SINO-JAPANESE TRANSCULTURATION

From the Late Nineteenth Century to the End of the Pacific War

Edited by

RICHARD KING, CODY POULTON,

AND KATSUHIKO ENDO

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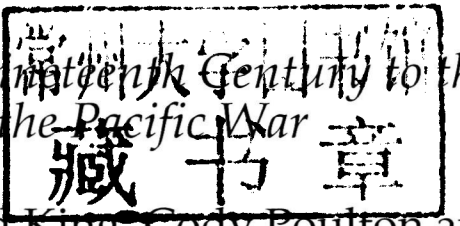

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Sino-Japanese Transculturation

Preface

This book had its genesis in a workshop on "Japan-China Cultural Relations," organized by the volume editors, which took place in Victoria, British Columbia, in January 2008. The workshop was funded by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; we express our gratitude to SSHRC for its generous support. Workshop organization was handled by the Centre for Asia Pacific Initiatives at the University of Victoria, most notably Helen Lansdowne and Heidi Tyedmers, with the participation of the Centre's research chairs, Andrew Harding and Wu Guoguang; the Centre's Stella Chan and Doug Thompson provided continuing logistical and secretarial support. The editors acknowledge the contributions made to the conference by Sonja Arntzen, Richard Calichman, Joshua Fogel, Guo Ping, Robert Perrins, Norman Smith, and John Timothy Wixted. For his considerable expertise and efficiency in preparing the final manuscript, we thank our editorial assistant Scott Aalgaard.

Richard King, Cody Poulton, and Katsuhiko Mariano Endo

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Introduction

Richard King and Cody Poulton

In 1943, at the height of the Pacific War, the Japanese art historian Yashiro Yukio, in his book *The Characteristics of Japanese Art,* cited this line by the Chinese Tang Dynasty poet Bai Juyi as a touchstone for the "special qualities of Japanese art:"[1]

"The time of snow, moon, and flowers, that is when I long for my friends the most."[2]

Bai Juyi had been, since his death twelve hundred years earlier, the Chinese poet most beloved in Japan, an inspiration for Japanese poets in the creation of their own poetry in the Chinese manner (*kanshi*), and a source for the image of China and Chineseness constructed to complement Japanese sensibilities. Yashiro's citation of this line of poetry demonstrates that the fondness for Bai Juyi and his poetry, and the construct they evoked, remained constant even in a time of cataclysmic change in the relations between the two nations as political, economic, and military powers in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, from the last days of Chinese empire until the end of the Pacific War.

This shared heritage of sensibility presents both a backdrop and a counterpoint to a period of history that had few of the reflective, moral, and sentimental qualities associated with the poetry of Bai Juyi. At the turn of the twentieth century, Japan was to show in a series of military campaigns what an apt pupil of Western technology and statecraft it had been since the unwelcome visit of American warships under Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853. Following victory over China in 1895 in a war fought over control of Korea, Japan defeated another declining empire—the Tsarist regime—in the Russo-Japanese War, fought in Manchuria (or Northeast China) for control of Dalian's warm-water port of Lushun, marking the first victory in the modern era for an Asian nation over a European power. Japan's victory, and consequent ascendancy in North Asia, came at a time when China had recently suffered the humiliation of the incursion of the combined armies of eight foreign nations (Japan being the only non-Western power among them) to relieve the siege by the Boxer (Yihetuan) rebels of the Beijing diplomatic quarter, and the Qing dynasty was on the point of collapse after almost three hundred years in power.

For China's intellectuals, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the rise of Japan was a source of both shame and inspiration. The shame came from defeat at the hands of a smaller neighbor which had for centuries been considered a tributary state of the Chinese empire, and from the way that Japan had moved with such ease into the group of nations staking claim to Chinese territory: in Japan's case not only in Manchuria, but also German possessions in Shandong, which were to be taken over by Japan with German defeat in the First World War. Yet Japan's rise to the status of a world power also inspired admiration, and created opportunities among young Chinese who saw the urgent need to reform their own nation. The admiration, derived from Japan's rapid accession to Westernized modernity, was not only technological and military, but also scientific, philosophical, and cultural. For the Chinese students sent to study in Japan in a belated attempt by the Qing government at reform at the end of the nineteenth century, and for those who acquired their understanding of modernity through books translated into Chinese from Japanese renditions of Western originals, Japan was the primary conduit for knowledge and ideas that could lead to the renewal of China. Through direct or indirect contact with Japan, members of the generation of Chinese intellectuals that was to challenge Chinese tradition in the first decades of the twentieth century learned of Marx and Darwin, and of Western medicine and the enlightenment view of the individual. Those that went to Japan themselves and were able to view from there what they perceived as China's backwardness and vulnerability derived from that cautionary experience a sense of Chinese nationhood that was to replace traditional notions of their country as a nonpareil civilization surrounded by lesser, even barbaric, cultures. The cases of Lu Xun and Yu Dafu, two of early twentieth-century China's greatest authors, will be considered below.

