What is the matter?' asked my husband. 'We do not know, but everyone has to report to the office. So please come'" (Fujiwara 1976:9). Again, Fujiwara's memories of a two-year stay in Xinjing as the wife of a Japanese scientist are entirely missing from her autobiography.

7. Many titles of the memoirs emphasize the theme of suffering, which the authors experienced during the repatriation journeys. They include, for example, *Kusa no hi: Man-Mō kaitakudan suterareta tami no kiroku* (Fujita 1989), *Senzan o koete* (Katō Kiyoe 1995), and *Rubō no tami* (Hikiage Taikenshū Henshū Iinkai 1981a).

8. Indeed, some of the repatriate memoirs were made into movies, plays, and popular songs. For example, *Nagareru hoshi wa ikiteiru*, written by Fujiwara Tei, was made into a movie of the same title. Another popular movie, *Fumō chitai* (Barren lands), features a businessman who was repatriated from Siberia. A popular song, "Ganpeki no haha" (Mothers at the wharf), is based on the true story of a woman who waited for the return of her son from Siberia until her death. In addition, every summer, around August 15, the national television station airs programs about the Asia-Pacific War in which the survivors of escape journeys from Manchuria are featured as guest speakers. Their narratives also follow the style of the repatriate memoirs.

9. The official history estimates the number of Japanese who perished in Siberia at seventy thousand (Kōsei-shō 1978:60).

10. In addition to the Japanese and Chinese Red Cross, the Sino-Japanese Friendship Society (Nit-Chū Yūkō Kyōkai) and the Japan Peace Alliance (Nihon Heiwa Renrakukai) also participated in negotiations with the Chinese state over Japanese repatriation (Watt 2002:55).

11. The name of this bureau changed many times, from Hikiage Engo-ka, Hikiage Engo-in, Hikiage Engo-chō, and Hikiage Engo-kyoku to, finally, Engo-kyoku in 1961. The suffixes *ka*, *in*, *chō*, and *kyoku* signify the differing scales of this bureau. In other words, the institutional setting changed as the number of repatriates increased or decreased. In 1961, with the establishment of Engo-kyoku, the state dropped the term *hikiage* (repatriation) (Kōsei-shō 1978:30–33).

12. In *Hygienic Modernity*, which examines "how foreign and indigenous actors reshaped approaches to health" in Tianjin (one of China's largest treaty ports at the turn of the twentieth century), Ruth Rogaski (2004) depicts Japanese elites as crusaders for hygiene in Japan's then expanding empire (see also Bourdaghs 1998; Tamanoi 2000b). Having "quickly grasped some of the core elements that made Europe appear modern and sought to employ them as 'full kits' to transform their own societies, Japanese elites then transferred this impulse to China" (Rogaski 2004:16). Nonetheless, the hygienic regimen brought to Japan by the United States was novel. The U.S. Occupation Forces first introduced modern hygiene "to prevent the Japanese people from becoming a menace to the Occupation Forces." They sprayed DDT from the air twenty-four hours prior to their landing at Yokosuka. After January 1946, the United States shifted the burden of responsibility for instituting modern hygiene onto Japa-

nese state officials (Igarashi 2000: 66–67, 70). The latter quickly introduced the American approach to hygiene into postwar Japanese society.

13. For a more detailed record of the Japanese state's battle with diseases and epidemics rampant among repatriates, see Kōsei-shō (1947–1948). This three-volume work is a meticulous record of the day-to-day battle by MHW officers to control the spread of epidemics at the ports of entry into Japan between 1945 and 1947.

14. The documents on this "stay-put policy," which were issued on August 14 and 31 and September 24, 1945, were not made available to scholars until December 2000. While the U.S. Occupation Forces finally ordered the Japanese state to begin the repatriation of overseas Japanese on September 29, those who were stranded in Soviet-occupied areas were the last to be considered; before May 1946, they were barred from returning home. See *Asahi*, December 20, 2000.

15. This legislation is "Mi-kikansha ni kansuru tokubetsu sochihō" (Special legislation on Japanese citizens who are yet to return).

