UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Constructing Juvenescent Spaces: Youth Mobilizations, Utopian Communities, and Law in Shanghai and Paris, 1910s-1970s

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by

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The thesis of Xiaojiao Wang is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This dissertation sets out to display the entanglements between youth mobilizations, utopian communities, and legal and police interventions in the cities of Shanghai and Paris at certain moments from 1900 to the 1970s. By focusing on spatial mobilizations in both tangible and discursive territories where the logic of juvenescence negotiates with the law and where utopian imaginations wrestle with disillusions, I argue that youth mobilizations and the logic of juvenescence accompanying it have shaped urban spaces in terms of global connectivity, communities, and transgressive spatial experiments, which

also draw out collisions between the idea of commons and property law, between globalization and international law, and between the transgressive practice and the police.

Spatially, Shanghai and Paris serve as two major sites to present the rejuvenated and mobilized spaces in transformation as well as their political, intellectual, and cultural interactions. Temporally, this dissertation displays the ever-changing territories of youths and the logic of juvenescence, of law and order, and of revolutions and utopian communities in two periods: 1900-1930s and the 1960s-1970s. The temporal coordinates of the dissertation cover the imperial and colonial era and the age of global revolution. In each period, Shanghai and Paris are connected by different networks: first by the colonial power of France in Shanghai, then by a shared revolutionary aspiration and global Maoism. On the one hand, it focus on the iconoclastic position of the logic of juvenescence and youths' innovative mobilization and construction of juvenescent spaces that transgress the existing law and spatial order. On the other hand, it also explores fabulations of utopian communities that have evolved through time and a revisit to the earlier era could help us get a clear picture on how to live together communally and globally.

Introduction

At the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris, the Palais des Illusions was lavishly decorated with more than 3,000 electric lights of different colors. Mirrors were installed on the arch-shaped walls of the hall at a height of 21 meters and with a maximum diameter of 26.5 meters. This careful design of lights of various colors flashing and projecting onto mirrors created a kaleidoscopic and mesmeric effect of illusions. Located at the Palais de l'Électricité, the Palais des Illusions was poetically described as a "metallic lacework"[1] because it manifested not only a space of exquisite visual spectacle but also an "extravagant sumptuous factory."[2] From the design of the project, we could get a glimpse of the naiveté and a spirit of juvenescence during the belle époque of the Third Republic. And displayed in front of thousands of visitors in 1900 was a vision of a dazzlingly utopian and futuristic new century where both technology and aesthetics would be radically renewed. Yet, the mirrored effects of the spectacle, as already denoted by the name of the exhibition hall, ominously foreshadowed the fleeting moments of illusions in the world of yesterday before the imminent storm that would topple everything.

1. Gaston de Wailly, *A Travers l'Exposition de 1900*, vol. 7 (Paris: Fayard, 1900), 51.
2. Gaston de Wailly, 51.

Figure 1. Le Palais des Illusions at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1900

The Palais de l'Électricité was situated alongside Château d'Eau, one of the most grandiose structures built for the exposition with a fountain that had electric lights (*fontaine lumineuse*). A visitor could go south from here along the open space of Champ de Mars to Tour Eiffel, beside which another brand-new experience was presented at the Cineorama, designed by Raoul Grimoin-Sanson, where visitors were invited to step onto a hot air balloon simulator to enjoy a panoramic view of the city of Paris projected onto a circulatory screen. This early model of simulacrum ingeniously combined the newly invented technology of the cinematograph by the Lumière brothers in 1895 and an aircraft simulator satisfying people's desire to conquer the sky. Though the innovative spectacle was not particularly successful during the exposition owing to safety issues, it was reinvented by Walt Disney as his famous Circarama, and in some popular programs at Disney Parks today, we can still find traces of the spatial imaginary of Cineorama at the dawn of the twentieth century.

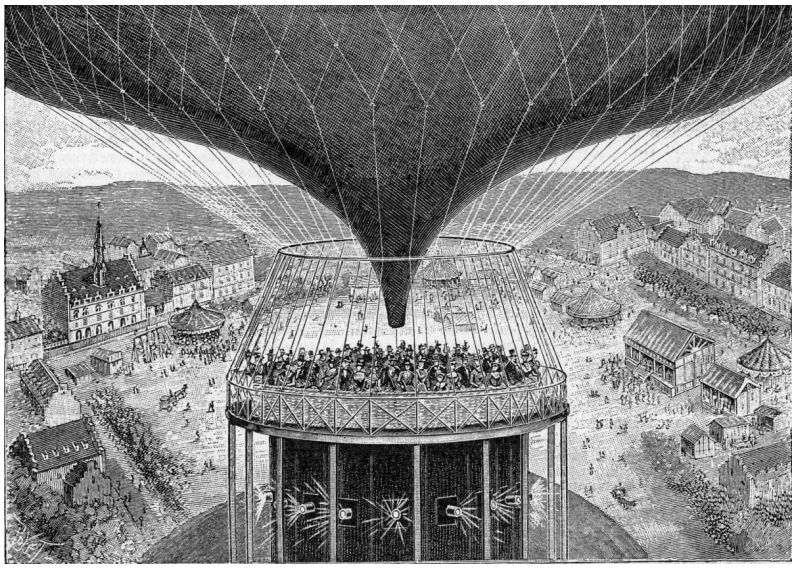

Figure 2. Cinéorama designed designed by Raoul Grimoin-Sanson at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1900

Across the Seine and at the other end of Pont d'Iéna, people could find exposition spaces of imperial powers alongside their colonies. The Chinese Pavilion was placed next to Russia and Siberia. It was designed by Charles-Emile Vapereau (1846–1925) who had been a French teacher in Beijing. Passing through a narrow alleyway from a Confucius Temple gate, visitors could reach a Chinese restaurant surrounded by architectural models that reenacted a bustling marketplace of Beijing. Though the crumbling Qing Dynasty was caught up in a series of exhausting conflicts with both rebels and other imperial powers, the Qing government still provided carefully selected exhibits for the exposition. Paul Labbé, a linguist and ethnographer, in his account of the Chinese Pavilion lists a variety of exhibits from traditional embroidery, silk, and china to furniture and agricultural products. Not too surprisingly, the Qing government wanted to display its industrial development and achievement and thus provided modern artifacts for display, but Labbé commented that "undoubtedly, the modern products of Qing are far

inferior to the traditional ones."[3]

Figure 3. Pavillon de la Chine at the Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1900

Instead of showing a scientific and technological advancement, traditional Chinese artifacts may have imposed an impression of "Asian-as-technê" highlighted by R. John Williams, according to whom the Eastern aesthetics of the Asian technê could work as an antidote to the Western machine culture.[4] The exquisite and elegant objects did present a radically different and refreshing image supplementing the modern spectacles of lights, cinema, and hot air balloon. Nevertheless, looming above the material form of the "Asian-as-technê," no matter how intricate and desirable, was the ideological dominance of episteme vis-à-vis techne. The scientific knowledge of the West and the craft of the East were juxtaposed in the exposition in Paris divided by the Seine. Perhaps inadvertently, the former was located at the Left Bank, the mind of the *polis*, while the latter was at the Right Bank where the body of institutions of the Third Republic was located. In contrast to the forward-looking and futuristic exhibits at the Palais des

3. Paul Labbé, "La Chine à l'Exposition Universelle," *Journale des Voyages*, Aug. 12, 1900, no. 193.
4. R. John Williams. *The Buddha in the Machine: Art, Technology, and the Meeting of East and West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 1.

Illusions and Cineorama, the Chinese Pavilion was assigned a role to represent not merely a spatial "otherness" in the material craftmanship that was exotic to the Western world but also a temporal "otherness" whose subjectivity was reluctantly anchored to the past. Over a century later, the Shanghai Expo 2010 was celebrated not only for its grand scale—the largest site for world fairs ever and record-breaking numbers of visitors—but also for its futuristic and high-tech features that reversed the temporal narrative.

Back in 1900, while Paris during the Exposition Universelle was experiencing a vertigo of a utopian imagination of the future, "a senile empire" became the phrase to describe the decrepit Qing dynasty. Liang Qichao (1873–1929), a prominent scholar, journalist, and politician, responded "Nonsense! Absolute nonsense! There is a young China in my eyes!"[5] in an essay titled "On the Young China." Written at the very beginning of the twentieth century, Liang's essay reminded Chinese people, especially youths at this tumultuous historical moment, of both the aspiration and the exigency to rejuvenate China. Before moving on to the discussions of China, the essay starts by comparing the old and the young:

> The old likes to look back at the past and the young think about the future and thus the old fosters nostalgia and the young harbors hope in his heart. Looking back at the past, the old thinks he has seen it all and thus acts in conformity with rules while thinking about the future, the young has not experienced too much and dare to break the rules. The old worries while the young plays and therefore the old gets frustrated in distress and the young gains vitality in a playful manner. The old is like sedated monks and the young knights-errant . . . The old resembles the pyramid sitting in the Egyptian desert and the young the extending grand railway of Siberia.[6]

Liang idealized youths as forward-looking and aspirational, playful and energetic, transgressive and adventurous, which signaled significant aspects of the Zeitgeist of juvenescence in the

5. Liang Qichao 梁启超. Shaonian zhongguo shuo 少年中国说 ["On Young China"] in Liang Qichao quanji 梁启超全集 第二卷 [*Complete Works of Liang Qichao,* vol, II] (Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 1999), 409.
6. Liang, 409.

beginning of the new century. The old and young (or new) dichotomy that Liang manifests in his essay foreshadows a crucial ideological and existential debate among Chinese intellectuals in the first three decades of the twentieth century on how to position themselves and the new nation-state between traditional and modern, past and future, a debate that haunted Chinese intellectuals throughout the century. The essay was allegedly written when Liang was exiled after the failed Hundred Days' Reform in 1898. By juxtaposing monks and knights-errant, the Egyptian pyramid and the Siberian extending railway, Liang presents a transgressive spatial mobilization—coinciding with his own experience—of youths as well as its geographical movements in the marginal wildness. His unreserved praise of being young in terms of mentality, vitality, and mobility also exhibits intellectuals' ever-growing awareness of the inherent connection between human life and political dynamics. According to Roberto Esposito, the "comingling of political and biomedical languages enjoys a long history," and terms like "political body" have a millennium-long duration.[7] Such comingling was not absent in the governmentality of feudal China. Notwithstanding, for Chinese intellectuals from Liang's generation onward, the biopolitical language and metaphors represented a new vision of the world—one that consciously married a biological view with a political potentiality. In this process, youths have been gradually transformed from a social excess whose political role had long been suppressed in the Confucian social order to a biopolitical strategic asset of vitality and mobility that could rejuvenate the nation in crisis.

In the subsequent paragraph, Liang projects a sentimental image of sing-song girls and palace maids whose beauty has faded, reminiscing on their youth and the golden age of the Tang

7. Roberto Esposito. *Terms of the Political: Community, Immunity, Biopolitics* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2012), 71.

Dynasty. Heroes, for Liang, also face the corrosion of time: "Exiled Napoleon in Elba and Urabi[8] in Sri Lanka," he writes, "could only recount the passing years on horses covering the plain and sweeping Europe with swords." No matter how excited they became recounting their legendary victories, Liang comments, when they were facing themselves in the mirror, there was nothing left but lament . . . and there was no longer a world waiting for them to conquer and create.[9] Through the evocation of "exotic" places and historical figures, Liang reveals his perplexing but not rare mélange of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, a characteristic or symptom to be found among intellectuals living across historical demarcations. In addition to the interesting parallel positioning of Napoleon, the conqueror and colonizer and Urabi, the anti-imperialist resistant, the depiction of the inevitable aging of heroes alongside their exile and confinement on islands also signifies the interesting entanglements between aging and the shifting experiences of space.

For Liang, China in the late nineteenth century was experiencing a similar crisis and symptom of being confined spatially and temporally in the past instead of self-rejuvenating for the future. Thus, he suggests that people should no longer rely on the corrupted empire and old-fashioned literati. The future of China is in the hands of youths. Here, Liang devises a dialectical turn and claims that what China has gone through is the aging and dying of dynasties; there has never existed a China as a nation-state with law made by the people and with sovereignty in a modern sense. Thus, Liang declares that China as a nation is a young China with infinite potentiality and a future to explore. Giuseppe Mazzini's movement of Young Italy (La Giovine Italia) is presented as an exemplary youth movement in the essay because Italy in the early nineteenth century used to be a senile empire and it had been successfully transformed. Liang then makes a call to arms for youths and intellectuals to strive and fight for a young China. Like

8. Ahmed Urabi was an Egyptian nationalist fighting Anglo-French colonizers.
9. Liang Qichao, *Complete Works*, vol. II, 409.

Mazzini, Liang Qichao was not a radical revolutionary. In the Hundred Days' Reform led by him and Kang Youwei, they aimed at transforming the feudal system of the Qing Dynasty into a constitutional monarchy. But unlike Mazzini, whose political goal was critiqued by Marx as a middle-class republic and utilized by Mussolini in building the fascist ideology, Liang's writings and his vision of a modern China remained a source of inspiration for generations of Chinese youths. Moreover, his obsession with youth and national rejuvenation has also become a long-lasting core rhetoric of utopian imaginary of modern China.[10]

Though seemingly unrelated to each other, both the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris and Liang's essay published in the same year demonstrate a cosmopolitan vision and a utopian fabulation of the future that bring into view exigencies of a spatial connectivity and a temporal transgression. Both were also heavily reliant on the transformative power of youths. In the twentieth century, Shanghai and Paris both witnessed significant historical events—wars, occupations, revolutions, and so on. What I want to present in this dissertation is how youth mobilizations in both cities constructed juvenescent spaces that brought about new forms of (global) connectivity, (local) communities, and transgressive spatial practices. Because juvenescent spaces tend to draw out aesthetic experiments as well as collisions between revolutionary mobilizations and law, I also explore how law, politics, and aesthetics were radically transformed in urban spaces of Shanghai and Paris.

I. Juvenescent Spaces

The word juvenescence comes from the Latin root *juven-*, which means young or youthful. Derived from this root, the Latin verb *juvenēsco* is the etymological origin of the

10. Today, the "Chinese Dream"—another utopian imaginary—is a phrase promoted by President Xi Jinping as "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."

concept of juvenescence. What is significant in the meaning of *juvenēsco* is that it simultaneously refers to growing up (*grandir*), acquiring the force of youth (*acquérir la force de la jeunesse*), and figuratively, regaining vigor or vitality (*reprendre de la vigueur*). Then, juvenescence is beyond a simple and static status of being young because it contains two biological processes toward opposite directions—growing up and growing young. Yet, both processes contain the force of transformation and an anamorphic or distorted sense of temporality in that past, present, and future are no longer confined to a simple chronological succession but embody a biological and psychological paradigm of durée. And this experience of time emboldens the youths who have just come of age as well as those who are not biologically young but rejuvenated and revitalized in youth revolutions. The new spatiotemporal experience drives them as a collective entity to make radical experiments and envision a utopian future. Thus, in this dissertation I will mainly explore the movements and mobilizations of youths.

The term "youth" used here mainly refers to the age group between teenagers and middle-aged people. Yet, it does not exclude those who are not in this age group but have been "growing young" at the revolutionary moments. Hence, I also highlight the engagement of older generations of intellectuals who fought side by side with youths and contributed to the mobilization and especially the seizure of territory of youths in the discursive field. One of the reasons why "juvenescent" is used to designate this "age group" is because its inherent ambivalence and paradoxical nature leads us to the experiences of coming of age or being rejuvenated in a collective, interactive, and mobilized manner and in a different sense of time without confining these experiences to a strictly categorized and exclusive age group. The other reason for this choice, as opposed to concepts such as adolescence, is to avoid the rhetoric of depoliticizing youth mobilizations as a symptom of "the refusal of the childhood and the refusal

of the integration into the techno-bureaucratic world of adulthood."[11] This type of rhetoric is particularly erroneous in simplifying the events with an explanation that pathologizes youths. Further, it may easily slide into a more pejorative position—reducing the political aspiration of youths to a mere biological impulse—taken by Raymond Aron, for whom the event of May 1968 is a "collective madness and delirium" of the youth "in socio-hormonal frustration and in a biological convulsion." [12] By replacing the concept of adolescence with juvenescence, I hope the concept of juvenescent could avoid a reading of youths as an age group and emphasizes the transformative potentiality conceived in the process of rejuvenation and mobilization.

The juvenescent space, a key term to be explored in this dissertation, represents places where the new clashes with the old and where the order of the past—spatial or discursive—is challenged by imaginaries and practices facing the future. In juvenescent spaces, we encounter literary modernism with a view toward the new or at least something new, be it in the realm of aesthetics, or in the territory of politics: from Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialist work, to Langston Hughes's jazz poetics and André Malraux's trilogy on revolutions in Asia. Along with the literary modernism, the futuristic and sometimes utopian vision generated moments of hope and despair in the modern world. As Marshall Berman writes in *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, a broad and open definition of modernism "enables us to see all sorts of artistic, intellectual, religious and political activities as part of one dialectical process, and to develop creative interplay among them."[13] In the process, we could also witness, as Berman puts it, "solidarities between great artists and ordinary people, and between residents of what we clumsily call the Old, the New and

11. Edgar Morin, «Mai 68 : Complexité et ambiguïté » in Pouvoirs, no. 39 (1986) : 73.
12. Raymond Aron, *The Elusive Revolution: Anatomy of a Student Revolt*, trans. by Gordon Clough (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 21.
13. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988), 5.

the Third World."[14] By examining texts across spatial and cultural boundaries, in this dissertation I seek to arrive at a similar open space where a creative interplay of literary, intellectual, artistic, and political activities would be displayed.

The term "juvenescent space" is also situated in the theoretical framework of Marxist geography. In this context, the concept of juvenescence not only recalls the significant role of youths in revolutions but also theorizes a logic of juvenescence—which is a rejuvenated understanding of the world that breaks from the existing order and forms rejuvenation—as an essential part of revolutionary subjectivity, incentive, and aesthetics. It could be our entry point to address the downplayed roles of temporality, community, and aesthetics in Marxist urban theories. First, the conceptualization of juvenescence is rooted in the temporal experience of being young or growing young. Though the logic of juvenescence shares a certain affinity with the Marxist progressive historiography, it is less rational and thus more susceptible to utopian aspirations and a futuristic temporality in mythical and radical forms. Yet, it is also this volatile and more imaginative positioning in time that provides these revolutionary subjects with a new way of experiencing space. Second, this unique sense of time combined with the vitality and energy of youths tends to drive them to challenge the existing spatial order and mobilize spaces around them in an iconoclastic and carnivalesque manner. Third, the possibilities of rejuvenated spaces in their boundary-crossing and trespassing practices lead to utopian imaginations of new communities and liaisons beyond the familial order from which they try to run and a new global connectivity beyond the state control that they try to break. Hence, the logic of juvenescence represents a disruptive force to challenge the established institutions of law and order. It could be a rebellious gesture of the new to disenfranchise the privilege of the old, but it could also turn

14. Berman, 5–6.

into a dangerous obsession with the future or a disorder of lawlessness. Not only does the logic of juvenescence present constant interactions and negotiations among different scales of spatial configurations—the local (or the city), the state, and the global—but it also displays alternative possibilities at each of the scales through youth revolutions, utopian experiments, and a transnational connectivity. Then, juvenescent spaces are mobilized, utopian, and theatrical spaces where the new clashes with the old, where the past is overwritten by the future, where law and order collide with rebellions, and where the sense of *commun* and connectivity are fostered and then jeopardized.

This strand of thinking, following the concept of juvenescence, first responds to the downplaying of temporality in most urban theories. Like their predecessors who treated space as a constant variable, in these theories, temporality rarely provides incentives for spatial practice. Here I intend to connect the phenomenology of age with the spatiotemporal experience. In this way, I argue that a certain structure of temporal experience could be projected onto spatial practices. On the one hand, there are practices of constructing juvenescent spaces by mobilization, rebellion, and experiments. On the other hand, there are also practices of recovering the past: the construction of archives, the recalling of memories, the palimpsest of spaces, and symptoms of nostalgia could also be projected onto spatial configurations. In this paper I mainly explore juvenescent spaces with the future as the center point of their coordinates but touch upon the latter type of spatiotemporal practice when the past was threatened by the future. In comparison with the more prevalent socioeconomic methods employed by urban theorists, this spatiotemporal framework invites an aesthetic sensibility of age to supplement an overly rational and quantitative sense dominating the field of urban studies.

II. Law and the Logic of Juvenescence

In the aforementioned urban theories and conceptualizations of urban revolutions, the law is also an unmentioned but symbiotic partner of urban developments and even of urban revolutions. From Max Weber, a sociologist and a jurist, who dealt with "legal rational form" and urban sociology simultaneously to Roberto Unger, a scholar of critical legal studies with an interest in property rights, democracy, and wage labor, we could see that social justice, urban citizenship, communities, and "the right to the city" are so intricately entwined with both spatial and legal praxis. However, partly owing to the fact that they represent two divergent paths of social organization (territorialization and deterritorialization, decentralization and centralization), partly owing to the vague reference to law in Marx and Engels, and partly owing to the disciplinary barrier between urban studies and jurisprudence, spatial issues and legal studies have rarely been put into the same context. In this dissertation I will bridge this chasm by utilizing the concept of juvenescence as a logic always in conflict and negotiation with the legal rationale, especially in the process of reconfiguring public spaces and constructing mobilized juvenescent spaces.

First, I deal with the role of law in shaping civil rights and urban citizenship by designating the scope of macro management of the state or the colonial territory. By looking into literary works, court cases, and police reports, I aim at providing a diachronic illustration of how the law or a lawlessness negotiates and interacts with the movements challenging the existing order. In Chapter 2, which covers the 1920s and 1930s, I examine the logic and practice of the imperial law in the extraterritorial French Concession in Shanghai. And in Chapter 4, examining people's courts and popular justice during the revolutionary mobilizations of the 1960s would shed light on a new understanding of law and lawlessness.

Second, I will also deal with the role played by the police at a micro and local level of urban management. Such practices include the French police's surveillance of revolutionary activities in Shanghai, the Parisian police's role in the events of May 68, and the reformation of the police force—to have them more involved in the community—in Maoist China. The micro management of police in the urban spaces to some extent defines how public spaces are organized and what type of agencies have access to them. In the conflicts or collaborations between the people and the police, we may see the emergence of juvenescent spaces that are by no means free and open grounds without rules and constraints. On the contrary, juvenescent spaces are constructed sometimes by struggles and transgressions, sometimes by imaginative mobilizations and experimentations, and sometimes by a carnivalesque and theatrical play.

Third, I also set out to situate critical legal studies in a broader theoretical and spatial setting. When we talk about global connectivity and globalization, the dimension that should be taken into account is the functionalities of the international law. Though it is discussed more as a conceptual term than a technical term in this dissertation, the traces of how the law is understood in a transnational and cross-cultural context are omnipresent in this dissertation. Given internationalism, cosmopolitanism, imperialism, and nationalism constitute different perceptions of global connectivity, each perception would promote a legal structure for the international order. The third chapter touches upon the law of earth of Carl Schmitt and an internationalist law of hospitality through which we could see how an idealized global connectivity was forged by a transcultural and multiethnic engagement with jazz music and poetics.

III. Utopian Imagination of Globalization and Community

Another aim of the dissertation is to display the interactions among different spatial

scales in the process of constructing juvenescent spaces. The law and order represent the interventions at the level of the state. In this dissertation, I define utopian imagination of space first as a proclivity toward the sense of *commun* (être-ensemble) and community (vivre ensemble) and then as an aspiration of building a global connectivity and solidarity. Among these two dimensions of utopian imagination, one is at the local level of constructing communities and the other is at the global level in forging relations of affect that could bypass the state. In this way, three scales of spatial configurations—the local, the state, and the global—could be displayed simultaneously.

In the sections of utopian imaginations, I will revisit the Paris Commune of 1871 whose legacy was not only revived by May ’68 but also taken up by Mao in building communes across China including the Shanghai People’s Commune (1967). Hongsheng Jiang in his book on the Shanghai People’s Commune briefly explores the influence of the Paris Commune on Mao’s thought and the Chinese revolution. With detailed and well-organized delineation of the whirlwind-like rise and fall of the Commune in Shanghai, Jiang’s book is informative in creating a comprehensive picture of the event. Instead of a whole picture, the purpose of covering the two communes in this dissertation is to connect the concepts of community and *commun*, which Jiang treats simply as a denotation without exploring its rich connotations, with the logic of juvenescence in youth revolutions. Inspired by the philosophical and philological readings of community from Georges Bataille (*la communauté tragique*), Jean-Luc Nancy (*la communauté désoeuvré*), and Maurice Blanchot (*la communauté inavouable*) to Roberto Esposito (*communitas*), I will develop a concept of juvenescent community that emphasizes on spatiotemporal and biopolitical dimensions of community that conform to the logic of juvenescence.

In terms of the global system, there have been studies on frontier cities as contact zones of different cultures and on empires as a spatial proof of the uneven yet connected colonial global network. Though empires fell apart in the twentieth century, the uneven global system takes on new forms and persists. New concepts emerge when globalization fundamentally changes the configurations of cities and the relationships among cities. Global cities, world cities, extraordinary cities because of their openness, or ordinary cities as a gesture to question the privilege of global hubs and nodes, all these new terms reveal a truth that it is impossible to talk about metropolises like Shanghai and Paris without referring to their position in the global network: one used to be a frontier city, the other an irrefutable center; and today both are global cities.

In this dissertation I also try to excavate the utopian and revolutionary imagination of a global network beyond the capitalist, imperial, and neoliberal systems. On the one hand, I draw upon illuminating works about the transnational liaisons of anarchists (Benedict Anderson), of the Comintern (Katerina Clark, Steven Lee), and of the global revolutions (Julia Lovell) in the 1960s. And I extend this network of anarchists, communists, and revolutionaries to youths, traveling poets, diasporic musicians, and artists who could hardly be categorized as revolutionary subjects but who contribute to constructing juvenescent spaces with their imagination of an alternative global connection. On the other hand, I also aim at showing the transformations and evolutions of utopian imaginations and transgressions in different settings—from the semi-colonial Shanghai to the age of global revolution and to our neoliberal era—as well as different types of interventions and threats from law and order in these moments. Ultimately, I will display at a theoretical level how the idea of community interacts with the concept of the global and at the dimension of praxis, how local and community-based spatial mobilizations harbor utopian

imaginations of cosmopolitanism, internationalism, and Third-Worldism of the global.

IV. Shanghai and Paris

Individually, the two cities I set out to explore, Paris and Shanghai, have been popular sites for scholarly explorations. Previous research, including significant and influential works on urban studies, political science, and literature, has contributed to the myth of Paris as a city of modernity and capitalism (Walter Benjamin, David Harvey), a seminary of revolutions (Henri Lefebvre), and the center of the "world republic of letters" (Pascale Casanova) since the nineteenth century. Shanghai's image as a metropolis has been recovered and reinforced by an abundance of Shanghai studies focused on the modernity and commercialization of semi-colonial Shanghai before the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s takeover. In these studies, the highly developed capitalist and bourgeois culture is either lauded as modernity that evokes people's nostalgia for the lost old Shanghai (Leo Ou-fan Lee) or critically analyzed as an ambivalent space subjugated to colonial powers (Shu-mei Shih). In this dissertation I take neither of the routes but explore how a revolutionary network was built in the French Concession in Shanghai and what (inadvertent) role the French administration played in the birth of the CCP and its expansion in the 1920s.

In comparison to the extensive scholarly exploration of Paris and Shanghai in the earlier era, there is substantially less scholarly engagement focusing on the two cities in the 1960s and in the contemporary setting. Still, it is possible to get a picture of their spatial transformations from abundant materials about major social and political events—May '68 and the Cultural Revolution. I will use these materials to delve into the mobilized juvenescent spaces—streets, schools, and public spaces—of the two cities during global revolutions in the 1960s and to

demonstrate how law and lawlessness were evoked and revoked during youth revolutions.

There are both historical and theoretical reasons why Shanghai and Paris are chosen as two sites for this voyage to the moments of youth revolutions. Historically, Shanghai, as a metropolis in the early twentieth century, was spatially, legally, and commercially connected with Paris through the French Concession. An always neglected aspect beyond the capitalist and colonial connections is that from the French Revolution to the Paris Commune, Paris has always been the distant but inspiring other for Chinese revolutionaries. At an earlier moment in the 1910s and 1920s, the French Concession in Shanghai was a node for the revolutionary network where the CCP was born. And in the 1960s, the Shanghai's People's Commune was established based on the framework of the Paris Commune. Around the same time, Paris was also captured by youths' revolutionary imagination and later by the radical Maoism that was in the process of transforming Shanghai. This mutual imagination of the other brings about inspiring encounters and dialogues as well as disillusions and disappointment. Nonetheless, the cross-cultural and transnational exchanges of revolutionary aspirations provide an alternative liaison outside of the colonial, capitalist, and neoliberal systems.

Theoretically, both Shanghai and Paris are metropoles of modernity and commercial flourishment, which makes it more tempting to trace the spatial transformations and mobilizations during their revolutionary moments. More significantly, the different but parallel subversions and disturbances of spatial order and legal systems in the two cities during youth revolutions could complete the always lopsided theoretical discussions: either the law and order were irreversibly violent or the absence of law and order in revolutions always brought violent destruction. By imposing the lawlessness—in the presence and absence of law—between revolution and violence, in this article I also try to complicate and complete the relationship

between youth revolutions and violence, which has been problematically perceived as a direct cause–effect relationship. Nevertheless, youths in Shanghai and Paris, though in different conditions, were testing their potential for transcending the existing system and institutions by a shared new logic in perceiving, conceiving, and living revolutions—the logic of juvenescence.

V. Overview of Dissertation

The dissertation has four chapters that mainly follow a chronological order. Each chapter would open up a space—discursive or physical—that rejuvenates our understanding of the entanglements among revolution, law, and spatial mobilization as manifested in tangible urban spaces or in literary and artistic works. Across these chapters, thematic connections are built so that we could see how the same concepts would have different connotations in various contexts and how certain practices—such as that of the police—would take on completely different forms in different historical moments. I draw materials from various forms and genres, from essays of Chinese intellectuals and writers, novels of Sartre and Malraux, and poems of Langston Hughes and Ai Qing, to films and archival materials.

In Chapter 1 "Writing the Juvenescent Space: The Early Adventures of the 'New Youth,'" I first explore the emergence of modern education in China in first two decades of the twentieth century, which put a generation of youths equipped with modern thought on the stage of juvenescent spaces. The chapter then moves on to the discussion of the journal *New Youth*, which represents the rejuvenated discursive space in Shanghai after the fall of the Qing Empire, especially the intellectual trajectory of the journal that migrated from a believer in the ideals of the French Revolution to a follower of the Bolshevik Revolution. This chapter ends with Chinese student-workers who started their own journals and tried to find their own voice and place in the

Paris.

In Chapter 2 “The Red Underground: The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary Networks in Imperial Law and Policing,” I turn to the French Concession in Shanghai where an underground revolutionary network was established in the 1920s. In the process, the spatial mobilization of revolutionaries clashed with the legal system and policing in the colonial space. Through Malraux’s *Man’s Fate* (*La Condition Humaine*) and *The Conquerors* (*Les Conquérants*), I would like to show how the discourse of colonial law and oriental lawlessness were constructed and how the juvenescent space of mobilization disturbed the existing dichotomy of law and lawlessness.

In Chapter 3 “The Utopian Soundscape: Ethno-Rhythmic Transference, Revolutionary Carnivals, and the Internationalism of Jazz Poetics,” I explore the concept of internationalism and utopian space in the soundscape of jazz poetics across Shanghai and Paris in the 1930s. I start with Sartre’s novel *La Nausée*, in which a petite phrase from the jazz song “Some of These Days” creates an effect of ethno-rhythmic transference and a utopian collectivity. Then, Langston Hughes’s jazz poems are discussed because his writings connect Paris, Shanghai, New York, and Moscow in an internationalist network in the Jazz Age. Jazz performance also represents a utopian soundscape in which performers neither avoid the collective sound nor hide the individual voice.

In Chapter 4 “The ‘Lawless’ Carnivals: Staged Streets, Police, and Theatrical Popular Courts,” I discuss how the spatial order and law were fundamentally challenged during the Cultural Revolution and May 68 in the 1960s and 1970s. The chapter begins by presenting how streets were mobilized and rejuvenated during these moments, which is followed by discussions on the role of police. In addition to the disturbed spatial order, the legal order and the boundaries

between law and lawlessness were once again put on trial by new forms of court—devised in Maoist China and by Sartre—and the popular justice.

In the end, through the dissertation I aim at exploring different forms of juvenescent spaces: a new discursive space in a crumbling old empire, a red underground network in the colonial space, internationalist jazz poetics across cultural and ethnic barriers, highly mobilized streets, theatricalized courts, and so on. Eventually, the questions to be answered are how the evolution of both the spatial configuration and the legal intervention frames and reframes the understanding of our very existence, our dwelling in the space, our reflections on social and political identities, and our right to the city and the open space.

Chapter 1

Writing the Juvenescent Space: The Early Adventures of the "New Youth"

I. Educating Youths for the Young China

Despite its seemingly oppressive and disciplinary image, the space of education is often situated at the forefront of youths' spatial mobilization. When describing the relationship between youths and the world, Robert Harrison, in his book that traces the cultural history of age, points out that schools are the place where "'new ones' (*oi néoi*, as the ancient Greeks called young people) learn what it means to become adults and assume responsibility for the world they were born into, which amounts to saying that everything depends on their education."[15] If we go further along this path, the "new ones" imply a "birth" that brings an open space in which the Subject is exposed to various experiences and in which the Subject could find "an openness of a field" and "an encroachment towards a future." It then opens the "passage from the moment where nothing was for X to the moment where everything is also for X."[16] By going through this passage, youths transform from adolescence to adulthood and walk from the private—a safe haven in the familial space—to the public. Thus, ideally, the space of education is meant to function as such a passage through which youths enter the public arena of polis and assume their subjectivity.

The problem here is that the passage is an "in-between" space. To reach a balance between past and future and to safely transit from a familial order to an openness of uncertainty could be a daunting challenge. Harrison tends to emphasize the importance of looking back and

15. Robert Pogue Harrison, *Juvenescence: A Cultural History of Our Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 129.
16. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Institution and Passivity: Course Notes from the Collège de France* (1954–1955), trans. Leonard Lawlor and Heath Massey (Evanston, Il.: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 8.

deems that it is detrimental to the development of youth "when we oblige the young to inhabit a present without historical depth or density."[17] He further claims that "the greatest blessing a society can confer on its young is to turn them into the heirs, rather than the orphans, of history. It is also the greatest blessing a society can confer on itself, for heirs rejuvenate the heritage by creatively renewing its legacies."[18] In the aesthetic realm, Ezra Pound's epithet of "Make it new!", for Harrison, "does not mean to invent ex nihilo but to descend into Hades and give dead languages a new vernacular, to bring into being a younger version of an earlier form or tradition."[19] Some of the progressive Chinese intellectuals in early-twentieth-century China would disagree with Harrison's claim, and a mental status of tabula rasa was what they envisioned for the new century: modern language, new youth, a young China, a new world order, and so on. These true bearers of the modernist banner constantly debated with traditionalists and moderate reformers. They went through the passage and decided not to look back, and for the radical break, some of them also paid the price.[20]

Harrison's argument is valuable because it presents to us different approaches toward the new and the old, the past and the future. His emphasis on education is particularly intriguing because education could both lead to the future and orient toward the past. And the reason why education matters for him is that it could potentially transform youths into inheritors and heirs of history. However, youths (or children) in the passage of transformation are after all "unstable signifiers" representing the discontinuities and differences between the past and the future. To

17. Harrison, *Juvenescence*, xi.
18. Harrison, xi–xii.
19. Harrison, 113.
20. Harrison's arguments on the relationship between youths and history or tradition reveals a subtle conservatism that sustains the existing social establishment. But despite the fact that an absolute rupture with the past resonates with the rejuvenating desire of youths, it could be more dangerous under certain circumstances considering that the "absoluteness" may elicit a violent form of absolute negation. About a half-century later, the Cultural Revolution became an exemplary moment of this type of negation, and the radical rupture with the past turned against its promoters as intellectuals—conservative and progressive alike—were attacked by Mao's Red Guards.

tame them requires the spatial configuration of schools to share a similar institutional modality with the primary goal of order, control, and discipline. One major role of this type of space of education is to instill a normative understanding of the connection between subjects and the world based on the continuation and preservation of history as well as the existing social and spatial order. And out of fear of "bearers of disorder and subversion,"[21] schools prioritize theoria to curtail real praxis—not "simulated" play—so that the "rebirth" of youths through what Hannah Arendt calls "political actions" becomes more unobtainable. As a consequence, the space of education generates an impasse instead of a passage. Or as Giorgio Agamben puts it, it generates a "simulated playland" or a "ghost museum"[22] instead of a true passage, though dialectically, it is often the impasse that provides a momentum that triggers the political potentiality of youths. Facing the exigent transformation and rebirth, youths always intuitively aspire to mobilize and refigure, first of all, the space of education to break away from the connection with the world. And for intellectual and political figures such as Liang Qichao who aspired to mobilize youths to revitalize China, to build a new space of education also became a preliminary and feasible step toward his ambitious goal of Young China. The remaining question would be the choice of location and organization of such schools.

After the Exposition Universelle of Paris and at the dawn of the twentieth century, France was still bathed in the glamour of its belle époque. The French Empire was still powerful enough to expand its overseas territories. Its territory in Shanghai doubled in size at the turn of the century. With the urban expansion, more institutions and entertainment facilities were established in the French Concession. In 1908, a set of modern buildings was constructed along Avenue

21. Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience*, trans. Liz Heron (London; New York: Verso, 1993), 86.
22. Agamben, 86.

Dubail including St. Peter Church, Musée Heude, a natural history museum, and Université l'Aurore. Interestingly clustered, the buildings represented the logic of spatial governance of the French Empire. As an effective cross-utilization of spiritual guidance and practical education—a combination of episteme and techne—this spatial model follows what Rabinow describes as a combination of pathos and logos in searching for the norms and forms of social milieux. What Chinese progressive intellectuals found in the space of the French concession was a new *poli*tical potentiality and a sociopolitical milieu where they could experiment with both existing norms and new forms to rejuvenate China.

Université l'Aurore was born out of both this French urban model and Liang Qichao's ideal. During the Hundred Days' Reform, Liang proposed to build a translation academy in Beijing and invited Joseph Ma Xiangbo (马相伯 1840–1939) to be the headmaster. Ma was a former priest who received his formal education at a catholic school, Collège Saint-Ignace, run by French Jesuits in Shanghai. Though the coup d'état of Empress Dowager Cixi interrupted Liang's plan, Ma Xiangbo did not reject the idea. He discussed at length about starting a new-style Chinese university[23] with his brother Ma Jianzhong (马建忠 1845–1900) who returned to

23. Before the inevitable decline of the Qing Dynasty and collapse of the feudal system in the late nineteenth century, the only path for young people in China to be socially and politically engaged (入世) was to take the imperial examination, a civil servant-recruiting procedure that had been deeply ingrained in the Confucian tradition and the institutionalization of men of letters since 605 AD. The whole education system in feudal China was thus designed to prepare potentially qualified youths for the examination, whose core contents were derived from ancient classics, and the writings had to follow a strict format. Orienting toward the past instead of the future, formality instead of creativity, obedience instead of action, as Liang Qichao suggests in "On the Young China," the feudal institution of education and culture stood for a conservative logic against rejuvenation. Entering into the twentieth century, the previously stable system started to face challenges as more and more young people went overseas for modern education. Even the Qing government itself had realized, probably from its military fiascos in the nineteenth century, that it was imperative to abandon its outdated education system. A most valuable and long-lasting legacy left by Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei's short-lived Hundred Days' Reform is the series of educational reforms it proposed, including abolishing parts of the format and content of the traditional imperial examination, incorporating science and Western civilization into the curriculum, training translators and building publishing houses of translation, and sending students to study abroad among many other procedures to rejuvenate the "senile" education system. The imperial examination gradually lost its prestige as Kang and Liang's reform brought other pathways for

China from Paris in 1897. In 1903, Ma Xiangbo donated his family property and founded the Aurore Public School (later, Université l'Aurore) in the French Concession of Shanghai with the assistance of French Jesuits. Though nominally a catholic school, most of its students attended the school not for religious reasons but for a modern education. The reason why Aurora Public School serves as an interesting example of a juvenescent space of education is that it simultaneously presents a model of youth community with autonomous self-governance and exhibits a contact zone where Chinese youths experimented with spatial organization under the French religious and colonial presence.

This space of new education, at first sight, could easily fit into the postcolonial discourse as imperial powers tried to use this chance to penetrate the education system in its transitional period. However, for Liang and his fellow reformers and educators such as Ma Xiangbo, their promotion of Western culture was neither for the spread of Western civilization per se nor for cultivating middlemen for colonial powers in China. Their obsession was still with the national revitalization of China. This obsession, despite its naiveté and faux-cosmopolitanism, became a resilient emotional force with which students and intellectuals were able to mobilize while resisting the potential assimilation. It was also with this obsession that students fought for their autonomy and constantly searched for methods to rejuvenate China in modern and Westernized schools, some of them becoming industrialists and some revolutionaries.

The original administration of Aurora Public School was similar to self-organized revolutionary schools appearing around the same period. For one thing, it was organized in a

youths to get connected and engaged with the outside world. And being a contact zone between different cultures and under loose government control, Shanghai became an ideal site for education reforms and experiments. The emergence of Westernized education in Shanghai at the turn of the century, despite its shortcomings and colonial residue, produced generations of youths who were cosmopolitan and ambitious "new youths" as they continuously acted to transform China into a modern nation-state.

highly democratic and autonomous manner with all administrative works undertaken by students. For another, Ma welcomed and accepted students regardless of their conviction, background, and age. He even provided a safe haven for students in trouble because of revolutionary activities. However, with an increasing number of students at Aurora Public School joining the anti-Qing movement, the split between Ma and French Jesuits became more irreparable because the latter wanted to maintain an amicable relationship with the government and opposed students' involvement in revolutionary activities. They threatened to call the police of the French Concession to arrest any student who took part in activities inimical to the Qing government. Under such pressure, Ma was excluded from the school's administration while French Jesuits tightened its control by placing more focus on French than other languages and replacing the students' self-governing organization with a centralized administrative system typical of Catholic schools. Students were extremely unhappy about losing their autonomy and the majority of them withdrew from Aurora Public School. Standing with these students, Ma Xiangbo and some Chinese instructors started Fudan Public School (复旦公学) in 1905, the forerunner of today's Fudan University, a prestigious university in Shanghai. The Aurora University also went through an administrative transition. It moved to a larger site at Avenue Dubail in the French Concession in 1908 and started officially following the European system of université. Now, religiously, the Aurora University was considered to be a branch of the Society of Jesus (SJ), a Jesuit organization, founded in Paris and belonging to the Catholic Church in Rome. Administratively, the French Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs started allocating funding to Aurora University because the French government saw it as a French university located in its overseas territory.

In 1919, the administration of Jesuits faced a major challenge during the May Fourth

Movement. To support the workers' strike in Shanghai, students at the Aurora University started a revolutionary organization. When the Jesuits found out about the organization, they gave students two options: "either they should return to classes and prepare their examinations, or leave the school by noon of that day if they intended to continue participating in the movement, with the option of returning and taking their examinations in September." [24] Only sixty-nine out of two hundred students chose to stay, and more students left the campus under the watch of the police of the French Concession. Chen Yannian (陈延年 1898–1927) and Chen Qiaonian (陈乔年 1902–1928) were among the radical students who left Aurora University. Their father Chen Duxiu, then a professor at Peking University, was a commander-in-chief of the May Fourth Movement and later the founder of the Chinese Communist Party.

This movement was not the last clash between students and the Jesuits. During the surging anti-imperial and anti-colonial movement in 1927, students requested that the French Jesuits should forsake their control of the university. As a consequence, the police of the French Concession were stationed at the Aurora University and arrested rebellious students. The next year, French Jesuits considered moving the university to Vietnam, but Yu Youren, who had been recruited by Ma Xiangbo into Aurora Public School over two decades previously and who was at this time a high-ranking official in the government of the Nationalist Party, persuaded them to stay and agreed to provide more support for the university. In the extremely chaotic years in the first half of the twentieth century, the Jesuit leadership held onto "its determination to suppress all political dissent, and remain on good terms with the authorities, whether they be the Qing government, the warlord regime, the Nationalist Party, or even the puppet government of

24. Université L'Aurore, 16e Année Scolaire, 1918-19, 6.

Shanghai under the Japanese." [25]Because of this determination, the Aurora University survived the Japanese occupation in 1937 and continued to exist even after the Vichy government handed over the French Concession to Wang Jingwei (汪精卫 1883–1944)'s Japanese "puppet government." However, it was officially terminated in 1952 after the CCP took over Shanghai.