The Republic that succeeded the fall of empire in 1911 was to suffer the effects of Japan's unpeaceful rise. In 1931, Japan occupied three northeastern provinces, and established the state of Manzhouguo, which was to become the site for a grand experiment in Japanese "Pan-Asianist" nation building that was supposed to achieve a harmonious and prosperous society for inhabitants of Japanese, Han Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and other ethnicities under Japanese rule. Following Japan's invasion of the rest of China in 1937, Manzhouguo became the base for Japan's military operations to the south in the Pacific and Second World Wars. Between 1937 and 1945, much of the rest of China was under Japanese occupation, with the capital being forced from Beijing, first to Nanjing, and thence to Chongqing, as the Chinese fought a desperate war of resistance.[3] Japan was the perpetrator of numerous atrocities during this period, including the Rape of Nanjing in 1937. In the more than sixty years since, the governments of both sides have jealously maintained their authority over this shared history of conflict: the Communist Party

of China insists upon a narrative of invasion, failure by the Nationalist government to offer effective opposition, occupation, and heroic communist-led resistance culminating in Chinese victory; in Japan, there has been a continued reluctance to address atrocities committed during the years of occupation and war, veneration for the sacrifices of its soldiers, and cultivation of memories of the horrors suffered by its citizens in the final days of the conflict. Both nations can thereby claim the status of victim in the history of the Pacific War, though these narratives are not immune to challenge.

What is often overlooked is that this extraordinarily violent and tragic period for the people of both China and Japan was also a time of unprecedented intellectual and cultural exchange, a process complicated but not prevented by military and political turmoil. Many of the leaders of China's intellectual and cultural revolutionary movements had formative experiences in Japan; some of their counterparts among the Japanese intelligentsia also travelled extensively in China, and wrote about their experiences for readers at home. These included the novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, who found in China the exotic and refined juxtaposed with the primitive and crude.[4] After the 1931 establishment of the colonial state of Manzhouguo, a number of leading writers, including Kawabata Yasunari, visited and promoted this Pan-Asian experiment to the people of their homeland.

While the traditional reverence for classical Chinese culture instilled into Japanese elites was sustained through the period addressed in this book, it did not stand in the way of a shared modernity. Chinese dramatists, novelists and visual artists learned new means of expression through Japan, and Japanese musicians went to Shanghai, Asia's most cosmopolitan city, for exposure to jazz players from America and Europe. This exchange between the traditional and modern cultures of both countries and Western cultures introduced directly or through the agency of Asian neighbors, is the transculturation of the volume's title. The term transculturation is adopted from Karen Thornber's investigation of the influence of Japanese culture on China and Korea; Thornber cites Sylvia Spitta's study of the transformation of cultures in the Spanish-speaking world to define it as "the many different processes of assimilation, adaptation, rejection, parody, resistance, loss, and ultimately transformation."[5] The term has generally been used to describe relations between imperial powers and subject states, but, as will be seen in the chapters that follow, the cultural flows between China and Japan continued unabated even as dominance passed from the more ancient civilization that was China to the more modern state that Japan was becoming.

Recalling a shared heritage

In his coinage of the term "Sinosphere," Joshua Fogel offers a way of looking at relations between China and Japan from early contact to the end of the nineteenth century that acknowledges the shifting nature of the geographical boundaries of the jurisdictions sharing the linguistic heritage of classical Chinese and the philosophical and organizational heritage of the Confucian tradition—encompassing at different times not only the various iterations of the Chinese empire and Japan, but also Korea and parts of Southeast Asia, and containing within itself complex political and cultural relations. As the word implies, the Sinosphere had China at its core, though the nature and representation of China was subject to change over the centuries and through the places that made up this fluid confederation.