16. For example, describing the attitude of some Japanese residents in Dalian after Japan's defeat, Ishidō Kiyotomo (1904–2001) writes, "[Some Japanese] did not show hatred or anxiety toward the Chinese people, who became members of the governing race overnight. Instead, these Japanese reacted to them by taking an overly submissive attitude. Until Japan's defeat, they called the Chinese *ni ya* [opium addicts]. After Japan's capitulation, they began calling them *zhang gui*. Its meaning is something like 'a store owner' or 'a head clerk,' but they used it as an equivalent to 'sir' (1986:296). Ishidō was a graduate of the Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa Prefecture and of Tokyo Imperial University. While in Tokyo, he joined the Shinjinkai (New Man Society), whose members were committed to the study of the Marxist classics (see Ishidō and Kashiyama 1976; Silverberg 1990:31–37; Smith 1972). Upon graduation from the university in 1927, Ishidō joined the Japanese Communist Party. Under the Peace Preservation Law, he was imprisoned in 1928 as part of the state's mass arrests of members of leftist organizations. Released from prison after his public acknowledgment of the emperor system, he worked between 1933 and 1938 as a journalist for a publishing house in Tokyo. Facing pressure from his superiors for his ongoing commitment to communism, Ishidō left the company and moved to Manchuria to join the SMR's research bureau. After Japan's capitulation, he played an important role in realizing Japanese repatriation from the Soviet-occupied areas of the former Japanese Empire.

17. Some high-ranking officers of the Manchukuo government and the SMR who stayed behind after Japan's capitulation and consequently suffered internment by the Soviets also blamed the Kwantung Army for their suffering. Yet in their memoirs, they try hard to separate the civilian from the military parts of the Japanese state. While they affirm the imperial project of the Japanese state, they accuse the military of destroying the state's "noble" project (see, for example, Furumi 1967, 1978).

18. Article 43 reads as follows: "The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the

measures in his power to restore, and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country." Article 46 reads as follows: "Family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected." See "Laws of War: Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague IV); October 18, 1907," Avalon Project at Yale Law School, at http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/lawofwar/hague04.htm#art43.

19. Kamitsubo Takashi estimates the extent of "illegal pregnancy" at the Futsukaichi Clinic alone, which was located near the port of Hakata, at more than five hundred in the immediate wartime period (1979:209).

20. In "Strange Games and Enchanted Science," Michael Dylan Foster (2006) describes *kokkuri-san* as a game or a passing fad that swept across Japan in the late 1880s. He tries to understand it as "a cultural practice" that reveals the nature of Japan's modernizing experience. Apparently the method of this "game" was not set and varied from place to place. Here we should see *kokkuri-san* in the context of Manchuria in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation.

21. On the notion of victims, Jean-François Lyotard argues, "It is in the nature of a victim not to be able to prove that one has been done a wrong. A plaintiff is someone who has incurred damages and who disposes of the means to prove it. One becomes a victim if one loses these means" (quoted in Das 1995:74).

22. In 1957, the Japanese state granted special benefits to those who had been in the overseas empire for more than six months (Jin'no 1992:198–199). Families of those who had died while awaiting repatriation also received compensation—from seven thousand yen up to twenty-eight thousand yen, depending on the victim's age. "Repatriates who had succeeded in rebuilding their livelihoods," however, were excluded from benefits at that time. In 1962, demands for compensation picked up again "when the statute of limitation on debts threatened to nullify lost assets claims on the government" (Orr 2001:161). This time, Zenren introduced "a new tone critical of the state's wartime policies." Arguing that its members had been forced to execute a little dance of joy around the state's wartime policies, the group introduced a new rhetoric that "lost assets" were "a form of war damage" (ibid.:162). The Japanese state in turn acknowledged that the repatriates' assets had "actually served the needs of the state" and that the repatriates had contributed not only to the wartime state but also to Japan's postwar economic development (ibid.:163). Thus, in 1967, appreciating "their troubles," the Japanese state instituted another round of payments: 192.5 billion yen to be distributed among the repatriates. This time, the income levels of repatriates were not taken into account in determining the amount of compensation.