The history of Aurora University demonstrates how the space of education in Shanghai was radically transformed in the early twentieth century and how youths acquired a political consciousness in the process of acquiring a passage and then challenging the power structure. Being an ambiguous space where colonialism and religion clashed with national rejuvenation and waves of social movement, it was a space of both enlightenment and repression, an active passage to the modern world and a "ghost museum" sustained by the Catholic conservatism. On the one hand, constant conflicts between rebellious students and the authority, first the Jesuits and later also the police of the French Concession, exemplify the attempts of youths to mobilize the highly coded space guarded by religious and colonial power. On the other hand, it was also in this space of education of the semi-colonial French Concession that youths were exposed to a cosmopolitan style of living and thinking, learned foreign languages, and thus became more capable of imagining an alternative image of a young China. In the case of Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian, and later Dai Wangshu, after leaving the Aurora University, they relocated their site of revolutionary mobilization to Paris.

25. Université L'Aurore, 16e Année Scolaire, 1918-19, 7.

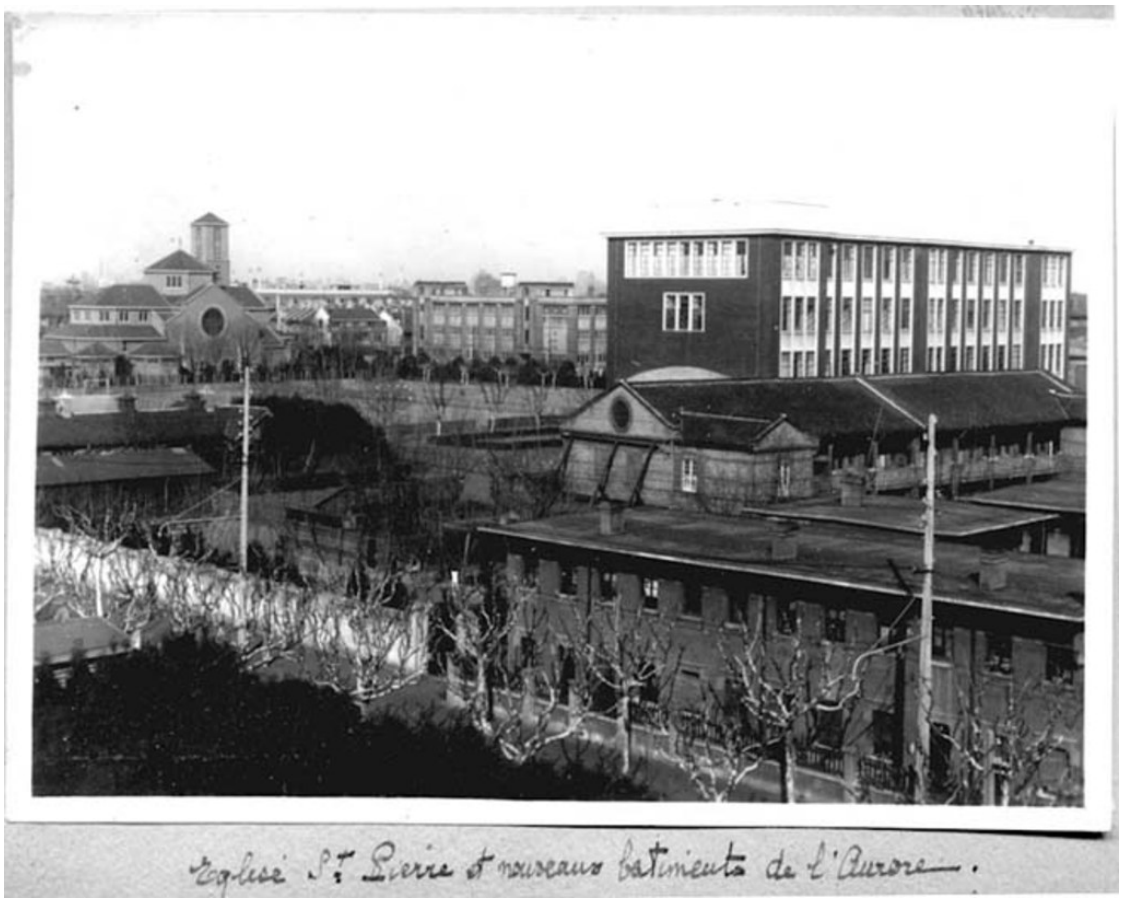

Figure 4. Aurore University and St. Peter Church (Courtesy: Virtual Shanghai)

Facing the extremely volatile, convoluted, and sometimes controversial intellectual and literary history of early-twentieth-century China, here as elsewhere in this dissertation, I tend not to refrain from looking at these issues through the specific lens of the logic of juvenescence. In its spatial form, the logic pertains to various experiments and the actualization of what I have termed as juvenescent space. Indeed, it is impossible to achieve a panoramic view through this lens of, admittedly, a selected and limited scope. Yet the spatial logic of juvenescence, as I define it as a logic of transgression, connectivity, and community that are often found in utopian imaginaries and practices of youths, is an invaluable lens through which we could connect theoria and praxis—in this context as political theories and spatial practices—that are thought to be in separate epistemological systems. Transgression, connectivity, and community are

themselves rarely juxtaposed if not considered as in conflict: transgression works as a momentum for youth movements that challenge the existing law and order and as a principle behind border-crossing or margin-exploring spatial practices in youth mobilizations; connectivity presents a desire for a cosmopolitan or internationalist global network; and community—derived from the word "common"—contains the central appeal of utopian imaginaries and displays a public instead of private or privatized urban organization at a local level. These three aspects of the spatial logic of juvenescence in fact all allude to a "communist hypothesis" that, despite all its flaws, renews our comprehension of social conflicts, of the common (and community), and of internationalism, though in this chapter these practices are more frequently to be found in discursive fields of journals and intellectual debates than in urban spaces. In a few circumstances in this chapter, we could also get a glimpse of the clash between the appeal of radical social transformation of youths and the police and legal systems. Thus, it is not too early to point out that the three aspects of the spatial logic of juvenescence, in one way or another, initiate inquiries toward the formal legal logic: social conflicts and the police, the idea of commons (or that of communes), and the property law as well as global and transnational politics and international law—from the colonial era to neoliberal times. These topics, related to the logic of juvenescence vis-à-vis the formal legal logic, will be further explored in different geographical and historical contexts in the subsequent chapters.

However, before moving on to chapters that display revolutionary networks, spatial mobilizations, and the entanglements between such movements and law, legitimacy, and justice, in this chapter we focus on a series of preparations in the space of education and in the discursive field that make radical social transformations possible. In the process, we could see how Shanghai and Paris, even at this early stage, became two critical sites for such preparations.

Though in more thoroughly researched postcolonial readings of Shanghai, the relationship between the two cities often follows a power structure of the master–servant paradigm or, aesthetically, the authentic versus the vulgar yet interesting copy, we will instead ask, in the early twentieth century, how the two cities were connected, discursively and spatially, by a global revolutionary impulse and utopian imaginaries instead of by imperialism and the bourgeois aesthetic, and in a broader sense what role France played intellectually and geopolitically in the embryonic stage of youth movements in China.

II. From the French Revolution to the Bolshevik Revolution: The Trajectory of "New Youth"

While Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian were studying at the Université l'Aurore, they lived in the editorial office of *La Jeunesse* (青年杂志), a monthly journal their father Chen Duxiu founded in 1915 in the French Concession of Shanghai. Chen Duxiu was born in 1879—the same year as Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) and a few months after Joseph Stalin's (1878–1953) birth—to a civil servant's household. Chen took the imperial examinations in his teenage years. However, he turned away from the conventional and Confucian education and career path and joined a Western-style school in Hangzhou, learning English, French, ship design, and astronomy.[26] At the age of twenty-three, he embarked on a journey to Japan where he started getting involved in anti-imperial and anti-Qing youth movements.

By the time Chen started *La Jeunesse* in 1915, he was already an influential intellectual and political activist. Having recruited a group of progressive intellectuals and writers on its editorial committee, Chen's journal soon became the battlefront of the New Culture Movement

26. Tang Baolin 唐宝林, Chen Duxiu Quanzhuan 陈独秀全传 [*A Complete Biography of Chen Duxiu*], (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2013), 25.

that called for replacing the dominant classical and Confucian cultural norm with science, democracy, and an adventurous and experimental stance toward the future. Additionally, by publishing literary works written in modern Chinese, *La Jeunesse* displayed the potentiality of evoking simultaneously an Enlightenment ideology, a language reform, which was mainly promoted by Hu Shi, and an avant-garde aesthetic experiment represented by Lu Xun's short story "A Madman's Diary," the first modern fiction written in vernacular Chinese.


新青年
LA JEUNESSE
陳獨秀先生主撰
目要
新古年 陳獨秀
青春 李大釗
Ou Education 溫宗堯
孔子平議(下) 吳白沙
樂利主義與人生 高一涵
決鬥(短篇名著小說) 胡適
初戀(長篇名著小說) 陳嘏
當代二大科學家之思想 陳獨秀
時局對於青年之教訓 王恒
青年與欲望 陳嘏
原名青年雜誌
第二卷第一號
上海群益書社印行

Figure 5. Cover of *New Youth*, vol. 2, no. 1.

In contrast to Hu Shi, who kept a distance from political issues, Chen Duxiu's goal lay more in revolutionary mobilizations and imminent social reforms. In the preface titled "A Call to the Youth" of the first issue of *La Jeunesse*, Chen Duxiu writes:

> The Chinese compliment others by saying, "He acts like an old man although still young.'' Englishmen and Americans encourage one another by saying, "Keep young while growing old." Such is one respect in which the different ways of

> thought of the East and West are manifested. . . . The function of youth in society is the same as that of a fresh and vital cell in a human body. In the processes of metabolism, the old and the rotten are incessantly eliminated to be replaced by the fresh and living . . . [I] place my plea before the young and vital youth, in the hope that they will achieve self-awareness, and begin to struggle. What is this self-awareness? It is to be conscious of the value and responsibility of one's young life and vitality, to maintain one's self-respect, which should not be lowered. What is the struggle? It is to exert one's intellect, discard resolutely the old and the rotten, regard them as enemies and as the flood or savage beasts, keep away from their neighborhood and refuse to be contaminated by their poisonous germs.[27]

Similar to the claims made by Liang Qichao in "On the Young China," Chen regarded youths as "fresh and vital cell[s]" to replace "the old and the rotten" in the process of metabolism. The metaphorical and rhetorical reference to evolutionary biology reveals the fact that intellectuals' endorsement of youths being involved in social transformation is intermingled with a utilitarian biopolitical view that the young bodies or "new blood" could be a regenerative and reproductive force in society. This realization of the critical role youths could play in society, however, may create a Janus-faced effect, given it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the correct position between evoking the potentiality of youths and exploiting them as a strategic biopolitical asset, or in the worst-case scenario, as a ritualistic sacrifice to certain grand narratives of politics. Though few people would argue against Liang and Chen's efforts to pave the path for youths to become an indispensable force in significant historical moments such as the May Fourth Movement, the peril of falling to the other side of the spectrum persists. In the second half of the twentieth century, youths were further mythicized in the Maoist rhetoric and later by the consumerist culture. Yet, in both cases, the elevation of youths as a biopolitical emblem of energy and future

27. Chen Duxiu, 陈独秀.Jinggao qingnian 敬告青年 [A Call to the Youth], Xinqingnian diyijuan diyihao 青年杂志, 第一卷，第一号 [*La Jeunesse*, vol. 1, issue 1] (Shanghai: Qunyi Publishing House 群益书社, 1915), 11. Translation from R. Keith Schoppa, *The Columbia Guide to Modern Chinese History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 279–82.

did not give them the highly autonomous and spontaneous political consciousness that young Mao Zedong and his contemporaries acquired from intellectuals and political figures such as Liang and Chen and from their participation in anti-imperial and anti-establishment movements. In other words, we could assume that Liang and Chen's writings and the discursive forum they fostered opened up a juvenescent space where youth started to reflect upon their age, identity, and potentiality.

The opening of Chen's essay also reveals that the concept of juvenescence involves both a biopolitical dimension and a psycho-political orientation toward age and aging, and this combination again demonstrates the characteristic of the logic of juvenescence that transcends pure biopolitical vitality. Thus, echoing Chen's opening, what the logic of juvenescence entails is an ethos of "keeping young while growing old" rather than merely being young according to a physiological standard. At the same time, by mentioning the Chinese compliment about being young while acting like an old man, Chen shows that compared to Liang's more naïve praise of youth, he is more conscious of the fact that physiological youthfulness does not necessarily bring rejuvenating effects. In the filial system of a Confucian social order, the long accepted cultural codification of age requires the young to be suppliant to the authorities. Young people then were rarely granted a voice in public spheres, and consequently, "acting like an old man" became a strategy for youths to blend in and participate in social affairs. To challenge this cultural norm and bias against young age, Chen ends the opening paragraph with a plea for self-awareness and struggle of "the young and vital youth" who should be conscious of their value and responsibility.

Following the plea, Chen lists six principle that he hopes youth will consider: "be independent, not submissive; progressive, not conservative; aggressive, not retiring;

cosmopolitan, not isolationist; practical, not formalist; and scientific, not fantasist."[28] A reader of our time might find Chen's essay and these principles not as "avant-garde" as one expects them to be. But the principles are simple, direct, and instructive. Similar to Liang's famous essay, Chen's essay also successfully served its purpose to awaken and mobilize youths. The "avant-gardeness" of Chen's essay does not hinge on a modernist eccentricity but the struggle to free youths—and the nation-state as well—from the confinement of a tradition rooted in strictly organized familial and hierarchical communities and social networks. Lucien Bianco comments in his book *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915–1949* that Chen Duxiu's exaltation of youth and attack on tradition—later adopted in the May Fourth Movement as the slogan "Down with the old and up with the new"—sets out to "turn upside down Confucian morality . . . the hateful was no longer audacity and self-expression, but timidity and conformist repression."[29]

To corroborate the logic behind his six principles, Chen brings up the "morality of noble" and "morality of slave" of Nietzsche to encourage independence, Henri Bergson's *L'Évolution Créatrice* to call for progressive attitudes, and J.S. Mill and Auguste Comte's positive philosophy to encourage practice and engagement in real life.[30] Readers of Chen's preface to the journal would picture him a cosmopolitan and liberal intellectual instead of a radical revolutionary, especially given another popular essay in the first issue of *La Jeunesse* explicitly demonstrates Chen's predilection for the French civilization. In the essay, titled "The French and the Modern Civilization," Chen explains that every country with a culture has its own civilization. China was still constrained by its ancient civilization, while the modern civilization, he stresses, was

28. Chen, 12–16.
29. Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915–1949* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1971), 39.
30. This principle was to some extent a response to the deeply ingrained tendency of the educated gentry class and literati to detach from practice—a tradition imposed by the highly formalistic imperial examination.

initiated by the French. Then, he lists *La Déclaration des Droits de l'Hommes* drafted by Lafayette, the evolution theory of Lamarck, and proposals and critiques from early utopian socialists. Democracy, evolution, and socialism are the three fundamental ideas, according to him, that could transform the old into a renewed sociopsychological structure.

Indeed, the article itself is not short of simplified generalizations, and as Lee Feigon comments, the ideas introduced were not particularly new to Chen's audience of liberal intelligentsia. For Feigon, the great impact of the article comes partly from its discussion of the French elimination of the privilege and authority that attacked Yuan Shikai's restoration of the monarchy and partly from its display of a seeming mastery of foreign ideas and history.[31] Some scholars, including Feigon, consider Chen's interest in the French civilization as a utilitarian strategy to critique the government and promote his own ideas and then conveniently see his later turn to Marxism and the Soviet model as a complete break from his liberal, Enlightenment-leaning, and almost romantic "flirtation" with the French culture and philosophy. Even for Chow Tse-tsung, who admitted that "the political thought of the French Revolution had an almost unrivaled vogue among young Chinese revolutionaries and reformers,"[32] this vogue of French political thought was limited to the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Yet, in the process of tracing the logic of juvenescence in its spatial and legal realms and in a *longue durée* that stretches to the sixties, I find that the legacy of French revolutions as well as models of French socialists impose a persistent influence on the social and spatial experiments conducted by Chinese reformers and revolutionaries. Though at this point, the October Revolution of Russia was still beyond imagination and Chen was still considered more of a

31. Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu, Founder of the Chinese Communist Party* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 107.
32. Chow, Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 35.

liberal intellectual, he already presented a keen interest in and astute understanding of socialism. Among the three ideas he saw as fundamental to Western civilization, he attributed the largest proportion of his explanation to socialism:

> The rise of modem civilization completely destroyed the traditional systems in European societies, excepting only the system of private ownership. Although this system began in ancient times, its harms have become ever greater since the rise of human rights, competition, and the employment of industrial capital. Political inequality has become social inequality, and oppression by monarchy and aristocracy has become suppression by capitalists. This is a shortcoming of modern civilization, which there is no need to conceal. Socialism is, therefore, a theory of social revolution succeeding political revolution; its aim is to eliminate all inequality and oppression. We can call it "contemporary" European civilization, which opposes the [merely] "modern." The theory was born in the age of the French Revolution, when Babeuf advocated the abolition of the right to private property and the establishment of a system of public ownership (la communauté des bien). Little attention was paid to this theory until the early nineteenth century, when it was revived in France. The most famous socialists were Saint-Simon and Fourier, who proposed founding a new society in which the state or society owns property, each individual contributes according to his ability, and each receives benefits according to his or her work. They disapproved of private ownership because [they felt] that it ran counter to humanism. In the following decades, the German thinkers Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx expanded on their French predecessors' theories, the conflict between labor and capital became increasingly intense, and the voice of social revolution rose ever higher… If these policies and theories work, the situation of the poor might be improved. This is yet another benefit that humankind has received from the French.[33]

In the passage, Chen first demonstrates his already awakened awareness of the correlation between private ownership and social inequality, which was "a shortcoming of modern civilization." Then, by evoking socialism as a "contemporary" European civilization vis-à-vis the "merely" modern system of private property, Chen also implicitly acknowledges that socialism is situated at a nodal point between the presence of Western modernity and a future of an alternative modality. Finally, two critical points are made: one is "la communauté des bien," the

33. Chen Duxiu 陈独秀. Falanxiren yu jinshiwenming 法兰西人与近世文明 [The French and Modern Civilization] in Qingnian Zazhi 青年杂志, 第一卷，第一号 [*La Jeunesse* 1, no. 1] (Shanghai: Qunyi Publishing House 群益书社, 1915), 17. Translation from *Contemporary Chinese Thought* 31, no. 1 (1999): 54–57.

common property proposed by utopian socialists from Babeuf to Saint-Simon and Fourier; the other is Lassalle and Marx's "conflict between labor and capital" that could trigger social revolutions. Chen was not yet familiar with Marxist theory, and thus he paralleled utopian socialist ideals with that of Marx without highlighting the inherent tension between the two, considering one is above all a "utopian" vision and the other aims at proposing scientific and practical solutions, and one seeks to de-alienate labor without class struggle and the other sees class struggle as a necessary means to achieve the end. Of course, the double allure of both orthodox Marxism built on dialectical materialism and French utopian socialism with an anarchist tendency is what almost all revolutionary leaders, including Mao, faced at a certain stage of their journey.

Beyond what Chen briefly mentions in the article, the socialist imagination of the common property and a new form of labor—*travail attrayant* according to Saint-Simon or non-alienated labor derived from Marx—persistently resonates with the construction of juvenescent space in terms of communities and the division of labor. At the same time, a legal conundrum arises from the concept of common property because a fundamental dimension in modern law is coded to protect private property and is thus almost irreconcilable with the common. When this article was published, China was in the hands of a rather weak government controlled by warlords, and as aforementioned, Chen was still preoccupied with attacking Yuan Shikai's attempt at monarchical restoration. Socialism, either in a rejuvenated social and spatial form or in a sense of legality and legitimacy, at this moment, seemed to be a concept too exotic and utopian to be incorporated into the imagination of Chen and his fellow liberal intellectuals of the new China. Mao, meanwhile, managed to carry out extensive reforms from the 1950s to the 1970s, which shaped both spatial and legal conceptualizations of community and common in socialist

China. His reforms and mass mobilizations, which at a certain point digressed from the Marxist-Leninist framework, in fact partly drew from the legacy of French socialist and anarchist theories and that of the Paris Commune of 1871. But back in 1915, Mao was still a student and an avid reader of *La Jeunesse*. As one of the early writings that introduced socialism, Chen's article "The French and the Modern Civilization" not only brings into focus the most critical issues—the common and labor—that socialist China would face in years to come but also presents an interaction—echoing the logic of juvenescence—between the nineteenth-century French utopian socialism and Chinese revolutions in the twentieth century.

In 1916, about one year after the first issue was published, the name of the journal was changed from *La Jeunesse* (青年杂志) to *New Youth* (新青年).[34] The reluctant change of name in fact better publicized the image of the radically antitraditionalist and pro-revolutionary journal, and it soon became one of the most popular and influential journals[35] among students and progressive intellectuals. Though the journal started from a Westernized liberal and Enlightenment position, the Russian Revolutions of 1917 drove Chen Duxiu and other contributors of *New Youth* to reflect upon Marxism and the Soviet model that might free China once and for all from the hands of imperial powers and warlords as well as create a new global coalition beyond the existing one rooted in the capitalist and colonial global system. It is crucial to note that the attraction of the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism for Chinese intellectuals lay not only in its triumph of ending the Czarist rule but also in the internationalism, both of which resonated with Chinese intellectuals who were juggling in agony with the task of cultural enlightenment and national salvation and who were caught up between their cosmopolitanism

34. The name caused confusion with journals published by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Shanghai.
35. It is said that from 1917, the journal's circulation expanded from about 1000 copies to 16,000 copies. (Chow, Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, 76)

and their obsession with imagining a postimperial China—characteristics that we have found in writings of Liang Qichao and Chen Duxiu.

Li Dazhao (李大钊 1889–1927), who was one of the six members of the editorial committee of *New Youth* and who later cofounded the CCP with Chen Duxiu, also previously dabbled in French utopian socialism, especially theories of Saint-Simon, while he was studying in Japan. After the October Revolution, his attention turned to Russia. Interestingly, the first article Li wrote on the topic was a comparison between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution: one was "the clear symptom of the awakening of the universal mind of humanity of the nineteenth century" and the other that of the twentieth century.[36] The difference between the two revolutions, according to Li, is that "the French spirit is the spirit of patriotism, while the Russian spirit is the spirit of universal love. The former has its roots in nationalism, the latter inclines to internationalism; the former often becomes the source of war, while the latter is likely to become the herald of peace."[37] In the overall atmosphere of national crisis starting from the late nineteenth century, a prevalent mentality among Chinese intellectuals was to lament over the marginalized position of China in the modern global system or for the conservative literati, a melancholy toward the good old days of the self-sufficient and enclosed organic society. In either case, the structure of their mentality was built on a nationalist standpoint. Li's comment on the French and Russian Revolutions juxtaposes the concepts of nationalism and internationalism, between which he was obviously inclined to admire the latter. Echoing Chen's article on the French and the modern civilization, Li ends his article by wholeheartedly embracing the prospect opened up by the Bolshevik revolution: "Our attitude towards the Russian revolution can only be

36. Li Dazhao 李大钊. Fa'e geming zhi bijiaoguan 法俄革命之比较观 [A Comparison between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution] in *Yanzhi* 3, 言治 第 3 册, July 1, 1918.
37. Ibid.

to welcome it as the dawn of a New World civilization, and to lend our ears to the ridings of a new Russia based on freedom and humanity, so that we adapt ourselves to this new world's currents."[38]

Li's more well-known article on the Russian Revolution, "The Victory of Bolshevism," was published in *New Youth*, wherein he further advocates the victory of the October Revolution as a turning point of world history. He repeats that it is a moment of "awakening of the universal mind of humanity" and further claims that the victory of Bolshevism is the victory of such awakening. What is most notable is that Li, for the first time, quotes from a Russian revolutionary, indicating that he had started engaging more seriously with Russian revolutionary theories. We would assume that he was most likely to quote from Lenin. Yet, the long quotation is from Leon Trotsky's *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*, in which Trotsky reproaches the patriotism of German and Austrian socialists and heralds, as Li quotes, a revolutionary epoch that will "create new forms of organization out of the inexhaustible resources of proletarian Socialism."[39] Li summarizes that world revolution and world democracy are what Trotsky is concerned about most in the book. Through Trotsky, what Li saw was not only a possibility of the triumph of sweeping away the ancien régime, but also "a way to begin imagining utopia to begin with"[40] as Fredric Jameson accurately puts it in his discussion of Andrey Platonov's utopian novel *Chevengur*. Though the two-step process is similar, the inherent difference between the Trotskyist utopian vision and that of *Chevengur* is that the utopian experiment of the latter happens in an isolated village, while the world revolution of Trotsky highlights a global connectivity that fundamentally subverts the previous imaginary of utopia based on Thomas

38. Ibid.
39. Li Dazhao 李大钊. Bolshevism de shengli Bolshevism 的胜利 [The Victory of Bolshevism] in Xinqingnian 新青年, 第 5 卷，第 5 号 [*New Youth* 5, no. 5] (October 15, 1918), 447.
40. Fredric Jameson, *The Seeds of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 89.

More's desert island model. This contrast is also reflected in the constant negotiation between the collectivity within an organic community and the connectivity beyond boundaries in utopian imaginaries.

Undoubtedly, Li's articles built a passage from the model of the French Revolution to the Bolshevik model. Here, the Bolshevik model was not that of Stalin; instead, the strikingly similar notions of Li and Trotsky, as Maurice Meisner elaborates, is that "both found in backwardness the source of the most rapid political and social progress and both assigned to the economically backward lands the really creative role in the great drama of global revolution."[41] First, this logic again resonates with the dialectical turn made by Liang Qichao in his article on youth, which designates the crumbling empire as a young nation waiting to be rejuvenated by a new generation of youths and the cosmopolitan stance of Chinese intellectuals. Then, this internationalist position and aspiration of a global revolution also imported the revolutionary and spatial vision of Trotsky—an "international Jew"—to China. Such internationalist features later contributed to the imaginary and development of juvenescent spaces in Shanghai—not only in its revolutionary organization but also in an ethnic and cultural form. More interestingly, Meisner comments, "Li was something of a 'Trotskyist' before he was a Marxist. At the same time, he was also a precursor of 'Maoism.'"[42]

Li Dazhao was seen by Mao as his mentor. And when Li published this article on Bolshevism, he was the director of the Peking University Library. And young Mao Zedong was working in the library while taking French courses. Yang Changji (杨昌济 1870–1920), Mao's teacher[43] back in his hometown of Hunan Province, was appointed as a professor of ethics at

41. Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-Chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 67.
42. Meisner, 67.
43. Yang later became Mao's father-in-law.

Peking University. Yang was actively collecting funds for young students to go to France through the work-and-study program. Thus, he encouraged his disciples in Hunan Province—including Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen, Cai Chang (蔡暢 1900–1990), Xiang Jingyu (向警予 1985–1928), Xiao Zisheng (萧子升 1894–1976),[44] and Xiao San, who were also members of the New Citizen Association—to take a French course at Peking University and to prepare to go to France as student-workers (*étudiants-ouvriers*). It was also during Mao's stay at Peking University that the young man from a provincial town got closer to Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu's circle of radical intellectuals. Naturally, Mao must have read Li's articles on Bolshevism and Trotskyism at first hand. In the upcoming decades of the twentieth century, Bolshevism, Trotskyism, and Maoism would each embark on a journey of their own with their long and tortuous paths intersecting from time to time.

A few months after the appearance of Li's article on *New Youth*, the peace conference in Paris and the Treaty of Versailles, an unfair treaty for China, became an event that further dispelled the aura of French social theories and liberalism. It reminded Chen Duxiu and his fellow intellectuals of the hypocritic aspect of Western liberalism. Further, social Darwinism, which they previously endorsed, could also be a useful tool for imperial power to oppress "the less fit." At the same time, the May Fourth Movement also reminded them that the new generation of youths, whom Liang in his article was trying to call upon in 1900, were not only mobilized but also showed the force of their vitality. The Paris Peace Conference thus became a moment of both disenchantment and hope, which designates a critical turning point in the

44. Cai Chang and Xiang Jingyu were feminist activists and legendary female revolutionaries. Xiang was tragically executed during the Nationalist Party's crackdown on communists in 1928. Cai Chang survived the crackdown and the Long March. After the establishment of the PRC, she became the first president of the All-China Women's Federation and a vice-president of the Women International Democratic Federation. Xiao Zisheng is also Xiao San's brother. He returned to Paris upon the Sino-Japanese War and later settled in Uruguay.

trajectory of Chen's political endeavor and the leitmotif of his journal *New Youth*. On June 11, 1919, Chen was arrested for distributing revolutionary pamphlets at a recreation ground in Beijing.[45] Three days before his arrest, Chen claimed in his essay that "there are two cradles of world civilization: one is the scientific laboratory and the other the prison. Our youths should determine to go into prison from the laboratory and into the laboratory from the prison, which is the noblest and most elegant means of life."[46] Chen Duxiu at this point was no longer satisfied with theoretical engagement in the discursive territory. The metaphorical highlight of the passage between the laboratory and the prison represents a passage from theoria to praxis—one that all engaged intellectuals would pass through. It also signifies the tension—one that would be a recurring presence in the juvenescent spaces—between the police and the politics in the sense of polis and citizenship. The pamphlet, titled "Manifesto of Citizens of Beijing,"[47] was a collective work of the New Youth circle, cowritten by Chen and Li Dazhao and translated into English by Hu Shi. Among the five requests listed in the manifesto, only the first two are concerned with the unfair treaty of the Paris Peace Conference and the diplomats involved in the matter. The rest of the manifesto, meanwhile, consists entirely of radical political requests: to abolish the army and the garrison headquarters; to transform the police force in Beijing into self-organization of citizens; and to grant citizens absolute freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. These requests foreshadow how the battleground of Chinese revolutionaries shifted from the cultural field and academia to radical political movements in urban spaces.

After Chen's arrest, numerous intellectuals, including some prominent essayists of classical

45. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao had already been under surveillance because of their leading role in the May Fourth Movement.
46. Ye Shuming 叶曙明. Chongfan wusi xianchang: 1919, yige guojia de qingchun jiyi 重返五四现场：1919，一个国家的青春记忆 [Revisit the May Fourth Movement: A Youth Memory of a Nation] (Beijing: Jiuzhou Publishing House, 2015), 243.
47. Ye, 243–44.

Chinese,[48] whom Chen and his New Youth group had previously fiercely attacked, signed petitions for Chen's release. On June 16, over two hundred students from across the country gathered in Shanghai and established a national students' union, which immediately contacted the Beiyang Government to request the release of Chen Duxiu. Many other associations, including the Shanghai Industrial Association, did the same to rescue Chen from the prison. Young Mao Zedong, in a local paper he started in Hunan Province, reprinted Chen's manifesto and claimed that the arrest could only become a souvenir of the new zeitgeist. The article ends passionately with "Long live Mr. Chen! Long live the supreme spirit of Mr. Chen!"[49] Upon Chen's release, Li Dazhao wrote poems to celebrate the return of his friend. Less passionately but more sentimentally, he writes in one of the poems, "because you embrace truth, truth also embraces you."[50] The arrest of Chen by the police, according to Ye Shuming, is a symbolic event because it drew a line under the New Culture Movement and opened up social revolutions and movements that lasted over half a century.[51] In addition, the support Chen got from all walks of society also opened up the stage for mass mobilization and prepared urban spaces where the drive to rejuvenate spatial order and social relations gradually preceded the inertia that resisted changes.

III. New Directions of *New Youth* and the Expansion of the Red Network in Shanghai

The repercussion of the May Fourth Movement lasted until 1920. Though students'

48. Ye, 254.
49. Mao Zedong, 毛泽东. Chen Duxiu zhi beibu ji yingjiu 陈独秀之被捕及营救 [The Arrest and Rescue of Chen Duxiu] Xiangjiang Pinglun Chuangkanhao 湘江评论 创刊号 [*Xiangjiang Review*, 1] (July 14, 1919).
50. Tang Baolin, *A Complete Biography of Chen Duxiu*, 210.
51. Ye Shuming, *Revisit the May Fourth Movement: A Youth Memory of a Nation*, 244.

mobilizations were at a standstill after the movement, the awakened proletariat carried on with the construction of juvenescent spaces—to mobilize urban spheres and to challenge the existing urban order. In Shanghai, the major industrial city in China, workers went on several strikes during the movement. The celebration of the International Workers' Day in 1920 among Shanghai industrial workers became one of the first moments when the Chinese proletariat found themselves part of a global proletariat's network. On April 20, 1920, associations such as the Chinese Industrial Association and Chinese Trade Union Association gathered together to prepare for the celebration and decided that all workers, except for essential workers in electricity, water and so on, would take a day off to participate in gatherings on May 1. The massive proletariat mobilization in Shanghai presented a further opened and expanded juvenescent space where a self-conscious working-class community was in formation and building a connection with a global network of proletariat movements.

Figure 6. Cover of *New Youth*: Special Issue on International Workers' Day, Vol. 7, no. 6

To promote this development on the intellectual front, *New Youth* published a special issue about the International Workers' Day. It is a long issue of more than four hundred pages[52] with Rodin's sculpture *The Tower of Labor* printed on the cover. Following Li Dazhao's opening article on the origin of the May Day and the labor issue, the second article in the issue provides a group portrait of the May Day Movement in Paris in the previous year, 1919. The article first stresses that the movement was not simply an eight-hour-day movement but a movement with a more awakened class consciousness that called for "on the one hand, the revitalization of the class struggle in France and on the other hand, a protest against the proposal of the Paris Peace Conference to reshape the world order"[53]—two aspects of French workers' appeal that are worth a closer examination. But before moving into this appeal, we need to be aware that China is not the only country for which the year 1919 marks the demarcation between the old and the new as well as the aspiration for a rejuvenation of the social system. In fact, the May Fourth movement in China works as one piece of the jigsaw puzzle that constitutes the global picture of a series of anti-colonial, nationalist, or internationalist popular movements across continents from Egypt to China, Korea, and India to the US and Mexico. "East vs. West, North vs. South, the tensions that would divide the world in the new century first became apparent in 1919," Tyler Stovall comments, as "above all, 1919 was a year of revolution, both actual and potential. Even more than 1968, it was the year during the twentieth century in which the overthrow of the dominant order seemed possible on a global scale."[54] Stovall's insightful remarks on 1919 bring into focus a significant historical passage between 1919 and 1968, a passage that confirms a continuation of

52. Chen insisted that the special issue, despite its length, should be sold at a regular price, which led to the break between Chen and the long-term publisher of *New Youth*, Qunyi Bookstore (群益书社).
53. T.C.I., "The May Day March of Paris in 1919," *New Youth* 7, no. 6 (1920): 10.
54. Tyler Edward Stovall, *Paris and the Spirit of 1919: Consumer Struggles, Transnationalism, and Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.

the task to construct juvenescent spaces and a crucial transnational connection between Shanghai and Paris involved in these turbulent moments.

Knowing this context of global-scale revolutions and social rejuvenations helps us trace why workers in Paris were concerned not only with their own working conditions and class struggle but also with the Peace Conference in which the East and, in today's words, the global south did not get a fair treatment. The post-World War I Paris was gradually resuming its glamour, and during the Peace Conference, it again stood under the spotlight and became, to some extent, "capital of the world." This global spotlight, along with a combination of anti-bourgeois and anti-imperial class awareness, gave workers a cause that transcended their own struggle. They wanted to form an international solidarity and draw "a sense of its own identity from its position as a symbol for the global contrast between Capital and Labor."[55] Around the same time, the Comintern had just come into being and made Paris one of its headquarters: Ho Chih Minh was already an active figure in the Parisian leftists' circle; within a year, Chen Duxiu's two sons, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, among many other Chinese youths, would arrive in Paris. Very soon, the city would become a global center of anti-colonial movements with revolutionary leaders from the Third World joining Parisian workers and leftists. All of these factors contribute to a more obscure image of Paris not as a bourgeois "capital of the world" but as an "anti-imperial capital of the world."[56]

Paris, in the article of *New Youth*, again serves as an inspiration to the workers' movement in China and lets Chinese proletarians—who were still new to the game—know that they have allies even across continents. The article successfully presents to its readers a workers'

55. Stovall, 154.
56. Michael Goebel's book *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* explores Paris with a centripetal force for revolutionaries from the Third World.

Paris during the May Day March when transportations in the city were suspended and small businesses, cafés, and restaurants all closed. In the silence of the city, workers from different industries gathered together and peacefully and calmly marched toward the center of the city. But, "again because of the incitement of the police" as the article explains, riots broke out in Paris. The government summoned its police forces to station at all important boulevards and squares to stop the crowds, but demonstrators broke the police cordon and marched on singing "Internationale."[57] Originally written by Eugène Pottier, the communard who borrowed its title from the International Workingmen's Association (the "First International"), the song signifies simultaneously a revival of the legacy of working-class revolution inherited from the Paris Commune and a re-imaginary of a proletarian global connectivity, which was reenforced by the rise of Soviet Russia and the founding of the Comintern (the "Third International").

This 1919 May Day demonstration in Paris, as Stovall puts it, "stood exactly between the Paris Commune of 1871 and the May movement of 1968, and as we shall see social and political movements in that year bore more than a passing resemblance to both events."[58] In these events, the streets of Paris were taken over by workers who reclaimed their rights to the city. The Haussmann renovation after the Paris Commune made the center of the city gentrified and gradually forced the working class to the periphery banlieues of Paris. The connection between the May Day movement and the Paris Commune is accurately summarized by Stovall:

> The basic pattern of the demonstration was fighting between workers from the outer districts and the suburbs trying to reach the city center, and soldiers and police struggling to force them back. . . . Whereas the fighting that destroyed the Paris Commune in May 1871 represented working-class expulsion from the city center, May Day 1919 symbolized a brief and unsuccessful return from exile.[59]

57. T.C.I., "The May Day March," 25.
58. Stovall, *Paris and the Spirit*, 6.
59. Stovall, 169–70.

The May Day demonstration could hardly be counted as successful from a practical and strategic point of view, yet it disturbed the spatial order and revived the revolutionary tradition of Paris. The urban space of Paris was at this moment once again juvenescent spaces with a transgressive force to challenge the law and order guarded by the police. And with an internationalist desire to connect and unite, the Parisian May Day March provided a model and an inspiration. Not only was Paris rejuvenated at that moment, its spirit of juvenescence was also picked up by workers, students, and intellectuals in Shanghai. Through the lens of the article about this Parisian demonstration in *New Youth*, we can access a materialized connectivity not only between the two cities but also among juvenescent spaces in different historical moments—the Paris Commune, 1919, and 1968—entangling, transforming, and evolving.

In addition to the new development from discursive to urban spaces that connected intellectuals with the proletariat, progressive Chinese intellectuals also ventured into Marxist theories and drew attention from potential allies from beyond the national border. In May 1920, Chen Duxiu started a Marxist study group in his editorial office of *New Youth* on Route Vallon. The majority of its original members were scholars and intellectuals including Zhang Dongsun,[60] the principal of Chinese Public School and editor-in-chief of the *China Times* (时事新报); Dai Jitao, founder of *Weekly Critique* (星期评论); the leftist writer Shen Yanbing (沈雁冰, also known as Mao Dun (1896–1981); and Chen Wangdao (陈望道 1891–1977), who had just returned to Shanghai from Japan with a law degree. They sometimes met at the *New Youth* office, sometimes at the office of *Weekly Critique*, which was located on rue Paul Beau (today Chongqing Middle Road). Chen Wangdao recalls in his memoir that "we lived pretty close to each other in the French Concession, spent a lot of time together having conversations, and

60. Zhang Dongsun later distanced himself from the group and debated with Chen Duxiu about which path to take.

gradually found it necessary to have a communist party in China, then we first started the Marxist Study Group."[61] Then, a salon-style revolutionary network started to sprawl in the French Concession that later became the cradle of the CCP.

This Marxist turn of Chinese intellectuals immediately drew the attention of the Comintern, which was also trying to expand the territory of its ambitious world revolution. Though occasionally downplayed in historical narratives to accentuate the autonomy of the establishment of the CCP, the young Comintern "missionary" Grigori Voitinsky's arrival in Shanghai in May 1920 further altered the dynamic of spatial mobilizations with which the juvenescent space acquired a more concrete global connectivity through the Comintern's network. Voitinsky's meeting with Chen Duxiu in Shanghai led directly to Chen's final conversion to Bolshevism after years of vacillating among different social theories from utopian socialism to liberal democracy. Notably, Voitinsky was only twenty-seven years old when he arrived in China and initiated the first official contact between the Soviet Russia and Chinese revolutionaries. At first sight, it seems that the young man from a Russian-Jewish background did not have enough prestige and experience to instruct Chinese revolutions. Yet, before this significant trip, Voitinsky had already lived in the United States for five years and been closely engaged with activities of the American Socialist Party. His Jewish background and his fluency in English made him a cosmopolitan, a characteristic that helped him communicate smoothly with like-minded cosmopolitan Chinese progressive intellectuals. Moreover, the "cult" of juvenescence, as the title of *New Youth* suggests these intellectuals constituted, also made Voitinsky a trustworthy comrade for them. They described him as "full of young enthusiasm"

61. "Shanghai Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu Zongshu," "上海共产主义小组综述" [Literature Review of the Shanghai Communist Group] in Gongchanzhuyi Xiaozu 共产主义小组 上编 [The Communist Group Vol. 1] edited and published by the Commission for Collecting Chinese Communist Party Historical Data 中共中央党史资料征集委员会编.

and fondly called him “the young Russian fellow.” Chen Duxiu saw him as a trusted friend instead of a coworker or a liaison officer, an emotional attachment that may have also contributed to Chen’s conversion.

Just before Voitinsky’s arrival in Shanghai, Chen Wangdao had finished translating *The Communist Manifesto*, proofread by Chen Duxiu and Li Junhan. It was the first Chinese translation of the entire book. Later, with Voitinsky’s help and the funding from the Comintern, they installed a small printing house, named Renew Again Printing House (又新印刷厂) on rue Lafayette in the French Concession (today Fuxing Middle Road), and an initial one thousand copies were printed and distributed. In addition to members of the Marxist Study Group, Lu Xun and his brother Zhou Zuoren were among the first readers of *The Communist Manifesto* translated by Chen Wangdao. Mao Zedong, in his interview with Edgar Snow, also revealed that he first read *The Communist Manifesto* in the summer of 1920 in Shanghai and eventually “became a Marxist.”

It was also in May 1920 that Mao came to Shanghai and sent some of his friends to France. Around the same time, a work–study mutual aid program was about to be established in Shanghai.[62] This type of youths’ commune was originally promoted by Zuo Shunsheng (左舜生 1893–1969) and Wang Guangqi (王光祈 1892–1936), who were members of the Young China Association—a youth-oriented organization modeled on Mazzini’s Young Italy. As a fad among revolutionary youths who had just witnessed or participated in the May Fourth Movement, mutual aid programs constituted another form of juvenescent space that was directly exhibiting a utopian youth mobilization. On the one hand, by organizing an autonomous and independent

62. A meeting to discuss about establishing a Shanghai Work-Study Mutual Aid group was held in February, 1920. On March 7, they published an advertisement for recruitment on Shenbao.

space for youths to free themselves from the constraint of familial order, it provided a chance for young people to learn to live together, build connection outside their family ties, and imagine an ideal space both for their own development and for the society. On the other hand, it also stressed the importance of combining working with study, which again addressed the importance of filling the gap between manual and intellectual labor, an ideal first proposed by French utopian socialists such as Charles Fourier and which was also promoted by anarchists, Lenin, and later Mao. The May Day special issue of *New Youth* re-addresses the value of manual labor that further promoted work–study mutual aid programs. In the branch of Shanghai in which Mao was a member and organizer, young men and women lived, worked, and studied together at a small commune on Hardoon Road. During these months, Mao was working at a laundry, delivering newspapers, and also participating in reading groups. Like everyone else in the commune, he submitted his earnings to the communal group to be redistributed. This small-scale social and spatial experiment could hardly be sustained in the long term, and soon after some of its members—including active members such as Mao and Peng Shuzhi (彭述之 1895–1983), who returned to Hunan Province—left Shanghai, it disintegrated. Nonetheless, Mao's conversion to Marxism and his participation in the commune during his sojourn in Shanghai in 1920 became a critical moment in laying a path for him as a revolutionary whose destination was neither a utopia nor a simple dystopia, though the latter is more often used to describe Mao's China. A dystopia combined with heterotopia—a space where the law is suspended and replaced by a grand-scale carnivalesque youth mobilization—I would argue corresponds more fittingly with Mao's social experiments and spatial transformations of the socialist China in later years. Further, there would be an often neglected yet interesting link between the juvenescent spaces of Shanghai that lured and to a certain extent transformed the young Mao Zedong and a different

form of juvenescent spaces of Shanghai, during the Cultural Revolution, for instance, which was transformed by Mao.