Fogel contends that pre-modern China and Japan can only be understood by considering the relationship between them, and for the intellectual and governing classes up to the end of the nineteenth century, the major link was through the shared use of the classical language. As John Timothy Wixted observes in his study of early modern Japanese intellectuals writing poetry in accordance with Chinese compositional traditions (*kanshi*), Japanese practitioners were doubly bound to the Chinese tradition: by the written language, since *kanshi* are written exclusively in Chinese characters, and by the literary allusions that combinations of characters carry with them, directing the encoded reader to passages from earlier works in the Chinese poetic tradition. In his reading of the *kanshi* of Mori Ôgai, who is better known for fiction strongly influenced by an extensive reading of European literature, Wixted notes references to the persons of, and allusions to the work of, a number of Chinese poets, principally from the Tang and Song dynasties, and their later Japanese inheritors.[6] The Japanese literati who flourished around the turn of the twentieth century and who were engaged in creating a modern and distinct Japanese culture were thoroughly trained in, and imbued with, the Chinese tradition.

From an early stage in the relationship, Japanese identity was articulated in terms of its likeness to, and distinctiveness from, Chinese culture. While implicitly accepting a common heritage, Japanese writers and intellectuals sought to define what made Japan unique from China. As noted in the citation at the beginning of this introduction, even when striving to isolate the essential cultural difference of Japan, recourse could still be made to classical Chinese antecedents. By the late seventeenth century, the adoption of Neo-Confucian thought as a state ideology by the Tokugawa regime during the Edo Period (1600–1867) created a nativist backlash from philosophers who were themselves trained in Chinese studies, men like Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane, whose school of National Learning (*kokugaku*) would play an

important role in the restoration of political power to the imperial line at the time of the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Arguably then, the roots of Japanese modernity began in an attempt from as early as the seventeenth century to wean the country ideologically from the hegemony of Chinese thought and artistic expression.

The three chapters of this book that make up the first section on this "shared heritage" explore the world of the Sinosphere outside its Chinese core, among both Chinese and Japanese members of an intellectual class that grew up at a time when their shared command of an elite culture created a homeland without national boundaries, an Eden before the Fall of Japanese militarism. Each of the chapters has its focus on one literary figure. Richard Lynn's chapter on "straddling the tradition-modernity divide" takes the case of the late nineteenth-century diplomat Huang Zunxian, and his finding of kindred spirits among the scholar-officials of Tokyo who were practitioners of *kanshi.* In her chapter on "the marginalization of literature," Atsuko Sakaki considers the Japanese statesman Takezoe Seisei, who was also the author of diaries and poems that form a record of his travels in China. Sakaki observes that while Takezoe, a traditional scholar-official steeped in ancient Chinese culture, bridged tradition and modernity, he was nevertheless one of the last of his kind, soon to be replaced by those with greater knowledge of the West, including a facility with European languages. Sakaki concludes that "the disappearance of men of letters from the centre of bureaucracy and commerce is a marker of modernity," and notes that modern bureaucrats, lacking a mastery of the Chinese tradition, were unable to communicate with their peers in the Sinosphere as their predecessors had done. The careers of both Huang Zunxian and Takezoe Seisei ended ingloriously: Huang was condemned for his association with the brief reformist movement of 1898, an initiative harshly suppressed by conservative forces around the Dowager Empress Cixi, and Takezoe for his failure to support a progressive anti-Qing faction and protect the Korean royal family in the "Seoul Incident" of 1884. Now both Huang and Takezoe are remembered more for their literary prowess than for diplomatic successes. Faye Yuan Kleeman's chapter on the early Pan-Asianism of Miyazaki Toten demonstrates that the ideal of Pan-Asianism, later a justification for Japan's imperialist project in Northeast China and beyond, was not initially as nationalistic as it was to become, and was certainly not anti-Chinese: Miyazaki was an enthusiastic supporter of the revolution that brought the Chinese Republic into existence, though he was to come to regret his fervor in this cause. Miyazaki was fascinated by the Chinese tradition of the *xia* (knight-errant) and by the storyteller traditions of medieval China; in a "transnational cross-cultural narrative" he modelled a story of contemporary Japan on the life of the seventeenth-century soldier of fortune Coxinga (Zheng Chenggong), the son of a Chinese pirate and a Japanese woman, who fought the Manchus after the fall of the Ming dynasty, and

defeated Dutch colonialists in Taiwan.[7] The three chapters in this initial section serve to present a picture of collaboration and mutual respect that belies the more bellicose narratives that have emerged with historical hindsight.

