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論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

The interplay between mass culture and modernity has dominated our twentieth-century landscape. The modern arrives, departs, and converses with mass culture in cultural projects that are unfolding and located. Modernity in all its forms has received an ambivalent reception, particularly in places like Japan, where the modern arrives as an import from abroad. Japan's distance--geographical, chronological, cultural--from modernism's source provides a space for its mass culture to negotiate an ongoing relation with modernism. In this study, I will argue that the signifier Manchuria, has served as this space for Japan's modern negotiations. My project is to trace four encounters between twentieth-century Japanese mass culture and Manchuria, and to read in these moments the meaning and directions of Japanese modernity.

The first moment to be discussed in Japan's Manchurian negotiations with modernity comes in the films of Akutagawa Kozo, a documentary filmmaker who worked in Manchuria, beginning in late Taisho. Before exploring Akutagawa's work, however, this study will include historical background detailing how Japan came to control China's Northeast (Manchuria), and the arrival and early production of film in Manchuria. In Akutagawa's early work, the shadow of modernism already looms large, but never directly enters his pictures. Film technology, of which Akutagawa possessed the latest, renders itself invisible within the space of his films. In particular, the zoom lens enables Akutagawa to capture human expression from a distance in its natural pre-camera form—as if Akutagawa and his camera were never present, never intruding on the location. The films seem to have magically taken themselves. Akutagawa's high-tech equipment is directed not at the modern, but at an unspoiled Manchurian/Mongolian past. Sharing similarities with the concurrent folklore studies movement in Japan, Akutagawa's films nostalgically record Manchuria's pre-modern culture and landscape, immortalizing them for the masses in a mode that exudes melancholy (寂寥感).

While Akutagawa and his work convey a solitary, passive, and melancholic turning away from the modern, the work of the Manchurian Film Cooperative (Manei) suggests an aggressive embrace of the modern. Manei, situated in the planned, utopian capital of the nation Japan literally staged, typified the Japanese imperial project: a hands-on marshalling of modern energies in rational, material modes in the name of progress, order,

and improvement. In this moment of high modernism, the nation-state, that most modern of forms, formed the ordering principle for all projects. In contrast to Akutagawa's earlier films where modernism is conspicuously absent, in Manei's films—especially those for the Japanese market—modernism takes center stage. Manei takes the Hollywood love romance—the most modern of film forms—a modern step further: romance is outtrumped by loyalty to the nation-state. Manei Chairman Amakasu Masahiko, a militarist with a classical record collection, embodied the degree to which the modern overlay was imported into Manchuria, packaged, and exported to the homeland.

A discussion of this second moment in Japan's Manchurian negotiations with modernism will begin with a history of the founding and early work of Manei. The following section will chart the modern fever induced by Manei's invention of "Manchurian" Li Xiang Ran. After detailing Amakasu's modern handling of Manei, I will discuss the shapes modernism takes in Manei films, including a close reading of *Ying Chun Hua* (1942). The dramatic demise of Manei and the recent recovery of its maboroshi films form the concluding section.

Before moving on to Japan's postwar, this study will make a detour to geographical Manchuria. In July 1998, I visited Changchun and talked with the natives. An overview of developments in post-colonial studies will inform a tour of Changchun—past and present—and interviews with four prominent Chinese who participated in Manei's modern madness.

With defeat in the Pacific War, the walls came crashing down on Japan's neat Manchurian experiment in modern utopianism. However, the ideology of one vision and one order that underwrote the birth of a nation did not magically disappear. Rather, the wrecked heap of its former self, Japan's apogee of modern ideology was instead carried back into the postwar to implode on itself over and over again. Ideology that had formerly pointed only to the emperor now shot out in wild new directions, invigorating the postwar death throes of ideology with as much violence and energy as in their previous application on Asia. In this terrain, the Japanese cinema soon moved into its golden age, with the ragged bunch who made the trek to Manei and back, rising to the top of the industry, and carrying over Manei legacies at controversial Toei Productions.