In addition, we have to admit that young Mao Zedong's conversion was partly achieved by Voitinsky's fruitful trip to China, which dragged Chinese intellectuals and future revolutionary leaders out of the hodgepodge of social theories that were popular in China from anarchism to French Utopian Socialism or Guild Socialism promoted by Bertrand Russell. At the same time, Voitinky also laid the path toward the professionalization and institutionalization of Chinese revolutions. From this moment on, the imaginary Chinese revolution was no longer a discussion topic at private salons but a life-and-death struggle between different possible futures for China. And because of this, the group of progressive intellectuals at the Marxist Study Group who used to be friends though holding different theories started to drift apart and, at a certain moment, became enemies.[63] Assembling supporters across national, class, and party lines, the May Day issue of *New Youth*, to some extent, became a lament for the discursive juvenescent space of the May Fourth era when the space was still fluid and when a common goal of rejuvenating China was not yet to be replaced by antagonism arising from different means to achieve the goal. Simultaneously, as already manifested in Chen Duxiu's shift of focus from theoria to praxis and with the establishment of revolutionary organizations, urban spaces gradually replaced discursive spaces such as journals and newspapers to become the main site of their mobilization and experiments, resulting in some contributors to *New Youth*, especially those who preferred their studies over the streets, distancing themselves from the circle.

Within months of Voitinsky's sojourn in Shanghai, the editorial office of *New Youth* was

63. This is not to put the blame on Voitinsky or the Comintern's presence in China. The Nationalist Party had also started its institutionalization and gradually transformed from an anti-Qing progressive party to a bureaucratic ruling party.

turned into the headquarters of the Shanghai Communist Group, the predecessor of the CCP. And *New Youth*, after the May Day issue, became an official journal of this newly established organization. We could also see Voitinsky's influence in the reorganization because the new cover featured a picture of a globe with two hands joined together across the West and East. Mao Dun explains that it signifies "the solidarity between revolutionary Chinese and Soviet Russia after the October Revolution and also the solidarity of proletariat across the globe." In fact, as Yoshihiro Ishikawa has observed, the picture is almost a replica of the emblem of the American Socialist Party of which Voitinsky was previously a member. Hu Shi, a senior member of the *New Youth* group and who kept a cautious distance from politics, was unhappy with the change and complained that *New Youth* had become a Chinese version of the journal *Soviet Russia*, the official journal attached to Soviet Russia's office in New York.[64]

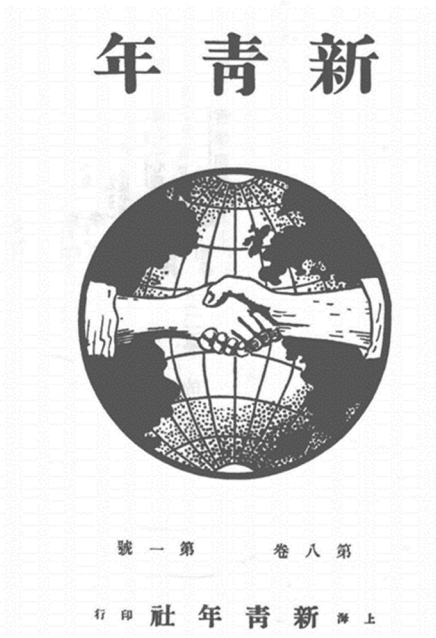

Figure 7. Cover of *New Youth*, vol. 8, no. 1

64. Yoshihiro Ishikawa, *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party*, trans Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 62.

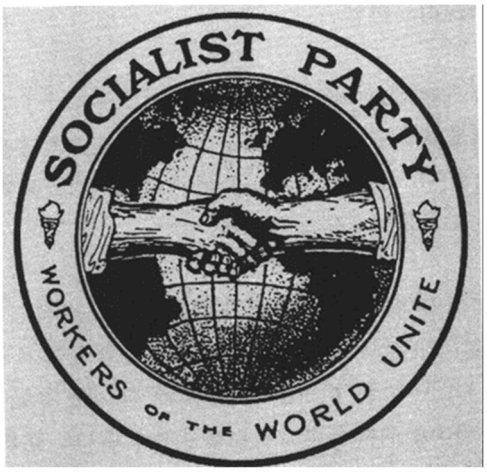

Figure 8. The Emblem of the American Socialist Party

Until this point, *New Youth* was in one way or another connected with a larger global revolutionary network of provided by the Comintern. Though Chinese revolutionaries were not yet seen as a threat to the Western world ideologically and politically, for both Chen Duxiu himself in Shanghai and Chinese student-workers in France, their involvement with a larger community of workers as well as with Soviet Russia, the Comintern, and their mixing with revolutionaries from other countries started to create a transnational connectivity of juvenescent spaces.

IV. *La Jeunesse* in Paris

Paris, again, worked as a hub for young revolutionaries in this emerging global network. After the upheaval of the May Fourth Movement, Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian left Université l'Aurore and set off on their journey to Paris. At the same time, Mao's close friends from his hometown and the New Citizen Association, Cai Hesen, Cai Chang, Xiao Zisheng, Xiao San, Li Lisan, and others, were also about to leave for France. Mao went to Shanghai to see them

off and stayed in Shanghai for a while before returning to Hunan Province, during which time he frequently came to the *New Youth* office to talk with Chen Duxiu.[65] Chen brothers and the group of young people from Hunan province embarked on the same ship on October 31, 1919, and in February of the next year, they arrived in Paris.

These young students who went to France were not quite like most of their peers in the US or Britain who were either holding government scholarships or supported by their well-off families. With only a few exceptions, the majority of students who traveled to France between 1919 and 1925 were student-workers, and they had to struggle between their life at schools and factories. However, more similar to the first generations of reformers and revolutionaries from Liang Qichao and Sun Yat-sen to Chen Duxiu who used to study or live in Japan,[66] student-workers in France were actively engaged in political affairs. A commonly held view, which partly explains the momentum of their political activism, is that Chinese youths who arrived in France through the work-and-study program were more likely to come from moderate social and education backgrounds, which made them more susceptible to revolutionary thoughts. Nevertheless, the Paris révolutionnaire that served as a center for leftists from all over the world, the influence of the flourishing Comintern, and the legacy of the French Revolution all contributed to transforming some of the youths from progressive students without a clear political allegiance into communist revolutionaries. In this spatial sphere, they were both students and proletariat—an identity that allowed them to engage both theoretically by publishing revolutionary journals and practically by working in factories and mingling with

65. There are different reasons why Mao did not go to France with his friends. In his interview with Edgar Snow, Mao himself said that he was more interested in domestic issues. Other sources indicate that in comparison with his friends, such as Xiao Zisheng and Xiao San who later became multilingual and cross-cultural figures, Mao was not particularly interested in and good at learning foreign languages.
66. There has been more scholarly attention on Japan as a favorable location of exiled politicians.

workers.

The work-and-study program was started by a group of anarchists who lived or had liaisons in Paris. Its core founders—Wu Zhihui (吴稚晖 1865–1953), Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Jingjiang (张静江 1877–1950), Li Shizeng (李石曾 1881–1973)—were all early members of Sun Yat-sen's anti-Qing organization, the Chinese United League (同盟会) and later known as "Four Senior Members of the Nationalist Party."[67] In Paris, they were attracted to Peter Kropotkin's mutual aid (entraide) theories. They founded an anarchist group Association du Monde in 1906 and then started their journal, *Le Siècle Nouveau* the next year. Its editorial office was located at 4 rue Broca (now rue Édouard Quénu), which is an inconspicuous narrow alleyway in the Latin Quartier. But for anarchists and scholars who dabble in anarchism, it is an address to remember or repeat in their works. The editorial office of *Les Temps Nouveaux*, the most well-known anarchist newspaper whose regular contributors include a list of illustrious names—Peter Kropotkin, Élisée Reclus, and Pierre Monatte[68]—was located in the same building. Though rarely evoked as such, Paris at this point was still one of the two centers of Chinese anarchists.[69]

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67. Cai was best-known for fostering a liberal and pro-revolutionary cultural sphere as the principal of Peking University, where progressive intellectuals—Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Hu Shi, and so on—asserted their influence through teaching and subsequently led to an awakened generation of youths who became vanguards of the May Fourth Movement. Wu Zhihui arrived in Paris after being exiled for his fierce critique of Empress Dowager Cixi and the Qing government. Wu was an early member of the Chinese United League and Sun Yat-sen's right-hand man. Later, he became one of the senior members of the Nationalist Party and was also seen as Chiang Kai-shek's mentor. Zhang Jingjiang came from a prosperous merchant family and gained an immense wealth through trading goods between China and France. Li Shizeng was the only one of them who received his education in France. He studied at the École Pratique d'Agriculture de Montargis and then the Institut Pasteur. Li utilized his training in agriculture and biochemistry to start a tofu factory, where he provided an opportunity for youths from rural China to work for reasonable hours and take classes in their spare time.

68. For art critics and connoisseurs, the newspaper is also known for illustrations from neo-impressionists Camille Pissarro, Paul Signac, and Maximilien Luce.

69. The other center is Tokyo, where the couple He Zhen (何震), an early feminist activist and her husband philologist Liu Shipei (刘师培) started an anarchist journal *Tien Yee* (天义). Liu was also an early translator of *The Communist Manifesto*. Chen Duxiu became close friends with the couple in Japan, and after Liu passed away in

Members of the Chinese Anarchist Association wanted to transcend the limitation of national borders and embrace an ultimate cosmopolitanism, which they called mondialisme (worldism). As part of the effort to achieve this goal, in 1916, they founded the Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation (华法教育会). On the practical level, Zhang Jingjiang's trading company and Li Shizeng's tofu factory provided job opportunities for youths from humble backgrounds to work for reasonable hours and take classes in their spare time. More ideologically, Cai Yuanpei made a famous declaration of "labor is sacred" in his speech to celebrate the victory of the Allies in WWI in 1918 and brought into the picture a quite utopian vision of work-study mutual aid groups. In short, the original goals of the program present a spatial practice that echoes the legacy of anarchist geography promoted by Kropotkin and Reclus,[70] who called upon a decentralized emancipatory space of mutual aid and voluntary cooperation, one that echoes certain features of juvenescent spaces.

Meanwhile, for the French government, it was an opportunity to attract labor from China, especially given they had already worked closely with the Chinese Labor Corps (Corps de Travailleurs Chinois) in the battlefield during WWI. At the same time, some French diplomats working in China or Paris, according to Nora Wang, also ambitiously planned to train Chinese students in France so that these future administrators of China could become potential consumers of French industrial products and technology.[71] The preference for the French culture and

1919, Chen was in charge of the funeral and arranged for a friend to send He Zhen, who was suffering from schizophrenia, back to her hometown.

70. Though commonly renowned as anarchist activists and philosophers, both Kropotkin and Reclus were academically recognized as geographers: "Reclus was awarded the prestigious Gold Medal of the Paris Geographical Society in 1892 and was appointed chair of the comparative geography at the University of Brussels two years later, whereas Kropotkin was invited to join the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science" (from Simon Springer, *The Anarchist Roots of Geography: Toward Spatial Emancipation*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016, 2).

71. Nora Wang, *Emigration et Politique: Les Étudiants Ouvriers Chinois en France 1919–1945* (Paris: Indes Savantes, 2003), Chinese version 54.

civilization of intellectuals—from Chen Duxiu to Cai Yuanpei—in the New Cultural Movement also helped transform France into a desirable destination for Chinese youths who dreamed of being incorporated into an international network. All these factors combined propelled around 1,600 students to embark on their journey to France from 1919–1920.

The utopian ideals of mondialisme, work-studyism (工学主义), and the mutual aid spirit of anarchism worked as a catalyst for the migration of young people from China to France. Like utopian socialism, lauded by Chen Duxiu in his article on the French civilization, these ideals called for a spatial structure that was renewed by a new conception of division of labor—a fusion of intellectual and manual labor, community construction based on a cooperative principle, and a global order without borders imposed by sovereign powers are all comrades-in-arms to the spatial logic of juvenescence transgression, connectivity, and community. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, anarchism was the major ideology embraced by young Chinese revolutionaries. "Most of those who were to emerge as leaders of the Communist movement in China went through an anarchist phase before they became Marxists,"[72] as Arif Dirlik argues. More importantly, he further explicates that "these anarchist origins may be important to an understanding of how they became Marxists, and also of some features of Chinese Marxism (especially in its Maoist version) that diverged from the Leninist interpretation of Marxism that they espoused formally."[73] Though anarchism was gradually abandoned by Chinese revolutionaries after the May Fourth Movement, Dirlik's revelatory comment points out that to some extent, anarchism gave Chinese Marxism its unique form. In the case of young students traveling to France through the work-and-study program organized by anarchists in Paris, a

72. Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 2.
73. Dirlik, 2.

number of them left France as Marxists: some went to Soviet Russia directly from Paris and some returned to China to work for the newly established CCP. To some extent, it is the anarchist group that built the bridge among progressive youths; Paris, the capital of revolution; and eventually communism—a consequence that the anarchist group with a deep connection with the Nationalist Party did not foresee when they started the Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation.

Another crucial point provided by Dirlik is that anarchism contributes—more than any other new cultural organization—to creating a social space for new youths to move freely, and anarchism promises that not only the ideology but also the quotidian and basic life will be transformed.[74] This connection between ideology and a new conception of social space shows the persistent presence of the spatial logic of juvenescence—a lieu of desire that combines the ideological and quotidian potentiality and is particularly alluring for youths who seek to mobilize the space on both local and global levels.

Before coming to France, Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian considered themselves to be anarchists. Their journey to France was not arranged by Chen Duxiu but by Wu Zhihui, who in his recommendation called them "our fellow party members."[75] In 1920, upon their arrival in Paris, the Chen brothers were immediately recruited by the anarchist group, and with their experiences living in the editorial office of *New Youth* in Shanghai, they soon became indispensable to running a Parisian anarchist journal, *After Work* (工余). Roughly around the same time in Shanghai, Grigori N. Voitinsky, a Russian-Jewish representative of the Comintern, came to China in the guise of a reporter of *Shanghai Life*, a journal set up by a group of Russian Communist Jews in Shanghai.[76] He first contacted Li Dazhao in Beijing and then went to

74. Dirlik, 156.
75. Li Xianheng, Lin Hongnuan, Yang Shaolian, 黎显衡，林鸿暖，杨绍练. Chen Yannian 陈延年 [*A Biography of Chen Yannian*] (Guangdong: Guangdong People's Publishing House, 1985), 11.
76. Frank L. Britton, *Behind Communism* (Los Angeles, California: Noontide Press, 1979), 214.

Shanghai, which later became the main site for his activities in China. In Shanghai, Voitinsky met with Chen Duxiu, Zhang Dongsun (张东荪), the chief editor of *The China Times* (时事新报, 1907–1949), and Dai Jitao (戴季陶), the head of a progressive journal *Weekly Critique* (星期评论, 1919–1920) and also Sun Yat-sen's secretary and a close friend of Chiang Kai-shek. It might be curious for us who see the arranged meetings from afar because the political trajectories of these figures diverge greatly, though they all dabbled or flirted with socialism and communism at the time when Voitinsky visited China. Hu Shi, in a letter to a friend in 1935, disclosed an assumption that if Chen Duxiu had more work to do in Beijing and stayed close to Hu's liberal intellectuals' circle, Chen might not be lured by Voitinsky and would then become a communist after all. But Chen, conveniently at least according to Hu, happened to be in Shanghai to meet with Voitinsky. Hu's assumption looks more like wishful thinking from someone lamenting the loss of a friend, given they drifted apart when Chen became committed to the radical left. It still shows the chaos, or in a more positive term, the high mobility, of the political realm in China during the transitional years.

Also, to some extent, Chen's meeting with Voitinsky laid a path for him to transform from an intellectual and writer to a communist and professional revolutionary. Along with Li Dazhao at Peking University, they recruited young participants of the May Fourth Movement into their newly established unofficial communist group. Zhao Shiyan (赵世炎) was one of the young activists and an early member of the group. Zhao was a charismatic young man who was fluent in both English and French. Before he left Shanghai for France in 1920, he met with Chen Duxiu, and allegedly Chen proposed to him to develop a communist branch in Paris. But not long after Zhao settled down in Paris, the living conditions of student-workers deteriorated. The year 1921 was a particularly turbulent time for student-workers in France for they were to face

difficulties in finding jobs and schools that could accommodate them, partly because of the postwar economic depression and partly because the Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation started to face financial difficulties and stopped making arrangements for students. It was then replaced by Le Comité France-Chinois de Patronage des Jeunes Chinois, a similar organization affiliated to the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique but mainly run by people recruited by Wu Zhihui and his anarchist group. Yet, the problem remained unresolved and an embezzlement scandal drove some poverty-stricken student-workers to go on protest in Paris against the negligence of the organization. The protest ended with police intervention and bore no result; nonetheless, it marks an initial spatial mobilization of Chinese youths in France.

In the same year, with the support of Sun Yat-sen, Cai Yuanpei and Wu Zhihui proposed to start a Chinese university in France. It provided a temporary hope for student-workers who desired to receive formal education. However, they soon realized that the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyon had already recruited students who were either on scholarships or could afford the tuition. In September 1921, Zhao Shiyan and Cai Hesen started another protest, and over 250 disappointed student-workers marched toward Lyon to occupy the school that they were deprived of the opportunity to attend. Chu Minyi (褚民宜), the vice-chancellor of the institution, requested the mayor of Lyon to suppress the movement based on the anti-casseur law. The next morning, about two to three hundred armed police surrounded the school, and about 125 or 130 students, Zhao Shiyan and Cai Hesen included, were arrested and imprisoned in a garrison nearby. Zhao and some other students escaped from the battalion, and eventually about one hundred students were expelled and sent back to China. Among them were several future key figures of the CCP, such as Li Lisan (李立三 1899–1967) and Chen Yi (陈毅). Li Lisan later led workers' movements in Shanghai, Canton, and Wuhan and was then sent to Moscow after the

failure of the Chinese Revolution in the 1920s. Chen Yi, in later life, displayed extraordinary military leadership and served as the first mayor of Shanghai after the city was taken over by the Communist Party. In France, at the unsuccessful "Occupying Institut Franco-Chinois Movement," they got their first taste of youth mobilization in France and experienced their first clash with armed police. The protest in Paris and the occupying movement created an unexpected—and seemingly insignificant—geopolitical connection between Chinese revolutionary centers and Paris and Lyon; this transnational connection was sustained by a youth vitality and a budding revolutionary mindset first aroused by the May Fourth Movement. In addition to the connection itself, which reveals an emerging revolutionary global network, the mobilization of young student-workers in urban spaces and their conflict with the police also exemplifies the logic of juvenescent space facing law and the spatial order.

After they escaped police detention, Zhao Shiyan returned to Paris and had a chance to know the Chen brothers. Already disillusioned by how Wu Zhihui and the anarchist group dealt with student-workers' requests and protests, the Chen brothers were persuaded by Zhao to abandon anarchism and turn to communism. They then moved into a small room in a cheap hotel at 17 rue Godefroy in the 13th arrondissement of Paris and lived under the same roof as Zhao Shiyan, Zhou Enlai (周恩来 1898–1976)[77], and later Deng Xiaoping (邓小平 1904–1997). When the Chen brothers moved into the hotel in the working-class neighborhood, the group of Chinese youths were all in their early twenties. Zhao started to organize a Chinese Communist Youth Group of Europe (旅欧中国少年共产党),[78] which originally had eighteen members including

77. Zhou Enlai was a no less important leader of the Party than Mao and Deng. He served as the premier of Communist China from 1949 until his death, and his language skills and Western knowledge also made him an influential diplomat.
78. Later the name of the group was changed to the Socialist Youth League of China as suggested by Chen Duxiu.

the Chen brothers, Zhou Enlai, and also young activists from Belgium and Germany. The first meeting was held at an open ground at the Bois de Boulogne in the banlieue of Paris, and soon the small hotel around Place d'Italie became the headquarters of their communist group and also the editorial office of a journal they had just started.

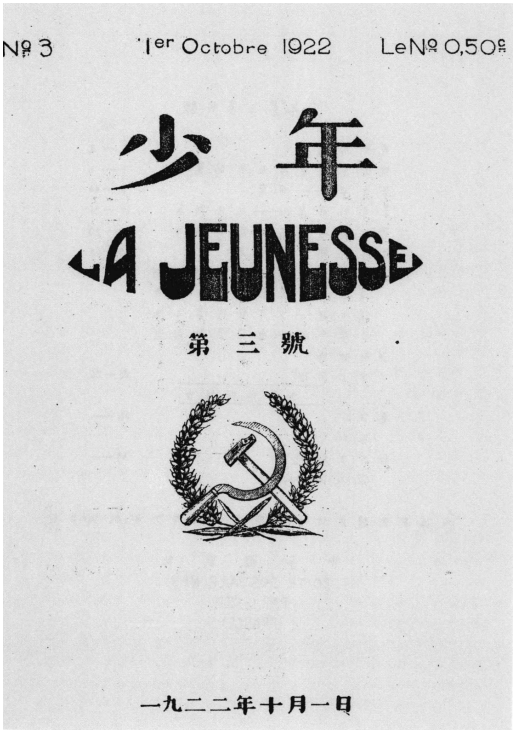

Figure 9. Cover of *La Jeunesse* (Shaonian) Vol. 3

To promote their new cause, the Chen brothers used their expertise in printing and publication to start a journal, *La Jeunesse* (少年), that inherited the original name of *New Youth*. The journal was handwritten without an editorial board. Though the Chen brothers and Zhao Shiyan worked as chief editors, their names were nowhere to be found in the journal except for a mention of a Monsieur Tcheng—it is difficult to tell if this is Chen Yannian or Chen Qiaonian or both—in the correspondence information. Zhou Enlai was a frequent contributor from the

beginning, using the alias Wuhao (伍豪). Following the democratic and anonymous principle of most revolutionary pamphlets, contributors to *La Jeunesse* either stayed anonymous or used an alias, and the journal was circulated among a small circle of like-minded friends. Both features make the Parisian *La Jeunesse* circle—in comparison to the *New Youth* group in Shanghai—more approximate to the Blanchotian "workless community" (*communauté désoeuvré*) that was sustained by a "shared secret," "nocturnal communication," and a small number of friends who through shared reading became "conscious of the exceptional event they are confronted with or dedicated to."[79] In their collective, anonymous, and almost clandestine writings about revolution and communism—though in a young voice of naïveté- we could also see an imaginary of a *commauté* without a sovereign entity or an organizational rigor. Despite the hard truth that there is only a narrow chasm between this workless community of juvenescent space and a more efficient political organization guised in the form of community, it could still work as an antithesis to mature bureaucratic organizations attached to the state and remind us of the origin of an internationalist commons.

In the opening of the second issue, a notice for the eighth Youth International Day (La Journée Internationale des Jeunes) called on proletarian youths to participate in protests. The Young Communist International, a youth organization affiliated to the Comintern, sent out a declaration, which was translated and listed in the notice: "Unite to fight against the attack from the predatory class; struggle to fight against the demonic nationalism; strive to fight against the bourgeois militarism; unite the proletarian adults and youths to face the enemy."[80] Then, the notice put an emphasis on "solidarity, struggle and unity," which means "it is not only the

79. Maurice Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community* (Barrytown, N.Y.: Station Hill Press, 1988), 20.
80. Zhu Shaonian Gongchan Zhuyi 祝少年共产国际 [To the Youth Communist International] in Shaonian 少年 [*La Jeunesse* 2] (Paris: September 1920), 1. (Exact date of the issue is unidentified because the cover of the issue is missing. The first issue of *La Jeunesse* is also missing.)

responsibility of the proletarian youths world-wide, but also the responsibility of our Chinese youths." Ending with "Vive the Youth Communist International! Vive the Proletarian World Revolution! Vive Communist World Republic!",[81] the brief notice displays the desire of Chinese young revolutionaries to transgress nationalism and the existing world order, to incorporate China into a cause of world revolution, and to connect with proletarian youths across the globe. Though naively idealistic and enthusiastically utopian, the notice resonates with the spatial logic of juvenescence and displays the utopian kernel of the concept of juvenescence. The terms "utopia" and "utopian" used here are neither pejorative nor appraisal and neither returning to Thomas More's organic desert island nor ironically referring to Huxley's futuristic *Brave New World*. I do not intend to add more proof to show how easily utopia could lapse into dystopia; neither do I aim at finding an alternative expression—such as in the obscure words of Jean Luc-Nancy, "an outside place that operates at the heart of the real"[82]—at a time when utopia is thought to be infinitely lost. In hindsight, some of the articles published in *La Jeunesse*, especially in early issues, may be seen as showing a lack of profundity, not to mention presenting a carefree, upbeat, and lighthearted tone. But it is exactly such naïveté and sincerity that echo the spirit of juvenescence and turn their utopian impulse into a path toward quotidian practice[83] because utopia, before someone tries to materialize it with force, is a new way to perceive and experience space and time.

For these revolutionary youths in Paris, they found their new way to see the world not only through Paris, the capital of the capitalism, of revolution, and of art and of whimsical dreams, but also through the Comintern, which introduced them to a larger cause as world

81. Zhu, 1.
82. Jean-Luc Nancy, "In Place of Utopia," in *Existential Utopia: New Perspectives on Utopian Thought*, ed. Michael Marder and Patricia Vieira (New York, NY: Continuum, 2012), 10.
83. "La marque de l'utopie, c'est le quotidien" according to Roland Barthes in *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (1971).

citizens and provided them with a global leftist community in which they found a sense of belonging. Before getting in touch with the newly established Chinese Communist Party, Zhao Shiyan, the Chen brothers, and Xiao San (Emi Xiao) joined the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) after being introduced to it by Ho Chi Minh in the autumn of 1922. Xiao San got to know Ho when he was attending a street protest organized by the PCF. In his memoir, he recalls that one day he met a Vietnamese who spoke Cantonese and wrote perfect Chinese. They soon became friends and Ho, who lived nearby, sometimes visited his fellow Chinese revolutionaries at the hotel at Godefroy. Charles Rappoport, the Jewish intellectual and communist activist, organized seminars on Marxism and the Comintern for young Chinese revolutionaries. They also got to know Marcel Cachin, known as a communist politician and the editor of *L'Humanité*.[84]

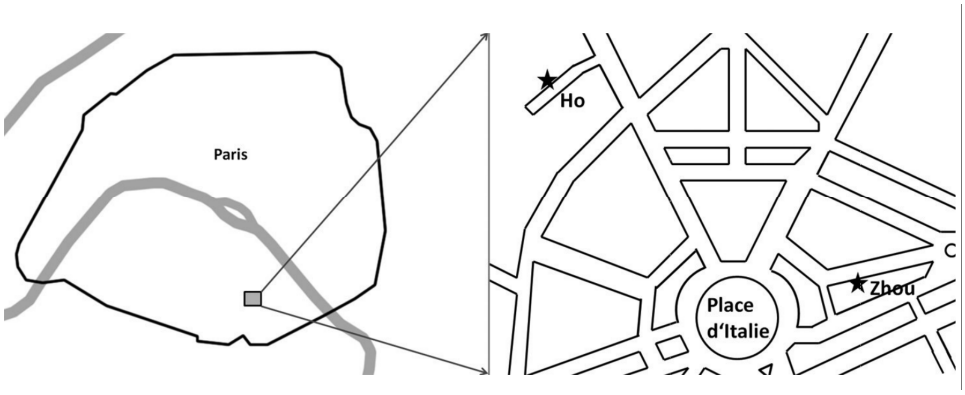

Figure 10. Addresses of Ho Chi Minh and Zhou Enlai in Paris, 1919–24[85]

From the second issue to the thirteenth (also the last) issue, about twenty-two articles and notices concerning various global revolutionary activities appeared in *La Jeunesse*, which cover

84. Wang, *Emigration et Politique*, 136.
85. Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism, Global and International History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 2.

a wide range of activities from the notice to celebrate the Youth International Day to notes from the 4th World Congress of the Communist International (November–December, 1922) to a speech about the development of the Chinese revolution by Sen Katayama, an officer of the Comintern and a cofounder of both the Japanese Communist Party and American Communist Party. *La Jeunesse* also translated and published articles by Comintern leaders: Trotsky on the revolutionary strategy, the October Revolution, and the 4th World Congress; Victor Serge's reflections on the five years since the October Revolution; Solomon Lozovsky on the proletarian dictatorship; Vladmir Adoratsky on Marxist dialectics; and more. The Comintern at this moment—when Lenin was still alive; Trotsky was as popular, if not more so, as Lenin among Chinese revolutionaries[86]; and Stalin's name was still nowhere to be found in their journals—worked as a beacon that reminded Chinese revolutionary youths that they were part of the grand project that, given time, would incorporate China, still under imperial oppression, into a new global order beyond the colonial and imperial global system. However, soon they would witness the change of power dynamic and political orientation within the Comintern, and as a consequence, some of these young revolutionaries had to bear the bitter ending of the collaboration between Chinese communists and the Comintern. But at the same time, the ending also canceled the center-periphery relationship between urban and rural mobilizations in the Chinese revolution and thus gave an opportunity for a spatial shift from the urban to the rural, laying the ground for Mao's rise to power.

In the cultural field, a loosely connected leftist writers' and artists' global alliance was also taking shape. In the third issue of *La Jeunesse*, an easily neglected but particularly

86. From Li Dazhao's comments on Trotsky in New Youth, we could get a glimpse of how first Trotsky's more radical position resonated with the desire of Chinese intellectuals to overcome the backwardness of China and to radically break with its past. Also, Trotsky's internationalist predilection was also more appealing to revolutionary youths and intellectuals with a cosmopolitan background.

interesting advertisement is printed on the last page. It is to publicize a bimonthly journal, *Clarté Universitaire*. The advertisement explains how this journal is related to but also different from the journal *Clarté*, named after the organization to which it is affiliated. The author of the advertisement praises *Clarté* for having a communist perspective, and according to the author, Trotsky's review of Marcel Martinet's[87] play *La Nuit*, published in issue 22 of the *Clarté*, best exemplifies the progressive position of the journal.[88] The relationship between *Clarté* and *Clarté Universitaire* could be paralleled with that between *New Youth* and *La Jeunesse* because the former were forums of progressive and prestigious writers and intellectuals and the latter were "tribune[s] libre" edited by young students and workers with the aim to enlighten youths.

The journal *Clarté* was a publication attached to the Clarté Group, originally a pacifist, anti-nationalism, and pro-internationalism intellectuals' community. On October 11, 1919, the first issue of *Clarté* was published and declared the group's statute: "a league of intellectual solidarity for the triumph of the international cause." Henri Barbusse, its main organizer, was ambitious in recruiting intellectuals and writers around the world and worked to build bridges between the Comintern and the intellectual circle. Romain Rolland was originally a member but then detached himself from the group. Without Rolland, the list of the committee still bears illuminous names across continents: Thomas Hardy, Upton Sinclair, H. G. Wells, Stefan Zweig, just to name a few. To expand its territory, Henri Barbusse also sent a letter and a brochure of *Clarté* to Chen Duxiu in Shanghai, inviting Chen to consider the possibility of founding a Clarté branch in China.[89] The letter, along with the brochure, was confiscated by the police of the

87. Marcel Martinet was from an Italian and Polish-Jewish household. He was a personal friend of Trotsky and an early member of the French Communist Party.
88. Xinkan chuban yugao Shaonian 新刊出版预告. Shaonian 少年 [*La Jeunesse* 3] (Paris: October 1, 1922), 37.
89. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères : AD 32CPCOM 197, 25.

French Concession.[90] Thus, it is hard to trace if Chen was ever interested in the proposal. The intellectual trajectory of the *Clarté* group then took tortuous turns as committee members first debated over if it should be officially affiliated to the Comintern and then split over choosing sides between Stalin and Trotsky. Despite the disagreements, the journal's contributors were almost unanimously sympathetic to the proletariat and supported the internationalist cause of the Comintern. Similar to those Chinese writers contributing to *New Youth*, they were all, at the transitional period, "fellow travelers of the revolution" if put in Trotsky's term. The brief advisement also brought about the role of the Comintern in building a global leftist cultural network. Its temptation rested upon the internationalist ethos it displayed, but it was not tempting enough to create a centripetal force to dispel the "worklessness" that defined this type of anti-authoritarian *communauté de l'écriture*. But it was exactly the incompletion and lack of center of the cultural project of the Comintern—as the incomplete Tatlin's Tower that Steven Lee analyzes in *Comintern Aesthetics*—that kept the utopian dream intact. Instead of turning into a hierarchical, centralized, and bureaucratic system, the global leftist intellectuals' and artists' network, like the fate of *Clarté*, did not realize its internationalist aspiration but gained a rhizomic structure with connections built at unexpected circumstances and lines of flight reaching unexpected places.[91]

For these young revolutionaries, the issue of education remained a major concern. Further, the theoria and praxis duality became a more perplexing conundrum for student-workers who were easily frustrated by the impossibility of balance. In this context, Lenin's speech "The Tasks of Youth League," which was translated and serialized in the first four issues, provided guidance and reassurance to the bewildered youths. In the address, Lenin summarizes that "to

90. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 12.
91. In Chapter 3, I will pick up this thread to trace the internationalist mobilizations.

learn" is the task of all youths, especially members of the Youth League. He stresses that to learn is not merely to know everything about communism or, in the worst case, only about communist slogans. On the one hand, to learn is to absorb "book knowledge" in old schools—"only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture."[92] On the other hand, Lenin explains that "*communis* is the Latin for 'common.' Communist society is a society in which all things—the land, the factories—are owned in common and the people work in common."[93] So, to learn is also to get trained in factories, to work in vegetable gardens, to mobilize in villages or city blocks, to be laborers and learn to work together. Lenin's explication of communist society brings back the ideal of public ownership and a fusion of intellectual quest and down-to-earth labor, both of which may lead to a realization of a community and an ethics of working together—a dimension that would supplement the practically elusive theorem of "being-together" (*être-ensemble*) and "living-together" (*vivre-ensemble*) that Jean-Luc Nancy developed to illustrate the concept of *communauté*. Student-workers in France were to some extent practitioners of these principles, which again coincide with the spatial logic of juvenescence. They worked in factories alongside each other, lived together, and built their own community in Paris, a city that they rarely had a chance to relish, and even managed to become a part of the global leftists' network. In 1923, Zhao Shiyan and Chen Yannian left Paris to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) in Moscow. Chen Qiaonian returned to China the following year to work as a liaison officer of the young Chinese Communist Party. Zhuo Enlai and Deng Xiaoping took over the editorship of their Parisian revolutionary journal,

92. Vladimir Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31 (https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/oct/02.htm).
93. Ibid.

whose name was changed to *Red Light* (赤光).

Half a century later, after decades of isolation, for the first time, the Chinese government sent a delegation, which was led by Deng Xiaoping, to the UN General Assembly. When Deng Xiaoping flew back to Beijing by way of Paris, he asked his team to drive him to find the hotel. The car was circling around Place d'Italie, a bustling square with eight streets and avenues radiating from it, but failed to find the hotel.[94] Rue de Godefroy is a narrow street almost hidden in a corner, and when Deng was trying to find it, the cobblestone street had just been tarred, which made it harder to locate. In 1979, a commemorative plaque for Zhou Enlai[95] was installed at the original site of the hotel. The Chinese characters of Zhou's name are a calligraphy of Deng himself, a kind gesture to an old friend who had passed away and also a homage to their youth and "origin story" in Paris. But in 1922, when they were cramming in small hotel rooms—Deng sometimes slept on the floor of Zhou's room—it would seem to be a distant dream that one day the CCP, which had only dozens of members, most of whom were young and neither wealthy nor powerful, would go through the ordeal of suppression and wars and those who survived would finally rise to power. And we may also ponder if Zhou during the Cultural Revolution, or Deng after he devised the economic reforms and suppressed the Tian'anmen Square Protests, looking back at their years in Paris dreaming of the future of themselves and of a young China, would think of it as a dream fulfilled or a dream failed.

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94. Deng also asked his secretary to buy two hundred croissants and cheese to bring back to Beijing and distribute among his friends and colleagues, Zhou Enlai, and a long list of high officials of the Party, who used to live and study in France when they were young. This anecdote about Deng, if accurate, reveals a secret desire suppressed by the over-two-decade-long isolation and makes his later image as the chief engineer of the open-door policy and economic reform more approachable. Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 86.

95. The plaque features a head portrait of Zhou with the inscription 周恩来 Chou En-laï 1898–1976 HABITA CET IMMEUBL LORS DE SON SEJOUR EN FRANCE de 1922 à 1924. The calligraphy of Chinese characters was written by Deng. The year when the plaque was installed was also the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France. Deng Yingchao (邓颖超), Zhou Enlai's wife, went to Paris for the celebration and visited the hotel accompanied by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the president of France.

Chapter 2

The Red Underground: The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary Networks in Imperial Law and Policing

It was in an inconspicuous building around Route Vallon in the French Concession of Shanghai that Chen Duxiu's editorial office of *New Youth*, which soon became the center of the revolutionary network, was resettled after the May Fourth Movement. Chen's arrest in Beijing during the movement marks a shift of focus from a discursive space—with *New Youth* being its front line—to a call for urban mobilization and spatial rejuvenation. For instance, in the "Manifesto of Citizens of Beijing"[96] that got him arrested, he called for transforming the police force into a self-organization of citizens—a radical mobilization to subvert the existing spatial order. After being bailed out, Chen returned to Shanghai. Though no longer a fervent Francophile, he still found himself cozily settled in the familiar quartier of the French Concession, a few blocks away from the previous editorial office of *New Youth*. Maybe not so cozily, Chen might have also found himself caught up in a more complex social and spatial sphere in Shanghai—in comparison with Beijing—where "transforming the police" would involve the French *consul générale*, warlords, and gang bosses sitting together and deciding what "police and policing" meant in specific contexts. Beginning with these unique social and spatial contexts of Shanghai, in this chapter I exhibit first the transition of *New Youth* from a discursive front line to a center of revolutionary urban mobilizations around the French Concession, then explore the semi-colonial legal system and policing in archival and literary texts—especially André Malraux's *La Condition Humaine* (1933)—that further complicate the logic of

96. The Manifesto has been discussed in more detail on page 43 of Chapter 1.

juvenescent spaces in a legal context, and end with a debate between Trotsky and Malraux on legitimation, justice, and the Chinese Revolution between 1925 and 1927.

Chen Duxiu's relocation to Shanghai in 1919 to some extent reflects a distinction between Beijing and Shanghai in terms of their political atmosphere—Beijing being the political center of the Beiyang Government and Shanghai a politically decentered industrial port city. By the year 1920, Shanghai had already become a nodal city of commerce and finance in Asia, enjoying advantages rendered to it by the colonial global economic and political system. To say that Shanghai in this era was a politically decentered city is not to imply a lack or even a void of power, but to accentuate a fact that there were so many powerhouses that together they also created grey areas where the confusion of spatial organization inadvertently provided space for revolutionary mobilizations.

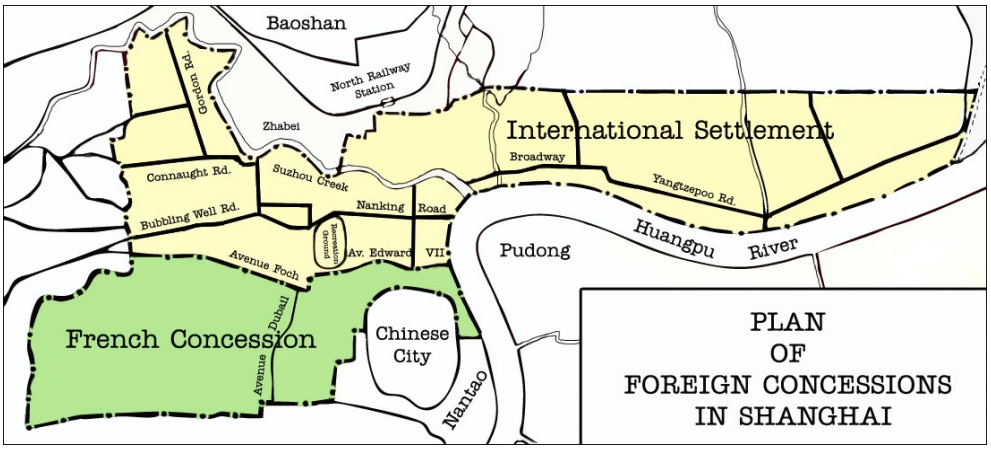

Figure 11. Plan of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai

In a broader sense, Shanghai at that time could at least be divided into three municipalities with a patchwork of multiple and sometimes competing jurisdictions—the Chinese Zone, the International Settlement, and the French Concession. The first settlement was occupied by the British after the First Opium War (1839–1842). It was followed by the United

States and France, which also carved out their territories in Shanghai. Though strictly speaking, unlike other colonies, these territories were still subject to Chinese sovereignty, the extraterritorial jurisdiction granted these spaces the privilege to be above the Chinese law. At first, the three main imperial powers in Shanghai established the Shanghai Municipal Council to organize their extraterritorial urban areas. Soon, owing to radically different governing methods, the French withdrew from the coalition to run the French Concession according to their own design. Britain and the United States then combined their territories into the Shanghai International Settlement located along the Bund—the financial center of Shanghai. Following a more liberal-leaning and autonomous governance, the International Settlement was run by the Shanghai Municipal Council, whose board members, mostly Britons, were selected by a Ratepayers' Meeting. Marie-Claire Bergère comments that the International Settlement and the French Concession were "in competition and cooperation simultaneously,"[97] with the former deploying a British liberal system controlled by oligarchs trying to gain financial benefits while the latter inherited the Jacobin tradition with bureaucrats claiming to serve the Republican ideal.[98] In general, these extraterritorial urban spaces in Shanghai enjoyed a similar spatio-political privilege granted by colonial legal systems while also maintaining differences of government between the Anglo-American and the French models.

Under the guidance of such different governmentalities, the International Settlement was in a better financial situation and its real estate prices were significantly higher than other areas in Shanghai; the French Concession, in contrast, was controlled by the consulate and financially subject to support from the French Foreign Ministry. In terms of the urban planning of the French Concession, almost every minute aspect of the municipal development needed to go

97. Marie-Claire Bergère, *Histoire de Shanghaï* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 123.
98. Bergère, 123.

through the bureaucratic system of the Foreign Ministry.[99] As a result, the French Concession, on the one hand, displayed more colonial features because it was directly controlled by the *consul général* and thus the French government, especially in comparison to the autonomous system run by businessmen in the corresponding area of the International Settlement. On the other hand, it also resulted in a different management concerning the public and private spaces in urban planning. Though the French Concession was more bureaucratic and less efficient from an economic point of view, its system also reflected "the cultural and political ideology since the French Revolution of 1789," which valued equal access to public facilities brought by the development of science and technology.[100] In the International Settlement, only those people who could afford tap water could enjoy the convenience of such services, but the French consulate bought tap water from the British company and provided it to all who were living in the French Concession despite their nationalities and financial status.[101] This different conceptualization of the private and the public of urban spaces partly explains why the red network, an exemplary juvenescent space, was spreading in the French Concession and partly alludes to the very idea of the commons, a concept that would be constantly conceptualized and reconceptualized in urban praxis in both Shanghai and Paris across the twentieth century.

Indeed, underneath the "rosy" camouflage of French-style urban commons—carefully designed Haussmann avenues, elegant parks and green areas, cafés, and a more equal access to the public facilities—the French Concession was plagued by financial difficulties in that such massive public constructions were supported mainly by limited funding from the government,

99. For instance, the general municipal administration of the French Concession introduced real estate regulations on how houses were to be built in the community. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM58, 801.
100. Bergère, *Histoire de Shanghaï*, 132.
101. An example could be found in a lengthy negotiation on providing water facilities to all residents between the French Concession and a British company. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 32CPCOM61.

and they could hardly compete with the Britons and Americans in finance, trade, and industry. Consequently, the French Concession gradually became the heart of entertainment in Shanghai with theaters, restaurants, clubs, and also brothels (or "sing song" houses), casinos, and opium houses, all of which in turn fostered an underworld of gangsters in the semi-colonial urban setting. Parallel to the glamorous façade of the Parisian-like street view and the shady underworld controlled by notorious criminal masterminds, political dissenters, progressive intellectuals, and revolutionaries also preferred to take refuge in the French Concession primarily because Chinese police and officials did not have jurisdiction in the area and also because it was more affordable and culturally attractive than the International Settlement. In terms of publishing, the general impression that the French culture values freedom of speech also made it an ideal place for Chinese intellectuals to start journals or run publishing houses.

In this context, Chen Duxiu chose to relocate his editorial office of *New Youth* in the French Concession. But after the May Fourth Movement, his journal further deviated from its original course of the New Culture Movement during which period of time the French civilization was still the beacon for progressive Chinese intellectuals. Would the journal enjoy the same level of freedom with a pro-Bolshevik position? If not, what role did the French Concession assume in the ideological clash? And above all, how did the juvenescent space of a network of revolutionaries, with an inherent tension with the police and judicial order, come into being and add yet another layer of lasting myth to the semi-colonial urban texture?