Confrontation with the modern

Just as many of those who framed the discourse of Japaneseness were not anti-Chinese, the young Chinese intellectuals who learned in Japan the sobering lesson of what it was to be Chinese in the early twentieth century were not anti-Japanese, however complex their emotions with respect to their host nation might be. Many had gone to study in Japan because it was a closer, and thus less expensive, option than the United States, France, or England; and while they went to learn science and technology, the lessons they sent or brought back to China were far broader in nature, and were to contribute to the cultural and political revolution of the late 1910s and early 1920s known as the May Fourth Movement, which condemned the Confucian traditions of the Sinosphere.

Celebrated autobiographical works by two of the leading literary figures of the May Fourth era can be cited here to demonstrate the transformative power of the experience of study in Japan in the early years of the twentieth century: the "Preface" to Lu Xun's first short story collection *Call to Arms* (Nahan) written in 1922, and Yu Dafu's remarkable story "Sinking" (Chenlun), written the previous year.

Lu Xun (pen name of Zhou Shuren, 1881–1936) is recognized as the creator of a Chinese literature that was modern in its use of a literary version of the spoken language, its exploration of the psyche, and its radical anti-traditionalism. In his first story, "Diary of a Madman," the eponymous diarist comes to the conclusion that the entire Chinese tradition is hypocritical in its protestations of virtue, and essentially cannibalistic. Elsewhere in *Call to Arms* Lu Xun introduces his most famous character Ah Q, a village layabout who combines the worst aspects of what the author considered the Chinese character, chief among them the art of deluding himself that the defeats he suffers are really victories.

It was in Japan that Lu Xun developed the sense of shame and revulsion for his fellow Chinese that was to find its literary expression in the figure of Ah Q, for his creator the typical Chinese man of his day.[8] Around the turn of the twentieth century, both Liang Qichao and Sun Yat-sen, leading reformist figures in the late Qing, had fulminated against their fellow nationals, Liang castigating the Chinese for their lack of will for independence and public spirit, and Sun finding the national character to be "servile, ignorant, self-centered and lacking in the ideal of freedom."[9] As Lydia Liu notes in *Translingual Practice,* the creation of a national character is a collaborative enterprise, and one of the major col-

laborators in forging Lu Xun's negative opinion of the Chinese character, in addition to Chinese reformers like Liang Qichao and Sun Yat-sen, was the American missionary Arthur Smith, whose 1896 book *Chinese Characteristics* Lu Xun encountered in Japanese translation while studying in Japan and with which he was sufficiently impressed to plan a Chinese translation.[10] Smith's book presents the Chinese (particularly the servant classes with whom he had the greatest contact) as the inferiors of Westerners, needing purification (presumably provided by external agency) to achieve the reforms they needed. To this damning portrait, Lu Xun was later to add the British colonial official and anthropologist George Grey's account of the barbaric practices of Pacific Islanders, combining this with his reading of laudatory tales of sacrifices of their children made by loyal officials to their rulers in Sima Guang's Song dynasty history *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive mirror for assisting government), to come up with his metaphor of cannibalism to encapsulate the Chinese tradition.[11]

The "Preface" to *Call to Arms* is a memoir of cathartic experiences reconstructed to explain how Lu Xun became disillusioned with the Chinese tradition, why he went to Japan to study medicine, why he abandoned this goal in favor of literature, and how he was inspired to write the stories in the volume. The most celebrated of these cathartic moments, crafted to explain his realization of what it was to be Chinese abroad, and recounted almost twenty years after the event, is set in the medical school in Sendai that Lu Xun attended at the time the Russo-Japanese War was being fought in Northeast China. A slide shown to students after class depicted a Chinese man about to be executed by the Japanese army on suspicion of spying for the Russians; what shocked the young student more than this central tableau, however, was the crowd of apparently robust Chinese onlookers gathering to enjoy the spectacle. Lu Xun's viewing, as the sole Chinese student in the room, of this scene of national humiliation, convinced him to give up his study of medicine, since he felt that the Chinese people's spirits needed to be transformed more than their bodies needed to be healed, otherwise they would "still be fit for nothing better than to serve as victims and onlookers at such ridiculous spectacles."[12] There is no way of knowing if the incident occurred as Lu Xun told it, or even if it occurred at all (there is no extant photograph of the scene on the slide quite as described), but Lu Xun's description of this moment of awakening national consciousness did much to enhance his subsequent reputation, particularly following his posthumous canonization by Mao Zedong as "the chief standard-bearer" of China's modern culture. Lu Xun talks in the preface of "having to be part of the fun" at the celebration of Japanese victories, an embarrassing experience for the solitary Chinese trying to fit in with his Japanese classmates; but reconstructions of the incident in Mao-era China show an indignant young man storming out of the hall in heroic protest, an inspiration for the armed resistance that was to follow.[13] His experience in