23. In "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse," Lydia Liu (1994) examines the counterparts of these women—Chinese women who were raped by Chinese men—in *Field of Life and Death*, a novel written by a woman, Xiao Hong (1911–1942). Hong grew up in Manchuria and lived and worked "in a time of national crisis." After the publication of the novel in 1935, the acclaim and criticism it

received were dominated by a nationalist discourse (Liu 1994:158). Male Chinese critics read the book as a national allegory and expected the raped woman to serve "as a powerful trope in anti-Japanese propaganda" (ibid.:161). Yet according to Liu, Xiao Hong was also of the opinion that the Chinese woman "was condemned to permanent exile by the stigma of her gender," as she was expected to give up her natal home and enter her husband's home (ibid.:157). In other words, while men could enhance their manhood through participation in the anti-Japanese movement, women had to fight on two fronts: against Japanese imperialists as well as against Chinese men (ibid.:171). In *Field of Life and Death*, the female figures—poor peasant women—were excluded from the community of Chinese Nationalists under Japanese domination because, owing to their class and gender, they were unable to fight against the Japanese soldiers alongside Chinese men. One such woman, Golden Bough, decided to go to Harbin after the death of her brutal husband to earn money as a seamstress. There she was raped; the rape, it turns out, was "committed by a Chinese man rather than by a Japanese soldier" (ibid.:162). For such writing, Xiao Hong was bitterly criticized for a lack of nationalism against the Japanese. The national community of sufferers that the repatriate memoirs purported to create includes Japanese women who were raped by Japanese men. The logic of this inclusion is parallel to the logic of exclusion that the male Chinese critics used against Xiao Hong: a Chinese woman raped by a Chinese man should be excluded from the community of nationalists.

24. Here the notion proposed by Walter Benjamin may be useful: "A chronicler who recites events without distinguishing between major and minor ones acts in accordance with the following truth: nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history. To be sure, only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past—which is to say, only for a redeemed mankind has its past become citable in all its moments. Each moment it has lived becomes a *citation à l'ordre du jour*—and that day is Judgment Day" (1968:254; see also Tamanoi 2001). Benjamin would surely admonish the authors of repatriate memoirs, who focus on only a major yet single event—the ordeal of repatriation from the former empire to Japan.

25. Here the point made by Theodor Adorno (1986) is quite insightful. Adorno argues that an apology from the victimizer, however much desired by the victimized, tends to terminate the process of remembering, thereby closing the door to further investigation of the past in question.

Chapter 4: Memory Map 3

1. In 1946, the MHW estimated the number of war orphans at 300 (in Tokyo) and 4,000 (in Japan). Two years later, however, its Children's Bureau declared that the number was 123,511 (see Kaneda 2002:170–172).

2. In yet another document compiled in 1948, the MHW estimated the number of Japanese children orphaned overseas at 11,351, of whom 1,140 had

been placed in orphanages. Note, however, that about 30,000 Japanese children had been left behind in China in the aftermath of Japan's capitulation (see Kaneda 2002:171).

3. Izumi Seiichi, an anthropologist who taught in Korea under Japan's colonial rule, played an important role in establishing this orphanage.

4. Interestingly, the former colonists resettling on undeveloped land in Japan followed the same practices on which they had relied in emigrating to Manchuria. For example, among 343 agrarian settlers who returned to the village of Ōhinata, 165 (or 65 families) left the mother village collectively and resettled in Karuizawa in Nagano Prefecture (NKJMK 1984b:167). Developed in the early twentieth century as a summer resort for European residents in Japan, Karuizawa is situated at the foot of Mount Asama, an active volcanic mountain. Surrounding this exotic town are forests and a difficult terrain. In the words of one of the settlers from Ohinata, whom I later met, Karuizawa was "just like Manchuria"; it was cold in the winter and surrounded by "aliens" (see also Wada 1993).

5. Except for military personnel, the purge of Japanese officials initiated by the U.S. Occupation Forces was a "very sketchy affair"; the majority of the prewar political elite (including the "ultra-nationalistic" politicians) remained in the government (Halliday 1975:172–173).