I. Revolutionary Urban Mobilization in Mixed Policing and Jurisdiction

As Chinese revolutionaries' mobilization moved into the urban space of education, the

police in the French Concession immediately followed their movements. In August 1920, the Foreign Language Institute (外国语学社) for young people to learn English, Russian, Japanese, and with plans to teach French and German was established at No. 6 Xinyuyangli (新渔阳里), rue Joffre, a site that was also the headquarters of the Socialist Youth Corps and a meeting place of the Shanghai Mechanics' Union. According to Yoshihiro Ishikawa, "in fact, it served as a shelter for movement students from many places, who were enamored of Chen Duxiu and others and appeared in Shanghai, and for young people who had run away from home because of old-fashioned family strictures; it also functioned as a site through which those wishing to study abroad in Soviet Russia would pass."[102] Ishikawa also points out that some of the students who were studying at the Foreign Language Institute were also learning Esperanto at the New China Esperanto School, which was founded by V. Stopani, an Italian Esperantist born in Russian and who claimed to be simultaneously an anarchist and a Bolshevik. This new development of educational spaces in Shanghai first presented, maybe indirectly, the attraction of urban life to youths because it was attractive not only in itself but also as a space where youths were no longer bound by the familial law. The popularity of foreign languages and Esperanto among youths[103] also symbolizes the extremely cosmopolitan atmosphere of Shanghai, which in turn encouraged Chinese intellectuals and youths to transcend the nationalist mentality, a mentality that concurs with the spatial logic of juvenescence. Yet, soon the Foreign Language Institute drew attention from the police of the French Concession. In April 1921, an agent got information about a secret gathering at the institute to prepare a May Day March. They raided the site and carefully searched for incriminating materials but only confiscated students' books and some pamphlets on

102. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 169.
103. In fact, progressive intellectuals like Dai Jitao and Chen Duxiu, among other intellectuals with anarchist tendencies, all learned Esperanto.

the May Day activities left at the institute by workers.[104]

Voitinsky, who came to China in 1920, left Shanghai in early 1921, probably to report his trip to China.[105] In June, the Comintern sent a more experienced representative, Henk Sneevliet (known as "Maring"), along with Nikolski, to work with Chinese revolutionaries. Maring was widely known to be the main organizer of the First National Congress of the CCP and for being the witness to its official establishment. The meetings were originally held at Li Hanjun's (李汉俊 1890–1927)'s Maison, a Shikumen-style building at No. 3 Shudeli (树德里), rue Amiral Bayle in the French Concession until a secret agent followed by a group of policemen—French and Chinese—and interpreters interrupted their meeting on July 30. In August, Chen Gongbo (陈公博 1892–1946), one of the participants of the meetings, published an essay in *New Youth*. Though the essay, titled "Huangpu River in a Ten-Day Trip," (十日旅行中的春申浦) was camouflaged as his travelogue to Shanghai, the details of the trip neatly overlapped with the process of the meeting and thus the article is often treated as a historical source to reenact the critical event today. In the article, Chen Gongbo recalls that after their meeting was interrupted, the police searched the house thoroughly. Chen Gongbo told the police that the two foreigners—Maring and Nikolski—were English, not Russian communists as the police suspected. After searching Li Hanjun's house, which held English books on Marxism, a French police officer smiled at them and said:

> From your book collection, I can see that you are socialists. I suppose socialism may be beneficial for China in the future. But considering that education has not yet been widespread, it could be dangerous to promote socialism now. I could have evacuated your house and arrested you today, but I can see that you are

104. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM592.
105. Yoshihiro Ishikawa, *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party*, 109.

intellectuals with social status. So, I have to make an exception.[106]

Ultimately, no one was arrested in the unexpected face-off with the police. Chen Gongbo writes that he even felt flattered to be thought of as a socialist, especially given he thought himself immature in revolutionary theory. But after he waved his friends goodbye and walked onto the street, he noticed that there were always one or two agents following him. It may be difficult to verify the accuracy of Chen Gongbo's narrative concerning the intrusion of the police into their meeting. But considering that it was written almost immediately after the event with a fresh memory and that it does not contradict recollections from other participants, we could get a general impression that the police of the French Concession at this time frequently carried out surveillance and searches but was not particularly ruthless in dealing with revolutionary intellectuals. Yet, this direct clash between the police and the juvenescent space in formation highlights their prolonged conflict in the spatial organization and mobilization of the French Concession in Shanghai.

Chen Gongbo's account could be further confirmed by the surveillance strategy that is almost identical, undertaken by the Prefecture of Paris around the same time. It was also in 1921 that Ho Chi Minh (then using the alias Nguyen Ai Quoc), in Paris, was under extremely close surveillance to the extent that his Chinese friends, such as the Chen brothers—Chen Duxiu's two sons—started to appear in police reports. Sarraute, head of the Parisian Préfecture de Police, discussed with his lieutenant whether they should deport Ho Chi Minh back to Vietnam. They then "concluded that it was better to monitor Quoc in Paris than to send him back to Indochina: 'A Nguyen Ai Quoc unmasked and kept under surveillance by the Metropolitan police, we

106. Chen Gongbo, Shiri lvxing zhong de Chunshenpu, 十日旅行中的春申浦 [Huangpu River in a Ten-Day Trip], *New Youth* 9, no. 3: 9–10.

cannot wish for better than that,'" writes one of the Sarraute's men.[107]

This type of surveillance, which we could find in Shanghai and Paris at that time, manifests that more of a governmentality grew and developed in the French legal and police system than merely a strategic choice. Paris is allegedly among the first cities equipped with a modern police force. Both surprisingly and unsurprisingly, Gabriel Nicolas de La Reynie, the father of the modern French police system, was not from a military background; instead, he was a "man of law" born into a family of lawyers and magistrates and then married into another legal family. Before becoming the first *lieutenant-général de police* of Paris in 1667, La Reynie worked as president of courts in Bordeaux. The Paris of Louis XIV's reign was one of the most dangerous cities in Europe and was notoriously overcrowded and filled with crime. For La Reynie, the primary goal was "to re-establish the order in the streets as in texts." His role was not limited to fighting and reducing crimes, and restructuring the police force, but also took in reorganizing and reforming the cityscape with "the unprecedented authority Louix XIV granted him," which allowed him to operate "as police chief and as the equivalent of mayor."[108] In a letter to Pierre Séguier, Louis XIV's chief of staff, La Reynie writes: "We are making progress every day on police matters. Much good will come of it, even more so because it will be done without resistance. This will give all inhabitants of this city reason to be grateful that the king wanted to establish law and order in Paris."[109]

Issuing one ordinance after another, he made Paris a cleaner city by imposing taxes on cleaning and maintenance of streets, as well as a "safer" city by tackling la Cour de Miracle—spaces in Paris outside of the law that housed vagabonds, beggars, prostitutes, and refugees. He

107. David Crowe, *Hemingway and Ho Chi Minh in Paris: The Art of Resistance* (Fortress Press, 2020), 119.
108. Holly Tucker, *City of Light, City of Poison: Murder, Magic, and the First Police Chief of Paris*, Illustrated edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), Kindle version 33.
109. Tucker, 33.

even transformed the dark and dangerous nights, during which people feared to go out, into a rebranding of Paris as the city of lights by "issuing an ordinance imposing public lighting in the city": "We order that, starting the last day of this coming October, candles will be lit in all streets and public places of the city and its surroundings."[110] Through a series of efforts, La Reynie not only reinforced his urban law enforcement but also established a police network in the city through which every corner of Paris was under his surveillance. In addition to a reformed and unified police force under his control who needed to report to him daily, he also hired people from different backgrounds to work as agents and provide information for him.

La Reynie's role as a judge-police chief-mayor, for one thing, manifests how in the origin of the modern police in France, the roles of law, police, municipality, and urban spaces were tightly entangled with each other. For the other, his obsession with gathering information by surveillance also displayed a tendency in the governing tactics of surveillance. In the mid-eighteenth century, according to Clive Emsley, "Paris appeared the best-policed city in Europe; one Lieutenant of the Paris police allegedly boasted that when three persons gathered for a conversation, one of them was sure to be his agent."[111] The art of policing, or in other words, "the science of governing men" according to Commissaire Lemaire,[112] lies not in direct confrontations with criminals but in "a permanent, exhaustive, omnipresent surveillance," which is the comment Foucault made about Parisian police from the eighteenth century.[113]

This governmentality was transplanted to the French colonies, as shown in the case of the interrupted First Congress of the CCP and the surveillance of its participants. The French

110. Tucker, 37.
111. Clive Emsley, Policing and Its Context, 1750–1870 (London: Macmillan, 1983), 1.
112. John M. Merriman, Police Stories: Building the French State, 1815–1851 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 6.
113. Emsley, *Policing and Its Context*, 6–7.

colonizers were also quite experienced in localizing the practice to be more efficient by hiring local informants and working with local gangs that already had their own surveillance networks. During WWI, a large number of the French police in Shanghai were summoned back to Europe, and the police of the French Concession started to hire more Chinese to fill the vacancies.[114] Because most residents of the French Concession were Chinese, a Chinese inspector, Huang Jinrong (黄金荣 1868–1953), utilized his position as a high-ranking Chinese inspector in the French police system to gradually develop his underworld industries of entertainment and opium trading in the French Concession. And by using public spaces such as tea houses, casinos, and brothels as fronts, some of the police work and criminal activities started to overlap in the urban space because they both required intensive surveillance and shared information with each other.

In many cases, juvenescent spaces emerge, develop, and transform under constant tension or even conflicts with the law and order of the space, which includes municipal ordinances, urban law enforcement of the police, and of course, surveillance. Thus, juvenescent spaces are rarely an isolated utopia or a desert island free from all constraints. Instead, they cohabit, if not in a symbiosis system, in urban spaces with the invisible network of surveillance,[115] and it is through affirmative acts—directly facing the law and order—not an escapist gesture or withdrawal that they redefine spatial practice and even a new form of being in the space. And in the process, as I have briefly argued in the first chapter, such transgressive spatial practices along with the imaginary of new spatial configurations beyond the existing law and order also bear the critical question on a legal logic behind such spatial issues.

For one thing, the emergence of juvenescent spaces challenges the spatial order guarded

114. There was a hierarchy in the police station with the French at the highest rank followed by Russian, Chinese, and Vietnamese.
115. Bruno Latour in his book *Paris Invisible* presents the idea of invisible networks in urban spaces.

by the urban law and the police. For instance, according to one ordinance of the French Concession, all public gatherings needed to be reported to the municipal administration (Conseil d'Administration Municipale de la Concession Française) to gain approval. This is why the whole network of printing, publishing, education, and meetings of Chinese communists was operated either in disguise or in a clandestine manner, which eventually led to the rise of an underground revolutionary network—a juvenescent space—in the French Concession. And the coexistence of this network in urban spaces with the French municipal planning—residential areas, cafés, restaurants, clubs—and urban law as well as the criminal underworld of opium houses, brothels, and gangsters presents to us that the great multiplicity and heterogeneity of semi-colonial spaces disturbed its urban law enforcement and inadvertently provided an opportunity for juvenescent spaces to emerge and challenge both the law and the practice of law.

For another, and taking a step further, in this urban space where the colonial extraterritoriality—a privilege of imperial powers in China—is one form of being above the law; and powerful criminal organizations, to which colonizers acquiesced in their presence and even cooperated with them, existed as another form of being above or outside of the law, we would ask what the legal logic is behind this peculiar practice of law in the semi-colonial concession; why most revolutionary mobilizations were categorized as illegal and heavily monitored while certain criminal activities were accepted with acquiescence; how the word "lawlessness" could be incorporated into this context and what role the "legal orientalism" played in the spatial management; and in the end, as opposed to a colonial legal system, how a legal logic of juvenescence redefined the word "international" and "cosmopolitan" in legitimization and legal practices beyond national borders.

In seeking to unravel these questions, I aim to approach the aforementioned legal

issues—urban law, international law in a colonial system, and the framing of "lawlessness"—in both temporal and spatial configurations of Shanghai. And I argue that on the one hand, the surveillance governmentality and designation of lawlessness to the other inadvertently provided a grey area for the revolutionary network to flourish; and on the other hand, the revolutionary spatial mobilization and a juvenescent imaginary of the global order also fundamentally challenged the legitimacy of both local and global governmentality of imperial powers and redefined the boundaries between law and lawlessness.

Though the May Fourth Movement in 1919, as an anti-imperialist movement, did make officials and the police of the French Concession more alert to youths' mobilization in their territory, it was not until 1922 that the consulate of France in China started to send official reports on Actions Révolutionnaires to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France. The first and also the most minutely reported "affaire" concerning revolutionary actions was the second time when Chen Duxiu was arrested in his residence in the French Concession and the subsequent court case at the French Mixed Court. By using this case as an example, I aim to reveal certain aspects of how the police and the mixed court worked and what their attitudes were toward the mobilization of the Communist Party in its nascent stage.

The first report was from Auguste Wilden, the consul général de France in Shanghai to Monsieur Poincare, president du conseil at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 4, 1922. The main purpose of the report was to communicate about the litigation against Chen Duxiu, "who seems to be the leader [of] the Chinese Communist Party."[116] In the report, Wilden specifically calls attention to the annex no. 15, which is a list of contacts the French police assembled from the letters they seized from Chen's residence—contacts who were living or

116. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM197, 9.

studying in France. As such, he writes that the *sûreté générale*, a branch of political police inherited from Napoleon III's Second Empire, may be interested in the information. Following this brief report, Wilden sent a letter with more detailed explications of the affair the next day. He first points out that Chen Duxiu had already stood trial once in front of the French Mixed Court in October 1921 after the police acquired brochures and publications that may have endangered the public security. In that previous trial, Chen was soon released and only needed to pay a fine. This time, according to Wilden, the police were informed by an anonymous letter that Chen Duxiu was distributing certificates and armbands that would implicate the bearers in Russian Bolshevist circles and that Chen was also plotting a workers' uprising. Again, Chen stood trial and paid a fine. Wilden added that "a stricter individual surveillance is needed and Chen should be placed under caution."[117] In the report, Wilden also emphasizes, the list of "addresses of Chinese who live abroad and correspond with the communist Chen Duxiu"[118]—naturally, the first contacts are the Chen brothers (Tchen Frères on the list)—needs more attention from the Parisian police. From another perspective, the list also manifests the crucial connection between Shanghai and Paris in the early mobilizations of the CCP. This also explains why the Chen brothers' names started to appear in the police surveillance list and reports of Paris from 1922—it was a global revolutionary network vis-à-vis a transnational police system in the colonial system. Further, a list of journals and letters confiscated at Chen's address would further confirm the face-to-face conflict between the two modalities of "global" networks. Wilden explains that he "thought that it was necessary to enclose with copies of certain documents that prove the close relationship between the Chinese communists and their comrades in Europe":

> No. 1 A letter from Mr. Barbusse with a brochure of "Clarté" (annex no. 6); No. 2 A letter from someone named Ta Chen of Washington (annex no. 7); No. 3 A copy

117. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 9.
118. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 9.

> of the German journal *Jugend Internationale* (annex no.8); No. 4 A copy of the *Russian Press Review* (annex no. 8); No. 6 A copy of *The Communist* (annex no. 11); No. 7 A copy of *Bulletin des Dritten Congress International* (annex no. 12); No. 8 A copy of the *Soviet Russia* (annex no. 12); No. 9 An armband (annex no. 14)[119]

Through the list of journals and pamphlets that were confiscated by the police, we can safely conclude that Chen and early members of the Party were more than aware of the fact that they had comrades not only in Europe but also, through the journal *Soviet Russia* and Voitinsky, in the United States. As a more spontaneous, autonomous, and also affective network beyond the control of imperial powers and the capital, this exemplifies the feature of connectivity in the logic of juvenescence. In stark contrast to the colonial or capitalist global system of the early twentieth century, this connectivity originally tried to materialize the solidarity and comradeship and emphasizes the connection in a model of community as declared in the First Congress of the Comintern in 1919: "working class must abolish [the] state frontier and change the entire world into [a] cooperative community."[120] The cosmopolitanism of revolutionaries also displayed a sense of hospitality—for instance, we could find it in Barbusse's letter to Chen Duxiu—that can be traced back to the very original definition of it by Kant. The Kantian cosmopolitan ethics depict a moral utopian image of world citizens joined by an international law sustained by a "universal law of humanity." Appealing as it is, the Kantian ethic and legal imaginary of globality has its limitations. The definition of law and justice, for one thing, becomes a contentious site when Kant's universal law could not be seamlessly grafted to local laws and specific justice systems, particularly ones outside of the Western tradition. In a worst-case scenario, such as in a colonial and imperial global system, this Kantian cosmopolitan ethics, as David Harvey critiques, could be prejudicial and the international law attached to it could be a

119. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 12.
120. Gilbert Achcar, *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2013), 131.

tool for the global domination of imperial powers. Hence, it is more urgent to call upon the hospitality and cosmopolitan ethos with a revolutionary origin. For Harvey, a reconstruction of the "revolutionary tradition of geographical thought" proposed by Reclus and Kropotkin in their geography of freedom would be an antidote to the side effects of the Kantian cosmopolitanism.[121] Here, we witness the transition of Chen Duxiu from aligning himself with the Kantian universal ethics (as manifested by his previous obsession with French civilization) to becoming part of the juvenescent space of the revolutionary global network, though this is not the end of his journey to practice the idea of cosmopolitanism.

But we may also want to ask if Chen Duxiu is a cosmopolitan or an internationalist or both? When Marx and Engels talked about global connectivity, cosmopolitanism became a concept that is related to economic practices: "the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country."[122] In Marxism then, cosmopolitanism and internationalism—a global network of proletarian solidarity—take on different paths. Yet, the connectivity embraced by the logic of juvenescence is a much more ambiguous one in which the two concepts are almost impossible to be neatly separated not to mention to become two opposing terms. For instance, it was the flourishing world market and imperial network of Shanghai that made the city a node in the global revolutionary network. Chen Duxiu's internationalism partly, if not largely, stemmed from him being a cosmopolitan intellectual. The two concepts will be discussed more at length in the next chapter, but I would like to briefly explain in advance that similar to the spatial logic of juvenescence, whose key features—connectivity, community, and transgression—are to be

121. David Harvey, "Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils," *Public Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 559.
122. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, trans. Samuel Moore, introduced by Gareth Stadman Jones (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 223.

interpreted differently in different contexts, cosmopolitanism is not a fixed term to which I give a simple or arbitrary definition. Rather, I aim at tracing the evolution of terms—both cosmopolitanism and internationalism—in volatile historical moments, in different forms of transcultural encounters, and in their legal implications.

This last point, the legal implication, is soon to be found in Wilden's report to the French Foreign Ministry. He quotes Article 13 of the municipal organization of the French Concession, which is dated April 14, 1868. The ordinance concentrated on regulating publications in the French Concession, which requires an authorization from the consul général de France to open organizations for publications in Chinese (Article I). Publishers were also required to indicate clearly the name of their director and the goal of the pursuit (Article II) and send copies to the French police and the Consul before its circulation (Article III). If certain edited publications were found to be contradictory to the public peace or morale, the responsible author, and where appropriate, the printer would stand trial at the Mixed Court and be punished according to the law (Article IV). If the publication was not authorized, the organization could be closed by the police and face charges at the Mixed Court (Article V).[123] In the "Jugement" for Chen Duxiu's case from the French Mixed Court, it is first reported that "the French Police has confiscated at the residence of Chen Duxiu, rue Vallon No. 305, on October 4, 1921, a considerable number of booklets, books, publications and journals with characteristics that could be harmful for the public security."[124] Thus, the first charge against Chen was based on the ordinance about publication. Then, the judgments point out that the French police charged Chen under the virtue

123. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM197, 14.
124. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 15.

of Article 221 of the Code Pénal,[125] according to which Chen was identified by the police as a leader of a rebellion "who may be sentenced to remain, after the expiry of their sentence, under the special surveillance of the high police for a minimum of five years and a maximum of ten years." Eventually, the first charge on unauthorized publication according to the Ordinance Consulaire was established for a fine of $100, but Chen was acquitted from the more severe charge of being the leader of a rebellion.

At first glance, the judgment of the Mixed Court is not too harsh and destructive. It is hard to say if Cai Yuanpei, Li Yu-Ying, and D'Hormon's letter to Wilden to ask him to examine Chen's case "in the liberal spirit that is characteristic of French tradition"[126] was what caused him to work his magic. Nonetheless, Chen got a much more lenient conviction and punishment in comparison with one of his acquaintances who had been charged with a similar offence the previous year at the International Mixed Court in the British-American territory. The latter got four months of imprisonment. Although at this point, Chen had already stood trial twice at the French Mixed Court, in both cases, he only got a fine and soon returned to his regular activities and even expanded the network of political mobilizations with the help of the Comintern. Despite the surveillance and occasional harassment from the police, the French Concession could be a comparatively "liberal"—in terms of cultural atmosphere and jurisprudence—space for revolutionaries to move around.

However, does this mean that the searches of sites and interruptions of meetings were regular practices according to the law of the Third Republic? Moreover, the question about the

125. Code Pénal de 1810: Les chefs d'une rébellion, et ceux qui l'auront provoquée, pourront être condamnés à rester, après l'expiration de leur peine, sous la surveillance spéciale de la haute police pendant cinq ans au moins et dix ans au plus. (http://www.koeblergerhard.de/Fontes/CodePenal1810.htm)
126. Code Pénal de 1810, 18. The content of the letter: "Vous serions reconnaissants examiner affaire Tchen Tou-Sieou dans esprit liberal caractéristique des traditions Françaises."

different methods taken by the so-called "French police" toward communist revolutionaries and gangsters also remains to be explored. First, the municipal ordinance against which Chen was charged in 1921 dated back to 1865, when France was still under the reign of Napoléon III's Second Empire, a time when the centralized government tried to control publication[127] through tax and law (*loi de la presse*). The municipal ordinance that Wilden presented in his report was carried out in this context, and in less than ten years, the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) along with the Paris Commune would call an end to the Second Empire. On July 29, 1881, a law on freedom of publication (*la liberté de la presse*) was passed to lift rules such as the prior authorization (*autorisation préalable*), which according to this new law was a repressive system. Yet, this "repressive system" was still highly active and fully functional in the French Concession of Shanghai. It was neither abolished nor questioned. The "*esprit liberal*" and freedom of speech were to some extent absent in an "oriental land" labeled as French as if time was static in this land, and thus to keep pace with the metropolitan France through a renewal of law was unnecessary.

A similar logic was ingrained in how the Police of the French Concession dealt with different clandestine networks in their territory. In addition to a more practical reason that casinos or drug dealing could be financially profitable, I argue that it was also the combination of an Orientalist spatial and temporal imaginary with a colonial governmentality that led to the stark distinctions in the treatment of revolutionary mobilizations—at this stage, mostly in the form of publication, school, and peaceful gatherings—and the blatant spatial expansion of criminal activities. Both ironically and unsurprisingly, Huang Jinrong, one of the most important figures

127. It was also a time when printing was popularized and distributing pamphlets or selling newspapers were common on streets of Paris. Against this backdrop and the attempt at centralization of Napoleon III, the Paris Commune emerged.

of the criminal empire of the French Concession Green Gang, as I have mentioned briefly, was originally a Chinese detective of the police force of the French Concession. Though starting at a low rank in the force, he climbed the ladder mainly through skills in espionage and surveillance. In 1917, during WWI, among a shortage of staff and after he used his criminal network to solve a kidnapping case, Huang became an inspector general in charge of all Chinese detectives in the force, a position that granted him the convenience to expand his criminal underworld. Considering that 1917 was also the time when *New Youth* enjoyed its popularity and the October Revolution was about to attract the attention of Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu, we could say that to some extent the red underground network was emerging and developing alongside the criminal underworld in the French Concession, each representing a form of "illegal" spatial practice and each an embodiment of "lawlessness." In fact, Chen Duxiu's first arrest in the French Concession was conducted by Huang Jinrong himself, a moment of clash between the two networks with a revolutionary intellectual being the "criminal" and the crime lord being the "police."

From 1922—Chen's second arrest was one of the first reports—to 1940 when part of France was occupied by Germany and the other part controlled by the Vichy Régime, over about 18 years, the consul of the French Concession of Shanghai sent weekly police reports to the Foreign Ministry mainly to give an account of the actions révolutionnaires—Bolshevik and Chinese—in Shanghai and other places if they found them pertinent. In these reports, they traced movements, meetings, and publications of Chinese revolutionaries; made lists of visitors from Soviet Russia who may have had possible liaisons with the Comintern; and recorded court cases and suchlike—reports that made the French Concession appear to be deeply plagued by the Red network and revolutionary mobilizations. In contrast, other criminal activities, even assassinations, were rarely mentioned in these police reports. Huang Jinrong, with his business

partners Du Yuesheng (杜月笙 1888–1951) and Zhang Xiaolin (张啸林 1877–1940), made the urban space of the French Concession their "playground" with the acquiescence of the French officials. Not only did they run their illegal businesses freely, they also turned certain public spaces into their gang territory, especially the night life. For instance, the first amusement arcade in Shanghai, Great World, was one of the entertainment properties of Huang and his wife, who "controlled the night-soil monopoly in the French Concession."[128] At the same time, with an enormous wealth gained through opium and narcotic dealings, these gang bosses started to participate in philanthropic urban practices, such as building schools, hospitals, and refuges in their territory to legitimize their business and to get access to the bourgeois circle. Around 1927, after the Nationalist Party rose to power, they further legitimized and institutionalized their businesses and organization by facilitating Chiang Kai-shek to eradicate communists who were living and mobilizing in the French Concession. Du Yuesheng even became a board member of the Conseil D'Administration Municipale of the French Concession in 1929,[129] signifying the official formation of an alliance between an imperial global system—or from a Marxist perspective, a cosmopolitan exploiting system—and the local criminal network. If we adopt the logic of David Harvey, who reflects on both the Kantian cosmopolitan ideal and the Heideggerian "rootedness in locality," then this amalgamation of the cosmopolitan and the local releases simultaneously the evil of (Western and Eurocentric) universality and the evil of banality that is connected to locality, place, or even the Heimat. In between these two layers is situated the revolutionary network caught up in its inherent cosmopolitanism and the imperative local mobilization between the internationalism of its imaginary future and the unavoidable anti-

128. Brian G. Martin, "Du Yuesheng, the French Concession, and Social Networks in Shanghai," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican Shanghai*, ed. Nara Dillon and Jean C. Oi (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008), 76.
129. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM802.

imperial nationalism of the present. Nevertheless, the in-betweenness of juvenescent spaces could be an antidote to impasses of both situations in that such spaces are fluid, flexible, and could work as open experiment fields, which is logically compatible simultaneously with the cosmopolitan and the local, or the international and the national.

Throughout the 1920s, the French Concession of Shanghai was a radically multilayered and heterogeneous urban setting with revolutionaries trying to build a community of youths and young workers as well as gang bosses expanding their territories and trying to shape the French Concession into an entertainment center. However, we could find some similar features in both of their spatial practices given transgression and connectivity were necessary for revolutionaries and gangsters alike. The difference first lies in that the idea of community in juvenescent space is inclusive and nonhierarchical. More significantly, the difference also lies in the temporal orientation. Corresponding to the logic of juvenescence, revolutionaries need to imagine and face the future while acting to rejuvenate and revitalize. The French Concession Green Gang, meanwhile, managed to create an enclosed space of "Chineseness"—or a space of the past—in the French façade of the quartier. Grand theaters owned by these gang bosses were famous for inviting well-known Chinese opera singers and artists. Opium houses, brothels, and tea rooms run by the Green Gang were all "quintessentially Chinese" in the eyes of colonizers. As I have argued in the first chapter, when exhibiting the Chinese Pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, for the French commentator, China was not only a spatial other, but also a temporal other constrained to the past. And this "constraining" could not be better exemplified by the different attitudes adopted by French officials toward gang bosses and communists. The urban activities and spatial practices of the French Concession Green Gang coincided perfectly with the Orientalist imagination of a corrupted, sensual (also a gender insinuation), and lawless land of

the other and of the past. And in contrast, for most French people in the 1920s, socialism and communism were *avant-garde* movements and too futuristically utopian to be realizable. As is shown in Chen Gongbo's essay, the friendly French police who intruded on a First Congress meeting of the CCP said that being "socialist may be beneficial for China in the future. But considering that education has not yet been widespread, it could be dangerous to promote socialism now." The seemingly mild chastisement of the French police to some extent confirms what I have argued: that the danger of promoting socialism or communism in China in the eyes of French officials or police in Shanghai did not merely reside in the danger of these ideologies alone, but also in a temporal paradox that may cause trouble—a land of the past was not supposed to be rejuvenated and revitalized into the future.

Following a similar standpoint, the colonial governmentality was also manifested in the spatial management of the French Concessions. In this respect, accepting the expansion of the local gang in the French Concession of Shanghai with acquiescence was not only a financial or strategic expediency to maintain its sovereignty in a complicated semi-colonial urban setting but also a collusion between a global imperial power and a local criminal organization in the framework of an international law versus the "Oriental lawlessness." Together, in the French Concession of Shanghai, they combined the universally accepted imperial extraterritorial "above law" privilege with an "outside the law" criminal underworld of gangsters. The point at issue here is that behind the logic of this governmentality is what Teemu Ruskola calls a "legal orientalism"—a tendency to connect China with "a lack of law."[130] With the case of the extraterritoriality of the US in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ruskola astutely points out how by using the trustworthy legal image of the US, an image that was

130. Teemu Ruskola, *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States, and Modern Law* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2013), 11.

opposite to that of China, the US ambassador played a critical role in devising extraterritorial privilege of Western and developed countries in China by popularizing a perception about the Oriental "lawlessness" and by shaping the international law—dominated not only by a capital logic of the global imperial system, but also by the religious thinking of the Christian world—into a set of discourse of legal orientalism.

Yet, it is hard to say if this orientalist bias and legal imperialism were a consequence of the "lawlessness" of China or yet another origin of it because the "above the law" privilege and the acquiescence to "outside the law" criminal activities are themselves "lawless" even when we follow the imperialists' definition of law. The contradiction and inconsistency here are that while China was designated as "lawless" outside of the international law, imperial powers chose the antidote to go beyond such "lawlessness," which in turn created an imperial lawlessness sustained by a governmentality that treated the space of the other as a space that was always in a status of exception to be ruled exceptionally—or in the words of Ruskola, "a state of emergency where 'normal' rules did not apply."[131] The use of a law that had been defunct decades before in Chen Duxiu's court case is an exemplary demonstration of this type of colonial "lawless" management, not to mention its collaboration with the local gangs.

Then, what is the position or positionality of juvenescent spaces in terms of law? Do they sit above the law, outside of the law, or constrained by law? I would argue that the legal logic of juvenescence also corresponds with its spatial logic of transgression, connectivity, and community. Though more radically, such as for Marx, the law is inherently a tool of the bourgeois and ruling class, here, at least in the context of cases in this chapter, the law was not yet to be eradicated, but to be transgressed and interrogated. In other words, it is more often an

131. Ruskola, 141.

attempt to trespass the existing legal system, the legal imperialism for instance, but not an anti-law negation. And to what extent and how far the transgression could go and what consequences would occur if the existing law were to be dismantled altogether would be a topic in subsequent chapters in which Mao and the CCP, after rising to power, started to experiment extensively with legal reformation and even legal suspension. Returning to the French Concession of Shanghai in the 1920s, the revolutionary mobilizations did transgress simultaneously the colonial and the consumerist urban images of the French Concession as well as the orientalist imagination of China as a space of the past that was incapable of changing. Indeed, these mobilizations were part of the "lawless" complications of the semi-colonial quartier, but they were neither "above the law" nor "outside of the law" as was the gang, and not yet anti-law. In the process of trying to rejuvenate the semi-colonial urban sphere, revolutionaries gradually incorporated more workers into their community. Not only as nationalist movements but also as proletarian movements, they started to fundamentally challenge the imperialism—"the highest stage of capitalism" according to Lenin—and its accompanying legal and spatial privilege of extraterritoriality.

II. Colonial Law, Oriental Lawlessness, and André Malraux's Image of the "Lawless" Animality of Shanghai

The mobilizations of communist revolutionaries along with the awakened working class started to question simultaneously the legitimacy of imperial powers in China and the capitalism rooted in the global colonial system. Starting from early 1925, conflicts between Chinese workers and foreign owners of factories started to surface in a Japanese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai, and as the matter immediately escalated, it became a nationwide anti-imperial movement, which led to the Shanghai Municipal Police of the International Settlement opening

fire at demonstrators. As a result, eleven protestors were killed on May 30 and some more in subsequent protests. This direct clash between workers and foreign factory owners as well as between Chinese protestors and the imperial police reinforced both a class consciousness and an anti-imperial nationalism. Together, they paved the way for the further expansion and mobilization of the CCP, which only had about 1,000 members at the beginning of 1925 but whose numbers surged to 10,000 in January 1926.[132] For early members of the party, among whom intellectuals accounted for a large percentage, it was an opportunity for them to acquire a closer connection with workers and the masses whose antagonism toward imperial powers was sparked by the event. Facing unprecedented challenges from imperial powers, the flourishing red network struggled to establish its own legitimacy while being constantly engaged in spatial and legal conflicts with the authority and police.

The bloody suppression of protests in Shanghai also attracted attention from a global community of judges and legal scholars who reflected upon the international law that failed to fulfill its obligation to uphold a universal ethics, as Kant suggests, especially concerning human rights in this case. The tragic event and its legal aftermath, according to Hauke Brunkhorst, a German sociologist and legal scholar, marks "the beginning of the Chinese Revolution and the reluctant beginning of a paradigm shift from an imperial to a cosmopolitan constitutional mindset."[133] The word "reluctant" subtly exhibits the strategic and moral dilemma faced by imperial powers. E. Finley Johnson, the American judge who promoted this "reluctant" change of mindset, was described as a "reluctant imperialist" by Brunkhorst. Johnson, an associate judge of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, was selected as a member of the International

132. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Shanghai, 30. Mai 1925: Die Chinesische Revolution* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), 19.
133. Hauke Brunkhorst, *Critical Theory of Legal Revolutions: Evolutionary Perspectives* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 385.

Commission of Judges that was convened to investigate the incident in Shanghai. Whereas his colleagues—H. C. Gollan, a British judge in Hong Kong and Kitsuburo Suga working at the Hiroshima Appellate Court—refused to acknowledge any wrongdoings of the police and the Shanghai Municipal Council of the International Settlement, Johnson in his report points out that the "origin of the disturbance" has a "cause of many years standing." He sympathetically lists 10 items that caused the disturbance, including "(b) that the Chinese residents of the city of Shanghai have no part nor representation in the government of the city; (c) In all cases, whether civil or criminal, where a foreigner is a party by or against a Chinaman, a foreigner is in fact the judge; (d) Extraterritoriality; (e) Loss of sovereignty over territory." He even kindly admits that the foreigners in China failed "to realize that the Chinese people have made greater advancement during the past 10 years in civics, in the fundamental principles of government and in the better understanding of individual rights under the law, than they have made in any 100 years of their entire history."[134] But when it comes to some of "the Immediate and Proximate Causes," his accusation goes to "members of labor unions," "persons of Bolshevistic tendencies" as well as "the evil and destructive influences to good and orderly government by paid foreign emissaries of Bolshevistic and Communistic governments."[135] Johnson, to a certain degree, could be seen as an incarnation of the Americanism of the twentieth century that combined a conservative strategic expediency with a moral standing tinted with a glamour of Kantian cosmopolitanism. Even for a sympathetic judge like Johnson, not even once does he mention "Chinese law" in his report. China, though reasonably a victim in the event and having made progress in civic matters, was not a legal counterpart to the imperial or cosmopolitan system that Johnson represented but

134. Richard W. Rigby, "Annex," in *The May 30 Movement: Events and Themes* (Folkstone, Kent: Dawson, 1980), 196.
135. Rigby, 197.

rather a lawless object that was to be saved by the legal rectitude of a "reluctant imperialist."

Nonetheless, the incident did propel a transformation of attitudes toward the legal inadequacy of China. Back in October 1921, imperial powers that were enjoying extraterritoriality in China signed a Washing Resolution whose solution to deal with the lawlessness of China was to establish a Commission

> to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China . . . and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality.[136]

However, the resolution was not accepted wholeheartedly by those who signed it and thus was more formalistic than realistic until 1925. France, for instance, was rather dissatisfied by the resolution as manifested in a letter by Aimé Joseph de Fleuriau, the Minister Plenipotentiary in China, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to Fleuriau, the Resolution would sabotage the "édifice des vieux Traités"—the edifices of (unequal) Treaties between France and China—and "it appears absurd to discuss the immunity of foreigners while China is in the status of revolution and transformation and that its government does not govern."[137] Fleuriau's comment in 1921 reveals the fundamental disregard for the sovereignty and law of a sovereign state. A few years later, the May 30 incident, a consequence of this imperial stance, forced these powers including France—maybe reluctantly as Brunkhorst suggests—to reflect upon their approach.[138] In 1926, another meeting was held in Washington where again delegations from countries such as France, Britain, America, and Japan discussed the legal status of China and its

136. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM454.
137. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM454.
138. Archives Diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, 32CPCOM454, a report on Chinese law.

extraterritoriality. Yet, it was not until WWII that China started to regain its legal independence when Western powers caught up in the war renounced their extraterritoriality in China.

Though it would be somewhat hyperbolic to crown the May 30 Movement as "the beginning of the Chinese Revolution," the incident, nonetheless, forced imperial powers to think about their envision of geographical management beyond their own borders—either they would treat overseas territories as a specific and localized *other* or they would need to convert to a more "cosmopolitan constitutional mindset." It also set the scene for Chinese revolutionaries to emerge from their underground network to take center stage and form a small circle of elites to become a mass-based political organization. But the revolutionary actors on this stage would soon be forced to take sides—either they retreat to local spaces to expand with the help of a more nationalist propaganda or they, against all odds, strive to connect with comrades from other countries for a world revolution. At the same time, the theatrical—or even surrealistically melodramatic—and decentered setting of the cosmopolitan Shanghai provided limitless possibilities for fictional enactment with communist revolutionaries, gangsters, warlords, and people from all over the world rubbing shoulders with each other in the same urban space. With Malraux's novel, *La Condition humaine*, on Shanghai, I would ask how the "lawlessness" of the "sin city" of the Far East is both materialized as a spatial form and fictionalized in literary spaces. And in the process, how is the image of animals deployed to set the demarcation between the law with the lawless while simultaneously manifesting the paradoxical positions among imperial law, oriental lawlessness, and the in-between juvenescent spaces?

Looking back at *La Condition Humaine*, his magnum opus, Malraux writes in *Anti-Mémoire* that "the thing that interests me in anybody, it's the condition of men."[139] When we talk

139. André Malraux, *Anti-Memoirs*, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), 22.

about the human condition, we would feel tempted to ask if there are human conditions, then what conditions are outside of this category? Is there a nonhuman condition and what precisely does it mean to live in a nonhuman condition? In some cases, it might be the condition of Agamben's *homo sacer*, the unprotected human body that is exiled from the law. And such "outsideness" does not indicate a void of law in the state of pure nature but a violence of law that creates an unprotected outside[140] and otherness. Evoking the legal scholar Rodolphe Jhering, who says that "the first to approximate the figure of *homo sacer* to that of the wargus, the wolf-man,"[141] the life of outlaws—bandits, vagabonds, or revolutionaries—for Agamben is not entirely severed from the law and the city, but is "a threshold of indistinction and of passage between animal and man, physis and nomos, exclusion and inclusion."[142] Following this logic and borrowing from the Hobbesian formula, Agamben links the "state of nature"—counterintuitively "a principle internal to the City"[143]—with the "state of exception" of the sovereignty. This "state of nature," if we place it in the context of semi-colonial Shanghai, would be the "lawlessness" of Shanghai as a "jungle-like oriental sin city" in the eyes of Westerners; the "state of exception," meanwhile, works as a principle for the governance, which renders almost all Chinese—"werewolves" dwelling in the state of nature and thus not protected by the law—*homo sacer* in semi-colonial territories. This sovereign "state of exception" and legal violence could to some extent explain the outdated law, against which Chen Duxiu was accused, practiced in Shanghai by the French Mixed Court as well as the violence committed by the police of the International Settlement on May 30, 1925. From the perspective of the sovereign, through the

140. This legal outsideness should be distinguished from the privileged outsideness enjoyed by, for instance, the Green Gang of the French Concession.
141. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998), 104.
142. Agamben, 105.
143. Agamben, 105.

animalization of human "outside of the law," imperial powers got a pass over their "lawless" ordinances and illegal practices. Meanwhile, the legitimization and even institutionalization of certain illegal and lawless practices in the name of controlling, surveilling, and oppressing those outside or beneath the law represent an act of humanization of systematic violence—the real wolf in the context.

Juvenescent spaces are where the dichotomy between the two forms of "lawlessness"—one vulnerably outside of the law, unprotected, and one unscrupulously above the law—dissolves because its transgressive spatial practices, the mobilized network in the French Concession for instance, could dispel the phantasmagoria of the law and order under the colonial system sustained by a metanarrative of the myth of law. This demystification of law is achieved not only by canceling the legitimacy of an "above-law" privilege but also by rejecting the "law" that defines who are *homo sacer* unprotected by the law while subject to the violence of law. In this process, the body politics stemmed in the discourse of youth arises from the two opposing forces of animalization and humanization. Not only does it promote a force of vitality as previously discussed, the body politics of youth also recasts the image of animalization from a reluctant procedure that leaves *homo sacer* helpless and unprotected into an active and productive procedure of subject formation as the vitality of being young may evoke both an untamed and transgressive animality and the state of nature, which is at the roots of juvenescent spaces.

In *La Condition Humaine* (1933), André Malraux deploys the imaginary of animals to highlight how the mind and body of a young revolutionary struggle between animalization and humanization; to bring about the "state of nature"—also a chaotic and lawless juvenescent spaces—in the city of Shanghai and, by doing so, also set a symbolic demarcation between different sovereign districts; and to picture the "animality" of the imperial and bourgeois

decadence and lawlessness. I argue that the introduction of symbols, metaphors, and images of animals would further complicate the concept of juvenescent space as well as the legal realm that is prone to be painted as black and white in treaties or legal reports. Literary spaces in Malraux's Shanghai, with spaces outside and above the law, could present to us variegated shades of the social and cultural fabric that is made up of both law and different forms of lawlessness.

The story of *La Condition Humaine* begins on the night of March 21, 1927. In reality, it was three weeks before the Nationalist Party's ruthless crackdown on the Communist Party. One of the protagonists, a young Chinese revolutionary Tchen, assassinates an arms dealer to get the bill of lading, through which communist revolutionaries hope to acquire some weapons so that they could use them to occupy police stations and confiscate more weapons for an uprising. This is the first time that Tchen, "whose first education was religious," kills a man in a beast-like manner, and as the blood spreads and permeates the sheet on the bed, Tchen is startled by a shadow upon the balcony:

> It was an ally-cat. Its eyes riveted on him, it stalked through the window on noiseless paws. Nothing living must venture into the wild region where he was thrown: whatever had seen him hold his dagger prevented him from returning to the world of men. He opened the razor, took a step forward: the creature fled by way of the balcony. Tchen pursued it…He found himself suddenly facing Shanghai.[144]

The unexpected encounter between Tchen and the wild cat at the crime scene adds a whiff of uncertainty and uneasiness to the space. Tchen, an honest young man raised by a French priest, knows that he is now at a "wild region"[145]—a field outside of social, ethical, and religious laws. Then, the intrusion of the wild cat signifies an animalization and a becoming-phantom, and

144. André Malraux, *Man's Fate*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 7. The English translation of names of Chinese character are modified based on the original text.
145. Malraux, 7.

Tchen starts to fear that he will be expelled from "the world of man."[146] From another perspective, Tchen has just crossed the line of a legally binding principle of being human at the crime scene. He now enters into the "wild region" where he is no longer protected by the law and where he has become a werewolf who falls outside of the polis, more precisely, outside of the law. Though haunted by the killing, Tchen is still alive and Shanghai, for the first time in the novel, unexpectedly unveils its nightscape. The animalistic features in the opening episode have efficiently enriched the scene of assassination by revealing the lawless nature of literary spaces in *La Condition Humaine*.

On the night when Tchen has just got the bill of lading and is experiencing the crisis of animalization, a security team consisting of European volunteers is cruising the almost empty streets of the French Concession in a fast-moving vehicle. Iron fences and Vietnamese soldiers along with a colonial police officer check identity cards of people crossing the border. One of Tchen's comrades, the leader of the team and organizer of the uprising, Kyo is on his way to meet with Katov after getting the location of a shipment of guns from Baron Clappique, a dandyish smuggler and middleman. Katov, an experienced revolutionary and a Comintern representative in China, is teaching his Chinese comrades how to use guns and grenades. The secret rendezvous between Kyo and Katov is arranged at the first side street neighboring the French Concession but on the other side of the border:

> The street where they were walking was the first one in the Chinese city: Because of the proximity of the European quarter, it was lined with pet-shops. They were also closed: not a creature outside, and not a cry is disturbing the silence, between the siren calls and the last drops that fell from the horned roofs into the puddles. The animals were asleep.[147]

146. Malraux, 7.
147. Malraux, 37.

Interestingly, the first street of the Chinese city is a street of animals. And its proximity with the French Concession accentuates the contrast between the gated European quarter and an exotic street selling captured wild animals outside of the gate. This contrast could be interpreted as order versus disorder, civilization opposed to the savage, humanity in the face of animals. Yet, in the tranquil night of Shanghai, the animals in the Chinese streets are asleep, tamed, and immersed in the silence of the city. On the other side of the border, at a club called the Black Cat, jazz music is being played loudly; men and women are unleashing their beastly desires; illegitimate transactions are going on in dark corners. Whereas the image of a wild cat in the case of Tchen and the Chinese street of animals implies a state of exception or a lawless space and thus rendered outside of the law, the Club Black Cat presents a different lawlessness. Situated in the gated community of the French Concession, it simultaneously symbolizes the privilege of extraterritorial space above the law and reveals a more profound social disorder and psychological symptom—most notably manifested by the distorted and fabricated memory of Baron Clappique, the smuggler. This lawlessness is also already connotated by its ominous name Black Cat—another symbolic animal. These two types of lawlessness in the sin city of the Far East depicted by Malraux are juxtaposed and later further complicated by intrusions of communist revolutionaries trying to subvert—with a revolutionary violence as opposed to the law-making and law-preserving violence—the spatial and legal code of "above and outside" in Shanghai and to create a juvenescent space where the line between human and animal (or *homo sacer*) could disappear.