Sendai notwithstanding, Lu Xun remained in Japan until 1909, working with his brother Zhou Zuoren on literary translation projects.[14] Two aspects of Lu Xun's later writing, his anti-traditionalism and his choice of the vernacular language, may indicate a debt to his reading in Japan. A study by Guo Ping of anti-Confucian themes in the fiction of Lu Xun and the Japanese novelist Shimazaki Toson suggests that Lu Xun might have been influenced by Shimazaki's novel *The Broken Commandment*, published in 1906. The protagonist of Shimazaki's novel challenges Confucian principles, particularly that of filial piety, and chooses instead to pursue the emancipation of the modern self; Lu Xun's fiction and essays are virulent attacks on Confucian traditions, which he captures in the "Preface" with the metaphor of an iron house suffocating its inhabitants. *The Broken Commandment* is sometimes seen as the first novel to be written in a Japanese vernacular, the Chinese equivalent of which, *baihua*, "plain speech," Lu Xun was to employ in his own fiction. There is no firm evidence that Lu Xun had read Shimazaki's novel, but the comparisons are intriguing.[15] Lu Xun remained an admirer of Japan for the rest of his life, retaining the distinctive mustache grown there, enjoying the social life of Shanghai's Uchiyama Bookstore, and seeking refuge at the Japanese legation in Shanghai during Nationalist roundups of communist sympathizers.

The Japanese social critic and sinologist Takeuchi Yoshimi, who studied in China in the early 1930s, found in Lu Xun's writing a critical spirit in which, he believed, Japanese (or any non-Western) modernity should be rooted. In other words, what Lu Xun saw as the future of China was for Takeuchi precisely what the future of Japan should be. He thought that Lu Xun "represented best the choice all Asians encountered in selecting routes to modernity," since "Lu Xun's example projected an image of defending a modernization process which relied neither on Western models nor on reified traditional forms, but on the energy of the masses. Furthermore, his [Lu Xun's] example constituted for Takeuchi an eloquent reminder of the promise inherent in the play of cultural differences rather than that of sameness."[16] This concept of "the energy of the masses" was highly celebrated by both Japanese and Chinese intellectuals; it was expected to play a role in bringing about a community in which different ways of living are tolerated, in preference to an exclusionist community is based on cultural sameness.

For Yu Dafu (1896–1945), awakening to nationalist consciousness was part of a broader process of coming of age during nine years spent studying in Japan. Yu experienced as a national humiliation the loss of his virginity in a Japanese brothel, a mere "Chinaman" (J: *shinajin* C: *zhinaren*, a phonetic rendering without the metropolitan authority implied by the preferred *Zhongguoren* J: *Chūgokujin*) coming of age among a newly superior Japanese race. In "Sinking," his most controversial story, set and written in Japan, and the one which established his reputation in China,

the nameless narrator conflates his alienation and sexual frustrations with lament for the humiliation of his nation and the disgrace it confers upon him.[17] Yu Dafu's student protagonist is a voluntary exile caught between intense patriotism and revulsion at the failure of his nation, to the point where he blames the motherland for his own contemplated suicide. The image of the solitary young man, quoting freely from Western poetry, fascinated by Western ideas but still rooted in the traditional culture he is trying to reject, captures the cosmopolitanism, melancholy, and self-indulgence of early twentieth-century Chinese romanticism. Yu Dafu not only learned what it was to "be Chinese" while he was in Japan, but acquired the form to convey this Chineseness there as well: evident in the story is the influence of the Japanese version of Naturalism (*shizenshugi*), which, in its focus on unvarnished autobiographical reality and (compared to its precursors) its sexual explicitness, introduced modern subjectivity to Japanese culture and a quest for a transparent and vernacular literary style with which to express it. The psychological state of an unstable narrator in "Sinking" furthermore brought to China the style of the intensely autobiographical "I-novel" (*shishōsetsu*), the successor to the Japanese Naturalism, and the form Yu Dafu felt best suited for "dissecting the self."[18]