6. In 1946, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs completed *Kajin rōmusha shūrō jijō chōsa hōkokusho* (Report on the investigation of working conditions of Chinese conscripted laborers). It was not until 1993, however, that the Japanese government acknowledged the existence of this document (Sugihara 2002:159; Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai Shuzaihan 1994). In the early 1960s, several Japanese scholar-activists obtained portions of this report solely by chance and published them with the title *Shiryō*: *Chūgokujin kyōsei renkō no kiroku* (Documents: A record of the forced mobilization of the Chinese) (Chūgokujin Kyōsei Renkō Jiken Shiryō Hensan Iinkai 1964; see also Tanaka Hiroshi, Utsumi Aiko, and Niimi Takashi 1990; Tanaka Hiroshi and Matsuzawa Tessei 1995). The original document (of 1946) was subsequently discovered in 1992 in Washington, D.C., with the English title of *Records Pertaining to Rules and Procedures Governing the Conduct of the Japanese War Crimes Trials, Atrocities Committed against Chinese Laborers, and Background Investigation of Major Japanese War Criminals* (Matsuzawa 1995:9).

7. In both the prewar and postwar eras, however, the Japanese state was more adamant in getting rid of Koreans from Japan proper. The two documents that attest to this are *An Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato Race as Nucleus*, published by the promotion and race section of the Research Bureau of the MHW in 1943, and a letter written in 1949 by Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru addressed to General Douglas MacArthur. The first was exceedingly harsh concerning the Koreans, who were described as "being especially suitable to carry out the heavy physical work of a protracted war." Once the war was over, the same report reads, "Koreans living within Japan proper should be sent home . . . and, in general, Koreans should be encouraged to emigrate to harsh

and thinly populated places such as New Guinea" (Dower 1986:289; Oguma 1995:255; 2002:222). The second has the following: "I expect that all these Koreans will return home to the Korean Peninsula. . . . Among them are large numbers of would-be criminals" (quoted in Oguma 2006:133–134).

8. The Repatriation Support Law does not clearly state how the existing Japanese immigration laws and refugee laws should be interpreted, so it does not specify who is included in the category of "family members of returnees from China." In addition, the language of the law is extremely unclear, so "returnees from China" can potentially include Japanese nationals and their families who wish to return to Japan from any part of Japan's former empire (see Yampol 2005:49–51).

9. In 1988, Chūgoku Kikokusha Jiritsu Kenshū Sentā (Centers to Assist Independent Living of Returnees from China) were established in twenty locations in Japan. The name suggests that the orphans who permanently returned to Japan were expected to live without welfare assistance.

10. As tables 4 and 5 amply demonstrate, it has become exceedingly difficult for the Japanese state to find orphans' blood relatives in Japan. While thirty (out of forty-seven) orphans discovered their root identities in 1981 (64 percent), only twelve (out of forty-six) did so in 1990 (26 percent). In 1997, only three (out of forty-five) were able to locate their Japanese relatives (6.7 percent). This trend suggests that with the passage of time, blood relatives in Japan have died, aged, or become quite distant. Distant relatives are often reluctant to acknowledge a relationship with newly arrived relatives from China and often opt to ignore it. The reasons vary. Some do not want to associate with returnees from China who do not speak Japanese. Others worry about sharing their meager inheritance with the returnees. Still others are unable to acknowledge ties with returnees in legal terms because they have remarried. Note also that the adoptive parents of orphans have also aged or died. Some of them have thus chosen not to reveal the identities of their adopted children for fear of losing them. Finally, the orphans themselves have also aged, finding the idea of starting a new life in Japan unattractive. In such cases, they have little interest in searching for their root identities.

11. An NHK News Highlights video of 1985 shows the orphans being served dinner on their first day back in Japan. The camera focuses on a tiny paper flag of Japan on a plate, a popular ornament on children's dishes in Japanese restaurants.

12. For this argument, the media rely on Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to *a* nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality" (emphasis added).

13. According to *Chūgoku kikokusha seikatsu jittai chōsa no kekka* (Results of a state investigation on life among returnees from China), conducted by the MHW in 2003–2004, only about 6 percent of the returning orphans settled in Nagano. The rest chose to live in major cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Yokohama. See the following Web site: http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/kikokusha/03/betsu.html#2–1.