Such spaces that harbor the potentiality of changes present two completely different images for Kyo, the revolutionary leader and Ferral, the president de la Chambre de Commerce Française in Shanghai. In the eyes of Kyo, the spaces outside of the law inhabited by the Chinese

working class and the poor are juvenescent spaces with limitless possibilities and "un bon quartier." His footsteps cover each and every committee and street of the quartier preparing for the uprising:

> What Kyo knew of the underground life of the insurrection helped him to guess what he did not know; something which was infinitely beyond him was coming from the great slashed wings of Chapei and Pootung, covered with factories and wretchedness, to make the enormous ganglia of the center burst, an invisible horde animated the night. [148]

The horde, when Tchen spots them from atop of the hotel suite, are "working to death like animals for the enemies." But Kyo knows that once awakened and mobilized, they could change the whole spatial dynamism. In contrast, when Ferral visits a colonel in Chiang Kai-shek's army, he anxiously looks at a map on the wall with big red dots indicating the horde of workers and the poor who are "the same" for him. Though he supports Chiang's army financially in exchange for his safety in Shanghai, and the colonel tells him assertively that they would execute communist leaders to prevent a mass uprising, Ferral is still greatly disturbed by the "big red dots" that present an unknown and wild force hibernating in the mobilized urban spaces that are no longer subject to his law and order.

Ferral's anxiety does not only come from a sense of lost control over "his territory" in Shanghai but also from an unfulfilled desire toward Valérie, his concubine who has also escaped his control. In the hotel where he hopes to find her, his servant is holding a delicate cage with a crow in it, a gift demanded by Valerie, but the only thing he gets in response is a letter telling him that she is no longer to be possessed by him. The animal, the crow, becomes a symbol of his failure, and he feels that "the blackbird seemed to be making fun of him."[149] But instead of

148. Malraux, 20.
149. Malraux, 227.

distancing himself from the "animality" and retreating to his "civilized" space, Ferral says to his driver "to the largest animal store," and his driver brings him to the animal street in the Chinese city.

The complexity of the concept of animality is further revealed when Ferral appears on the animal street: "The car was forced to stop before the barbed-wires. Ahead, the Chinese city, very black, unsafe. So much worse."[150] Ferral buys all the birds from a shop and a kangaroo. When he returns to the hotel in the French Concession and talks to the manager who is Caucasian, he feels that he is finally detached from "his universe of humiliation." But again, the dualism of "humanity" and "animality" is reversed when all the blackbirds and the kangaroo are released by Ferral into Valerie's luxury suite and all the empty cages are burned down. Using animals as a gesture of revenge displays the resentment of Ferral, who has always been thinking about Paris while living in Shanghai and who fears the force of the "lawlessness" and uncivilized "animality" while he himself is playing a major part in the show. In this "land of animality," he seems to be in charge because the police are at his service, as is Chiang's army. He also tries to keep a distance from the Chinese city and from the Chinese working class because such urban spaces are dark, lawless, and wild. However, the violence of the police, the army, and the market that he manipulates, like Ferral releasing animals into a hotel room in desperation and for revenge, already manifests Ferral and the imperial system behind him in an animalistic form—a form that is no longer an omnipotent leviathan but a struggling beast drawing its last breath to create a bedlam.

Backed by bankers, industrialists, middle class, and now the imperial power, Chiang's special police acquire a considerable advantage over communist revolutionaries who are even

150. Malraux, 229.

ordered by Stalin's Comintern to keep cooperating with the Nationalist Party and hand in their weapons. Therefore, the novel ends with a fiasco of the uprising: Tchen dies in his suicidal attempt to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek; Kyo commits suicide after being captured by the Nationalist Party's special police; Katov gives his potassium cyanide—"a gift more precious than life"—to his comrades and is executed. Ferral goes back to Paris to face the vehement criticism and the potential disintegration of his consortium. Clappique, who helped Kyo with getting weapons, hurriedly flees Shanghai in disguise when Kyo is arrested. The bell of departure is ringing; for Clappique, "la fête est finie. Maintenant, l'Europe."[151] The fête (festival or party) is inherently a form of juvenescent space where the power structure is suspended and no longer functions. Also, what could be found in the space of festivals are the suspended law and order. In the case of Clappique who would face trial in France, Shanghai is where he is both outside (as a communist sympathizer and a smuggler) and above (as a French) the law and where he embraces an absolute animality. And his return to Europe would again place him on a trial within the borders of law and order.

From the legitimacy crisis of imperial powers' extraterritoriality in Shanghai brought by the May 30 Incident in 1925 to the diversified representations of animality and its entwined relationship with juvenescent spaces in Malraux's novel, the imperial law and the oriental lawlessness—and also youths' state of nature—have been engaged in a constant tension. By the medium of animality, the intrinsic tension and interrelationship between law and different forms of lawlessness are displayed in a broader context. Between law and nature—a force that could bring uncertainty and violence—as well as between the established order and an instinctual craving for changes of youths, we find opposing forces that also define and redefine the

151. André Malraux, *La Condition Humaine* (Paris: Les Éditions Gallimard, 2010), 284.

boundaries of revolution, which counterintuitively posit the concept of revolution, justice, and violence in the same field as legality and legitimacy.

III. Malraux and Trotsky: A Debate over Justice and Revolutionary Legitimacy

La Condition Humaine, published in 1933, ends with the disintegration of the revolutionary network in Shanghai upon the Nationalist Party's crackdown on communists and trade unionists in 1927. The novel won the Prix Concourt of 1933 and helped Malraux establish his image as an engaged revolutionary writer. Yet, it is neither his first nor his only novel that deals with the Chinese Revolution between 1925 and 1927, during which period the young CCP was steered by the Comintern to cooperate with the Nationalist Party and was eventually dragged to the brink of extinction. In 1928, Malraux published *Les Conquérants*, his first novel that fictionalized the workers' general strike in Canton and Hong Kong around 1925. The limitations of Malraux's storytelling are conspicuous: his China is not short of oriental imaginations, exemplified by the animal street in *La Condition Humaine*; his main characters are often Europeans or at least "Europeanized." But rather than providing an accurate anthropological or sociological representation of the Chinese revolution,[152] the young Malraux wanted to present the zeitgeist of a globally mobilized and connected world in which young revolutionaries were, perhaps more than ever, playing a critical role in transformative historical moments.

When he was twenty-two years old, Malraux dreamt of becoming a museum curator and took his first trip to Indochine to search for exotic artifacts. During his allegedly archeological

152. Malraux claims that "the book only superficially concerns history. If it has persisted, it is not for having painted such episodes of the Chinese Revolution; it is for having shown a type of hero in whom the aptitude for action, culture, and lucidity united." André Malraux, in "Appel aux Intellectuels," 1948. Repris en postface aux *Conquérants* in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1989), 271.

expedition in Cambodia, he experienced his first run-in with the legal system. The trip ended with the police knocking on the door and Malraux standing trial for looting a temple, Banteay Srei, around the site of Angkor. He was not falsely accused, nor did his trial display a formal clash between a transgressive logic of juvenescence and the force of law as in Chen Duxiu's trials in the French Concession of Shanghai. It is after all the colonial justice system that Malraux faced, and as a French, he was on the privileged side. But the lengthy procedure posed a Kafkaesque legal impasse for the young adventurer, especially because officials in Hanoi wanted to make his case an example. And this event steered Malraux away from the career of a museum curator and set him on the path of a writer and, later in his life, a politician. Eventually, Malraux received a three-year sentence without remission and was forbidden to reenter the country within five years. Yet, with the luck of the devil, he escaped imprisonment because a confusion between the two temples of Banteay Srei discredited the evidence. His friends from the Parisian intellectuals' circle—André Breton, Jacques Rivière, the Gallimard brothers among others—cosigned a letter of protest: "The undersigned, moved by the condemnation of André Malraux, have confidence in the consideration that justice is wont to show to all those who help increase the intellectual wealth of our country."[153] The young genius was not acquitted, but received a new ruling of a one-year imprisonment as a suspended sentence. Malraux did not spend a day in prison and returned to Paris. Not long afterward, he got back to Saigon and started a journal, *L'Indochine*, to call for equal legal rights for Annamese with Paul Monin, a human rights lawyer with far-leftist ideals who used to work as a secretary-interpreter for Alexander Borodin of Comintern who led the CCP–Nationalist Party coalition government in Canton.

Malraux's early experiences opened up a long and winding path he took in engaging with the

153. Olivier Todd, *Malraux: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 2005), Kindle version, 895.

law.[154] He reenacted his Kafkaesque experiences of the trials in *Les Conquérants*, whose sole protagonist Garine is put on trial for financing abortions following the Malthusian propaganda of anarchist groups. Malraux filled the fictional court case with a sense of "lawless" absurdity: Garine describes the trial as "an unreal spectacle: not of a dream, but of a strange comedy."[155] The absurdity of the legal impasse is reenforced when Garine realizes that "to judge is, obviously, not to understand, because if one understood, one could no longer judge."[156] Like Malraux, his fictional doppelganger Garine also escapes imprisonment. A Jewish young man of German-Russian descent who grew up in Switzerland and speaks several languages, Garine becomes a Comintern agent and is sent to China to facilitate the anti-imperial revolution. The paradox here is that throughout the novel, Garine, the individualistic revolutionary who has already reflected upon the absurdity of the law, is obsessed with passing a decree to ban British ships from ports in Hong Kong. For him, this legitimate approach is the best if not the only way to thwart British imperialism and to free Hong Kong from colonial rule: "For the complete victory, Garine repeats. The decree, the decree, the decree! It's all there . . . This decree must pass. It must. If not, what are we doing here . . . ?"[157]

Once the decree is passed, Garine loses his aim and the sense of absurdity grips him again. The law or decree, for Garine, is first the absurdity and then a purpose against such

154. Decades later, when Malraux rose to the position of Minister of Culture, somewhat ironically, the man who used to get arrested for looting a temple got a law named after him, loi Malraux, on protecting the patrimonies of France and preserving historical buildings—a law that is essentially situated at the opposite side of juvenescent spaces if we evoke Lefebvre's arguments in *The Right to the City*. Starting with his early experiences and writings, there is a trajectory of his engagement first with the French colonial law and then the modern French legal progression, especially in spatial realms—from looting the temple, fighting to gain public spaces for local Annam to passing a law to preserve historical buildings and standing with de Gaulle at the other side of the barricade in May 68. Malraux's collision and later collusions with law and order also bring about a common trajectory of the transformation of juvenescent spaces from revolutionary to commercialized social settings.
155. André Malraux, *Les Conquérants* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1960), Kindle version, 39.
156. Malraux, 39.
157. Malraux, 96.

absurdity. This passage from distrust to obsession with legitimacy and legitimate revolution, exhibited by Malraux himself and his character, is intriguing because it renders transgressive acts and revolutionary juvenescent spaces working as an integral part of the law and order.

Though from an orthodox Marxist materialist perspective, the juridical formality, as a superstructure, is mirroring the capitalist mode of production, this intimate relationship with law and legitimacy does not make Malraux a mere counter-revolutionary. Marx studied law at Universität Bonn. Lenin also studied law and passed the examination for practice with flying colors, making him an expert on tsarist law, the law that he later destroyed. In the common struggle between a law-destroying logic at the apogee of revolutionary momentum and the law-making aspiration to institutionalize and legitimize the revolutionary organization "the morning after the revolution," it is not rare to see the paradoxical positionality and engagement with law. Treads of both revolution and law are then interlaced into the fabric of power struggles during social transformations, which I will discuss in more detail with one critical contentious point between Malraux and Trotsky: Are the justice and revolutionary aspirations to be achieved only within the boundaries of law? Or are violent approaches taken by people who dwell outside the law also acceptable? Together, these two questions would shed light on how to place practices in juvenescent spaces among justice, revolution, and violence.

In 1931, three years after the publication of *Les Conquérants*, Trotsky sent a review titled "The Strangled Revolution" to *La Revue Nouvelle*, the French journal where the novel was originally serialized. He speaks highly of the work in terms of its aesthetic value: "A fine and well-knit style, the discriminating eye of an artist, original and daring observation."[158] But the

158. Leon Trotsky, "The Strangled Revolution," in *Malraux: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. R. W. B. Lewis. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 12. Originally published under the title "La Révolution Etranglée" in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, no. 211 (April 1931): 488–500. The English translations of Chinese names are also modified to follow the original text.

focus and purpose of the review is not so much about evaluating the literary achievement of the novel but rather about reflecting upon the problems of the Chinese Revolution as he comments that "this book is called a novel. As a matter of fact, we have before us a romanticized chronicle of the Chinese revolution."[159] In addition to the novel displaying "a small note of blasé superiority," Trotsky is particularly disturbed by the ambivalent position that Malraux takes in depicting his revolutionary protagonists involved in the revolutionary coalition. For Trotsky, the two main European characters are both too fatally flawed as "charlatans of the Revolution"[160] to lead a successful one in China: the professional revolutionary Borodin instantiates the bureaucracy and inflexibility of the Comintern under Stalin, and Garine, who resembles Malraux in being individualistic, adventurous, and cynical, brings about a "false radicalism" driven by a thrill of being part of history instead of a true commitment to the "rights of the people."

Trotsky also reveals his positionality on law, justice, and violence in the review, which leads to a fundamental difference between him and Malraux, by commenting on the two main Chinese characters in *Les Conquérants*. One of the two main Chinese figures, Tcheng-Dai is a left-leaning liberal in the revolutionary coalition government. Malraux does not refrain from decorating him with a list of desirable traits that young revolutionaries often lack—a philanthropist, a poet, a strategist, a humanistic leader like Gandhi. In stark contrast to Tcheng-Dai, the other Chinese figure, Hong is a young radical revolutionary who "comes from misery" and who tends to resort to violence. Together, Tcheng-Dai and Hong bring out the conflict between an admirably conservative peace and harmony and a dangerously disruptive "pure violence," or in other words, between a legitimate reform and an "illegal" revolution. Hong

159. Trotsky, like many others, was tricked by Malraux's fabulation of his experiences in Asia and was misled to believe that Malraux took part in the Chinese Revolution in the late 1920s.
160. Trotsky, "The Strangled Revolution," 15.

despises Tcheng-Dai for his moderate "reformation," which would reform nothing in his eyes. Hong is also reluctant to see a senior leader, in the name of a false justice, sabotaging his revenge on the extremely unequal society. Near the end of the novel, Tcheng-Dai dies a martyr and hero. The decree he proposed to punish revolutionary terrorists and maintain order is immediately passed after his death. Hong, in contrast, is cast out of the revolution as an outlier and an outlaw and put to death on the order of Borodin.

Disagreeing with Malraux on the general judgment of the two characters, Trotsky in his review tries to reverse the theorem of legitimacy by approaching the characters through the Marxist lens of class struggle. He sees Tcheng-Dai as "the spiritual authority of the Right wing of the Nationalist Party, the prophet and the saint of the bourgeoisie."[161] From his perspective, along with the bureaucratic Borodin and self-absorbed Garine, Tcheng-Dai does not care about the people as he "dreads the masses more than the imperialists: he hates the revolution more than the yoke placed upon the nation."[162] Trotsky more elaborately sets out his position by juxtaposing Tcheng-Dai with Ghandi: "The veiled politics of the 'righteous,' in China and in India, express in a sublime and abstractly moralistic form and the conservative interests of the propertied classes. Cheng' Dai's personal disinterest in no way conflicts with his political function: exploiters need the 'righteous' just as church needs saints."[163]

Meanwhile, Trotsky defends Hong's violent approach by pointing out that Hong is a revolutionary of the masses: "He tries by the revolver and the knife to act for the masses whom the agents of the Comintern are paralyzing. That is, frankly, the truth about the Chinese revolution." There is an interesting twist of ethics in Trotsky and Malraux's discussions. It is not

161. Trotsky, 15.
162. Trotsky, 15.
163. Trotsky, 16.

surprising that Trotsky reveals Tcheng-Dai as a saint of the exploiters and questions the legitimacy sustained by the "veiled politics of the righteous." However, somewhat unexpectedly, Malraux explains that though the two Chinese characters both "believe in justice," unlike Tcheng-Dai's justice that is political, Hong seeks a "hopeless" ethical justice. The paradoxical twist here is that Trotsky believes that Tcheng-Dai uses an ethical front for his political maneuver; Malraux's response goes even further by pointing out that not only is Tcheng-Dai's justice political but also that the ethical justice is sought after by Hong, though Malraux does not espouse Hong's assassinations. Hence, I would say that the two characters represent a poetic justice vis-à-vis the formal justice of law and order with the former caught up in violent negations and the latter in a form of nonviolent political reasoning—a classic conflict that could be traced back to Antigone and Creon.

Similar to the acts of Antigone,[164] the transgressive potentiality and mobilizing power of Hong put him at the very center of the juvenescent space. The clear program of Hong, Trotsky writes, is "to arouse the workers, organize them, arm them, and set them against Tcheng-Dai."[165] Malraux disagrees with Trotsky, who primarily sees Hong as a mobilizer of the working class and explains that for him Hong represents "not the proletariat but anarchy." In fact, Hong assumes both roles in the novel. And the anarchist tendency of Hong's *propagande par le fait*—"When I have been condemned to death, it will be necessary to tell the young men to imitate me"—reminds us of anarchist terrorists who used to haunt the fin-de-siècle Paris as vividly depicted by John Merriman.[166] With an elusive identity, Hong is thus situated at a more radically lawless position and a more marginalized *outsideness* than a proletarian. Unlike Trotsky or a

164. Let us not forget that Antigone mobilized the city to support her.
165. Trotsky, "The Strangled Revolution," 16.
166. John M. Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009).

proletarian revolutionary, Hong or Tchen in *La Condition Humaine* could envision their death, but they could not envision a victory or the morning after the revolution. Thus, their destiny ending in self-destruction imitates that of Antigone. Like Antigone, their violent actions are a pure negation and a resistance to sovereignty and law-making and law-preserving violence attached to sovereign power, which in turn reaffirms their legal status as *homo sacer*. If we accept Hong's mobilization and transgressive energy as integral features of juvenescent spaces, we have to face the controversial fact that the logic of juvenescence does not preclude violence. More precisely, it does not preclude pure violence or, in Benjamin's words, divine violence. Parallel to our distinction of the lawlessness of the sovereign power and colonizer and that of the legal outsider and bare life, we also need to distinguish the violence of Hong and that of the law and sovereign in order to go back to the question I posed earlier on how justice is to be achieved—a point on which Malraux and Trotsky each held a debate-worthy position.

Trotsky supports Hong's radical violence in dismantling the bourgeois and imperial oppression, while Malraux sympathizes with a reform accomplished within the boundary of law either through Garine's legal approach or through Tcheng-Dai's nonviolent political maneuver. What is often forgotten is that the pure violence and negation of Hong—or of Antigone—is not a sign of power, but a symbol of a lack of power. In contrast, Tcheng-Dai's admirable insistence on nonviolent justice, which is prevalent among benevolent bourgeoisie, is in fact supported by a systematic and structural violence of the ruling power. With a nonviolent narrative, people like Tcheng-Dai could protect this more abstract and almost invisible violence and injustice. In the Proustian world of benevolent bourgeoisie and anti-communist intellectuals, for instance, "there was no subjective evil in their life," as Zizek suggests, only the invisible background of the systemic violence and an insensitivity to such a violence that makes their comfortable life

possible.[167] Notably, Malraux's revolutionary world of *Les Conquérants* makes visible the invisible background of systematic oppression in a semi-colonial society. But the revolutionary world also displays in a more visible or even glaring manner the straightforward physical violence of Hong. From the point of a legal and formal justice, Hong's destiny is sealed once he picks up "the revolver and knife"—with no capital and no clout, what else does he have? He, again like Antigone, will be banished out of the city and die. But how do we evaluate the fact that the poetic justice of Hong's violence and his mobilization in juvenescent spaces both aim at emancipation? Judith Butler may be right when she claims that violence as a means may become an end.[168] This is why people like Hong could not survive to face the "end" even if it were victorious. Such a dilemma also haunts juvenescent spaces that need to prevent themselves from becoming a law-making and law-preserving spatial organization on the morning after the revolution and also avoid lapsing into a law-destroying violence that becomes an end. In the 1960s, this dilemma came back to haunt juvenescent spaces in the wave of global youth revolutions, and thus we would delve deeper into this question of justice, violence, and revolution.

The narrative setting of *Les Conquérants* is placed in a moment when the fate of the Soviet Russia, the Comintern, the young CCP, and the Nationalist Party all fell into an uncertainty in the shadow cast by Lenin's death in 1924 and Sun Yat-sen's death the following year. Before the deaths of the two leaders- Sun Yat-sen and Lenin- who controlled the steers, Adolf Joffe,[169] a Soviet diplomat, came to China as a special envoy to meet Sun Yat-sen and signed "The Sun-

167. Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (London: Profile Books, 2009), 8–9.
168. This is an argument Judith Butler makes in *The Force of Nonviolence: An Ethico-Political Bind* (London; New York: Verso, 2020).
169. According to Issac Deutscher, Joffe was too impatient to negotiate an appropriate deal for the CCP. Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky, 1921–1929* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 292.

Joffe Agreement" that prompted the cooperation between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party. After Lenin's untimely death, the Comintern, led by Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, instructed communist party members to join the Nationalist Party[170] and be led by their potential rivalry.

A latent crisis of this coalition lies in a cult of revolution in the 1920s that caused the word "revolution" to be appropriated by different political powers in China to an extent that it was almost impossible to define it or find a clear-cut boundary. Embraced by both parties, the idea of revolution meant very different things for the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party. For the latter, they claimed to carry out a "legitimate revolution" with a goal of uniting China by putting an end to the rules of warlords. But representing the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, a class revolution, the long-term goal for the Communist Party, would appear too radical, impractical, and even illegal for the Nationalist Party. In the temporary coalition, the mutual acceptance of an imminent Chinese revolution to some extent concealed the fundamental divergence in their view toward the class struggle. In the early stage of constructing juvenescent spaces, such as Chen Duxiu's mobilizations in the French Concession, Shanghai workers had not yet grown into an organized force so that the small-scale transgression was not seen as a major threat. But after the May 30 Incident in Shanghai, the Communist Party gradually pivoted from an "elitist party" to a "party of the mass" and broke out of its small circle of intelligentsia. The three insurrections of Shanghai workers in 1926 and 1927 on the one hand displayed the efficiency of the political and spatial mobilization of workers and, on the other hand, drove the Nationalist Party to turn its spear toward its ally in defense of the law and order of the ruling

170. A number of Communist Party members joined and worked for the Nationalist Party—for instance, Mao was leading the propaganda department of the Nationalist Party in Shanghai, and Zhou Enlai was working under Chiang Kai-shek at Wampoa Military Academy in Canton.

class, which eventually led to the collapse of the coalition.

When Chiang Kai-shek's north expedition army was welcomed in Shanghai in 1927, the city had already been seized by revolutionary workers in the victorious third insurrection. Still treating the Nationalist Party as an ally—partly because of the Comintern's instruction and partly because of their own misjudgments—Communist Party leaders including Chen Duxiu handed over the hard-earned victory to Chiang voluntarily. Yet, as a response, Chiang allied with the warlord Bai Chongxi as well as Green Gang bosses, Huang Jinrong and Du Yuesheng. At the same time, working-class gatherings and mobilizations were deemed suspicious and "unauthorized persons carrying arms of any description"[171] became illegal under a new martial law enacted by the Nationalist Party. The French Concession, for instance, became a main site of the crackdown in which foreign forces also operated in the witch hunt for communists and trade unionists in Shanghai. According to Harold Issacs, the "indirect contribution of the French authorities was the most notable since the head of the French Concession detective force was Pock-marked Hwang Ching-yung (Huang Jinrong) who sent all his men into action against the workers."[172] House-to-house searches were carried out, and those arrested would face "military courts set up under the martial-law regulations issued by General Chiang Kai-shek." The military court, according to Isaacs, could "use their own discretion" in the event of any "emergency."[173] In this way, another legal space of exception was installed in Shanghai to supplement the Mixed Courts in concessions. To keep up their appearance as the civilized and lawful entity ruling over the savage and lawless colony, the mixed courts had been reluctant to get blood on their hands. Now the foreign police could shake off the uneasiness and arrest workers and revolutionaries to

171. Harold R. Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (Chicago, Ill.: Haymarket Books, 2010), 128.
172. Isaacs, 154.
173. Isaacs, 155.

send them to Chiang's military court. Isaacs thus parallels the "reign of terror" in Shanghai "directed above all at the workers and Communists" to Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's coup d'état that snatched the fruit of the wave of revolutions of 1848.

Facing such a crisis and blatant betrayal, the Comintern, under the leadership of Stalin, ordered the Communist Party to keep up the fiction of the "national united front," which led to the decimation of the young party and the newly organized working class during the April 12 Purge (also known as the Shanghai Massacre) in 1927. Hundreds of workers were shot to death in the clash with the militarized police; thousands of communist party members were arrested and killed; trade unions were forcibly shut down. Gone with the burgeoning revolutionary force were the juvenescent spaces of revolutionary community, connectivity, and mobilizations in Shanghai. In the ruins of juvenescent spaces left behind by the massive setback of revolutions in 1927, Trotskyism started to gain rising attention from certain Chinese revolutionaries who survived the "reign of terror," including Chen Duxiu, who lost his sons in the crackdown. Essentially, the trajectory of the Chinese Revolution between 1925 and 1927 was intersected with the power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin in Soviet Russia after Lenin's death in 1924. Hence, in the post-1927 despair and turbulence, Trotsky, "the internationalist Jew," played a significant role in Chinese revolutionaries' re-imaginary of juvenescent spaces in terms of the global order and revolutionary connectivity.

After the red network was torn apart in 1927, Shanghai was no longer the revolutionary center of Chinese revolutions, and the main force of the CCP retreated to inland rural locations over which Kuomintang had weaker control. With Mao ascending to power, the spatial mobilizations of the Chinese revolution shifted from urban areas and workers to rural regions and peasants. Unlike proletarians in Shanghai who were exploited by foreign capitals or coerced

by imperial powers, peasants were attached to their land and earth and knew little about the world outside of it. To mobilize peasants requires a totally different strategy. Marx's slogan "workers of the world, unite!" and Trotskyist world revolution surely could not work like a charm. In contrast, the Maoist strategy was to mobilize by land reforms and by using rural bases to encircle and capture cities, both of which relied on rural locality and rootedness.

Through Malraux's fictional works, in the previous chapter I mentioned that the Stalin-Trotsky rivalry significantly altered the spatial dynamism of the Chinese Revolution between 1925 and 1927. Stalin's Comintern policy led directly to the tragedy of the 1927 crackdown in Shanghai and the strategic shift in spatial mobilizations. However, in the ruins and debris of revolutionary juvenescent spaces in Shanghai, four Trotskyist groups emerged in 1930: the Octobrists, the Proletarian Society with Chen Duxiu as its leader, the Our Word group, and the Militant group. Three of these four groups had their journal (*The Proletarian*, *Our Word*, *The Militant*) to disseminate Trotskyist ideas. To simplify it slightly, if Stalin casts an image of authority and nationalist sovereign, then Trotsky is the permanent "wandering Jew" who failed to escape the fate of being an outsider and stranger spatially and politically. The fate of most Chinese Trotskyists, China's urban revolutionaries, mirrors the Jewish rootlessness and strangeness in the context of Chinese revolutions. Becoming a Trotsky supporter, Chen Duxiu after 1927 was wanted by the Kuomintang, expelled by the CCP, and resented by Stalin. He was joined by a younger generation of Chinese revolutionaries returning from Moscow and young internationalists living in Shanghai.

In 1930, Harold Isaacs (伊罗生 1910–1986), a young journalist born into a Lithuanian-Jewish family running a real estate business in New York City, set sail for Shanghai. He was employed by English-language newspapers and Havas, the French news agency. At work, he met

Frank Glass (李福仁 1901–1988), who founded the Communist Party of South Africa and was expelled from the Party for being a Trotskyist. In 1931, Isaacs joined Glass for a trip up the Yangtze River, a trip that exposed him under "the dazzling light of Marxist revelation," and after returning to Shanghai, he started his own weekly *China Forum* with a pro-revolutionary and Trotskyist position. It soon became a rare discursive site for revolutionary voices in Shanghai and a conduit between the waning but ongoing urban revolution in China and revolutionary causes elsewhere. Though also printed in the French Concession at first, running a revolutionary journal in Shanghai in the post-1927 environment was even more difficult than Chen Duxiu's publication of *New Youth*. Issacs recalled that he had to endure various types of police harassment: "official and unofficial surveillance, some more printers frightened off, mail intercepted, bundles of paper seized, copies 'lost' at the post office."[174] In a more dramatic case, when Chinese Trotskyists tried to print a journal circulating writings of International Oppositionists, a printing worker defected and stole the press. Frank Glass; Alex Buchman, another journalist and fellow Trotskyist; and two Chinese comrades had to disguise themselves as detectives and inspectors of the International Settlement Police to stage a raid to retrieve their press. In this sense, those Trotskyists who were misfits, outcasts, and diasporic revolutionaries and activists became the last ones holding the fort in Shanghai and keeping the last piece of revolutionary juvenescent space in the city.

From 1929–1939, Trotsky in exile closely followed the developments of the Leftist Oppositional in China by exchanges of correspondence with different individuals, such as Chen Duxiu, Liu Renjing, Frank Glass, and Harold Isaacs. The younger generation of Trotskyists who

174. Harold R. Isaacs, *Re-Encounters in China: Notes of a Journey in a Time Capsule* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1985), 15.

returned from Moscow did not trust Chen Duxiu's conversion to Trotskyism. But Trotsky persuaded them that Chen should not be blamed for the fiasco of the Chinese Revolution of 1925–1927 and that Chen's revolutionary experiences were a valuable asset. In a letter to Chen, Trotsky writes that he wanted to learn Chinese so that he could read Chen's work. Trotsky, "the old man," and Chen Duxiu, who was also called the old one by his younger comrades, shared numerous similarities: both were proper intellectuals, cosmopolitan, and "habitual dissidents," and they also shared a similar fate of being outcasts. Chen was arrested again in 1932, which was celebrated by the French Concession police as "a sensational victory over the communists" (Chinese Urban Revolutionaries note 125). After his release in 1937, Trotsky wrote several letters to Frank Glass raising concerns over Chen's safety and the possibility of getting Chen to the United States. Chen refused these proposals. On the one hand, according to Wang Fanxi, Chen preferred staying in China as a gesture of support for the Sino-Japanese War. On the other hand, near the end of his life, Chen started to share a similar view toward democracy and dictatorship with another eccentric Jewish revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, a view that digressed from Trotskyism. In a letter to Pu Qingquan (僕清泉), a Chinese Trotskyist, written in September 1940, almost immediately after Trotsky's assassination and two years before his death, Chen writes:

> For the last six or seven years I have deeply pondered the experience of Soviet Russia over the last two decades before arriving at my present views: (1) Without a state in which the broad masses of the people participate there can be no broad democracy: in the absence of the broad democracy, so-called popular state power or proletarian dictatorship will inevitably drift toward a Stalin-style GPU system controlled by a tiny minority of people. Such a system is the necessary outcome of such a situation; it is not because Stalin is particularly vicious. (2) To replace bourgeois democracy with a state in which the broad masses of the people participate is to go forward; to replace British, French, or American democracy with German or Russian dictatorship is to go backward. Those who (directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly) assist in a retrogression are reactionary,

however left-wing they may sound. [175]

Similar to Rosa Luxemburg's rejection of the "dictatorship or democracy" question, Chen also rejected the claim that "democracy is outdated and proletarian dictatorship has only dictatorship and no democracy." For him, if future revolutions follow this line of thought, then humanity would be ravaged by the secret police. In his last manifesto, "The Future of Oppressed Nations," he criticizes the attempt of "closing doors and relying on oneself to realize an isolated nationalist policy" and restates his belief in an alliance of oppressed laborers and nations worldwide and in a new world of internationalist socialism where collaboration and mutual aid would replace capitalist and imperial commerce and transaction. Hence, in terms of the horizon of the world revolution, Chen died a Trotskyist and an internationalist.

175. Chen Duxiu, *Chen Duxiu's Last Articles and Letters, 1937–1942*, ed. and trans. Gregor Benton (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 63.

Chapter 3

The Utopian Soundscape: Ethno-Rhythmic Transference, Revolutionary Carnivals, and the Internationalism of Strangers of Jazz Poetics

It was on the mobilized streets of Paris where the Chen brothers, Emi Xiao (Xiao San),[176] and their fellow student-workers found themselves among young revolutionaries from all over the world, and it was also where they first sang "L'Internationale," the battle song of the proletariat. Not long after, Emi Xiao and Chen Qiaonian left for Moscow to study at the KUTV (the Communist University of the Toilers of the East). In the summer of 1923 in Moscow, Xiao and Chen translated the lyrics of "L'Internationale" into Chinese and taught their classmates to sing the song together. Though they were probably not the first to have translated "L'Internationale" into Chinese,[177] their version became the most widespread when their classmates at the KUTV came back to China to carry out the revolutionary cause and thus spread the song to various provinces.

It was also in Paris where the lyrics were written by Eugène Pottier (1816–1887)[178], a

176. The Chen brothers refers to Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian, who were the sons of writer and CCP founder Chen Duxiu. I have written about the Chen brothers' mobilizations and revolutionary journal in Paris in Chapter 1 and Chen Duxiu's conflicts with the French police and his trials in the Mixed Court in the French Concession of Shanghai. Emi Siao was a Chinese poet and translator as well as a childhood friend of Mao Zedong.

177. There has been a debate over the first translator of "L'Internationale." Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白 1899–1953), an early member of the CCP who studied Russian and worked in Moscow as a journalist, translated the lyrics from Russian to Chinese in the early 1920s. Qu started serving as the chief editor of the *New Youth*—now an official organ of the CCP—from 1923. In the first issue and also a special edition about the Comintern, Qu included his translation of "L'Internationale." But Qu's version is more refined and less straightforward, which may be one of the reasons that it is not as widespread as the version by the Chen brothers and Xiao San. *New Youth*, no. 1 (June 15, 1923), 6.

178. Pierre De Geyter (1848–1932), a Belgian Marxist composed music for Pottier's poem. It is notable that both Pottier and De Geyter were skilled artisan workers. Pottier was a textile printer-poet and De Geyter a woodcarver-composer. In this way, they practiced just as Marx envisioned about a dissolution of the division of labor in a Communist society: "to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic." Karl Marx, *The German Ideology: Including Theses on Feuerbach and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1998), 53. And it was also put into practice by communards who subverted perception that "words or images" were luxuries of those who could afford them. Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London: Verso, 2015), 50.

communard, a founder of the Artist Federation, and an elected member of the second arrondissement of the revolutionary city-state. Having survived the *semaine sanglante*, Pottier wrote down the lyrics when he received a death sentence and hid in Paris in May 1871. Internationalism, for Pottier, was not a rhetorical or lyrical expression, but rather a code of praxis beyond "the cellular regime of nationality."[179] As Kristin Ross presents in *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune*, it has long been ignored that under the Commune, Paris not only wanted to be free from Napoléon III's centralized governance but also dreamed of becoming "an element, a unit in a federation of communes that was ultimately international in scale."[180]

Lenin, in his article to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pottier's death, notes with a hint of sentiment that "the song has been translated into all European and other languages. In whatever country a class-conscious worker finds himself, wherever fate may cast him, however much he may feel himself a stranger, without language, without friends, far from his native country—he can find himself comrades and friends by the familiar refrain of the Internationale."[181] Lenin's comment reveals an invaluable attribute of "L'Internationale." As suggested by the name of the song, it stands against most national anthems that call for a collective patriotism and an attachment to the homeland. I would extend that it is a song not only for the oppressed, proletariats, and revolutionaries, but also for those uprooted or exiled from their homeland as well as for strangers and wanderers without a common language and a community. Though "L'Internationale" is more often described as a left-wing anthem or a revolutionary battle song, I would like to emphasize that its strength also comes out of the

179. Ross, *Communal Luxury*, 32.
180. Ross, 12.
181. Vladimir Il′ich Lenin, *Lenin Collected Works, Volume 36* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), 223.

moment when a stranger finds themself a community by singing the song among comrades and when as a common language, it transgresses borders and make connections. In this way, "L'Internationale" perfectly materializes the three features of juvenescent spaces: community, connectivity, and transgression. And if we agree with Henri Lefebvre that "sound occupies a space,"[182] then the rhythm, repetition, and frequency of a certain piece of music—like the powerful refrain of "L'Internationale"—could also occupy a space and transform it into a new experience and imaginary of space, be it a café, a cabaret, a revolutionary carnival, or a crowd on the street.

Mirroring the tragic fate of the communards, the Chen brothers were executed during the crackdown on communists in Shanghai in 1927. Similar to exiled communards after the fall of the Commune like Pottier, Emi Xiao, then gravely ill, was sent to Vladivostok, a remote border city between Soviet Russia and China, on the eve of the crackdown. But "L'Internationale," which they had translated, carried on to be disseminated and sung by workers, trade unionists, progressive students, and their fellow revolutionaries in China.

In this chapter I first follow a trail left by "L'Internationale" that challenges Kantian cosmopolitanism and Carl Schmitt's "nomos (law) of earth," both of which require an attachment to land, earth, and the sense of homeland. Through sound and rhythm, I want to delineate a soundscape in which "lawless" strangers, melancholic wanderers, and rootless travelers create an alternative image of internationalism that transcends the boundaries of space, ethnicity, and language. In this chapter I also follow the trail of the "utopian" thinking in relation to jazz and juvenescent spaces. I intentionally posit the term "utopian" in a more or less ambivalent context

182. Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London; New York: Continuum, 2004), 60.

to engage with the negative dialectics of Utopieverbot (the prohibition of imagining a utopia)[183] of Adorno, who sees the primitive nature, improvised subjectivity, and revolutionary impulse of jazz as a false utopia, an illusion, and a late-capitalist mass commodity disguised in an avant-garde format. Adorno argues that the illusion of jazz partly comes from the "mythic mystification of the black man"[184] and yet "the link between jazz and black music is questionable."[185] What I want to underscore is precisely the illusory trick of jazz that seems to have an ethnic birthmark but in reality is capable of creating an internationalist ethno-rhythmic transference through which the melancholy and sufferings of the Black, the Jew, and the Chinese were empathetically shared in a juvenescent space of sound and music. The utopian features to be discussed here, then, are not of a totalizing paradise of uniformity and order. In contrast, the utopian soundscape that I promote as a form of juvenescent space is made up of unexpected encounters between strangers and imaginary carnivals of wanderers—spaces that acquired their revolutionary momentum from estrangement, queerness, and uncertainty outside of law and order. In the end, the utopian soundscape of this chapter does not stand alone;[186] it is but one piece of the jigsaw puzzle that displays the utopian or dystopian, playful, and sometimes transgressive aspect of juvenescent spaces in both international and communal forms across Shanghai and Paris.

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183. Adorno's understanding of utopia is derived from the Jewish Bilderverbot (the prohibition of the portrayal of God and paradise). Following a similar line of thought, he claims that "one may not cast a picture of Utopia in a positive manner" and "one can only talk about Utopia in a negative way." Theodor W. Adorno & Ernst Bloch, "Something's Missing: A Discussion between Ernst Bloch and Theodor W. Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing" (1964), in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature*, trans. Jack Zipes & Frank Mecklenburg (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 9. Here, to replace the image of utopia with a sound utopia would be a direct response to the "image ban" and open up a new path to approach utopian thinking.
184. Theodor W. Adorno, "On Jazz," trans. Jamie Owen Daniel, *Discourse* 12, no. 1, Special Issue on Music (Fall–Winter 1989–90): 58.
185. Adorno, 53.
186. In the backdrop of this chapter, before it, there is the carnivalesque image of the Paris Commune where the "L'Internationale" was born; and after it, there is the tumultuous Global Sixties that inherited the esprit libre from both revolutionary moments and this playful Jazz Age. In a more contemporary context, the distinctive features of the utopian soundscape of jazz have been turned into a retro-style cultural brand of urban cosmopolitanism today and even incorporated into a spectacle of Disneyland, adding yet another layer, which is somewhat ironic, to the playfulness, utopian imaginary, and juvenescent spaces of the new era.

I. The Law of Earth vs. the Internationalism of Strangers

In his philosophical sketch (*philosophischer Entwurf*) of "perpetual peace," Immanuel Kant uses the formality of legal treaty to present a dual engagement of *Legalität* and *Moralität* on the issue of international relations and global order: "First definitive article of perpetual peace: the civil constitution of every state shall be republican; second definitive article of perpetual peace: international law shall be based on the *federalism* of free states; third definitive article of perpetual peace: cosmopolitan right shall be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality."[187] The utopian imaginary of the global order in Kant is neatly formulated in a double-layered legal network with a republican constitution within nation-states serving as its foundation and a pacifist federation or a world republic bonded by law to be its ultimate goal. Then, the cosmopolitan law of hospitality completes the system by designating a host–guest code of conduct to manage diasporic populations as well as people traveling transnationally in the system.

Written as a reflection on the Revolutionary Wars following the French Revolution in 1789, Kant's sketch of perpetual peace is situated precisely at the watershed of modern history. It is the moment when French civilian soldiers, including the sans-culottes and Jacobins, were

187. Immanuel Kant, *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*, ed. Pauline Kleingeld, trans. David L. Colclasure (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 74–82 (minor revision of translation). David L. Colclasure admits in the "Note on the Translation" that the word "recht" and its cognates are "notoriously difficult to translate" and that they have decided to use "right" for "recht." The German word "recht" along with the French word "droit" could refer both to law and right. I notice that behind the choice of the word, this version of translation, maybe unwittingly, underscores the moral aspect of Kantian cosmopolitanism and his global order. Fernando R. Tesón, a legal scholar, argues that "recht" in the afore-cited articles cited should be replaced by "law" and thus generates a framework of constitutional law, international law, and cosmopolitan law, which highlights the legal foundation of the Kantian formula. Fernando R. Tesón, "The Kantian Theory of International Law," *Columbia Law Review* 92, no. 1 (1992): 57. To be more precise, I would argue that "recht" in the second article should be replaced by "law,£" while the "recht" in the third definitive article could remain "cosmopolitan right" because it simultaneously has a moral dimension as to the hospitality, though not philanthropy according to Kant, toward the other and a legal dimension concerning the world citizenship that could be a supplement to the constitutional and international law.

fighting royalists from other European monarchies to defend Paris and their revolutionary victory. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe witnessed the unexpected success of the young French Republic's resistance to the army of the Austro-Prussian alliance and claimed that "here and today, a new epoch of world history arises."[188] Goethe's "new epoch" declaration announced the arrival of the new regime of republic and of citizenship (Bürgersinn) that both he and Kant endorsed. At the same time, he deplored the rise of nationalism that both of them, one as the promoter of world literature (*Weltliteratur*) and one as the initiator of modern cosmopolitanism, disliked. Kant and Goethe also shared a similar insight regarding a new global connectivity, though one imagined it through transnational cultural exchanges and the other through international law. But today, both of them are liable to be criticized as major contributors to the Eurocentric cultural field and an international legal system serving imperial powers and later neoliberal capitals, two problematic systems that are still haunting us today.

The paradox here is that Goethe has long been appropriated into a symbol of the great German literature. And as an initiator of a global order and the international law, Kant never left Königsberg, his hometown, which means he was never in his life a stranger, an alien, or an outsider. His firm rootedness in the homeland may be his Achilles heel that impeded him from being more imaginative or caring more about justice in conceiving the early globalization model because such a rootedness is in itself a counter-thesis to global mobilization, diasporic experiences, and transgressive spatial practices. This rootedness also corresponds to Carl Schmitt's explanation of the origin of law (nomos) that, according to him, lies in a spatial and geographical sense of "earth" as "the source of the inner measure of justice rooted in planting and cultivating of earth and soil—a place of definite divisions, standards, and a solid ground."