On the strength of this and other stories written in Japan, Yu Dafu returned to China a literary celebrity in 1922, and quickly involved himself in the cultural maelstrom of the day.[19] Yu was a leading member of the Creation Society (*chuangzao she*), one of a number of groups that published journals, wrote poetry, fiction, and drama, and engaged in literary and political squabbles through the 1920s.

The political event that gave China's May Fourth cultural revolution its name was a mass reaction led by the students of Beijing to the sense of humiliation felt by Chinese students like Lu Xun and Yu Dafu in Japan. The demonstrations of May 4, 1919, which protested Japan's plans to take over German possessions in Shandong, and urged the Chinese delegation in Paris to refuse to sign the Treaty of Versailles, are generally regarded as a first popular expression of Chinese nationalist sentiment.

The influx of new ideas to China at the time of the May Fourth Movement placed new demands on the language at a time when a generation of intellectuals were rejecting *wenyan*, or classical Chinese—the *lingua franca* of the Sinosphere—in favor of the *baihua* modeled on the spoken language pioneered by Lu Xun, the American-educated Hu Shi, and other reformers. New Western terms flooding into Japan, and thence to China, needed to be represented in Chinese characters, and existing words were reinvented, or characters deployed in new combinations, to represent unfamiliar political, ideological, social, religious, philosophical, and cultural concepts, in a process Lydia Liu describes as translingual exchange, a process providing the language for the transculturation with which this book is concerned.[20]

A second group of three chapters in this volume examines the transcultural flows of early twentieth-century Northeast Asia: Japan's role as a source of Western ideas and the words that defined them in China, Japan itself as a site of modernity for Chinese thinkers and writers, and the influence on one group of May Fourth intellectuals of study in Japan. While Marxism became the most influential Western ideology to enter China through Japan, it was by no means the first: Darwinism and anarchism were influential in both Japanese and Chinese intellectual circles before Marxism took their place from the 1920s. In combination, Western ideologies emphasized the significance of the feelings, customary practices and, above all, the "energy" of everyday people as the driving force of human progress. This kind of spontaneism attracted those who gathered around *New Youth* and that did not exclude Mao Zedong.

Viren Murthy's study of the particular case of religion demonstrates the way in which the receptions of new concepts in Meiji Japan and late Qing China were intertwined. Karen Thornber's chapter on "transcultural Japanese literature in semi-colonial China" looks at the process whereby Japanese forms of literary expression and the works which conveyed them were selected by Chinese translators for introduction to Chinese readers, and the influence they were expected to exercise. Siyuan Liu considers the case of Western drama, and its transportation by members of the Spring Willows Society (*Chunliushe*) to a country with traditions in sung, rather than solely spoken, theatre when they returned from their studies in Japan. These chapters describe an age in which the Sinosphere was already decentered, with Japan and China becoming part of a much broader network of cultural and intellectual flows that accompanied global capitalism and conflict to East Asia.

The culture of occupation

In the period of Japanese occupation of Northeast China and the subsequent Pacific War (1931–1945), two parts of China in particular served as crucibles in the creation of modern hybrid artistic, literary, musical, and film culture: the colonized Northeast, under what Chinese histories refer to as the "false" or "puppet" (*wei*) state of Manzhouguo, and the great port city of Shanghai, where treaty port extraterritoriality, dating back to the treaties that followed Chinese defeat in the Opium Wars of the previous century, meant that most of the city was beyond Chinese jurisdiction, allowing it to become a haven for Western and Chinese capitalists and industrialists, as well as refugees, adventurers, and ne'er-do-wells for whom other parts of the world had, for political, racial, or personal reasons, proved inhospitable.

To the population of Japan at the time, and for some post-war historians of the period in Japan, the short-lived Manchurian state was no mere colony; it was the site of a well-ordered utopian state free of West-