14. In the mid-1980s, the Chinese state presented an official protest against the Japanese state, arguing that orphans who had returned to Japan were neglecting their filial obligations toward their adoptive parents. The protest interrupted the Japanese state's search for orphans for almost a year. The interruption ended when the two states reached the following agreements: (1) orphans must solve their "family problems" before permanently returning to Japan; (2) orphans who return temporarily to Japan to see their relatives must return to China to solve their family problems; (3) if they refuse to return to China, the Japanese state must persuade them to fulfill their filial obligations; (4) the Japanese state should pay half of the expenses of a repatriated orphan's family that has remained in China; and (5) volunteer organizations in Japan should make efforts to pay the other half. See *Asahi*, March 17, 1984; September 5, 6, 7 and October 27, 1986.

15. Prior to 1992, the children of orphans who were either married or more than twenty years of age were not allowed to return to Japan with their parents at the state's expense. In 1992, the state implemented a policy that allowed a disabled orphan to return with one of his or her single children. Two years later, the state began applying the same policy to any orphan older than sixty-five. In 1995, the state lowered this age threshold to sixty (Kōsei-shō 1997:419). Still, even with the implementation of the Repatriation Support Law, the category of "family members of returnees from China" has remained vague.

16. The history of overseas Chinese in Japan goes back to the late nineteenth century, when Japan opened its ports to the West, thus ending 250 years of isolation. When European and U.S. sailors and merchants came to Japan, they often brought Chinese with them. Having lived in international settlements in such cities as Hong Kong and Shanghai, these Chinese provided a variety of services for the Westerners in Japan. Furthermore, since Japanese and Chinese use largely the same orthography, overseas Chinese (who were called Kakyō, or "Chinese residing abroad") could provide indispensable services to the Japanese as interpreters and translators. The numbers of these overseas Chinese gradually increased, owing largely to Japan's colonization of Taiwan in 1895. Between 1956 and 1965, the number increased only slightly, from 43,372 to 49,317 (Chu 1967:65). About half of these were from Taiwan. In addition, more than half of all these Chinese immigrants were gainfully employed or students, while the rest were housewives, children, or the elderly (ibid.:69). Chu, who interviewed 159 such overseas Chinese in the mid-1960s, reports that about 23 percent of them spoke Japanese at home, and about 58 percent of them spoke a mixture of Japanese and Mandarin or other Chinese languages (ibid.:99). This means that the nature of Chinese immigration to Japan has dramatically changed since then.

17. Note that under the policy of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, many towns in Northeast China—the hometowns of Japanese orphans—have tried to increase the number of emigrants to Japan so as to gain the status of *qiaoxiang*, a hometown of overseas Chinese. The Chinese state expects these emigrants to invest in their hometowns. See "Gaikokujin no nyūkoku jyōkyō"

(Statistics on the entry of foreigners into Japan) and "Honpō ni okeru fuhō zanryūsha sū ni tsuite" (Concerning visa overstayers in Japan) at the home page of the Japanese Ministry of Justice at http://www.moj.go.jp.

18. Japanese national newspapers carried many articles about this incident and several other cases of "false orphans." See, for example, *Asahi*, January 6, April 15, June 2, and June 5, 1998, and *Yomiuri*, December 16, 1997, and May 11, June 1, and August 1, 1998.

19. The Japanese media hardly ever fail to report on the arrival of Chinese refugees in Japan. For example, in a few days in August 1998, I spotted the following reports in the *Asahi* newspapers. On August 17, Tokyo police officers discovered sixteen Chinese inside a freight container still on the deck of a ship; "among [the stowaways] one man and seven women were already dead." On August 18, six Chinese men were found swimming in Niigata Bay. One of them reported to the police that he had come from Fujian Province with about thirty other Chinese from the same region. The six men were arrested for illegal entry into Japan. On August 21, forty-five Chinese were found after they had illegally entered Japan through the port of Yokohama. One of them reported to the police that "twenty-five other Chinese had already entered Japan by another route." It turned out that the same ship had first disembarked a group of thirty-six Chinese at the port of Chiba in March and a group of twenty-five at the port of Toyama. The ship then returned in the direction of Pusan, Korea, met another ship from somewhere in China, picked up forty-five more Chinese, and then returned, this time, to Tokyo Bay. On the same day, ninety-eight Chinese were arrested for illegal entry in Kawasaki Bay, near Tokyo. See also *Asahi*, April 2, 2003.