188. Arthur Lenhoff, "Goethe as Lawyer and Statesman," *Washington University Law Review* 1951, no. 2 (1951): 168.

And these spaces are delineated and segregated by "fences, enclosures, boundaries, walls, houses…" that makes families, estates, forms of ownership, power, and domination visible.[189]

Along the same lines, in Schmitt's perhaps erroneous interpretation, the Kantian legal theory "begins with the premise that all property and every legal order has land as its precondition, and is derived from the original acquisition of the earth's soil."[190] He further claims that such a premise also applies to international law that is essentially about land appropriation and land occupations. Without digging too deep into the "earth" of Schmitt, we could have already detected that for him, rootless strangers like Jews in Europe are immediately excluded from the spectrum of legal and moral justice, both of which need to be achieved through possessing land or having a *Heimat* (homeland) in a Heideggerian sense.[191] Similarly, for Schmitt and his followers, proletarians, immigrants, refugees, and all the strangers without land could be seen as inherently unjust and illegitimate because they know little about planting, cultivation, and the reward of earth because they dwell outside of fences, boundaries, and walls and are thus lawless in nature. At its heart, Kant's international law is the law protecting the existing geopolitical order and mediating contradictions between sovereign powers appropriating and occupying land, not the law positioning landless and rootless individuals in a new spatial order.

189. Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the JusPublicum Europaeum*, trans. G. L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2003), 42.
190. Schmitt, 47–48.
191. Heidegger's philosophical edifice is built on tropes concerning place: his core concept Dasein places place (da) before existence (Sein), and he inherited an obsession for dwelling from Hölderlin. This attachment to place, earth, and home becomes particularly suspicious once placed in a larger context of nation-states and international relations. Though Heidegger became more engaged with the question of Mitsein (being-with) in his later works, it is still perceived by many, including Arendt, Marcuse, and Levinas, as inadequate to reveal the compassion and complexities of intersubjectivity. As a response to the Heideggerian philosophy, Levinas, a Holocaust survivor, provides a new meaning to dwelling. For him, rather than dwelling in a place or on earth, it is through the dwelling in the "other" (autrui) that the soul acquires its own identity. Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity; An Essay on Exteriority* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969), 115.

The rule of hospitality in a host–guest framework is already Kant's most humanistic gesture in the sketch. Yet, one could either be a host or a guest, and even being a guest requires a home to return to. "But as for the Jew," as Leon Pinsker puts in his famous declaration "Auto-Emancipation," "not only is he not a native in his own country, but he is also not a foreigner; he is, in very truth, the stranger par excellence. He is regarded as neither friend nor foe but an alien, of whom the only thing known is that he has no home."[192] Then, we may be tempted to ask how to fit all types of strangers into an assemblage of global order if Kant's legal formula that requires rootedness could not provide a satisfactory answer. Or to frame the question following the logic of juvenescence that aims at transcending law and the spatial order of Earth, how could the experience of displacement and uprootedness, of being the other and stranger, contribute to a new imaginary of community and global connectivity?

Maurice Blanchot's explanation of "Being Jewish" is there to remind us of "the exigency of uprooting; the affirmation of nomadic truth." This, I would argue, is also a truth about communism and internationalism, one that is always veiled under the more uplifting ones like equality and solidarity. On uprooting and the nomadic truth, Blanchot continues:

> Judaism stands in contrast to paganism (all paganism). To be pagan is to be fixed, to plant oneself in the earth, as it were, to establish oneself through a pact with the permanence that authorizes sojourn and is certified by certainty in the land. Nomadism answers to a relation that possession cannot satisfy. Each time Jewish man makes a sign to us across history it is by the summons of a movement.[193]

Here, Blanchot provides a counter-thesis to the Schmittian legal theory as he notes that the Jewish experience is not about Earth and possession, but about nomadism and movement. To

192. Leon Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation* (1889), https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/quot-auto-emancipation-quot-leon-pinsker (Accessed April 21, 2021). For this impasse, the solution that Pinsker, as a Zionist activist, suggests in the pamphlet is to replace cosmopolitanism with a Jewish nationalism—a solution that has become more and more controversial when land and earth become an obsession and the site of conflicts in the Middle East.
193. Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 125.

answer the questions of Pasternak: "What does being Jewish signify? Why does it exist?", Blanchot tells us that "it exists so the idea of exodus and the idea of exile can exist as a legitimate movement . . . so that the experience of strangeness may affirm itself close at hand as an irreducible relation."[194]

"The exigency of uprooting; the affirmation of nomadic truth" also directs me to the paths that I will take throughout our voyage in juvenescent spaces of soundscapes, a path that does not follow the Schmittian nomos of Earth and equally avoids the road of power struggles and Realpolitik within Communist parties and the Comintern. This path following the communism and internationalism of strangers, wanderers, and outsiders in juvenescent spaces could be presented by Jacques Derrida's[195] reflection on Marx. By evoking Blanchot, Derrida brings in the exigency "to think the holding together of the disparate . . . the alliance of rejoining without conjoined mate, without organization, without party, without nation, without State, without property (the 'communism' that we will later nickname the new International)."[196] This alliance, "communism," or new International that may "hold together the disparate" again brings us to the logic of juvenescence that simultaneously calls for spatial connectivity and community.

II. Jazz Excursions: The Utopian Soundscape of Ethno-Rhythmic Transference in Jean-Paul Sartre's *La Nausée*

Is jazz a quintessentially Black music? Following the question, we may be tempted to ask what underlies this connection among sound, rhythm, and race? Is it an ethnographical quest, a biopolitical interrogation, or a cultural construction? Adorno considered "black Jazz" as a brand

194. Blanchot, 125.
195. Derrida was in fact an Algerian Jew who always found himself a stranger in the Parisian intellectual circle.
196. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994), 35.

name, a curated commodity to satisfy customers coveting a "coloristic effect." In the eyes of the philosopher of the Frankfurt School, jazz is a product of consumption detached from Black experiences and Black life. But Fumi Okiji in *Jazz as Critique: Adorno and Black Expression Revisited* argues that it is exactly through jazz that Black experiences as "a consequence of a profound lack of relationality between itself and the world"[197] are revealed. Without doubt, Okiji refutes Adorno's claim because it fails to take into consideration the more profound socio-oncological conditions of Blackness and Black subject that constitute the "nucleus of modernity."[198] In a different field of sound with both Adorno and Okiji who approach jazz and its racial connotation in a sociopolitical framework, there is another line of inquiry on race and rhythm that deserves our attention.

In *Rhythm and Race in Modernist Poetry and Sciences*, Michael Golston sketches a picture of the study of rhythm in an ethnographical and genetic context. Such "scientific quests" aiming at building a bridge between the rhythm of body and race, for Golson, foreshadow the high-modernist poetics of W. B. Yeats and Ezra Pound who sought to achieve an affective power through "'inaudible' or 'hidden' rhythms—that is, rhythms that the reader or auditor is not supposed to be able to hear or see but instead is supposed to intuit."[199] This bridge between rhythm and race is as powerful in poetic expression as it is problematic in racial conceptualization. A pioneer in this field, the American psychologist Thaddeus L. Bolton studied rhythms extensively and reached the surprising and controversial conclusion that children, savages, and lower classes of people are more susceptible to be affected by rhythms, while

197. Fumi Okiji, *Jazz as Critique: Adorno and Black Expression Revisited* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2018), 52.
198. Okiji, 3.
199. Michael Golston, *Rhythm and Race in Modernist Poetry and Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 8.

highly civilized people are not so easily "swayed" by rhythms. Bolton sets forth an example that "The negro preacher often resorts to recitative speaking to produce the desired emotional state in his hearers, which is generally known as the 'power'."[200]

If we put jazz into Bolton's rhythmic biopolitics, it would immediately raise questions concerning class, race, and nation-states because rhythm—recurrence and repetition—is the foundation of jazz. Indeed, these questions were further developed by a series of studies and claims on racialization of rhythm in the early twentieth century. A cult of national rhythms and ethnically based eurhythmic training was devised by Émile Jacques-Dalcroze in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As for Richard Wagner, without a native land and national ground, Jews had no racially natural rhythm and could only speak language as an alien. In Oswald Spengler, there is an insurmountable segregation between the psychophysical rhythms concerning different races. He uses the mutual illegibility and incomprehensibility between Western and Chinese music as an example: "We are never able to distinguish gay from grave" in Chinese music, and "to the Chinese all the music of the West without distinction is march-music." The conclusion Spengler draws from this is that the rhythmic dynamic is marked "in our blood and therefore we do not notice it. But when our rhythm is juxtaposed with that of an alien life, we find the discordance intolerable."[201]

In these claims and pseudo-scientific researches, the Black, the Jew, and the Chinese are each singled out as an example to show how their bodily and sonic rhythm are discordant with the European eurythmic harmony in different ways: the Black succumbed to the natural rhythm as an uncivilized impulse; the Jews as wanderers without a native tongue have no natural

200. Thaddeus Bolton, "Rhythm," *The American Journal of Psychology* 6, no. 2 (1894): 164.
201. Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West. 2 vols*, trans. Charles Francis Atkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 228.

rhythm; being the distant other, the Chinese produced rhythms that were illegible so that a mutual rhythmic understanding between Europeans and the Chinese is unthinkable. What I want to show here, using Sartre's novel *La Nausée*, is the possibility of a sound utopia *à venir* that challenges all the aforementioned claims. And in this coming utopia of a soundscape, the segregations, boundaries, and barriers of rhythmic dynamic experiences among different ethnic groups are transgressed. Furthermore, I would argue that an exemplary juvenescent space of the new internationalist soundscape could surface from this ethno-rhythmic transference among different groups. The repetitive rhythms, recurring excursions, improvisational idiosyncrasies, swings and sways, all these characteristics of jazz reflect symptoms of "black worldlessness, homelessness, and selflessness"[202] that are transferable to strangers and wanderers of other ethnic groups. Hence, the affective power of the Black experience and Black subject becomes not a flattening universal note, but rather an internationalist cadence with excursions. Melodic excursions are central to the composition and improvisation in jazz. Each excursion could be a start to extend a melody or alter a subsequent chord. And the playful deviation and rhythmic break brought by excursions could create an effect of improvisation that is "natural, flowing, uncontrived, and spontaneous."[203] The excursions of jazz not only rhythmically inspire its audiences to lift up their feet and dance but also metaphorically build up a series of movements out of a stable musical structure, like a nomad or a rootless wanderer adventuring in a smooth space if we picture it in a Deleuzian image. This mode of musical expression again subverts the nomos of Earth and creates a sound image of strangers who, regardless of their race and "natural rhythm," could find refuge in the unique rhythmic space of jazz.

202. Okiji, *Jazz as Critique*, 53.
203. Paul Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 202.

Antoine Roquentin, the narrator and protagonist of Jean-Paul Sartre's first novel *La Nausée* is a character of this stranger and wanderer category. Before settling in Bouville and wandering around the small town to piece together a book about an obscure historical figure Marquis de Rollebon, Roquentin spent years in the Indochine and traveled to China. He immediately reminds us of Malraux's protagonists in his trilogy of revolutions. *La Nausée*'s reference to Malraux becomes more glaring when Roquentin writes in his journal that he was invited to accompany an archeological team to Bengal and the invitation became a wakeup call that terminated his sojourn in the Indochine, an episode that mirrors Malraux's "archeological" expedition and arrest in Cambodia.[204] Such reference is not a coincidence because Sartre was an avid reader of Malraux's works, and their early works were published by Gallimard through the same hands of Paul Nizan, another politically engaged writer and an early member of Parti Communiste Français (PCF). In fact, *La Nausée* is situated in the same lineage of fictions exploring the contingent and sometimes absurd conditions of existence from Kafka and Malraux to Camus. The wanderings and anguish of Roquentin, haunted by the contingencies of being and the sense of absurdity, also resemble those of Kyo in *La Condition Humaine* and Garine in *Les Conquérants*, both of whom suffer from similar symptoms. But at first glance, Sartre and Malraux's protagonists take drastically different paths in dealing with their existential crisis. Malraux's revolutionary heroes dispel their solitude and anxiety by joining a collective cause through which, at least for them, a new world or a utopia would eventually arrive. Yet, for Sartre, his protagonist, Roquentin, is circling in a small town where he has not built any substantial interpersonal connection and his relationship with his ex-lover, Anny, is beyond reparable. On the front page of *La Nausée*, Sartre cites a phrase from Céline's *L'Église*: "C'est un garçon sans

204. Malraux's arrest and trial have been discussed in Chapter 2.

importance collective, c'est tout juste un individu."[205] Indeed, Roquentin is this type of individual without a collective importance, singular, isolated, and tortured by the nausea caused by a vertigo of nothingness. In the end, he finally finds a way to quench the nausea and anxiety, not by self-sacrifice, religion, or a utopia promised by revolutions, but by a petite phrase[206] of a jazz song "Some of These Days." *La Nausée*, according to Jonathan Dale, could be seen as an ironic commentary to Malraux's works, and Roquentin's settling in Bouville could be read as "a gesture of skepticism towards Malraux's early, activist response to the absurd." Instead of placing their works in a dichotomy of individual or collective, meditative or activist antidotes to existential crisis, I would argue that this brief intersection between the two prominent engaged intellectuals' early literary career sets a common backdrop of the search for "utopia" in their works as well as in their theatrical life and intellectual trajectories.[207] And the petite phrase of "Some of These Days" in *La Nausée* is not simply an individualist indulgence of the protagonist; with the voice of a Jewish woman and words of a Black man, I would venture to say that it generates a soundscape of ethno-rhythmic transference that creates a juvenescent space of rhythmic utopia and a small unity of *commauté*.

In his diary, Roquentin writes about himself sitting in the café that he frequents in the small town. Surrounded by people playing cards and seized by the nausea again, he asks the waitress to play a jazz record:

> I recognize the melody from the very first bars. It is an old rag-time with a vocal refrain. I heard American soldiers whistle it in 1917 in the streets of LaRochel . . . The vocal chorus will be along shortly: I like that part especially and the abrupt manner in which it throws itself forward, like a cliff against the sea. For the

205. Jean-Paul Sartre, *La Nausée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1938), front page.
206. Eugenia Noik Zimmerman, "'Some of These Days': Sartre's 'Petite Phrase,'" *Contemporary Literature* 11, no. 3 (Summer 1970), Zimmerman's article interestingly evokes the word "petite phrase" as a reference to Marcel Proust's famous *petite phrase de vinteuil*, a fictional violin sonata that could trigger the involuntary memory of Charles Swann about his love for Odette.
207. Malraux later in his life retreated to museums as a final site of utopia, while Sartre practiced his activism on mobilized streets and in his people's court—the ultimate symbolic spaces of the revolutionary utopia.

> moment, the jazz is playing; there is no melody, only notes, a myriad of tiny jolts. They know no rest, an inflexible order gives birth to them and destroys them without even giving them time to recuperate and exist for themselves. They race, they press forward, they strike me a sharp blow in passing and are obliterated.[208]

Ragtime is a forerunner of jazz with polyrhythms derived from brisk and multilayered rhythms of African drums but without too much of the improvisation of jazz. "The abrupt manner" in which the refrain moves forward and the effect of "a myriad of tiny jolts" also come from the quick succession of a set of juxtaposed and overlapping rhythmic expressions. As Bakhtin interprets the polyphonic voices in Dostoyevsky as "the real present of the creative process," polyrhythms in jazz also mark a temporal break that "traverses our time through and through, rejecting it, tearing at it with its dry little points." In the jazz song, Roquentin declares, "there is another happiness . . . there is another time." Through this epiphany, Sartre brings in an ancient question upon which jazz may shed a new light: how do we perceive time, space, and ourselves in music?

Music was aligned with mathematics as two sets of truths behind the cosmic movements for ancient Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras. Similarly, the consonance and harmony of rhythms, for Plato, represented a cosmic order and measure, *chronos*, the linear and orderly temporality. But what Roquentin finds in "Some of These Days," the "another time," is more likely to be something that disturbs the measurable and linear temporality in which he experiences a constant nausea. At the same time, he was cured by the polyrhythms of jazz that impose not *chronos*, but *aion*, a fluid and immeasurable time of traverses. Intertwined with this type of temporality, Deleuze and Guattari associate the refrain (ritournelle) or in a more general sense, rhythmic patterns, with the spatial territorialization: a bird's territorial song that marks its

208. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Nausea*, trans. Lloyd Alexander (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 2013), 21.

"melodic landscape"; the zigzag dance of stickleback fish that points to its nest, its territory. In contrast to these rhythmic patterns aiming at territorializing in nature, music, for Deleuze and Guattari, is "a creative, active operation that consists in deterritorializing the refrain. Whereas the refrain is essentially territorial, territorializing, or reterritorializing, music makes it a deterritorialized content for a deterritorializing form of expression."[209] In this sense, the enchantment of Roquentin that Sartre describes in *La Nausée* presents to us a moment of detachment not only from the order of temporality, but also from the normative form of expression about spatial territory. The rhythms of jazz and the powerful voice of the negress in "Some of These Days" create a time of its own while also generating a soundscape outside of the territorial spatial order. And this "unmeasured time" could not be better visualized by Roquentin's subsequent description of the jazz song:

> A few seconds more and the Negress will sing. It seems inevitable, so strong is the necessity of this music: nothing can interrupt it, nothing which comes from this time in which the world has fallen; it will stop of itself, as if by order. If I love this beautiful voice it is especially because of that: it is neither for its fullness nor its sadness, rather because it is the event for which so many notes have been preparing, from so far away, dying that it might be born.[210]

The rhythms of "Some of These Days," in the eyes of the Sartrean hero, are free from the time of this world; they have their own tempo and pace—an emancipatory experience. No longer serving a territorial purpose, these rhythms are also free to rush toward death and start to prepare dying upon its birth. Sartre thus leads us to the destructive force of music, and in the refrain of jazz, Roquentin gets a taste of death and experiences what Deleuze and Guattari describe as "taking the fall in order to rise again": "a becoming-child, a becoming-woman, a becoming-animal,

209. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Masumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 300.
210. Sartre, *Nausea*, 22.

insofar as they are the content of music itself and continue to the point of death."[211] In the context of this novel, becoming-Negress and becoming-Jew could also be added to the list. In these becomings, Roquentin finds a certain peace in another time and in the café where he usually feels estranged. He is no longer an isolated individual when he gets out of the existential confinement and acquires a collective importance in a small community: himself, the aimless wanderer, the negress who has a strong voice, and the Jewish composer who wrote the beautiful refrains in a suffocating summer in New York City.

The voice of the negress is dilated, swells, and fills the room with its metallic transparency and crushes our miserable experince against the walls. Roquentin now resides in the time and space of music and turns into the adventurer that he used to be: "I am touched," he writes, "I feel my body at rest like a precision machine. I have had real adventures. I can recapture no detail but I perceive the rigorous succession of circumstances. I have crossed seas, left cities behind me, followed the course of rivers or plunged into forests, always making my way towards other cities."[212] His wanderer's image overlaps with that of Sophie Tucker, the real performer of "Some of These Days." Tucker was a Jewish-Ukranian-American singer and actress born in the Russian Empire. Her family immigrated to the US when she was young. Abandoning domestic life and living on the road, she led an unconventional life. Her voice on recordings would make her audiences misrecognize her as a Black singer, and Tucker took pride in her "colored" voice.[213] In her memoir, she "establishes herself as a figure of in-betweenness, a mediator between cultures, born between the Old World and the New."[214] So, when we are made

211. Sartre, 299.
212. Sartre, 23.
213. Lori Harrison-Kahan, *The White Negress: Literature, Minstrelsy, and the Black-Jewish Imaginary* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 52.
214. Harrison-Kahan, 26.

to believe that the moment of ethno-rhythmic transference happens between Roquentin and a Black Jazz singer, it becomes more curious that the "colored" voice in fact belongs to a Jewish woman. The reversal of ethnic identities of the performer and the composer of "Some of These Days" does not stop here. In reality, the song was written by Shelton Brooks, an African-American composer born in Canada. However, near the end of *La Nausée*, Roquentin is about to embark on a train to Paris while his mind is filled with the Jewish composer of the song:

> In fifteen minutes I will be on the train, but I don't think about it. I think about a clean-shaven American with thick black eyebrows, suffocating with the heat, on the twenty-first floor of a New York skyscraper. The sky burns above New York, the blue of the sky is inflamed, enormous yellow flames come and lick the roofs; the Brooklyn children are going to put on bathing drawers and play under the water of a fire-hose. The dark room on the twenty-first floor cooks under a high pressure. The American with the black eyebrows sighs, gasps and the sweat rolls down his cheeks. He is sitting, in shirtsleeves, in front of his piano; he has a taste of smoke in his mouth and, vaguely, a ghost of a tune in his head. "Some of these days." . . .
>
> That's the way it happened. That way or another way, it makes little difference. That is how it was born. It is the worn-out body of this Jew with black eyebrows which it chose to create it. He held the pencil limply, and the drops of sweat fell from his ringed fingers on to the paper . . .
>
> But I no longer think of myself. I think of the man out there who wrote this tune, one day in July, in the black heat of his room. I try to think of him through the melody, through the white, acidulated sounds of the saxophone. He made it . . . But I'd be happy if I were in his place; I envy him. I have to go. I get up, but I hesitate an instant, I'd like to hear the Negress sing. For the last time. She sings. So two of them are saved: the Jew and the Negress. Saved. Maybe they thought they were lost irrevocably, drowned in existence.[215]

Roquentin thinks of the Jewish composer behind the rhythms of his petite phrase. He pictures him coming up with the tune in a room of a New York skyscraper. He fills his imagination with details of the sky burning above the city and Brooklyn children playing under the water of a fire-hose. He finds a consolation that the Jew and the Negress were both saved from an irrevocable drowning in existence by the song: "some of these days, you'll miss me, honey." He, too, is

215. Sartre, *Nausea*, 176.

saved. He feels something he does not know any more: "some sort of joy."[216]

It is hard to trace if Sartre made an unwitting mistake and reversed the race of the performer and composer, or if he intentionally arranged the reversal. Pim Higginson in *Scoring Race: Jazz, Fiction, and Francophone Africa* comments that despite the race swap, "ultimately, the racial order is preserved" in *La Nausée*. According to him, Roquentin is the only textual being with epistemological substance, and the Black voice only helps Roquentin locate his purpose and place.[217] I would say that the soundscape of polyrhythms, the negress performer and Jewish composer in the fiction, or Jewish performer and Black composer in reality present a much more complicated image than a mere White narrator and his infatuation with an exotic Black voice. On the one hand, the reversal of ethnic identities achieves an effect of enriching the soundscape by adding an extra layer of ethno-rhythmic transference that refutes the "scientific claims" on rhythm as an insurmountable barrier between different ethnic groups. On the other hand, the jazz song creates a fluid time and a deterritorialized space where—using the exiled writer Salman Rushdie's words—"hybridity, impurity, intermingling, and transformation comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, songs."[218] In this sense, I prefer to believe that the racial order is dissolved in the rhythmic, temporal, spatial, and empathetic transferences that engage Roquentin, the Black singer, and the Jewish composer in an imaginary community, especially when Roquentin writes near the end that he thinks of the Black singer and the Jewish composer with affection

Sartre hides his gentleness beneath the glooming existential absurdity of the novel, but it resurfaces every time when the song is played. In an article on jazz written in his early twenties,

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216. Sartre, 177.
217. Pim Higginson, *Scoring Race: Jazz, Fiction, and Francophone Africa, African Articulations* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2017), 72.
218. Salman Rushdie, *In Good Faith* (New York: Granta, 1990), 4.

Sartre notes that jazz well represents his time with all of its enchanting elements: "estranged and cliffy rhythms . . . sensual and complicated love. Internationalism."[219] In fact, Sartre might have been more optimistic than he let critics believe him to be. Unlike Malraux's failed revolutionary utopia in both *La Condition Humaine* and *Les Conquérants*, Sartre's novel ends with a prototype of a small-scale sound utopia where a young man in solitude builds a connectivity with two equally perplexed souls in his eyes. And all of them are saved by "Some of These Days," a light-hearted popular ragtime. In this regard, jazz is without doubt, a Black music projecting the Black worldlessness and homelessness, but not exclusive to Black existence. The hybridity and impurity of Black jazz, such as being performed by a Jewish woman, make it an internationalist soundscape and a rhythmic community for the estranged, the marginalized, and the uprooted wanderers—a juvenescent space of community, connectivity, and transgression that mimics the flowing polyrhythms of the sea and the swing of waves, not the consonance of the order of Earth.

III. Ghost Notes: Revolutionary Carnivals of Masquerading Pierrots in the Jazz Age

Sartre's lonely protagonist Roquentin is depicted in a manner reminiscent of the tragicomic and ghostly pantomime character of Pierrot. It is likely that Sartre got some of his inspiration from Jules Laforgue's famous depiction of a dandyish Pierrot:[220] "Hands in pockets, along/The street's full length I hear,/Singing clear,/A thousand strong,/Bells: 'The end is nigh, not long,/Never doubt it here!"[221] Pierrot is a character originating from the Italian Commedia

219. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Ecrits de Jeunesse* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 360.
220. Denis Bertholet notes in the biography of Sartre that Sartre recalled that he shed "torrents of tear" (*torrents de larmes*) when rereading Laforgue's poems. Denis Bertholet, *Sartre* (Paris: Plon, 2000), 84.
221. Jules Laforgue, "Locations des Pierrot," *Poems of Jules Laforgue*, trans. Peter Dale (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 1986), 229.

dell'Arte that gained widespread popularity in Europe. Similar to a jazz performance, the Commedia dell'Arte also gives its performers space for improvisation. So, we could see constant evolvements and transformations of the character Pierrot from his original theatrical setting. In the nineteenth century, Pierrot's white mask with a conspicuous teardrop evolved into a signature spectacle of carnivals (or *fêtes galantes* in French). And his laughter that forms a stark contrast with the mask of sadness has also become a sound of transgression.

The Pierrot to be discussed here complicates the improvised character by his ambivalence of ethnicity and sexuality and, more significantly, by his laughter at a revolutionary carnival taunting the spatial, cultural, and political orders. Through him, the juvenescent space of Roquentin's café sustained by a jazz song will develop into a carnival that represents another form of imaginary utopia—one that has a revolutionary momentum but one that also has a curtain call. Though my exhibitions of juvenescent spaces usually aim at capturing the moments when a sense of community arises or when a spatial transgression occurs, the discussion of the masquerading Pierrot and the carnivalesque features of his presence will reveal the haunting crisis of juvenescent spaces, which is the unescapable moment of the curtain call. In other words, there is always this tragicomic double sentiment permeating all forms of juvenescent spaces—as a community, a connectivity, or a transgression. And such sentiments are like the ghost notes in the swing style of jazz where an inaudible rhythm would break the harmonious continuity and thus generate a brief lacuna that leads to the melodic swing. This not always upbeat moment of the juvenescent space as a carnival also resonates with the jazz poetics that display a sound utopia of a Baudelairean self-contradictory, carnivalesque, and grotesque laughter of cursed wanderers, lonely strangers, and the sad clown.

When talking about laughter and comedy, Charles Baudelaire states that "joy is unity,

whereas laughter is the revelation of a double, not to say a self-contradictory sentiment."[222] For him, laughter itself is a symptom, a diagnostic, and "the comic can only be absolute in relation to fallen humanity." To reveal the "human, all too human" laughter that is both "a sign of infinite grandeur and of infinite wretchedness,"[223] Baudelaire refers to the terrible and diabolic laughter of Melmoth the wanderer who wanders around the world searching for someone who could rid himself of the infernal bargain;[224] he also finds in the grotesque carnivals and wildest fantasies of Rabelais a simple form of fable and rational; and above all, he recalls Pierrot, the most self-contradictory and tragicomic character. Since Jean-Gaspard Deburau (1796–1849)'s performance of Pierrot as an effeminate, slender, and moonstruck character, Pierrot has gradually become the symbolic incarnation of young and decadent artists, flâneurs and dandies, misfits and wanderers. From Baudelaire to Laforgue, the image of Pierrot started to converge with that of the flâneur, serving as an emblem of the postrevolutionary Paris[225] and of postrevolutionary intellectuals and artists.

Like the flâneur, the aimless wanderer of urban spaces, Pierrot has also been habitually perceived as an aesthetic figure or at most a carnivalesque caricature that trespasses cultural norms. But more theatrical, melodramatic, and delirious than the flâneur who turns upside down the inside and outside order of the urban space, the masquerading Pierrot transforms the city into a carnival and thus turns upside down the moral and legal order in urban spaces. For both the flâneur and Pierrot, their reliance on material culture and fetish toward objects or a woman (Colombine) makes it an almost impossible task for them to detach from the petit-bourgeois

222. Charles Baudelaire, "The Essence of Laughter", trans. Gerard Hopkins, in *The Essence of Laughter: And Other Essays, Journals, and Letters*, ed. Peter Quennell (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 120.
223. Baudelaire, 117.
224. Melmoth the wanderer has become a literary incarnation of the eternally wandering Jew (*juif errant*), cursed and tormented in despair.
225. For Baudelaire, it is postrevolutionary Paris after the Revolutions of 1848; as for Laforgue, it is the Paris after the fall of the Commune in 1871.

quotidian and enter a juvenescent space as a revolutionary subject. Even as Pierrot finds himself in the spotlight of a true revolutionary moment, he would still act as if he were at a revolutionary carnival that signifies a turning upside down of social order but with a spatial limit and a curtain call. In this sense, a revolutionary carnival is a utopia destined to end. Like the bell of midnight calls an end to Cinderella's masquerading, the end of the carnival is the moment when Pierrot has to remove his heroic revolutionary mask and put on the tragicomic clownish visage again. In the extremely ambivalent and ghostly visage of Pierrot, we could vaguely discern many faces of intellectuals, poets, and writers whom we have talked about, lured by the idea of utopia, joining the revolutionary carnival, and inescapably failing to become a hero or the more popular Harlequin. But perhaps there has never been a hero in the carnival, and the carnival exists wherever there is a Pierrot with his tragicomic contradiction. In other words, Pierrot's laughter and mask have the transgressive power to challenge the quotidian and create a juvenescent space of a revolutionary carnival. It may be flimsy and fleeting, but his masquerading creates an event, a moment of rupture, and an alternative possibility of being and becoming. With the queer Pierrot of Paul Verlaine, the Black Pierrot from the jazz poems of Langston Hughes, and a Chinese Pierrot in a short story by Mu Shiying, a Shanghai writer of the new sensationist group, I want to pick up the revolutionary mask of Pierrot that has long been marginalized by scholarly exploration of the character. I also aim at capturing the fatal and fateful moment when Pierrot overcomes his self-contradiction and solitude to join the crowd in a revolutionary carnival as well as the heterogenous soundscape of the carnival while it lasts.

It is Paul Verlaine (1844–1896) who first painted a revolutionary mask for Pierrot. In his essay "Motif de Pantomime" (in *Les Mémoires d'un Veuf*, 1886), Verlaine presents to his readers a brief biography of Pierrot more like a proletarian rather than the stereotypical moonstruck and

morbid clown. Verlaine's Pierrot is born in a working-class district of Paris to parents who are small merchants; he is pale, tall, skinny, and always on the street; he pines for the heart of Colombine, but the latter turns to his comrade Harlequin—in Verlaine's words, "son camarade Arlequin"—the good-looking son of the barber across the street. The highlight of the essay comes in its epilogue:

> Pierrot is their vaguely servile friend. He, too, is happy, not envious or eating and drinking up everything, polite but prudent, libidinous but outwardly abstinent . . . Anyway, he enjoyed himself, laughed, smiled, and had no worries. They still have to cobble together a victory over existence while he lives in their wake like a fish in water. No remorse, no regret for anything. He is the Wise One and the Fool, the Spoiled Child of the Moon! Languid in the love of Sun, who dreams when standing, flies while sitting down and often dies a lot of good deaths.
>
> Vive Pierrot![226]

If one conceals its author, few could link this passage to Verlaine, the main figure of the Decadence movement. The tone seems to be overly upbeat, optimistic, and with a style of revolutionary pamphlets. Yet, it is exactly the upbeat spirit and optimism that reveals what Baudelaire called "a double and self-contradictory sentiment" that is to be found not in a poet, but in a working-class urban wanderer. And a further twist appears in the poem "Pierrot Gamin" (in *Parallèlement*, 1889) published three years after the essay:

> He is not Pierrot, the wild,
> Any more than Pierrot, the child.
> This is Pierrot, Pierrot, Pierrot.
> Pierrot gamin, Pierrot gay,
> Fresh as a green nut, fresh as May,
> This is Pierrot, Pierrot, Pierrot!
> …
> Lips red as a wound is red,
> with evil luxuries well fed.
> Face pale, mouth mocking fine;
> Long, accentuated in each line
> The tell-tale thought that clings
> And contemplates all things.
> body slender and yet not thin.

226. Paul Verlaine, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Tome 4 (Paris: Librairie Léon Vanier, 1900), 315, my translation.

Voice not shrill (to a girl's akin).
Adolescence that tarries late.
voice to command, body en fête.
Charming creature ready quite
To satisfy each appetite.
Go, brother, comrade, go!
Play the devil high and low.
Take of Paris every toll.
Roam the world and be the soul,
Noble, high, with vile intent,
Of our spirits innocent. (Seymour, 1906)[227]

The Pierrot Gamin in this poem no longer displays an optimistic, naïve, and abstinent Pierrot as in the essay "Motif of Pantomime." Here, Pierrot Gamin is a sexually "charming creature" who has red lips, fine silhouette, voice to command, and a body en fête. In his analysis of this poem, Robert Storey comments that "this Pierrot has an aggressiveness that evaporates the nostalgia of Motif de Pantomine—and with it, Willette's sentimentality."[228] The poem, for Storey, is a deliriously mad declaration of self-abandonment of a libertine, a vagabond without a past who succumbs to the appetite of body. "And without a past, Pierrot is without a conscience."[229] More erroneously perhaps, for him, the Verlaine who wrote "Pierrot Gamin" in his miserable final years was "an aging celebrant [of] the body."[230]

Opposite to Storey's judgement, I would argue that in "Pierrot Gamin," Verlaine paints a most transgressive—not aggressive—and powerful mask of Pierrot, a queer revolutionary Pierrot who stands at the center of the stage in one of the most sensational revolutionary carnivals: the Paris Commune of 1871. This is not a Pierrot without a past, but a Pierrot who is a projection of Verlaine's past. When he wrote his repetitive callings "Pierrot, Pierrot, Pierrot!" in the first stanza

227. Paul Verlaine, *Parallèlement* (Paris: LVanier, 1889), 101. English translation from Emilio Peral Vega, *Pierrot/Lorca: White Carnival of Black Desire* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2015), 33.
228. Robert Storey, "Verlaine's Pierrots," *Romance Notes* 20, no. 2 (Winter 1979–80): 229.
229. Robert F. Storey, *Pierrots on the Stage of Desire: Nineteenth-Century French Literary Artists and the Comic Pantomime* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 248.
230. Storey, "Verlaine's Pierrots," 227.

and "Go, brother, comrade, go!. . . Take of Paris every toll" in the last, he was not an aging "celebrant [of] the body," but an old man recollecting his cherished memories of the unfulfilled love with Rimbaud—the Pierrot Gamin incarné who "roamed the world and be the soul, noble, high, with vile intent, of our spirits innocent"[231]—and of his days as a communard in Paris with a utopian dream.

Verlaine is celebrated as the poet of musicality who fabricated his poetic world with an exquisite variation of repetitions and cadences. Paul Valéry used to applaud Verlaine as "the author of the most delicate and musical of poems, of the most original and touching verbal melodies that exist in our language."[232] We could get a glimpse of his rhythmic assemblage in "Pierrot Gamin": sprightly melodic lines, masterfully arranged rhymes, and a cadence that immediately leads us into a petite chanson played in Le Chat Noir. Langston Hughes, too, is famous for the musicality of his poetics. As Morris Dickstein comments, "Hughes could have become the American Verlaine, a wistful, evocative, delicately musical poet rather than the bard of Harlem." This juxtaposition of Hughes and Verlaine is insightful because both poets were ingeniously well-versed in melody and rhythms, and both were, in today's words, red and gay.[233]

The musicality of Langston Hughes is well beyond a melodic strategy and a rhythmic

231. The collection *Parallèlement* had been published after Verlaine learned of Rimbaud's death. The poem "Laeti et Errabundi" in the collection was a direct tribute to Rimbaud. And more implicit traces in honor of Rimbaud are scattered in other works of the collection.
232. Paul Valéry, "Villon and Verlaine," in *Collected Works of Paul Valery. Volume 9: Masters and Friends*, trans. Jackson Mathews (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 248.
233. One may also find the claim not completely accurate. Dickstein suggests a contrast between the refined skills and high-brow poetics of Verlaine the musical poet and the more casual, low-key, and down-to-earth jazz poetics of Hughes, the bard of Harlem. It might be true if we are talking about Verlaine's famous sonnets. But Parisians of his time were equally, if not more, passionate about his later works, the more sprightly and catchy ones. He is neither as erudite and mysterious as Mallarmé nor as obscure and intense as Rimbaud. About Verlaine, Valéry recollects that "how many times I have seen him pass my door, angry, laughing, swearing, banging on the ground with the heavy stick . . . this vagrant, sometimes so brutal and squalid in his behavior and language, so alarming and at the same time so pitiable . . . Every possible vice had spared in him, had perhaps planted or developed in him, that power of graceful invention, of expressing gentleness, fervor, pensive tenderness" ("Villon and Verlaine," 248). Verlaine was in fact the bard of Paris of the late nineteenth century, a people's poet beloved by proletarians and of course, lest we forget, an elected member of the Central Committee of the Commune.

assemblage. In addition to being Black, red, and gay, Hughes was a wanderer traveling around the world and an urban flâneur of New York City, Paris, Moscow, and Shanghai. He had many masks, and perhaps Pierrot is the one that best captures the connection between his intricately intersected multiple identities and his jazz poetics. On the one hand, the white mask of Pierrot unmasks Hughes's interrogation of the ethnic dislocation of jazz and Black culture and the tragicomic "double sentiments"—the core sentiment of carnival—of his jazz poetics. On the other hand, Pierrot's laughter presents to us a carnivalesque proletarian soundscape that displays a defiance of the normative codes of social order.

In his poem "Cabaret," Hughes uses his sharply-toned variations of rhythm to depict a poetic space filled with contradictions: "Does a jazz-band ever sob?/They say a jazz-band's gay./Yet as the vulgar dancers whirled/And the wan night wore away,/One said she heard the jazz-band sob/When the little dawn was grey."[234] Cabarets as a carnivalesque space in urban culture flourished in Montmartre, Paris in the late nineteenth century. The first and most famous cabaret in Montmartre is Le Chat Noir, a space for a bohemian community of unconventional artists and poets like Verlaine. According to William Shack, after the armistice, jazz musicians from Harlem transformed the Montmartre quartier into a jazz capital, or Harlem in Montmartre, where people could find all the familiar elements of Harlem's ambiance from street life and soul food to clothing and hairstyles.[235] Langston Hughes lived in Montmartre and worked at the famous cabaret Le Grand Duke in 1923. About ten years later, the 10 percent law—limiting foreign musicians employed by an establishment to 10 percent of the number of employed French musicians—drove some of these Harlem musicians in Montmartre to Shanghai. And "by

234. Langston Hughes, *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 35.
235. William A. Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story between the Great Wars, Music of the African Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xvi.

1934, the roster of black jazz musicians playing in Shanghai exceeded that in Paris."[236] It reminds us of the cabaret Black Cat in *La Condition Humaine* in which Malraux creates a mirror image of the Parisian Le Chat Noir with a colonial twist in the French Concession of Shanghai. Malraux's Black Cat is depicted as a carnivalesque lawless—above the law—space where exiled Russian aristocrats, the French smuggler, and Comintern revolutionaries rub shoulders. To some extent, the spatial, ethnic, and jazz entanglements of Verlaine's bohemian Le Chat Noir, Hughes's Harlem in Montmartre, and Malraux's Black Cat in the French Concession of Shanghai create a juvenescent space made up of "out of place" carnivals filled simultaneously with laughter, melancholy, and nostalgia with a hint of rebellion toward spatial and legal order.

Adding a bit of imagination, we could picture a more sophisticated sentiment behind these exiles, outlaws, strangers dwelling in Shanghai than what Malraux simply put as unleashing their animality in the loud jazz music. And Hughes's cabaret successfully reached the corner of this sophisticated sentiment of the carnivalesque space and of jazz by showing an ambience that mixes the savage animality and desire- swirling vulgar dancers with the melancholy under the mask. Hughes's double sentiment is not simply an aesthetic expression or an ambience generator. In a deeper layer, it is a manifesto against the stereotyped *connaissance* of Black culture. In the widely spread triangular love story of Pierrot, the pale-faced and effeminate Pierrot is designed to mock the feeble, sentimental, and declining civilization of the West while the black-faced masculine Harlequin who wins the heart of Colombine represents the lure of the savage, robust, and full-of-life Black culture. Malraux's portrayal of exiled European aristocrats, criminals, and reluctant expatriates in a jazz club of semi-colonial Shanghai in *La Condition Humaine* perfectly presents to us this stereotyped ethnic position: the exuberant

236. Shack, 81.

animality of Black jazz in a "jungle-like" lawless metropolis of Shanghai works as an antidote to the "civilized" melancholy and nostalgia of the "old" Europeans.[237] Hughes's "Cabaret" tells us a different story: though people say that a jazz band is gay, "as the vulgar dancers whirled/And the wan night wore away,/One said she heard the jazz-band sob." The melancholic face of jazz poetics again brings us to the worldlessness, homelessness, and selflessness of Black existence. Dancing, singing, and swinging become a rhythmic strategy to fight against the profound crisis of Black being. In rejecting the Harlequin mask and masquerading in the Pierrot mask, the poet may even get closer to the Lacanian *réel* because truth sometimes is not hidden underneath the mask but resides in the mask. And the truth that the black Pierrot reveals is a complete reversal of the comic Blackface minstrelsy and an inception of the intricate tragicomic sensibility of Black culture.

As an ingenious rejection of minstrelsy, the poem "A Black Pierrot" exhibits the self-revelation of a melancholic Pierrot struggling with his ethnic identity: "I am a black Pierrot:/She did not love me,/So I crept away into the night/And the night was black, too…I am a black Pierrot:/She did not love me,/So with my once gay-colored soul/Shrunken like a balloon without air,/I went forth in the morning/To seek a new brown love."[238] Simultaneously being Black and wearing the white mask, the Black Pierrot works as a disruption of the rigid racial line. But eventually, he creeps into the black night and goes forth in the morning to seek a new brown love. "Black night" and "brown love" signify his final identification or reconciliation with the Black being underneath the Pierrotic mask. In his poem titled "The Jester," Hughes's double sensibility of laughter reappears in a carnivalesque scene of a Black Jester juggling with tragedy

237. I have written about Malraux's depictions of semi-colonial Shanghai in the framework of animality, imperial law, and oriental lawlessness in Chapter 2.
238. Hughes, *The Collected Poems*, 31.

and comedy, laughter and tears: “I hold tragedy/And in the other Comedy,—/Masks for the soul./Laugh with me./You would laugh!/Weep with me. You would weep!/Tears are my laughter./Laughter is my pain./Cry at my grinning mouth,/ If you will./ Laugh at my sorrow’s reign./I am the Black Jester,/The dumb clown of the world.”[239]

Essentially, the double sensibility of jazz and the Black Pierrot in Hughes’s poetics remind us of the symptoms of utopians—“manics and oddballs”[240] according to Jameson—who never dare to enunciate publicly, in a heroism indissociable from cynicism like Carl Schmitt. Similar to Pierrot, utopians act more furtively and hide the truth in the mask—the truth that they are at a carnival and the little dawn will turn grey.

In another poem, Hughes paints a group portrait of “my people,” and in this portrait the Pierrotic laughter is no longer a psychotic laughter of solitude, but resembles a collective and improvised jazz performance:

> Dream-singers,
> Story-tellers,
> Dancers,
> Loud laughers in the hands of Fate—
> My people.
> Dish-washers,
> Elevator-boys,
> Ladies’ maids,
> Crap-shooters,
> Cooks,
> Waiters,
> Jazzers,
> Nurses of babies,
> Loaders of ships,
> Rounders,
> Number writers,
> Comedians in vaudeville
> And band-men in circuses—
> Dream-singers all,—

239. Hughes, 56.
240. Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London; New York: Verso, 2005), 10.

My people.
Story-tellers all,—
My people.
Dancers—

God! What dancers!
Singers God! What singers!
Singers and dancers
Dancers and laughers.
Laughers?
Yes, laughers . . . laughers . . . laughers—
Loud-mouthed laughers in the hands
Of Fate.[241]

In the juvenescent space of this collective and communal poetic space, dream-singers and storytellers are listed in parallel with jazzers, comedians, band-men as well as dish-washers, elevator-boys, cook, and so on. Then, Hughes escalates his narrative by moving into a declaration that his people are all dream singers, storytellers, dancers, singers, and laughers, and by doing so, he exhibits a group portrait of utopians and an internationalist carnival of the Black, the proletarians, and Pierrots. They are loud laughers with dreams and stories, but the twist comes afterwards—"in the hands of fate." In the end, the jazz poetics of Hughes, I would argue here, are rooted in the double sentiments of a carnivalesque rhythmic movements—laughing, dancing, singing, playing but in a melancholic backdrop, which is also the backdrop of revolutionary carnivals and all utopian dreams that are haunted by a bitter ending, unpredictable violence, and disillusion.