Uchida Tomu and his Toei cohorts mark the third moment in Japan's ongoing dialogue between the modern and mass culture. The unrelenting pursuit of a raw ideology that has been twisted beyond the point of recognition is the hallmark of films in this third moment. Toei's Manei returnees re-injected the frustrated hopes of authoritarian Manchuria into the authoritarian structure of the Yakuza world. But instead of evoking a colonial world full of light and progress, they defined the uniquely-Japanese genre with the darkest nihilism—and did it over and over again in the cheap, program pictures format—to great popular reception. The Yakuza metaphor for Japan's expanding imperial empire superceded the patently non-native form of the Li Xiang Ran love romance, and Japan, one could assume, was starting to feel more like itself again. Discussion of Japan's postwar moment will be divided into two parts. The first explores the world of director Uchida Tomu, who after scraping through the Manchurian rubble for almost 10 years, brought the ruins of Japan's shining ideological age back into his films—now only the twisted wreckage of their former selves. Part two discusses the rise of Toei and its trademark Yakuza genre. Yakuza films offer up the nihilistic pleasure that comes when feudal ethics are elevated to their most beautiful forms—a height only reached in Japanese culture when tragedy is assured. In Toei's postwar Yakuza moment, the real life victims of Japanese violence—Manchurians, Chinese, Asians—were forgotten. Instead, the tragic Japanese defeat in Manchuria (and elsewhere) was brought home and re-created to be repeatedly re-experienced, not only as if it had been planned, but as it were the highest form of beauty.

Japan's fourth Manchurian moment bursts onto the postmodern mass culture scene from below in the form of a Manshu Boom beginning in the 1980s. Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* and NHK's *Daichi no Ko* formed the boom's pillars. For the older generation, retired and approaching death, the Manshu Boom was a final chance

for the modern act of expression in what had been taboo terrain. First person accounts of Manchurian experience, often self-published, flooded the market. For the younger, postmodern/post-ideological generation who never knew the history in the first place, Manchuria (and Asia by extension) became a site for consumption. Packaged in the form of movies, manga, and Murakami Haruki, this slick new version of Manchuria melded seamlessly with hip pop culture. In short, postmodern Japan experienced the mass culture emergence of pop Manchuria as fashionable entertainment. Ideology and historical reality, if present at all in this new landscape, were adequately framed by the exchange value of the commodity, the playfulness of the postmodern, or included secondhand for their entertainment value. In short, History and Politics became therapy to relieve youthful boredom.

Manchuria is often described using the term “maboroshi.” Manchuria’s chimerical career in twentieth-century Japanese mass culture has been maboroshi. Akutagawa’s Manchurian dreams of the past were transformed into Amakasu’s drive to construct a dreamworld framed by the nation-state in the present. When the imported modern façade came crashing down, the dream was revealed to have been a nightmare. But the post-war mass culture industry ingeniously managed to package the nightmare into the apogee of aesthetic beauty in 1960s Yakuza films. Defeat turned to victory and shame to honor as the reality of the nightmare on the Continent was repressed in favor of Japanese-only ideological shootouts. The light and progress of Goto Shimpei were replaced by the seething nihilism of Takakura Ken. Asian Co-Prosperity gave way to bullets in the head. What was left of ideology was blown to bits, clearing the ground for a new generation with no sense of what went before. This postmodern generation had money in their wallets (from their parents’ overwork) and wanted only two things: more money and good times. In the 1980s Manshu Boom, Manchuria again took a form that could satisfy the masses. For the older generation it was a chance for expression; for the younger generation, Manchuria was pure entertainment. This time around, the ideology of Amakasu (seen in *The Last Emperor*) was laughable, *Daichi no Ko* was a tearjerker, and Murakami’s “real-life” Manchurian adventure stories made scintillating reading. In this fourth and final Manchurian moment, Manchuria remained as maboroshi as ever, displacing other realities and dislocating the modern.

論文審査の結果の要旨

本論文は、現在、内外の多くの研究者が注目を集めつつある旧「満州（中国北東部）」をめぐる、当時の日本人が抱いていた「満州」にかかわるイメージを対象に、社会学的に分析を行ったものである。カルチュラルスタディーズやポストコロニアリズムなど、文化研究の最先端の議論をベースにし、これらの新しい方法論を巧みに活用するなかで、当時の日本人にとって、人工の理想国家であった「満州帝国」を鮮やかに考察している。基本的視座である、日本人の「満州」像のなかに映し出された、日本人が目指そうとして果たせなかった「近代」の考察というテーマそのものが、きわめてユニークであるとともに、「満州」研究のみならず、日本文化研究や日本の近代化論においても新たな知見を加えることに成功している。

具体的には、旧「満州」をめぐる内外の最新研究の成果を利用しつつ、主な分析の対象として、満州映画協会に光をあて、多様な側面から考察を加えている。特に、これまで紹介されることがなかった満映の資料を捜し出すと同時に、入手した満映のフィルムを分析の対象として巧みに活用している点も本論文の特色である。なかでも、映画に映し出されたジェンダーやナショナリズムをめぐる社会学的分析は鮮やかである。また、満映にかかわる日本人のインタビューはもとより、中国にまで出向き、中国語によって、当時、満州映画協会にかかわった人々の聞き書きを直接行うことで、中国側から見た「満州」「満映」像についても十分に光を与えている点も高く評価できる。

以上の点から、本論文は、課程博士の論文として十分に認め得る成果であると判定した。