20. Since 1990, Japan has accepted only Nikkei as unskilled or semiskilled laborers. Nikkei refers to the approximately two hundred thousand descendants of Japanese immigrants to Latin America. In 1990, Japan revised its immigration law, primarily because the then vibrant Japanese economy was suffering from an acute labor shortage. The Nikkei population thus responded to "an explosive demand for labor in manufacturing industries in jobs shunned by Japanese" (Yamanaka 1996:65).

21. The reports on greedy children and the murder were carried in *Yomiuri*, December 16, 1997, and June 1, 1998, and *Asahi*, December 7, 1999.

22. The Japan Hall of Martial Arts is where the state-organized anniversary of the end of the war has been held annually; the ritual transforms soldier-victims into martyrs and memorializes their noble sacrifices for peace and prosperity in postwar Japan. The Yasukuni Shrine, which is located near the Japan Hall of Martial Arts, enshrines "all the spirits of the victims who died for the sake of our nation" (quoted in a pamphlet distributed by the office of the Yasukuni Shrine).

23. Since 2001, more orphans have joined this lawsuit in sixteen locations, including Kagoshima, Tokushima, Kōchi, Sapporo, Kōbe, and Osaka. As of 2007, a verdict handed down at the Kobe District Court on December 1, 2006, is the only one that has ruled against the Japanese state, ordering the latter to pay

compensation in the amount of 60 million yen to each of sixty-one defendants. The Japanese state, however, appealed this verdict to the Osaka District Higher Court the following day. All the other verdicts can be summarized as follows: The Japanese state should have better coordinated the permanent return of Japanese children left behind in China. Nevertheless, the state has made tremendous efforts toward this end, and such efforts should be acknowledged. It is under no obligation to provide welfare assistance to such children to live in Japan. Rather, the administrative agencies of the state should explore ways to enable them to live in Japan as independent citizens (see Nishioka 2004). In April 2007, the cabinet proposed a plan to the parliament that promised to raise the monthly pensions of orphans older than sixty. See *Asahi*, December 1, 2006, January 31, 2007, and April 30, 2007.

24. In the 1960s, the conservative British government withdrew the right of colored U.K. passport holders to enter Britain. Chinese from Hong Kong, who had been classified as "colored," were exempted, as, in the eyes of this conservative government, they contributed to the development of overseas capitalism (Ong 2002:180).

25. Ong points to "premodern forms of child, gender, and class oppression" that the affluent Hong Kong Chinese have inadvertently created in many parts of the world (2002:190). They drop their children—so-called "parachute kids"—anywhere in the world at will. They leave their wives with their children while they travel freely and extensively. Furthermore, affluent Hong Kong Chinese with flexible citizenship often employ illegal Chinese immigrants in their factories at low wages. These employees, as well as the children and the wives of the elite Hong Kong Chinese, are the victims of the oppression to which Ong refers. In other words, behind those who can resort to flexible citizenship are many people who suffer because of it.

Chapter 5: Memory Map 4

1. Another collection of memoirs (which I read mainly because it had already been translated into Japanese and published in Japan) is *Manshū ōraru historii*, compiled and edited by the Chinese scholar Qi Hongshen (2004). In this collection, the interviewees speak mainly about their school experiences in the puppet state of Manchukuo. Like the memoirs I discuss in this chapter, however, these memoirs seem to reflect the Chinese state's commemoration project. References for the cultural and historical documents discussed in this chapter are listed at the end of the reference list.

2. At the East Asian Library of the University of California, Berkeley, I went through all the cultural and historical documents that were published in the provinces of Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning. I then randomly selected memoirs about Manchurian colonization by Japanese emigrants and copied them. In Los Angeles, Xiaolei Wu kindly translated these memoirs from Chinese into

English. I then went over the original memoirs and her translations with her and prepared a final translation.