In his later works such as the famous "Roar, China!", Langston Hughes's "my people" goes beyond his Black and proletarian folks in Harlem and acquires a wider internationalist spectrum. He wandered in Soviet Russia and the Far East from 1932–1933 and arrived in Shanghai in July of 1933. Hughes soon befriended Teddy Weatherford, a Black jazz musician,

241. Hughes, *The Collected Poems*, 27.

became acquainted with journalists like Harold Issacs, and met Chinese writers including Lu Xun. In his travelogue published in Issacs's *China Forum*, "From Moscow to Shanghai," Hughes writes "MOSCOW-SHANGHAI: a mighty lot of space between. Land-space, time-space, life-space. The distances are tremendous."[242] He was impressed by the skyscrapers, neon lights, nightclubs, jazz bands, air-cooled movies of Shanghai; yet, he was more struck by the brutal native and foreign police, Chinese bosses and bankers, compradores and generals and foreign imperialists at the top of the brutal pyramid of power and the masses of Shanghai at the bottom. "Being a writer," Hughes continues, "naturally I am interested in how the Shanghai writers live, my fellow-workers in the craft of the word. But to my amazement, I learn that writers in Shanghai do not live—they are killed!" Hughes asks in the end "Will somebody tell me something good to write about Shanghai?"[243] For him, the grandiose cosmopolitan spectacle was overshadowed by the brutal arrest and prosecution of pro-revolutionary writers. As displayed by the case of Harold Issacs's *China Forum* in the previous chapter, publication and printing became more at risk in the post-1927 Shanghai. With the remaining force led by Mao having moved to rural regions, the Shanghai that Hughes visited was no longer a revolutionary center, but a postrevolutionary police city-state like Paris after the Commune. In his autobiography *I Wonder as I Wander*, Hughes provides a panoramic view of Shanghai in 1933:

> Incredible Shanghai! While the raw materials of the narcotics trade flowed over the Bund to the Western world, child slaves were sold to factories, and students imprisoned for harboring "dangerous thoughts" against Chiang Kai-shek; on Nanking Road, Bubbling Well Road and the other brilliantly lighted streets, at evening, in the cafés and gambling houses mah-jongg chips rattled like locust pods in a high wind. In luxurious bath houses, singing crickets in cages and musical frogs croaked for the amusement of the bathers. Jazz bands played in fine cafés and clubs, and thousand-year-old operas were performed by brocaded actors in noisy theaters. While barbed-wire barricades went up at the gates and Japanese patrols in ever increasing numbers stalked the city, the foreign newspapermen

242. Langston Hughes, "From Moscow to Shanghai," *China Forum*, July 14, 1933, 5.
243. Hughes, 5.

> predicted, "It won't be long until the Japs take over." So it was in Shanghai the summer that I was there.[244]

This short paragraph exemplifies the jazz poet's astute observation and masterful montage of the semi-colonial city in the Jazz Age and also takes us back to Malraux's *La Condition Humaine*, Harold Issacs's anatomy of the Chinese revolution, and the ongoing struggles of Shanghai. In short stories by new sensationalist Shanghai writers, we could also find a similar décollage of the nightscape filled with jazz, fine whisky, and a dancing crowd pasted alongside mobilized streets of students and arrested writers.

In this *mise-en-scene*, Mu Shiying in his short story "Pierrot" (original title) depicts a Chinese Pierrot's journey from a writer/socialite on the street of Jazz nights to a revolutionary/outlaw on the street to face the police. Mu's Pierrot is probably more Pierrotic—moonstruck, neurotic, always on the street and always out of place—than either Hughes's Black Pierrot or Verlaine's Pierrot Gamin. But similar to Hughes and Verlaine's Pierrots, Mu's protagonist also finds himself in double sentiments and masquerading in two types of carnivalesque settings—erotic, hedonistic, individualistic on one side and utopian, revolutionary, collective on the other—though jouissance is always there in both cases. Like Verlaine or Baudelaire's treatment of Paris, Mu also had a predilection to add a subtle shade of proletarian consciousness to his montage of the decadent Shanghai.

The short story opens with Pan Helin, the Pierrot wearing his sentimental mask, whistling "Träumerei," "a purple tune, a weary and mesmeric tune"[245] while walking on a narrow alley at night and thinking about his Japanese lover. But when he walks onto a street with "the erotic

244. Langston Hughes, *I Wonder as I Wander: An Autobiographical Journey* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 251.
245. Mu Shiying 穆时英. *Mu Shiying quanji dierjuan*. 穆时英全集, 第二卷 [Complete Works of Mu Shiying, vol. 2], 严家炎 李金编 [ed. Yan Jiayan, Li Jin] (Beijing: Beijing October Arts and Literature Publishing House, 2005), 93.

eyes of the dance hall, greedy eyes of the department store, jovial eyes of the 'Beer Garden,' sensual eyes of the hotel, hypocritical eyes of the church, cunning eyes of the cinema, and sleepy eyes of the restaurant,"[246] he is moved by the carefree spirit of the sight and starts to giggle. The cosmopolitan nightscape dispels the melancholy and solitude of the Chinese Pierrot and welcomes him into a cosmopolitan carnival where he fills himself with Pierrot's laughter. He is "always giggling with a naughty face":[247] giggling when he sits in front of his friend; giggling when he gives the menu to the waitress; giggling when his intellectual friends are talking about Chaplin's sorrow, Garbo's husky voice, Mayakovski's venereal disease, and the October revolution with a serious face. But the laughter disappears when he learns that his Japanese lover cheated with a Filipino musician—the pale-faced Pierrot lost his lover to a Black-faced Harlequin.

This event drives Pan Helin to detach himself from the urban carnival of nightclubs and intellectual gatherings and retreat to his home in the countryside where he reconnects with peasants of flesh and blood—real people with real humanity who hate, love, sympathize with real hate, love, and sympathy[248]—and becomes fascinated by the October revolution. Schumann's melancholic Träumerei with a sense of ennui along with his frustrating love becomes distant to him and he returns to Shanghai to join the worker's movements. The Chinese Pierrot dreams of becoming a heroic figure: when police come to arrest him, countless people would follow him and shout "Vive Pan Helin." But he is arrested at midnight without a carnivalesque gathering and spectacle. "Well," he thinks, "the people will know my sacrifice."[249] He then walks into his prison cell dreaming of a crowd of thirty-thousand and five hundred

246. Mu, 95.
247. Mu, 97.
248. Mu, 112–13.
249. Mu, 117.

people celebrating his release. A half-year later, Pan is released and crippled. He walks into the narrow alleys of the working-class neighborhood, the neighborhood of "his people," and no one recognizes him. In the end, one of his old friends from the intellectual circle runs into him on the street and asks him anxiously about his whereabouts; he starts to giggle like an idiot.

Simultaneously delineating the nightscape of Shanghai in its Jazz Age and the arrest and imprisonment of a writer, Mu Shiying's story turns Hughes's travelogue of China into a fictional form with moral and psychological twists and turns. Unlike Sartre's lonely intellectual Roquentin who is saved by jazz and an intimate sense of connectivity with his imaginary Black and Jewish jazz composer and performer, the chain of events that leads to the Chinese Pierrot's tragicomic journey is triggered by a Filipino musician, the Harlequin—most likely a jazz musician—whom Pan derides as a "wanderer without a nation." Behind the seemingly insignificant plot is Shanghai in the 1930s as a centrifugal metropolis for diasporic groups. Though no long a revolutionary center, Shanghai in the 1930s was a land of strangers and Pan Helin was only one of them. For these diasporic, exiled, and marginalized urban strangers and wanderers, the sense of time and space, hopes and disillusions could all be interwoven into rhythms—the carefree movements in the dance hall or the whistling of the Träumerei. Yingjin Zhang, in his perceptive analysis of Mu Shiying's other short story "Shanghai Foxtrot," points out "a sense of inevitable repetition—the repetition of the same gesture or move that is implemented in order to capture an elusive moment or a kaleidoscopic space."[250] Though less rigorous in structure, in "Pierrot," the repetitive giggling and Pan's recurring wanderings on the streets also add a sense of rhythm and repetition to the space and thus echo the "schizophrenically" repetitive urban rhythm of the semi-colonial Jazz Age metropolis. Mu Shiying's works have been a treasure trove for scholars

250. Yingjin Zhang, *The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 163.

exploring the Chinese modernity and modernist writings and for those interrogating the semi-colonialism in a postcolonial structure. Leo Lee reads My Shiying's "pathetic Pierrot in Shanghai" as a satire, a cynical group portrait of all Shanghai writers, or a putdown of another May Fourth posture: that of the romantic writer turned revolutionary.[251] For Shu-mei Shih, Mu "performs a semicolonial subjectivity" when he displaces the colonial reality as "a cultural choice made by the Chinese middle-class intellectual under semicolonialism" or "a universalist critique of capitalism displaced the political and racial experience of semicolonialism."[252]

Despite Mu's satirical tonality, I want to emphasize instead that Mu's Chinese Pierrot shares a similar tragicomic fate to many engaged intellectuals and writers. They all follow the passage from the individual to the collective, from their salon of elites to the street of the crowd, or in Chen Duxiu's words "from the study room to the prison." And for Pan Helin, the momentum that drives him to participate in workers' movements is the countryside, the imaginary homeland where time and space have not been distorted by the rhythm of foxtrot or jazz in the city. Yingjin Zhang marks that in Mu's "Pierrot," the hometown in the rural area is designed as an oasis that saves the exhausted urbanite from the desert of the selfish urban world.[253] This remark leads us to a fascinating question of if a stranger could be saved by reconstructing his rootedness or by an imaginary hometown. The Chinese Pierrot returns to the city and to a revolutionary carnival instead of the carnival of urban spectacle. He eventually becomes an absolute stranger or a wandering ghost as he is cast out by both carnivals—the urban spectacle and the revolutionary utopia.

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251. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 231.
252. Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 302–03.
253. Yingjin, *City in Modern Chinese*, 166.

IV. Melodic Pedal Point: The Voice of the "Multitude" at the Soundstage of Jazz Poetics

Mu Shiying's short story "Pierrot" was dedicated to Dai Wangshu (戴望舒 1905–1950), a poet who was close to Mu's Francophile circle. In response to leftist writers' criticism, Mu in the preface of his collection *Cemetery* (1933) declares that "I just wanted to represent those who fall from life, depraved Pierrots. In our society, those who are crushed by life, squeezed by life are not necessarily rebellious, indignant, or hostile; they could wear a laughing mask on their sad face . . . *En fin*, I dedicate this book to the giggling Pierrot overseas, Wangshu."[254]

Like many of the figures discussed in previous chapters, Dai Wangshu also studied at Université de l'Aurore and was expelled for participating in the anti-imperialist May 30th movement in Shanghai in 1925. Shi Zhecun (施蛰存, 1905–2003), another new sensationist writer, recollected that "Wangshu read Lamartine and Musset in the classroom of priests, but hidden under his pillow were books of Verlaine and Baudelaire."[255] Dai is remembered mostly for "The Alley in the Rain," which creates a Baudelairean urban experience of missed encounter and a "love at last sight,"[256] and his identity as an internationalist and a leftist poet has been veiled under the mask of a love-struck flâneur. As a poet turning into a revolutionary, Dai is the real-life inspiration for Mu Shiying's Pierrot, and he was at once the discursive frontier and the urban mobilizations of leftist and later anti-fascist movements. Dai was among the early Chinese translators of Baudelaire, Lorca, Sartre, and Malraux among many other writers and was an internationalist working as a conduit between China and the European leftist literary circle.

254. Mu Shiying 穆时英. Gongmu.公墓 [Cemetery] (Shanghai: Xiandai Publishing House, 1933), 1.
255. Bei Ta 北塔. Rangdeng shouzhe wo: Dai Wangshu zhuan. 让灯守着我: 戴望舒传 [*Let the Lamp Guard Me: Biography of Dai Wangshu*] (Beijing: Jiuzhou Press, 2019), 20.
256. Yingjin, *City in Modern Chinese*, 171.

While he was studying in France, Dai met writers like Malraux[257] at gatherings of the Association des Écrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires,[258] became acquainted with leftist French intellectuals—most notably René Étiemble[259] (1909–2002)—of the association, and edited a special issue on the Chinese Revolution for the journal *Commune* in which works of Ding Ling, Zhang Tianyi, and a poem from *China Forum* were translated and introduced to French readers. According to Luo Dagang (罗大冈), translator and Dai's friend back in his French class, Dai actively participated in anti-fascist demonstrations in Paris and in Spain, which led to his expulsion from the Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon.

Dai's leftist, internationalist, and Pierrotic image can also be found in early works of Ai Qing. Similar to Dai, Ai Qing's trajectory also intersected with internationalist intellectual circles in Paris in the early 1930s. During the Sino-Japanese War, they coedited a poetry journal *The Zenith* (顶点). In the postface of the first issue, they declare that

> *The Zenith* is a wartime journal. It cannot be detached from our resistance and should become a force of resistance. Because of this, we do not plan to publish works that diverge from the direction of era towards which we are marching. But at the same time, what we mean by works that do not detach from the resistance does not equal to wartime poetry in a narrow sense. The ambition of *Zenith* is to push a step forward for the modern poetry today. Regardless of the current level, we hope that we could improve the level and find a representation that is more

257. Ho Yee Kwong (鄺可怡) has acquired the correspondence between Dai Wangshu and René Étiemble, which is a valuable resource to study Dai's connection with the French leftist circle. In a letter that Dai Wangshu wrote to René Étiemble, he criticizes Malraux for being incapable of grasping the spirit of the Chinese revolution: "Almost all the characters in the work are individualized intellectuals . . . and there's not a single proletarian playing an important role . . . In sum, Malraux is a valuable writer but incapable of understanding the revolution. (He even sympathizes with Trostky!)" Ho Yee Kwong 鄺可怡. Hei'an de mingdeng: Zhongguo xiandaipai yu ouzhou zuoyi wenyi. 黑暗的明燈：中國現代派與歐洲左翼文藝 [*Fanal Obscur: Chinese Modernists and European Leftist Literature*] (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2017), 7.

258. Dai was invited to the gatherings by Paul Vaillant-Courturier, one founding member of the PCF and the editor-in-chief of *L'Humanité*.

259. René Étiemble was one of Dai's close friends in Paris. He was a sinologist and a comparatist promoting Goethe's Weltliteratur. In 1934, he founded the association of "Les Amis du Peuple Chinois" with Malraux, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, and Louis Laloy to support the Chinese revolution led by Mao. As a veteran Maoist, Étiemble joined the Tel Quel circle of Philippe Sollers and Julia Kristeva in the 1960s. In 1976, upon Mao's death, he published *Quarante Ans de Mon Maoïsme*, a memoir reflecting upon his forty years of intellectual engagement with revolutionary paths, especially Maoism.

profound and accomplished for modern Chinese poetry.[260]

The balance that Dai Wangshu and Ai Qing tried to achieve is a poetic voice of political and revolutionary propaganda and an original sound of modern Chinese poetry. To some extent, it is also the balance between the inherently individual voice of the poet and the collective sound of the crowd. Beyond the café of Roquentin and the carnivals of Pierrots, where could leftist poets travel to in search of the sound of utopia as a juvenescent space? They may finally find themselves in the crowd, which is the ultimate locus of revolutionary momentum and of spatial mobilization. Now, it reaches the pedal point through which the tension of the melody is built up toward its apogee. And what would be the sound of the crowd, and how could poets capture the multiple voices spatially and politically?

In an extensive debate on revolutionary literature after the 1927 fiasco, Guo Muoruo uses the metaphor of the gramophone in a mantra for literary youths: "Be a gramophone . . . first, you need to approach the voice; second, you need to be ego-less; third, you need to be mobilizable."[261] The sound mechanism of literary youths in revolutions, for Guo, is to be a gramophone—an instrumentalized and ego-less voice channeling the sound of the mass and zeitgeist of the revolution. In a satirical tone, David Wang comments that leftist poets such as Guo Muoruo and Ai Qing—"once the loudest trumpeter for political lyricism"—followed the mantra that "a poet should function like a phonograph broadcasting the mandate of

260. Ai Qing, Dai Wangshu. 艾青, 戴望舒. "Dingdian bianhou zaji" 顶点编后杂记 [Postface to *The Zenith*] *Dingdian* 顶点 [*The Zenith*] 1, no. 1 (1939): page number not specified.
261. Guo Moruo. 郭沫若, "Liusheng jiqi de huiyin- wenyi qingnian yingqu de taidu de kaocha," "留声机器的回音——文艺青年应取的态度的考察" [Echoes of the Gramophone- Research of the Attitudes to Be Adopted by Literary Youths], *Guo Moruo Quanji*, vol. 16. 郭沫若全集 第 16 卷 [*Complete Works of Guo Moruo, Vol. 16*] (Beijing: People's Press, 1989), 67.

revolution."[262] This is an accurate yet stereotypical judgment of revolutionary literature and leftist poetics in a postrevolutionary era. Pu Wang complicates the seemingly "mindless and monotone" revolutionary voice by pointing out that it is "identifiable as a historical power present in the communist revolution" and hence represents "Guo's ideology of Zeitgeist that prioritizes the representability and translatability of a historical momentum."[263] Ai Qing's poem "Crowds" (Qunzhong) in 1940 could be a case to exhibit the "historical momentum":

> What is it over there—so many, so many . . .
> Countless feet, countless hands, countless jostling heads . . .
> At windows, upon streets, upon piers, at stations . . .
> What are they doing? thinking? desiring? . . .
>
> This is a terrifying miracle: when I now remember
> I am no longer myself, but a number

In *Revolutionary Waves: The Crowd in Modern China*, Tie Xiao remarks that Ai Qing's "Crowds" manifests how the poet overcomes his individual self and becomes one of the many. But the image of a self-effacing and self-instrumentalized poet becomes more sophisticated when Xiao points out that the poet actually observes his own splitting into "a perceiving self and a disappearing self as the object of observation"[264]—a schizophrenic symptom emerging from the attempt to find the almost impossible balance between the individual voice and collective sound.

Here, I want to visit a soundscape as a juvenescent space that involves multiple voices and displays a sense of connectivity and community. This is indeed the moment of the pedal point through which the tension of the melody is gradually built up, but it has not yet reached the point of chorus that everyone is required to sing together. A step forward from the imaginary

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262. David Der-wei Wang, *The Lyrical in Epic Time: Modern Chinese Intellectuals and Artists through the 1949 Crisis* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2015), 77.
263. Pu Wang, *The Translatability of Revolution: Guo Moruo and Twentieth-Century Chinese Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), 80.
264. Tie Xiao, *Revolutionary Waves: The Crowd in Modern China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), 2.

connectivity built by Roquentin or the lonely and transgressive laughter of Pierrots in revolutionary carnivals, this soundscape is a juvenescent space of the "many" and multitude where the individual voice has not yet been absorbed. And the sound that the multitude produces is not yet a unanimous sound of a marching or the harmonious sound of a symphony orchestra. It is more approximate to the sound of a jazz band improvising through the individualized and distinctive sounds of each member. The harmonious and organic "unity" presented by this jazz is not achieved through a mechanical or well-rehearsed unification of sound but through an improvised connectivity between multiple voices and instruments.

In one of his works written in Paris during *les année folles*, Langston Hughes draws our attention to the ambiance of an African American jazz band playing in a cabaret of Montmartre: "Play that thing,/Jazz band!/Play it for the lords and ladies,/For the dukes and counts,/For the whores and gigolos,/For the American millionaires,/And the school teachers/Out for a spree."[265] The first stanza of the poem "A Jazz Band in a Parisian Cabaret" reaffirms the carnivalesque ambience of a cabaret where the racial and class codes are temporarily suspended. The more interesting scene comes in the second stanza: "May I?/Mais oui./Mein Gott!/Parece una rumba./Play it, jazz band!/You've got seven languages to speak in/And then some."[266] It is difficult to transcribe the multitude and heterogeneous sound of jazz into poetic language. Yet, this sound is perfectly captured by Hughes through talking and conversations in different languages with distinctive rhymes and cadences. The barrier of languages is also removed in the juvenescent space of gathering and dissolved in the musicality of the jazz poetics. The voice of the "many" does not require a uniformity so that wanderers and strangers in Paris with their own languages and expressions could contribute to the melodic representation of a unique poetics.

265. Hughes, *The Collected Poems*, 60.
266. Hughes, 60.

This voice of "many" in the cabaret is upgraded into a voice of "multitude" on the streets of Paris delineated by Ai Qing. In the poem titled "Paris," written when Ai was in the prison of the French Concession in Shanghai in 1932, we can already find imagery that he later used in "Crowds": "The torrent of the crowd/flowing from avenues/diverging into alleys/and then turning back from alleys/to form torrents/assembling/in the streets/on the squares/incessantly/Rushing!/Rushing!"[267] However, in this poem, this crowd has not yet evolved into an abstracted and unified concept of "people." Ai Qing personifies Paris as a femme fatale. Because the poet had not yet split into a self-conscious "I" and an ego-less member of the crowd, he addresses Paris, with which he had a love-hate relationship, using the second-person pronoun (tutoyer), a tonality that intensifies the sound effect of the poet's voice in interrogations and affect. This femme fatale lures him and "hundreds of thousands of immigrants" and attracts "people of different races and different states/who are adventurous" and "people who abandoned their loving homeland/lost in your ambivalent flirtations."[268] In Hughes's Parisian cabaret, people are speaking in their own languages, which forms a voice of the multitude. On the streets of Paris, the "torrent of the crowd" also consists of all those immigrants, people of different races and states, and people who have left their homeland. In other words, the crowd is not a homogenous "people" but an assembly of the "multitude."

"The choice between 'people' and 'multitude'," Paolo Virno reminds us, "was at the heart of the practical controversies (the establishing of centralized modern States, religious wars, etc.) and of the theoretical-philosophical controversies of the seventeenth century."[269] Spinoza's social

267. Ai Qing 艾青. *Ai Qing Quanji*, Vol. 1 艾青全集 第一卷 [*Complete Works of Ai Qing, Vol. 1*] (Shijiazhuang: Huashan Literature and Art Publishing House, 1991), 34–35.
268. Ai, 39.
269. Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude*, trans. Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito, and Andrea Casson (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Semiotexte, 2004), 22.

and political existence for many, without converging into one and the Hobbesian Leviathan of the State ruling over one people, are still wrestling in political and cultural spheres today.[270] The tension between the two has extended to the realm of law because the multitude is not bound to the sovereign state and then becomes "lawless" from the perspective of a legal and police state. In the context of our discussion here, it is also a matter of how a community is organized and how music is performed—two topics that share a similar logic.

In "Paris," Ai Qing visualizes a multitude made up of individuals with characters: "You are-/all the 'individuals'/and their subtle 'characters'/towards the crowd/like countless drops. Vanished/with thousands of persons/converging into-/the greatest/wildest/the most uncanny 'character.'/ How grotesque you are, Paris!"[271] Paris is depicted here as a highly diversified metropolis that attracts individuals and transforms "their subtle characters" into her own "most uncanny character." At this stage, Ai Qing was still searching for his voice in the leftist lyricism. Another poem written around the same time adds another sound effect to his experiment. Also written in the French prison, Ai Qing borrows the imagery of the reed-pipe (mirliton) from Apollinaire to play the sound of the sea and freedom: "From your colorful Europa,/I bring back a reed-pipe,/With it,/I used to walking by the Atlantic/Like walking in my home,/Today/Your 'Alcool' is found in a Shanghai prison,/I am a 'criminal'/Here/Reed-pipe is also a taboo/. . . Monsieur Apollinaire,/For me,/You are a legend of Montmartre."[272] Then, a recollection of the poet of days in Europe reveals his self-conscious voice that is not to be distracted by people's response: "I am in love with your Europa,/The Europa of Baudelaire and Rimbaud/There,/I was

270. I want to bring up the idea of the multitude—a concept that has been overshadowed by "people" for centuries—so as to put on stage the specter of Spinoza-Marxism. The long-buried Spinozist multitude has been revived by leftist intellectuals from Althusser's Spinozist materialist rationalism in the 1960s to the more recent Hardt and Negri's multitude and affect labor. These two façades of Spinoza's philosophical edifice would play a role on the stage of juvenescent spaces in the subsequent chapters.
271. Ai, *Complete Works*, Vol. 1, 37.
272. Ai, 29–30.

starving/While playing the reed-pipe/People laugh at my gesture,/But that is my gesture!/People don't like my song,/But that is my song!/Go to hell!"[273] And to defend his reed-pipe—his unique voice and song—Ai Qing continues: "I swear- for the reed-pipe/For its suffering/I will reach my hand to the fire/Like it's 1789." "When the reed-pipe is free," he reaches the closing lines: "I will raise it high/In a solemn Hymne,/I will give it to the sea/To the waves of the sea/The insolently roaring waves of the sea!"[274] The poet as a wanderer—Pierrot walking alongside the Atlantic and the sacrifice of his beloved reed-pipe to the sea—form an interesting contrast to the poet's "earthy and earthbound" poetics that established him as a patriotic poet-official. The transformation of the young poet is not difficult to decipher. After returning to Shanghai from France, Ai was imprisoned, then joined the resistance against the Japanese invasion, and moved to Yan'an, the Communist Party's base in a remote and rural province. Abandoning his Pierrotic mask of the young artist traveling in Europe as a wanderer and stranger, Ai anchors his voice and poetic sound to Earth, to the people, and to his ideological sound utopia.

Tie Xiao rightly notices that Ai Qing expresses the idea of the poet being "spokesperson for the crowd" in more concrete terms in the poem "Hear, There Is a Voice . . ." written in 1979: "My windpipe is not mine alone/My windpipe belongs to the people/My windpipe belongs to the Communist Party/My windpipe is seamless steel tube broadcasting the Truth."[275] Apollinaire's reed-pipe is replaced by the windpipe—an anatomical and biopolitical metaphor. The idealized musical instrument of the bohemian poet in Montmartre, which young Ai Qing swore to defend, gives way to another utopian sound effect—a steel tube broadcasting Truth. But more than anyone else, Ai Qing in 1979 should know about the elusiveness of the sound of Truth—like the

273. Ai, 30–31.
274. Ai, 31–32.
275. Ai 艾青. *Ai Qing Quanji*, Vol. 2 艾青全集 第二卷 [*Complete Works of Ai Qing*, Vol. 2] (Shijiazhuang: Huashan Literature and Art Publishing House, 1991), 604–05.

utopia from Yan'an to the New China and to the Cultural Revolution—after which he spent his whole life chasing but found it always beyond his grasp. His prodigal son Ai Weiwei may have got closer to truths instead of the Truth, and his own fabrication of Paris in the twenty-first century through artworks would also redefine the Paris of his father's youth and concepts of myth and utopia that haunted his family.[276]

In retrospect, the moment that Ai Qing encountered a sound utopia of strangers—just as the sound utopia that Roquentin found in his jazz petit phrase, that Verlaine and Mu Shiying found in a carnivalesque sound and space of Pierrot, and that Hughes found in the Parisian cabaret—was the first moment he set aside his brush and picked up the pen.[277] Or maybe reversely, it was the sound utopia of strangers that prompted the young painter to become a poet. The poem "Assembly" (Huihe) was written when Ai was studying fine art in Paris:

> Circling, circling, we sit in the smoke ring
> High-pitched voice, deep voice, noise, surrounding the table
> Gentle, fierce, explosive,
> Visages in fire, moving under the lamplight
> French, Japanese, Annamese, Chinese,
> Exploding in every corner of the house
>
> The dark shadow lurks behind every miserable and combative face, behind every uptight or bent body
> They yell, they shout, they are enraged
> Their hearts are burning
> Their blood is surging
> They- who come from the Orient
> Japan, Annam, China
> They-
> Love freedom and detest war
> . . .
> Everyone is breathing the same air

276. Ai Weiwei's installation art "Child's Play" (儿戏) in the department store Le Bon Marché of Paris in 2016 displayed another form of juvenescent space.

277. Ai Qing had published two poems in a local journal before he left for France in 1928. They had been lost until rediscovered in 1988. Still, "Assembly" is normally considered as Ai's first formal poetic experiment and as a start of his conversion from painting to poetry. Luo Hanchao 骆寒超. *Ai Qing zhuan* 艾青传 [*Biography of Ai Qing*] Beijing: People's Press, 2009, 36.

Every heart is burning for the same fire
Burning
Burning
In Paris- this damn city
In the death-like night
No. 61, rue Saint-Jacques is alive
Our heart is burning.[278]

Ai Qing repetitively explained that "Assembly" was "naïve and sketchy."[279] Indeed, it is set in a drastically different soundscape in comparison with his later works that are more mature in techniques. Yet, "Assembly"'s internationalist atmosphere and the community of strangers in Paris display a parallel juvenescent space to Hughes' Parisian cabaret. While the bohemian Montmartre of Verlaine, Apollinaire, and Hughes with its intensity, improvisation, and rhythmic charm of jazz represents one aspect of the soundscape of Paris, the sound of heated discussions in Ai Qing's No. 61, rue Saint-Jacques situated at the heart of the Latin Quartier exhibits another aspect—a community of young progressives from the Third World. For both a wanderer like Hughes working at Le Grand Duc, or a stranger such as Ai Qing, the city of Paris provided juvenescent spaces of encounters and an internationalist soundscape where different languages created a sound effect of poetic rhythm. In Hughes's cabaret, French, German, Spanish, and English were spoken with a lighthearted kindness; and in Ai Qing's "Assembly," it is French, Annam, Japanese, and Chinese that are spoken with a shared rage in comradeship. Together, the two poems with different languages and rhythms stage a utopian sound effect that helps us approach a more comprehensive picture of the internationalism of strangers. And the two faces of Paris—the bohemians' Paris and the revolutionaries' Paris—are placed in a same soundscape and landscape in Ai Qing's "The Chant of a Painter" (Huazhe de xingyin):

The sound of the sirens
brings back the memories of me, the libertine

278. Ai, *Complete Works*, Vol. 1, 9–10.
279. Luo, *Biography of Ai Qing*, 36.

From Montmartre to Montparnasse, I wandered aimlessly all day long . . .
Today
I am also a Bohemian!
-If only in the world of colors
There is no ridicule of homelands and races . . .
Always with noise
I am living in colorful and bright days;
In the oldest world
Singing a sonorous song,
In this song
I pray in a bloodshed tremor;
if only the land of deep green
will be the kingdom of all the wanderers.[280]

Ai Qing in this poem is no longer a young revolutionary, but a bohemian painter living in the sound of sirens and noises while singing and dreaming a utopia that is "the kingdom of all the wanderers." This naiveté in the young poet exemplifies the imaginary of utopia that I want to capture in juvenescent spaces before the spatial imaginary of youths—one that is of boundless and boundaryless sea—is replaced by the patriotic and earthbound responsibility. I would also venture to say that Ai Qing's early works about Paris and his wandering years in Europe represent the richness of rhythms of jazz poetics as well as an internationalist soundscape in modern Chinese poetry. In these rarely discussed early works of Ai Qing, we get the chance to hear not the propagandist sound of the "loudest trumpeter of political lyricism," but the bold and bright sound of the young poet as a jazz trumpeter of the multitude and of a stranger's republic.

In the end, it comes back to how we imagine and envision the soundscape of a juvenescent space—a community and a connectivity through music. Terry Eagleton provides an answer that is worth a full quotation:

> A jazz group which is improvising obviously differs from a symphony orchestra, since to a large extent each member is free to express herself as she likes. But she does so with a receptive sensitivity to the self-expressive performances of the other musicians. The complex harmony they fashion comes not from playing from

280. Ai, *Complete Works*, Vol. 1, 72.

> a collective score, but from the free musical expression of each member acting as the basis for the free expression of the others. As each player grows more musically eloquent, the others draw inspiration from this and are spurred to greater heights. There is no conflict here between freedom and the "good of the whole," yet the image is the reverse of totalitarian. Though each performer contributes to "the greater good of the whole," she does so not by some grim-lipped self-sacrifice but simply by expressing herself.[281]

This description of a jazz group could be a response to Adorno's *Utopieverbot*. Rather than a concrete sublime image of utopia, the sound of jazz provides a utopia *désoeuvrée*—an unworked sound utopia that neither requires a collective voice nor covets a Wagnerian self-aggrandizement. Instead, it presents before our eyes and to our ears a possibility of being-together and a being-in-the-other. "To construct this kind of community on a wider scale," Terry Eagleton explains, is a utopian aspiration and a problem of politics. This chapter features a voyage of intellectuals in search of the juvenescent space of sound utopia. Jazz, as a constant background music, also travels from an intimate and indoor space of a café to carnivals with a revolutionary twist and eventually arrives at an imaginary community—for instance, Ai Qing's kingdom of wanderers—of the multitude, which is at the heart of how we understand and shape politics. And this ending point is the beginning for the new wave of spatial mobilizations in the 1960s and 1970s when the juvenescent space of communities (or communes) became the main site of attraction for youths with utopian aspirations.

281. Terry Eagleton, *The Meaning of Life: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 98–100.

Chapter 4

The "Lawless" Carnivals: Staged Streets, Police, and Theatrical Popular Courts

On August 18, 1966, Mao arrived at the balcony of Tian'anmen Square in Beijing, the same spot he proclaimed the founding of the new China in 1949. Wearing a military uniform for the first time since the Chinese Civil War in the 1940s, Mao was aware of the significance of the event and the message that he was about to send out by greeting Red Guards from all over the country. The ceremony lasted for more than six hours, and more than 800,000 youths became "anointed" rebels (*zaofanpai*) to carry out the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." This sensational moment, which has been pervasively considered as a prelude to the ten years of chaos during the Cultural Revolution, also officially placed youths at the center of the revolution. Sincerely immersed in a future tense and a utopian horizon, this moment, charged with youth mobilization and carnivalesque theatricality, seems to have suspended the moral ambiguities and immanent controversies of revolutionary actions. In hindsight and from a retrospective position, however, it is inevitable for the later generation to "foretell" the destined failure of the revolutions of the prior era. Marx did so. About fifty years after the French Revolution, a similar time gap as we are today from the event of the Cultural Revolution and May 68, Marx in *18th Brumaire Revisited the French Revolution* interrogates the irrational and absurd elements in the grand bourgeois revolution, or in Terry Eagleton's words, the "inherently theatrical and melodramatic."

This theatrical and carnivalesque impulse of youth revolutions is retrospectively represented in Bernardo Bertolucci's film *The Dreamers*[282] (2004), a half-nostalgic and half-

282. Maybe its French title, *Les Innocents*, better communicates the potentially coded message of the director because we say there are no innocent bystanders at moments of social upheaval.

satirical homage to the event of May 68. "Why don't you think of Mao as a great director, making a movie with a cast of millions," says Theo, the young French protagonist bathed in the fantasy of a revolutionary utopia of young rebels, "all those millions of Red Guards, marching together into the future with the Little Red Book in their hands. Books, not guns. Culture, not violence. Can't you see what a beautiful epic movie that would make?" This comment that is simultaneously bold and naïve does not indicate that Bertolucci was unaware of the complexities and tensions behind this imaginary. In his *chef-d'œuvre*, *The Last Emperor* (1987), he stages a scene that directly depicts the Red Guards' theatrical performance on the streets, but the presumably celebratory and carnivalesque image is tainted with a sense of unconscious fervency and violence. Standing among the cheerful youths chanting revolutionary songs and dancing in uniforms, the so-called "counter-revolutionaries"—teachers, intellectuals,[283] and so on—wearing tall dunce caps that display their "crimes," are seeing the world turned upside down in front of them. These two scenes put together could shed some light on the ostensible connections between the moment of May 68 and the Cultural Revolution in mutual misunderstandings—misunderstandings that are always depicted in satirical voices both in historical *récit* and in popular culture. Parisian intellectuals' self-referential obsession with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and people's quixotic attempt to revive the spirit of the Paris Commune in Shanghai share a similar level of absurdity, displacement, and symptom. In the meantime, to arbitrarily categorize these events in the 1960s as farces—let us say the Paris Commune before them is the tragedy—would take away the chance to excavate the spatial and the legal assemblage and désassemblage behind the theatricality and also disorder in the era of the global

283. Bertolucci specifically presents a "counter-revolutionary" carrying his typewriter in the scene that tells us the identity of these "criminals." A typewriter as incriminating evidence also signifies that the parole or the right to words has been seized by the revolutionary youths.

sixties and the decade after. In this context, how should we perceive juvenescent spaces, such as the spectacle of youths' mobilization or across the barricade at the end of *The Last Emperor* and *The Dreamers*, that transcend the everyday space of banality and also evoke a destructive force of violence? What does it really mean by saying that Mao is a great director making an epic movie? And what do these two entangled moments of youth revolutions tell us about different types of violence, different roles of police, and different forms of justice? In this chapter I will address these questions by juxtaposing revolutionary "lawlessness"[284] and the concept of theatricality in urban mobilizations and legal performances.

Jonathan Spence, in his insightful account of Mao's life, describes Mao as one of "the toughest and strangest in China's long tradition of formidable rulers" and an incarnation of a "Lord of Misrule" who feels most at home when he is disrupting the law and order:

> In the European Middle Ages it was customary for great households to choose a "Lord of Misrule." The person chosen was expected to preside over the revels that briefly reversed or parodied the conventional social and economic hierarchies. The most favored time for the lords' misrule was during the twelve days of Christmas, but they might preside, too, at other festivals or saints' days. When the brief reign of misrule was over, the customary order of things would be restored: the Lords of Misrule would go back to their menial occupations, while their social superiors resumed their wonted status. . . To Mao, the former lords and masters should never be allowed to return; he felt they were not his betters, and that society was liberated by their removal. He also thought the customary order of things should never be restored. There would be no Twelfth Night to end the Christmas season.[285]

The "Lord of Misrule" stands at the center of the carnivalesque and theatrical arena while the whole city is turned upside down into his stage. And this staging of a world upside down is a juvenescent space *par excellence* that is transgressive, mobilized, and disruptive. Here, all power structures are toppled, hierarchies reversed, taboos lifted, boundaries traversed. The "Lord of

284. The revolutionary "lawlessness" is to be distinguished from the lawlessness of the colonial legal practice as well as the lawlessness of gangster territories discussed in previous chapters.
285. Jonathan D. Spence, *Mao Zedong* (New York: Lipper/Viking, 1999), xii–xiii.

Misrule" would also find himself playing a completely different role as the Pierrot, another carnivalesque character analyzed in the previous chapter. There is a fatal determinism in the symptom of the effeminate and melancholic Pierrot[286] who embodies intellectuals, poets, and artists lured by the idea of utopia, playing their roles during the revolutionary carnival, and inescapably reaching the point when they are seized by a sense of loss, nostalgia, or self-doubt or pressed by the curtain call. Mao is not one of them. Instead, he was driven by a victorious determination. He rose above a slew of revolutionary intellectuals[287] with more experience and influence and took control of another group of progressive artists who aspired to become "fellow travelers." Mao had a firm gaze toward the future and a ruthless self-confidence. And for this Lord of Misrule, the end of the carnival should be canceled or infinitely suspended so that the masquerading continues. Or in Spence's words, "there would be no Twelfth Night to end the Christmas season." His world of chaos and travesties would live as long as it could.

On a similar note, Slavoj Žižek reveals Mao as a "Marxist lord of Misrule" caught up in his circle of negations by evoking Shelley's "The Mask of Anarchy":

> And many more Destructions played
> In this ghastly masquerade,
> All disguised, even to the eyes,
> Like Bishops, lawyers, peers, or spies.
>
> Last came Anarchy: he rode
> On a white horse, splashed with blood;
> He was pale even to the lips,
> Like Death in the Apocalypse.
>
> And he wore a kingly crown;
> And in his grasp a sceptre shone;
> On his brow this mark I saw -

286. In the third chapter, Verlaine the communard, Ai Qing the jailed revolutionary, and Hughes the leftist jazz poet all represent the image of Pierrot in revolutionary moments.
287. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, the two founders of the CCP, as well as many of the early members were more like intellectuals than professional revolutionaries. Some of them died in persecutions and wars, and some were cast out of the Party or marginalized because of their wavering faith.

"I AM GOD, AND KING, AND LAW!"[288]

According to Žižek, Mao accomplished a shift from the criminal transgression of law and order to law and order itself as the highest criminal transgression. Though the "Lord of Misrule" exempts himself from being deposed as "yesterday a king, today a beggar," Mao's incapacity and reluctance to face the curtain call and "the morning after" turns the endless negations into violence and self-destruction. Spence and Žižek are both insightful in identifying the fatal defect of Mao's grand design in all his efforts—whimsical and irrational policies—to sustain the carnival and his role as the "Lord of Misrule." And for both Spence and Žižek, implicitly or explicitly, the failure of Mao and the Cultural Revolution originates in the logic of negation without affirmation, annihilation of the old without generating the new. Simply put, this "carnival" fueled by a death drive wielded its destructive power without reinventing and reconstructing.

I tend to believe that the "great director making an epic movie" brought up by the young protagonist in Bertolucci's film further complicates and complements Mao's image of "Lord of Misrule." Mao is by no means an aimless fool parading during the carnival. His charisma is rooted in his determination and deliberation to carry on the grandiose design of the "revolutionary theater" without a curtain call. In this sense, he is a director of an epic theater or film with his own vision and script, which is to accomplish a communist revolution in a socialist state. And for this ambitious plan, youths were staged at the center of the theater because they were the biopolitical reservoir and momentum to maintain the futuristic utopian outlook and to sustain the mobilized juvenescent spaces. Yet, the reluctance or even rejection to face the

288. Slavoj Žižek, "Introduction," in Mao Zedong, *On Practice and Contradiction* (London; New York: Verso, 2007), 20.

morning *after* the revolution has also fundamentally disturbed the "law and order." Though the performance of youths constantly challenges the law and order of the quotidian, it is usually part of the "law and order" in which transgressions or travesties are tolerated at a specific time. And on the "twelfth night," the order would be restored and law reinstated. By rejecting this implicit rule, Mao negated the negation of "law and order" and established himself as not only a "lord of misrule," but also a director who set a theatrical stage of revolutionary lawlessness and disorder.

By juxtaposing the events of May 68 and the Cultural Revolution, I would argue in this chapter that the two "lawless" carnivals are not simply destructive and inherently devoid of reinvention or reimagination of a utopia as Spence and Žižek see in Mao's image of "Lord of Misrule." I propose to call the destructive force of revolution—neither the violence of law, nor simply the violence of absolute lawlessness—the theatrical violence[289] that is partly performative, partly mimicking, and partly transgressive. If we see Mao as a great director with a skill to strike a *coup de théâtre* in addition to a carnivalesque "Lord of Misrule," we may gain an alternative way of looking at the political, legal, and spatial assemblages in these youth mobilizations. Even absolute lawlessness and disorder do not lead to a total void. They take on material forms—mobilized space on streets, roles of police, forms of courts—that incarnate the cycle of negations. In the *mise-en-scène* of a director, law and order are not only challenged or abandoned but also staged and radically theatricalized into a new form of negation. I would also argue that beyond the façade of shared moments of youth mobilizations, utopian imaginaries, and their mutual attractions, the "lawless" status of youths in May 68 and in Mao's staged grand revolution are in fact on two divergent ideological paths: if the events of May 68, with its

289. This is also the violence that has become a poignant and perplexing legacy of almost all revolutions that were not totally crushed by the violence of police, law, and order—from the French Revolution of 1789 to the Bolshevik Revolution and the Cultural Revolution.

carnivalesque impulse, are a negation of the existing law and established order, Mao's deployment of theatricality is a negation of the negation of law and order. Then, how did theatricality, in both cases, become a feature of the juvenescent spaces at these historical moments? And how would the new experiments of spatial practice in staging and theatricalization renegotiate the boundaries between law and different forms of lawlessness? What I eventually argue in this exhibition of carnivalesque spatial mobilizations of youths in both Paris and Shanghai is that a hyperbolic theatricality found in staged streets, collisions with the police, and popular courts would recast the image of law and order as well as present a new face of lawlessness and violence in which cohabit destructions and reinventions, illusions and disillusions.

I. Lawlessness, Theatricality, and Violence

The concept of law evoked in this chapter refers both to positive laws that are socially constructed and institutionally imposed on individuals and natural laws that have transcendental and ethical dimensions. Or we could also say that it touches upon positive laws that justify violence as long as such violence is endorsed by the sovereign power and the natural laws that justify violence as a means to achieve justice. A major aspiration of youth revolutions comes from the *un-making of* positive laws made and controlled by the *ancien régime*. Another aspiration, which is more utopian and perhaps also more controversial, is the rehabilitation of a natural law and poetic justice in the absence of positive laws. In "lawless" and chaotic moments during youth revolutions, while positive laws are under attack or suspended in juvenescent spaces, natural laws work essentially as a reformulation of political subjectivity and

intersubjective relations in theatrical settings and performances.[290] To fully reveal the complexity of legality, justice, and ethics in times of youth revolutions, on the one hand, I want to interrogate the violence and the notorious role of the institutionalized legal system and police. On the other hand, I also want to ask if the "lawless" disorder would equally generate arbitrary and false "truth" and if popular and poetic justice justifies the violent means.