3. This passage is in "The outcome of Japanese Colonists' Intrusion into Tieli," published in the first volume of Tieli cultural and historical documents. Nishi, Sun, and Zheng do not specify the year of publication.

4. *Taijun* is a term traditionally used in China to refer to the parents of a third party. In the Manchukuo era, the Chinese collaborators of the Japanese military addressed high-ranking Japanese officers as *taijun* (Nishi, Sun, and Zheng 2007:209).

5. This passage is in "The Japanese Colony in Qitaihe Region," published in the second volume of Qitaihe cultural and historical documents. Nishi, Sun, and Zheng do not specify the year of publication.

6. This passage is in "The Primitive Acts of Japanese Colonists in Gangjietun," published in the second volume of Shulan cultural and historical documents. Nishi, Sun, and Zheng do not specify the year of publication.

7. In the lengthy list of agrarian colonists and family members who emigrated to Manchuria from Nagano, the names of Ozawa Fumio, Suzuki Issei, and Yamada Akiko do not appear (NKJMK 1984c).

8. Another example is "Unnan Shinsei chiku ni okeru sensō no kioku" published by Iko Toshiya (2003) as a chapter in a book. While Iko still equates the contents of the cultural and historical documents to "the historical truth," he also compares them to the memoirs written and published by former Japanese soldiers who visited the Yunnan Dianxi in the 1980s and '90s to commemorate the deaths of their comrades. While he notes that some of these Japanese authors admit their complicity in the Japanese military's invasion of China, he also argues that their recollection is still strongly colored by the official view of the Association of Japanese Veterans: the war that the Japanese fought in China was a defensive war. Hence the dichotomy between the Chinese as victims and the Japanese as victimizers remains intact in his analysis of published memoirs in both China and Japan.

9. Kyōwakai tried to mobilize the entire population of Manchuria, regardless of ethnicity, for the formation of Manchukuo. Despite this original goal, over time the association became an instrument of the Kwantung Army, which utilized it to mobilize the people and resources of Manchukuo for Japan's war effort (see Hirano Ken'ichirō, 1972).

10. According to research conducted by the MHW, 299 Japanese orphans are still in China; of these 199 have already identified their Japanese relatives (see www.kikokusha-center.or.jp). However, the adoptive parents mentioned here were not referring to these 299 Japanese; instead they were referring to the hundreds of orphans that the Japanese state has still not acknowledged as Japanese.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

1. According to Emile Durkheim, the state is an entity that "thinks," not for the sake of taking action but for guiding the secondary groups of society to a

higher, yet collective, morality, to a point at which the state can set them free (1986:41–42, 50). Thus, in Durkheim, we can see a return to Hegel. Note, however, that Hegel understood the state as "the final development in social evolution," which comes after "the family" and "civil society," even though the formation of "civil society" followed the state later in time (see Hegel 1967:122, paragraph 182 in the section on "family"; Pelczynski 1984b; Giddens 1987:20).

2. In *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen* Oguma Eiji (1995) cites the works of many of these Japanese thinkers on the state. In citing them, I have relied in principle on the translation of Oguma's book by David Askew (Oguma 2002) but changed some words and phrases.

3. For ideas of the state among Chinese intellectuals, see, for example, Mair (2005) and Kirby (2005).

4. Naitō's ideas resonate with some of the intellectuals who were directly involved in the making of Manchukuo, such as Yamaguchi Jūji (see Yamaguchi 1967); Kasagi Yoshiaki; Tachibana Shiraki (see Tachibana 1966); and Hirano Yoshitarō (see Hirano 1966). They were members of groups such as Mantetsu Shainkai, a group formed by employees of the SMR, Daiyūhōkai (Majestic Peak Society); Manshū Seinen Renmei (Manchurian Youth League); and Kyōwakai (Concordia Association).

5. Some Marxist scholars, however, chose the second option—to abandon the policy of assimilation—in order to oppose Japan's imperial expansion. Yet many of them, including Kawakami, asserted the superiority of the Japanese people over the Chinese and Koreans, whether the Japanese were considered to be more mixed or pure (Oguma 1995:237).

6. However, evidence suggests that Tsuda was a strong advocate of the theory of a mixed nation before the Russo-Japanese War. It was after this event that he changed his thought to the theory of a homogeneous nation (see Oguma 1995:280).

7. Abrams' concept of the state seems to have attracted several anthropologists, who compare the state and religion of modern nation-states on the one hand and indigenous forms of government on the other (see Holston 1999; Taussig 1992). Using the idea of the state as a mask, these anthropologists argue that the state is a fiction, fetish, or totem. Hence "centralized states and marginalized religions often have strikingly similar and conjunctive practices" (Holston 1999:605).

8. Krasner (1978) refers to the relationship between the U.S. government and the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), a consortium of U.S. oil corporations that possessed exclusive rights to Saudi Arabian oil. When the Saudis, after World War II, demanded that their share of the royalty payments from Aramco be increased from 12 percent to 50 percent, Aramco arranged for the increase in royalty to be paid not by the company but by U.S. taxpayers. In other words Aramco shifted its relationship with the U.S. government, thereby redrawing the boundary between state and society (Krasner 1998:188–197; see also Mitchell 1991:89–90). This case, I argue, is extremely helpful for understanding the relationship between the former agrarian colonists in Manchuria and the Japanese state.

9. Ishibashi Tanzan was a journalist, economist, and politician who held various postwar cabinet posts. During the wartime era, he was an outspoken critic of Japan's militarist regime. He became prime minister in 1956 but resigned after only two months because of illness. After regaining his health, he devoted himself to normalizing relations between Japan and the PRC. His essay, "Kokka to shūkyō oyobi bungei," was originally published in *Tōyō jiron* in 1912.

10. For example, between 1922 and 1940, the Miyakonojō High School of Commerce in Miyazaki Prefecture in southern Japan sent eighteen groups of students to Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria. After graduation, about 40 percent of the student visitors chose to work in Japan's colonies (Kubo 1996:21–28).

11. These recent trips to China are different from the trips made by a significantly smaller number of Japanese before 1979, when the ban on commercial travel to China was in effect. As I have already discussed (see memory map 2), the latter were group tours designed to promote friendship between Japan and China (Gao Yuan 2001:222). What loomed large in these trips was not nostalgia but politics. According to Gao, many of the Japanese travelers to China in the 1980s studied the history of Japanese imperialism before making their trips. They were also instructed by travel agents not to use "Shina" or "Manshū," for such terms would remind their hosts of the dark history of Japan's domination. In turn, the Chinese hosts, though well cognizant of Japan's wrongdoings in the course of Sino-Japanese relations, hardly used the discourse of nationalism to counter Japanese aggression in the past (ibid.:223).

12. Repatriation vessels included about two hundred Liberty Ships and LSTs (of the U.S. military), the remnants of Japan's once proud fleet, and several passenger ships (see Dower 1999:54).

13. The port to which the repatriates returned is in fact located far from the main port of Sasebo, near the farming village of Uragashira. The city of Sasebo later built the Peace Park of Uragashira Commemorating the Repatriation (Uragashira Hikiage Kinen Heiwa Kōen) on a hill overlooking the port. In this park is a museum that exhibits photos and charts that explain the history of Japanese repatriation from the former empire. The museum sells *Saisei e no genten* (The Original Point of Rebirth), a collection of essays written by the participants in these two trips (Hikiage-kō Sasebo o Shinobu Zenkoku no Tsudoi Jikkō Iinkai 1998).

14. Indeed, the *Western* history of nostalgia almost always begins with the story of a Swiss physician, Johannes Hofer, who allegedly coined the term "nostalgia" in the late seventeenth century. Hofer noticed a certain medical condition, a "sad mood originating from the desire for the return to one's native land," among the Swiss mercenaries who were then fighting far from their native land. He named this condition "nostalgia" (Hofer 1934:38). Referring to men in exile in eighteenth-century Europe, Isaiah Berlin argues that they must have felt "the noblest of pains"—that is, nostalgia for their homes (1990:244–245).

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