This discussion of law and justice could be extended to the modes of dwelling and living-together, and thus to special features of juvenescent spaces. The law, according to John Locke, "puts men out of a state of Nature into that of a commonwealth."[291] In other words, the law forms a new liaison that transgresses the natural and familial ties. In comparison with the latter, the law, with its ever-expanding scope and ever-refined mechanism, has helped forge consensus, communities, citizenship, and the nation-state. And then the natural order that has been loosely kept by the "primal father" is replaced by law. After the elimination of the father, the law's other function is to eliminate the vestige of the "Nature," or in a Freudian sense, the savage. This primal patricide, according to Peter Fitzpatrick, reveals the "grounds of law." And law arose in the fear of the disorder and "war of all against all" after the death of the father, and that "order subsists in the prospect and fear of returning to savagery."[292] Youths who are not yet entirely disciplined by the order represent the vestige of savagery in the social milieu. Hence, the lawless disorder of youth mobilizations touches upon such grounds of law caught up between nature and

290. Though there are centuries-long debates over the definition and categories of positive law, in this article, it generally refers to the law that conforms to the will of its maker—the church, the sovereign, the state, and so on. One most pertinent example to distinguish the positive law from the natural law is Sophocles' *Antigone*. The tragedy unveils the conflicts among Creon's law of the *cité* and Antigone's "law" of the heart (not necessarily of the kinship), honor, and responsibility. Through *un-making* the law of Creon, Antigone claims a realm, un uncanny realm of death, of her own not in the private sphere, but in the public sphere, which makes her act a political and potentially revolutionary act.
291. John Locke, *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1884), 236.
292. Peter Fitzpatrick, *Modernism and the Grounds of Law* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2.

civilization, between discipline and savage, and between elusive father figures who vary from the primal father (such as Mao and de Gaulle) to the father guised in modern state apparatuses. During May 68 and the Cultural Revolution, the order of public spaces was transformed by carnivalesque performances, which could blur the demarcations between physis and nomos. And the commonwealth and body politics subsisted by law were replaced by a collectivism of comradeship—a semi-familial liaison that bypasses the law and then threatens the foundation of modern political power that resides in the "right of making laws."[293] In this process, the law acts as the heterogeneous yet integral juvenescent spaces, which means, without the presence of legal constraint or police involvement, juvenescent spaces would lose their momentum for actions and representational strength. At the same time, the law also evolves by assimilating and institutionalizing the "savage" and "lawlessness" for its self-preservation, for the restoration of order, and for the power of legitimacy and jurisprudence to be sustained. Thus, the process of constructing juvenescent spaces is not only marked by a series of conflicts between law and the youth revolutions, but also characterized by the negotiations between two types of social liaison—natural/familial and legal/institutional, which fundamentally alters the power structure as well as people's perception and experience of space.

In Chapter 2, I used the terms "collision" and "collusion" to describe revolutionary mobilizations and the legal and spatial order in which the urban network of the French Concession of Shanghai allowed different forms of law and lawlessness to cohabit in its colonial spatial setting. At the same time, we also get a glimpse of different forms of violence—of the colonial system or of the assassination carried out by revolutionaries—in historical records, fictional reenactment, and debates between Malraux and Trotsky in the 1920s and 1930s. Thirty

293. Locke, *Two Treatises*, 192.

years later, the early members of the CCP were no longer underground revolutionaries being haunted and prosecuted. Charles de Gaulle's image also transformed from a wartime hero leading the resistance against Nazi Germany to a symbol of the senile and corrupted government. Meanwhile, the concepts of law, violence, and justice also took on more ambivalent and complex roles in the utopian imagination and spatial mobilizations in the 1960s. This time, I will use a set of terms—the carnivalesque and theatrical—to explore the mobilized juvenescent spaces and the agitated legal ground. It is not hard to understand that the "carnivalesque" could suspend and even temporarily reverse the social order with chaos and lawlessness. But I also want to present, after the "law" of the police as Benjamin puts it was suspended, how the theatrical could stage and remake the natural law in the "reversed" reality.

In Plato's utopia of Kallipolis or Magnesia, the mimetic art of the theater is too corruptive and corrosive for its firmly law-binding citizens. For Plato, the emotionally charged theatricality seems to be politically incompatible with the law that is governed reason and intellect. However, through the words of Georg Lukács, Benjamin tells his reader that Plato's dialogues actually bring the Greek philosopher to the threshold of the stage. Further, the dialogue may be more dramatic than the epic theater of Brecht, and the latter also need not "be any the less philosophical." [294] The epic theater, according to Benjamin, started to "introduce fundamental change" into the relationship between stage and public, text and performance, producer and actors. Benjamin's interpretation of epic theater concurs with the effect of juvenescent spaces that similarly subvert the existing relationship between the public and the space, the theoria and the praxis. Mobilized juvenescent spaces—streets, popular courts, spaces of public assembly, and so on—are essentially theatrical spaces rooted in the "here and now" and staged with ideological

294. Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht*, trans. Anna Bostock (London; New York: Verso, 1998), 6.

objects such as posters, street theaters, and agitprops. And such ideological objects in a theatrical *mise-en-scène* also work as cohesive elements that sustain the constructed "real" with collective and interactive characteristics, which distinguish the juvenescent spaces from the bourgeois urban setting. In resonance with Benjamin's writings on law and social revolutions, his description of Brecht's epic theater could also be extended to the uprooted and staged theatricality that challenges the norms of legal practice. Brecht used to tell Benjamin that "I often imagine being interrogated by a tribunal."[295] He also shared with the Russian playwright Sergei Tretiakov[296] his desire to create a "legal theater" that could reenact trials in the history of humanity.[297] The desire and imagination of the master of epic theater remind us that the stage and the courtroom share a strikingly similar set of movements in performances, spectatorship, and judgements. It is not rare to see the theatrical representation of trials or the practice of law mimicking the theatrical setting in show trials. I will take up the thread left by Benjamin and Brecht by presenting certain connections between the theatricality and the law. In the setting of youth mobilizations, the theatrical staging of public spaces, which means that everyday spaces are transformed into vibrant juvenescent spaces, works as an effective means to disrupt law and order. And in search of a new justice, the emergence of people's tribunals generates another public space that would be seen simultaneously as a court and a stage. Though the medium of juvenescent spaces—the carnivalesque or the theatrical—we could take a voyage to the passages, impasses, possibilities, and impossibilities of law and justice.

295. He was indeed interrogated in an American court during the McCarthy years.
296. Sergei Tretiakov studied law before becoming a playwright. He visited China in 1924 and was famous for the play *Roar China* (1930).
297. Yasco Horsman, *Theaters of Justice: Judging, Staging, and Working through in Arendt, Brecht, and Delbo, Cultural Memory in the Present* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011), 91.

II. *La Beauté Est dans la Rue* : Streets as the *Mise-en-Scène* of a Theatrical Stage

In the epic theater, according to Benjamin, the insurmountable chasm between the stage and the public no longer exists: "For its public, the stage is no longer 'the planks which signify the world' (in other words, a magic circle), but a convenient public exhibition area. For its stage, the public is no longer a collection of hypnotized test subjects, but an assembly of interested persons whose demands it must satisfy."[298] So, we could say that the epic theater transforms the relationship between the stage and the public and displays them in a more democratic and interactive spatial setting, namely in a juvenescent space. An ideal model for the setting of epic theater, for Brecht, is the street scene. Both Benjamin and Brecht are preoccupied with streets as well as the modern mythology of urban spaces in which history is made in the "transient, the fleeting, the contingent" presentism and in a *Jetztzeit* that breaks the continuum of historical narratives. History in this sense is not a hollow and abstract denotation of time, but a constellation of *Jetztzeit*—the explosive "here and now" of events. Through the theatricalization of the everyday life in streets, the history-making (and also law-making) *Jetztzeit* could be rendered tangible and sensible for the public and ordinary spectators who would become conscious and active participants, not only of the theater, but also of a history of the multitude.

Streets used to be considered as existing just for destinations. Even though we talk about architecture, department stores, theaters, and all types of urban spectacles along streets, a street by itself hardly attracts any attention—aesthetic or political. And the "man in the street, the passerby," writes René Lourau in *Utopie*, "is deprived of what used to be called a vocation. The problems he raises are traffic problems. His pedestrian existence is regulated. If he wants to

298. Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht*, 2.

frolic, he has to go into one of these fragments of the petrified forest dubbed 'green spaces.'"[299] In other words, there used to be a strict order and uniformity of people on the streets. But during the moment of May 68, according to Maurice Blanchot, streets were awake: "It speaks . . . It becomes lively, powerful, and supreme; the place where all freedom becomes possible." [300] These mobilized and theatricalized streets are always in a motion and flux that corresponds to the philosophy of Heraclitus, or as Lefebvre puts it, "the fluidity, tremor, irruption, tears, laughter, and vertigos."[301] I would present how the streets during these youth mobilizations were approximate to the Brechtian street scene of the epic theater and how the *mise-en-scène* of the stage created an aesthetic of the temporal presentism.

Considering that the beginnings of revolutions are almost always spontaneous and irruptive and that their process almost always mimics the theater, every moment of a revolution from the beginning to the climax reminds people of a final moment of lights dimmed and curtains closed. The anxiety behind the temporal limitation of revolution generates the aspiration on continuity, which for the Parisian students is a carnival that lasts—"continuons le combat"—and for Mao, is a series of never-ending negations that sustains the revolutionary impulse of youths. The mentality behind such desire would create a "state of exception" in which temporality is experienced as on a theatricalized stage. The mundane and the everyday would

299. René Lourau, «Les contours d'une pensée critique nommée urbanisme » (Outlines of Urbanism as a Critical System of Throught), *Utopie*, no. 1, May 1967, 21. Translation from *Utopie: Texts and Projects, 1967-1978*, ed. Craig Buckley, Jean-Louis Violeau, and Jean-Marie Clarke (Los Angeles, Calif.: Semiotext(e), 2011), 40-41.

Utopie is a Parisian journal that came into being in May 1967. On the one hand, it inherited certain aspects of the Situationists' utopian aesthetics and spatial experiments. On the other hand, with its members being well-trained architects (Jean Aubert, Jean-Paul Jungmann, Antoine Stinco, and Isabelle Auricoste) and sociologists (René Lourau and Baudrillard who were both assistants to Lefebvre at Nanterre at that time), *Utopie* focuses more on the cultural, social, and architectural aspect of the Utopian urbanism in comparison with Situationists' more artistic and aesthetic position.

300. Maurice Blanchot, *Mai 68, Révolution Par l'idée* (Paris: Gallimard, 2018), 54.

301. Henri Lefebvre, *La présence et l'absence: contribution à la théorie des représentations* ([Paris]: Casterman, 1980), 104.

also be constantly reinvented. On this staging of revolution, the sense of time would be displayed as a presentism that is cut off from the melancholic nostalgia. And because of the imaginary continuity of the present, the future is also folded into the dimension of the present, which makes present a highly condensed theatrical time of *Jetztzeit*.

In this unique space and time, new forms of aesthetic expressions are generated in the political and urban *mise-en-scène* of the streets as a mobilized theater. On May 14, 1968, at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the most prestigious fine art institution in France, students and young artists printed the first thirty posters of "Usines, Université, Union." Their original idea was to sell the posters to a gallery, yet as they stepped out of the École des Beaux-Arts, the posters were snatched by students on the streets and immediately pasted on the walls by the crowd. Young artists who were trained in the prestigious, privileged, and also ossified Beaux-Arts tradition realized that posters created for galleries could be used for the exhibition in the streets—the new public space for political engagement and aesthetic experiments. Two days later, an Atelier Populaire was established by Guy de Rougemont, an artist, and silk screen printer and editor Éric Seydoux in the institution representing the high culture and aesthetic order in France, with most of the members being Maoist or Art-Deco communists. At the entrance of the Atelier, a placard declared their aesthetic and political position echoing the Maoist mass-line mobilization, "Atelier populaire: oui, Atelier Bourgeois: non." In the Atelier, they created large quantities of posters that transformed the streets on the left bank of Paris, which was once classic, tranquil, and bourgeois, but now decorated with slogans and posters in bold colors and stark contrasts. In one of the most widely reproduced posters made by the Atelier, a woman with long hair and in a red miniskirt is throwing a cobblestone. The cobblestone poses no threat as it floats in mid air, yet the elegant and powerful gesture of the woman creates a contemporary

revolutionary equivalence to the Goddess of Liberty leading the people in Delacroix's masterpiece depicting the July Revolution in 1830. The poster text is "LA BEAUTÉ" on the top and "EST DANS LA RUE" at the bottom. A perfect example of a propaganda slogan, "the beauty is on the street" is open to all types of interpretation. The beauty could refer to the active presence of female participants in May '68, which ultimately became an important moment in the French feminist movement. More literarily, the poster implies that streets are far beyond insignificant passages toward destinations for the passerby; they could be an active agent in mobilization. Both politically and aesthetically, streets in the *mise-en-scène* of this mobilization were juvenescent spaces where youths congregated, collaborated, and created a public space of their own.

The Atelier was forcibly shut down by the police on June 27, and the last poster it produced declares, "La police s'affiche aux Beaux-Arts, les Beaux-Arts affichent dans la rue." (The police occupy the Beaux-Arts; the Beaux-Arts occupies the street.) Apart from producing more satirical and inflammatory posters, the Atelier had no direct conflicts with the police. If the posters had been, as originally planned, only sold at a gallery and ended up on the walls of a few radical students' private bedrooms, the police might not even have been aware of the existence of the Atelier. The intervention of the police recalls the central issue of legitimacy and who gets access to the urban space, a question that is still haunting street artists today. When the posters were pasted on the streets, inevitably, they brought up questions of property, authority, and spatial order. And streets were turned into a contact zone between the repressive apparatus of the state and the youths who were trying to suspend the law and order to gain the right to the space. This contact zone also represents a juvenescent space par excellence—mobilized as a battleground, theatricalized as a stage, desegregated as a public space.

In parallel to the posters of Atelier Populaire, the most prevalent type of posters found in the streets of Shanghai and across China during the Cultural Revolution was Big-Character posters (*dazibao*), which are normally considered as showing a lack of aesthetic. Nevertheless, *dazibao* posters have revealed the propagandist potentiality of public exhibition and then theatricalized the public space to an unprecedented level. For Mao, *dazibao* posters are "a powerful weapon for conducting debate and education in accordance with the broadest mass democracy."[302] In other words, *dazibao* posters were different from the posters of the Atelier Populaire because the latter represent a revolutionary artform created by radical artists, while the former could be seen as a true mass-line practice. Anyone who was literate could "write down their views, suggestions or exposures and criticisms of others in big characters on large sheets of paper and put them up in conspicuous places for people to read."[303] Because *dazibao* posters were an integral part of the mass-line staging of the Cultural Revolution, they were legitimate and protected by the police.[304] And the massive advent of the *dazibao* posters transformed walls, streets, even roads into public forums. Zhou Youguang, in his memoir, recalls how perplexed he was when he saw the facades of skyscrapers in Shanghai were covered by *dazibao* posters. And in a picture of Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution, the ground is also painted with big characters and slogans, not to mention the facades of buildings. The contents of the posters pasted on skyscrapers would not be completely recognizable for passengers, yet the visual shock—or an estrangement—brought by the city itself being a public forum and noticeboard

302. Mao Zedong, "Introducing a Cooperative," in *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-Tung* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1971), 404.
303. Mao, 404.
304. The Regulations on Strengthening Public Security Work in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, more widely known as "The Six Articles of Public Security" (公安六条), formally justified certain "lawless" activities as long as they could be categorized as "revolutionary." *Dazibao* posters, which would normally be considered as a disruption of public order, became a common practice during the Cultural Revolution.

open to anyone is beyond imagination. In other words, not only the streets, but the city itself, from public to domestic was transformed into a limitless carnivalesque theater in which people were incessantly involved in revolutionary melodramas and conflicts.

Figure 12. 荒牧万佐行:「中国文化大革命５０年と今日」(1967)

Figure 13. *Dazibao* posters in the streets (courtesy: Harvard-Yenching Library)

In addition, *dazibao* posters were not intended to add or contribute to the aesthetic dimension of "the beauty of the streets" because most of the posters were filled with malicious attacks against individuals. Then, the streets and public spaces with these posters became a site of nightmares for the accused because those who were accused or criticized in the posters for being class enemies or anti-revolutionaries faced being cast out of the community. In this way,

the *dazibao* poster granted the public expression a dictatorial power. As a result, the voyeuristic, virulent, and sometimes fabricated attacks written on the posters fed the spectators with a perverted satisfaction. Mao's "broadest mass democracy" not only mobilized the masses to stay alert and identify the "enemies"; it also turned all the possible public spaces into the noticeboards of private lives. And the unrestrained power of the masses, combined with a highly confrontational class struggle, created a passage from the carnivalesque to the cannibalistic. The practices that were originally meant to empower and carnivalize the people ended up in a cannibalistic cruelty.

So, how should we understand the writings on the wall and in the street as part of the revolutionary *mise-en-scène*? Are they public writing or private expression, legitimate or illegitimate, violent or nonviolent? Maurice Blanchot, in his comments on the tracts, posters, and bulletins of May 68, points out that the mural writing is "neither inscription nor enunciation." They do not need to be read but are words of disorder, the speech outside of discourse, and like a challenge to every law. These are words that disturb, call, threaten, and finally question without expecting an answer, without resting in certainty, and without a closure.[305] Blanchot brings out the essential style of *mise-en-scène* in mural writing, which is the *désoeuvrement* (unworking) of the "illegitimate" words of uncertainty, of an open end, and of futility. Similar words could also be found in the May of Prague; as Blanchot tells us, "the same infinite, uncontrollable speech" was found in the secret radios, on walls, on trees, on the dust of pathways, on Russian tanks.[306] We could find the irrepressible, excessive, and incessant speech and expression of transgression in almost all mobilized juvenescent spaces. However, once these words are inscribed and

305. Maurice Blanchot, *Political Writings, 1953–1993*, trans. Zakir Paul (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 95.
306. Blanchot, 103.

enunciated or once they become legitimate "truths," they are in danger of being transformed from a carnivalesque *mise-en-scène* to a cannibalistic setting.

Apart from street posters, barricades also constitute a symbolic form of the street scene. The event of May 68 was the first time since the Commune of 1871 that Parisian streets saw barricades. In the following week, more barricades were built, and there were a series of meetings and demonstrations of high school and university students. These moments manifest the power of spatial mobilization and the force of what Pierre Nora calls "*le lieu de mémoire*" (the site of memory) first in the reenactment of the Parisian "archaic and glorious procedure" and then to "indicate the students' determination to subvert the existing order in poetic fashion." Through a creative assemblage and bricolage of daily objects—chairs, planks, and cars—the mobilization in juvenescent spaces promotes youths' perception of a public space as a grand *mise-en-scène* and a refreshing creativeness in the reconstruction of streets. In the end, the mythology is reinforced with an ideological, yet aesthetic reading of the street: "*sous les pavés, la plage*" (under the cobblestones, the beach). Many of the Parisian streets, especially the ones around the old quartiers, such as Quartier Latin around la Sorbonne, are streets with cobblestones. When the students behind the barricades got cobblestones from the ground to throw at the police, they found that underneath the cobblestones was not solid ground, but sand. The slogan calls upon a new order in the space, one that is not constrained by rules and their surface of civilization, but returned to its original status—a beach, a playground, and a utopia. Hence, the impulse of the revolutions from Shanghai to Paris was under the spell of the presentism with which the past is swept away and the future folded into the present and compressed onto a theatrical stage with a brand-new spatial configuration. In this context, almost all the efforts to sustain and extend the revolution in a spirit of *Jetztzeit* are related to the

transformation, expansion, and reconstruction of the juvenescent spaces, which are vibrant, theatrical, and collective spaces.

III. Polis, Police, and Urban Politics

Near the end of *The Dreamers*, the protagonists go onto the streets and join the crowd of young people unanimously shouting "*Dans la rue, dans la rue*."[307] This is followed by another slogan, "*Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat*,"[308] which also echoes Mao's image as a Lord of Misrule who refuses the return of law and order. Following this theatrical street scene, the film comes to the moment when Matthew, the American student, parts with Theo who picks up a Molotov cocktail. Their last argument is about violence—the violence of young insurgents vis-à-vis the violence of the police. Matthew insists that though the police resort to violence, they should protest with love. Nonetheless, Theo joins the militants throwing cobblestones and Molotov cocktails at the police. The split between "the pacifist American" and "the militant French" falls into a stereotypical reading of revolutions in general. But Bertolucci skips the real blood and tears in a direct conflict between the police and young protesters. After the scene of insigated police rushing toward the crowd, we are left with an emptied street with fires and scattered paving stones and Edith Piaf's lament "*Non, rien de rien/Non, je ne regrette rien/Ni le bien qu'on me fait/Ni le mal, tout ça m'est bien égale/Non, rien de rien/Non, je ne regrette rien/C'est payé, balayé, oublié/Je m'en fou de passé*." Bertolucci's depiction of the police violence in a symbolic and ambivalent manner leaves his audience the space to speculate about the form of violence involved in the encounter. And with Edith Piaf's chanson, he captures the

307. It is from the famous slogan "Le pouvoir est dans la rue" (The power is in the streets).
308. "This is just a beginning; let's keep up the fight."

sense of determination as well as blasé with his visual representation of the empty street and ruins left by the night of barricades. All is to be paid for, swept away, and forgotten.

We may be tempted to imagine what might have happened—or have not happened—between the scene of police swarming forward and the empty streets after the event: Was there an unrepresentable cruelty of police and state violence? Or as displayed in Bertolucci's satirical visual narrative, was it a ludic and libidinous episode that helped the youths unleash their discontent and facilitated the authority to transform the momentum of a true subversive revolution into a theatrical performance? "It was one of the victories of May," writes Jean Baudrillard, "to have been able to ward off repression, to have brought it to light as the truth of the institution and of the social order." But this victory did not come without a price: "The movement also exhausted itself in a spectacular guerrilla conflict—ending in the fascination of the symbolic street fight, where incarnated repression became, accordingly in the iconography and the obsessional folklore inspired by the Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité (CRS), the *number one object of consumption* for the rebellious imagination."[309] Baudrillard's double position unveils a commonly held—but not necessarily accurate—attitude toward the events of May, a conflicted attitude that sees it as both a moment of enlightenment and a moment of folie (or fête). What is more revealing in Baudrillard's comment is that May 68 had altered the image of the police. They were not only the violent and feared guardians of the repressive state apparatus but also performers on the stage and in the street scenes of the epic theater. In a more drastic and dramatic way, the role of police also shifted during Mao's high socialist period and in the Cultural Revolution. Starting from these two cases, I will resist the temptation of making

309. Jean Baudrillard, *Utopia Deferred: Writings from Utopie (1967–1978)*, trans. Stuart Kendall (New York: Semiotext(e), 2006), 36.

assumptions about the mentality or ethos of mobilized youths of May 68 or the Cultural Revolution. Nor will I focus too much on the brutality of police operation because we are all too familiar with such topics and the negative consequences they have brought to the society. Rather, I will further explore the concept of "lawlessness" in the organization of the police archive in Paris and in the shifted role, which is a conduit between the community and the state, of the police in Shanghai in Maoist China. Through the organization and governance of the police, we could approach the new relationship forged among the spatial order, police, and urban politics in the juvenescent spaces emerging in the two cities.

Paper Tigers

As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, Paris is allegedly the first city equipped with a modern police system that could be traced back to the reign of Louis XIV. Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie, the first lieutenant-général of the Paris Police, had performed a role that was well beyond a law enforcement officer. He was simultaneously a judge, a police officer, and an urban reformer who took measures to ensure public lighting in the city so that Paris gained the name "the city of light." And the role played by La Reynie reveals that the concept of police implies a broader sense of governing and governmentality. In addition, La Reynie gave Nicolas de La Mare, the commissaire au Châtelet, access to all Paris archives, and the latter systemically recorded edicts and ordinances concerning the police, particularly of Paris, in his monumental four-volume *Traité de la Police* between 1705 and 1738. La Mare defined the word "police," whose meaning was still volatile and ambiguous in the seventeenth century. He cited Plato and Aristotle's writings, in which police was respectively defined as "*la vie, le règlement et la loy qui maintient la Cité*" and "*le bon ordre, le gouvernement de la Ville, le soûtien de la vie du Peuple, le premier*

& le plus grand des bien." Similar to the police of ancient times, La Mare further explained, we also had divisions to take care of buildings, streets, public squares, and roads. [310] Subsequently, in *L'Encyclopédie*, the principal work of the Enlightenment, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert defined police as "the art of providing a comfortable and quiet life," especially for city dwellers. At the early stage of envisioning the modern police, from ancient Greek philosophers to La Reynie, La Mare, and Diderot, the police was also an institution of spatial governance that was concerned with the well-being of the *polis* and people who cohabited and shared the space in the community.

In his discussion of La Mare's text, Foucault evokes the role of police in a utopian technique of government: "In short, life is the object of the police. The indispensable, the useful, and the superfluous: Those are the three types of things that we need, or that we can use in our lives. That people survive, that people live, that people do even better than just survive or live: That is exactly what the police have to insure."[311] Because the definition puts emphasis on the general well-being of people, we may struggle to link La Mare's definition to the most immediate image of the police in our mind, an image that has been further stereotyped by the growing police violence in recent years. In the voluminous discussions on police and policing, direct and visible violence is almost always the central point at issue. However, the early definition of police would lead us to an open field where the concepts of polis, police, and politics are ideologically and practically entwined. Jacques Rancière writes in *Disagreement* that

310. Nicolas de La Mare, *Traité de la Police: Ou l'on Trouvera l'Histoire de Son Etablissement, les Fonctions et les Prerogatives de Ses Magistrats; Toutes les Loix et Tous les Règlemens Qui la Concernent*, *vol. 1* (Paris: J. & P. Cot, 1705), 4.
311. Michel Foucault, *Dits et Ecrits: 1954–1988* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1994), 824. Translation from Michel Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 157.

we should not conflate the violence and interrogations of *la basse police*[312] with the police as an art of governance. And in his comment about *la police* and *la politique*, the former is built on power relations and the latter on equality; the former divides and categorizes, while the latter breaks the boundaries and disturbs the divisions. Here, I want to take a step back from this direct violence carried out by *la basse police*, as Jacques Rancière puts it, and return to the early definition of police as an art of spatial government and a logic of governmentality. In the juvenescent spaces of Paris and Shanghai, police and politics would develop a nonbinary and more interdependent relationship that could become a starting point of a new urban politics.

In one of Mao's most widely circulated quotations, he said "all reactionaries are paper tigers" that appear terrifying, but not so powerful in reality. "From a long-term point of view," Mao concludes, "it is not the reactionaries but the people who are powerful."[313] Because of the circulation of Mao's *Little Red Book*, the term was frequently used by French revolutionaries and activists in the 1960s. In this context, I bring up the term "paper tiger" to refer to the police during May 68, though it is not merely to repeat the maxim of Mao. If "paper" is interpreted in its literal sense, then "paper tiger" could also refer to the police[314] who obsessively collected materials and recorded the events in police archives.

312. The distinction between the so-called haute police and the basse police is ambivalent. In this context, la haute police generally refers to the *police politique* and la basse police is normally used to convey ordinary criminal police (*police criminelle ordinaire*).
313. Mao Zedong, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong (August 1946)," in *Selected Works, Vol. IV* (Oxford: Pergamon, 2014), 100.
314. The police forces involved in the May events came from three different institutions. In addition to the Parisian police that were more directly involved in local and urban events, at the moments of large-scale insurgencies like the May 68, other institutions of the state repressive apparatus were also present, including the CRS of the French National Police and the Gendarmerie Nationale of the French military. These two special forces were equipped with chemical grenades and launchers.

This "archive fever" unveils an image of the police with measurement tools, most notably following the Bertillon manuals[315] as well as pens and typewriters, which is usually obscured by the image of police with batons. In photographs, documentaries, and films, we witness police brutality and violence in different theatrical forms, while rarely have we been shown how they write their reports and organize their archives. Because the police are involved in almost every aspect of urban life, police archives in fact represent a location or place where the boundaries among issues of polis, police, and urban politics become less remarkable. La Mare's four-volume work gives us a glimpse of the tradition of French police who like to see themselves not only as mere functionaries of law enforcement but also as practitioners of art and science in governance who play a critical role in writing the history. The sublime and utopian aim of the police in its early days left a tradition of collecting, indexing, organizing, and "gathering together"[316] signs and information, which would become an essential record of the history of urban development and management. Then the archive fever of the police starts with the power to speak the law and ends with a system of knowledge coded in the power structure in a Foucauldian sense when almost every aspect of urban life and organization—population control, criminal records, social events, major urban reforms, real estate developments, and architecture designs of buildings—has been collected, recorded, and categorized in police archives.

In the Archives de la Préfecture de Police in Paris, the archives concerning 1968 events are categorized under Série F, "Public Order" and titled "Sous-série FB. *Événements de Mai–Juin 1968*." The organization of the materials included in the archive could give us a different perspective to look at the role and activities of the police, the "paper tiger" in the events of May.

315. Alphonse Bertillon was a Parisian police officer who developed a system of measuring, photographing, and recording specific physical characteristics for police records.
316. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 3.

At the same time, it also provides a vivid testimony to Derrida's judgment that "there is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory." The first notable feature of the May 68 dossiers is that a majority of their materials are from "the other side of the barricades"—tracts from different mobilized student groups and revolutionary organizations, posters, fliers for public gatherings, testimonies of eyewitnesses and victims of police brutality, and fragmentary handwritten notes and doodles of students and artists. These materials provide an extensive illustration of the events through the eyes of participants. In terms of university reforms, for instance, the archive consists of a variety of tracts and pamphlets that display how students of different majors and of different universities envisaged a less hierarchical education space and a more democratic and autonomous practice of their expertise: students of art reimagined the exhibition of their work in the streets instead of in the museums; future architects called to abolish the elitist and hierarchical *ordre des architects* and carry out more community-based designs; engineering students proposed to better balance the theory and practice in their education; and so on.[317]

In the same box of archival materials, there are also reports from the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* (Ministry of Internal Affairs) that organized some of the materials collected by the police into a brochure called "*Objectifs et Méthodes des Movements Révolutionnaires d'Apès Leurs Tracts et Journaux*" (Objectives and Methods of the Revolutionary Movements According to Their Tracts and Journals) that contains a variety of extracts from revolutionary groups—the Maoist Parti Marxiste-Leniniste de France, the Trotskyist Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the

317. Examples of tracts of universities compiled in the police archive: La Reforme de L'Enseignment à l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure de la Metallurgie et de l'Industrie des Mines de Nancy, Faculté de Chirurgie Dentaire de *Paris Journal d'Information*, *Journal du Comité d'Information de la Faculté de Médicine de Paris*, *Atelier Populaire*, *Comite de Presse de la Sorbonne*, *Bulletin d'Information*, *Renaissance 68*, *Bulletin d'Information de Sciences Po*, *La Scienlit*, Faculté des Sciences de Paris.

Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (UNEF), and various activist groups. Being a highly curated record of May 68 from the perspective of the government, the main feature of the "objective and methods" brochure is that the extracts selected are the most flammable and radical slogans of the revolutionary organizations. "*La revolution Populaire, loin d'être achevée, ne fait que commencer* (The Popular Revolution, far from being over, has only just begun)." From the Maoist journal *La Cause du People*, this sensational slogan is recorded on the first page of the brochure. Despite the fact that students in different fields brought up many concrete measures, the brochure only presents a selection of the most general, vague, yet sensational slogans of the UNEF, such as "*Il faut continuer la lutte. Ce que veulent ouvriers et étudiants, c'est le pouvoir* (We must continue the struggle. What workers and students want is the power)." Though the police archive as a whole presents a much more complex image of the political and spatial mobilizations during May 68, the brochure presents how the government wanted its officials and police officers to perceive the events as built on ungrounded general claims so that they could implement operations accordingly.

At the same time, the comprehensive collection of first-hand materials indicates the continuation of police practices of surveillance and spying that we have already seen in the cases of Ho Chih Minh in Paris and the clash between Chinese revolutionaries and French police in the French Concession of Shanghai. The seemingly less violent approach leads to the proliferation of archival materials that play a role in the historical narrative and in the construction of a systematic knowledge about the urban life, mobilized communities, and the mentalities of protesters. Meanwhile, when I visited the Police Archives of Paris in 2019 and 2020, I could only consult part of its collection, and every time I was there, some dossiers would be removed from the files handed to me. From the incomplete files on the surveillance of Daniel Cohn-

Bandit, the student leader, it is not so far-fetched to speculate that fifty years on, the files may reveal the identity of "secret police" during the events, and the *modi operandi* of spying and surveillance are still hidden from the public eye. Though the "lawless" activities of the other side of the barricades have been thoroughly recorded and presented, the details of mostly illegal police surveillance and spying are yet to be fully unveiled. This phenomenon also particularly stands out in places where no regime change or coup d'état has opened up the access to previously inaccessible files. Continuity means that secrets (and identities and operations of the secret police) need to be kept to maintain the legitimacy and the lawful status of sovereignty.

The logic and practice behind the methodical archival collection and organization is on the one hand, as already discussed by Foucault, a revelation and manifestation of the whole power structure. And according to Derrida, the word "archive" derives from the Greek *arkheion*, which originally refers to a house, a domicile of those *archons*, powerful superior magistrates who made and represented the law.[318] Naturally, archives are seen as spaces and places of order or the guardians to the gates of law and the "legitimate" history. Yet, the police's or paper tigers' fervent collection and archiving of revolutionary pamphlets, posters, and all types of written materials eventually generated an alternative narrative of history, a history that is inadvertently dominated by the vibrant and subversive voice of young students and activists. Because of the intentional concealment of police operations and lavish exhibition of so-called "lawless" activities of mobilized students, we are prompted to ask if the true "lawless" activities that threaten the foundation of polis and *la politique* are committed by the police. Yet, I would say that with all the twists and turns of paths and routes of movements, discourses, and artistic experiments being delineated and mapped out, to a certain extent, the discursive space of the

318. Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2.

police archive becomes a juvenescent space that transgresses the power house of *arkheion* built on law and order. And looking back, the meticulously recorded "lawless" moments may become part of the "legitimate" history of the city while unrevealed, absent, and haunting images of the "secret police" will always be the site where law is truly abandoned and twisted. Hence, empty folders in police archives may be the real site of lawlessness.

Tigers without Teeth

Though the discussions of archives of the Paris police both represent the archive fever in the French political culture and the impotence of the police as paper tigers, the brutality of de Gaulle's centralized repressive state apparatus has been extensively recorded and studied. As for the police in Maoist China, we might have a similar expectation that as the CCP strengthened its grasp, it would build a police force that could work unanimously, aggressively, and ruthlessly in the one-party state. But the reality is the police in the Maoist era were like tigers without teeth. They played a role that is more approximate to a mediator in local communities rather than the law enforcer. Before the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, formal police forces were next to nonexistent in some places in China and extremely chaotic in other places like Shanghai if we still remember the coexistence of the French police, Chinese detective/gangster bosses, and Sikh policemen in the same urban space. After a brief period of direct party and military control under City Military Control Committees (军事管制委员会), in Shanghai just like in other cities, urban governance was given back to the civilian rule of the local government, and the military control gave way to the public security sector that manifested the unique governmentality of the new socialist regime.

Michael Dutton, in *Policing Chinese Politics*, notes that Mao's mobilization of the "revolutionary police"—young revolutionary cadre, peasants, and worker activists—was marked by a politico-policing campaign and a mass-line ideology.[319] The reorganization of urban spaces into work units and residential communities in Shanghai after 1949 also made it possible for the local police to penetrate and manage street-level and community-based quotidian spaces. In everyday spaces, the "revolutionary police" needed to take on a different role in comparison with police engaged in the conflict over the barricades in Paris. A bottom-up and mass-line police governance that mobilized people living in the communities started to replace the conventional top-down oversight of urban organizations.

It's My Day Off (今天我休息, Lu Ren, 1959) , an urban comedy, presents to us a vivid image of this type of bottom-up and mass-line policing in the "new" Shanghai. In the film, Mr. Ma, a local policeman, finally has a day off and is expected to go to a date arranged by the wife of the police chief. However, he is constantly caught up with helping other people and misses the appointment. Eventually, all the problems are solved in a happy ending, including the belated date. The film is, on the one hand, as Yingjin Zhang points out, to eulogize the brightness of socialism, specifically "the new era, new life, and new people," and to engage the audience in a collective celebration of the joie de vivre in a new society.[320] On the other hand, following the ventures of the policeman whose footsteps cover various parts of the rejuvenated urban spaces—alleyways (Lilong), neighborhoods of a workers' new village, factories, the hospital, a hotel, and a market—the new metropolis of Shanghai is depicted as a utopian community of working-class people filled with enthusiasm and hope. This utopian picture of juvenescent urban spaces forms a

319. Michael Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics: A History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 141–47.
320. Yingjin Zhang, "Eulogistic Comedy as Domestic Soft Power: Biopolitical Self-Fashioning in *It's My Day Off* (1959)," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 12, no. 2 (2018): 115–16.

stark contrast with what we read in Malraux's *La Condition Humaine* in which workers are "working to death like animals for the enemies" and live in the dark corners of the splendid metropolis in the 1920s.

In the film, Officer Ma, the altruistic and warm-hearted policeman, sees himself as a member of the big family of the community. He does not carry a baton or other forms of weaponry. We may say that if the police are no longer armed forces, they would be tigers without teeth. How would they fulfill their task as the repressive state apparatus? Yet, detached from the image of authority, repression, and state violence, Officer Ma incarnates the ideal image of the police as envisioned by La Mare and Diderot. He helps women in the community make dumplings, cleans up the roof, and sends a sick child to the hospital, which all contribute to the art of providing a good life in the *polis*. In the role that Officer Ma plays around the community, the distinction between la police and la politique, the two dramatically different forms of governmentality as Ranciere points out, disappears. The repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus of Althusser also converge in the policeman whose main function is to eulogize the new socialist regime rather than to maintain law and order.

These disappearing demarcations between la police and la politique, repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatus are accompanied by the disappearing boundaries between the public and the private, work and leisure, the mass and the individual. By assuming that Officer Ma would be the ideal policeman who is helpful, caring, and charismatic, we may end up facing a dystopia instead. Yingjin Zhang astutely notices that the film promotes "a biopolitical self-fashioning, a process of training oneself mentally and physically to perform in conscientious imitation of the models endorsed by the authority." When the title of "it's my day off" is juxtaposed with Officer Ma's restless efforts to help others, we would get a sense of the

social mentality in the era of the Great Leap Forward Campaign, a mass mobilization that aimed at unprecedented economic growth. What I want to add here is that though in the Maoist era, the police force was decentralized, "disarmed," and replaced by a mass-line style of policing, it actually transformed the limited scope of police management to a limitless coverage of every aspect of people's quotidian lives, not just because officer Ma's helping hand reaches every corner of the community, but also because everyone in the community lives in a space where privacy is almost nonexistent. A friendly and hospitable panopticon is still a panopticon. And in a different circumstance, it could be turned into a stage of horror shows.

The curtain is drawn when the police are further deprived of their force to maintain law and order. During the period of the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), just as the film shows, everyday life was highly mobilized and politicized in the communization movement, which led to the combination of policing and the organization of communes. As a consequence, Dutton indicates, "greater mass involvement and greater powers" were ceded to the communes. And such localization and mass-based campaigns "compelled the security forces to decentralize their policing powers" and offer local people a sense of empowerment.[321] At the beginning of *It's My Day Off*, there is a shot showing Officer Ma walking down the street and being greeted warmly by residents who are collectively cleaning up the neighborhood. An old man who is sweeping the street approaches Officer Ma and asks him to join him in the neighborhood security committee meeting tomorrow. Officer Ma replies: "You'll be in charge and I'll just audit." The conversation on the street indicates that Mao's experiment of mass-line democracy changed the power dynamism of local communities. The film displays to us a utopia of juvenescent spaces that empower local people and foster communities. Even the "tigers" are no longer violent and to be

321. Dutton, *Policing Chinese Politics*, 204–08.

feared. However, the reality is dystopic. Unlike the "paper tigers" of the Paris police who needed to follow rules and record their activities at least to appear legitimate, commune and local policing during the Maoist era were spontaneous and, more significantly, excessive. People could bring allegations against "counter-revolutionaries" with little or preposterous evidence, and they could also become a target of such allegations. Yet, no formal procedures would be followed for one to be convicted, and few official records could display the details of what really happened. "For the first three seasons of 1958," Dutton finds in Gong'an Jishi (confidential material 1986), "arrest and detentions rates showed an astronomical rise, reaching over 600,000 people."[322]

At this time, disguised in the form of mass-line policing, a new "lawlessness" emerged. It was neither the "oriental lawlessness" in the imaginary senile empire without a proper modern law because this revolutionary lawlessness is radically "avant-garde"; nor was it a systematic manipulation of the law in a power structure as in the colonial legal system. It was not even the malpractice and illegal surveillance of the police. This lawlessness came from an absolute negation of conventional practice of policing. Everyone in the community could work as the police—a source of empowerment. At the same time, everyone could be the target of the omnipresent policing and surveillance, in lieu of imprisonment. And this governmentality was further strengthened during the Cultural Revolution when the infamous "Six Articles of Public Security" installed new principles of policing, whose aims were, simply put, to punish counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary activities and to protect the revolutionary masses as well as revolutionary activities. The police themselves could become counter-revolutionaries if they, in any form, obstructed the radical activists even when the latter were destroying public

322. Dutton, 210.

properties and disturbing public order. According to Dutton, the purges were particularly severe in Shanghai, and about "1700 police cadres were said to have 'a contradiction with the people.' Of these, 113 were executed."[323] The streets and public spaces were greatly mobilized in a lawless mode. The police were not in charge of the streets; young activists were. We could see how tempting this could seem for young activists in France and around the world. In their own stifling political culture, they saw the possibility of a carnival in which the police, the law, and the tradition all gave way to radical youths' mobilizations. It was not until years later that the destructive violence of the lawless carnival was revealed to the world. And in this revelation, the terms of "revolution," "commune," and "socialism" have been altogether discredited. They are no longer paths that lead to the promised land, but a fatal choice that leads to a dystopia.

The "paper tigers" and "tigers without teeth" form an interesting contrast to the roles played by the police in the theater of revolutions and how their roles were entwined with the urban organization as well as the political culture. They also display two forms of violence and lawlessness with the presence and absence of the police force in juvenescent spaces of these youth mobilizations. Starting from these two cases, we may be able to begin rethinking the role of police in the intricate fabric of cities: how the police archive and their records tell the story of the city, what role the police should play in the communities and on the streets, and how to minimize police violence without generating another form of violence in an absolute lawlessness. Because the shifting role of the police is inevitably accompanied by a new perception of the judicial system, the court would be another space that waits to be rejuvenated in revolutionary moments.

323. Dutton, 223.

IV. The Court as a Theater of Popular Justice

When Brecht visited Moscow in 1932, he shared with Tretiakov his plan to "re-enact the most interesting court trials in the history of mankind" in Berlin: "The theater would function like a court room. Two trials an evening, each lasting an hour and a quarter. For example, the trial of Socrates, a witches' trial, the trial of Karl Marx's *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the trial of Georg Grosz on the charge of blasphemy for his cartoon *Christ in a Gasmask*."[324] Tretiakov, who received his training at the Department of Law in Moscow University, agreed with Ossip Brik's comment on Brecht's plays staged "in the form of court proceedings" and added that Brecht is "incomparable when he comes to litigation." We understand that the spatial mobilizations could be inherently theatrical and that the police could be seen as playing a dramatic part on the stage of conflicts. Then, how about the court? Could the supposedly most impenetrable and ineffable space of nomos be transformed into a juvenescent space where new actors and agents shattered the power relations?

The conception and perception of court as a heavily guarded and "mysterious" institution of the state apparatus itself is in fact a misconception or a symptom of modernity. People entrust the elusive yet precious concepts of "justice" and "truth" to the modern assemblage of the rule of law and rely on so-called legal professionals such as judges and lawyers to guard the gate of law. Of course, this is not always the case. In history, courts might not be confined to the gated hall of justice. Nor were they dominated by legal practitioners. Theaters and courts used to share the same open-air public spaces and attract a similar group of audiences who were, for better or worse, the *demos*, the plebs, and later "the people." I am curious about how Brecht would reenact

324. Bertolt Brecht, *Brecht: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Peter Demetz (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 22–23.

Socrates's trial, which is already one of the most theatrical moments in intellectual history. Are we not all sympathetic with the philosopher who spoke the "truth" and got prosecuted because of it? Intellectuals in particular tend to align with Socrates, who embodied the role of Cassandra played by generations of unwelcomed "truth-tellers." Yet, how would Brecht depict the philosopher whose intention was to persuade and compel the *demos* to become better citizens and who saw this self-dooming choice as a political struggle? More curiously, how would Brecht, the eccentric playwright who always stood affirmatively with the working class, present the *demos* who treated the philosopher unjustly? These are questions to which we could not get an answer; but they are also questions that bring up critical issues of the theatrical setting of certain courts: Who are the audiences and who are on trial? What role do they play in the proceedings? What is the spatial configuration of a show trial?

Just as the primary goal of the Brechtian epic theater is not to provide an aesthetic experience but a didactic experiment for its audiences, the primary goal of theatrical court proceedings is not simply to uphold justice but to provide a new form of political organization and legal space. The Mixed Court of the French Concession in front of which stood Chen Duxiu several times, the court in Cambodia that convicted Malraux for looting an ancient temple, or the investigative committee[325] that accused Brecht for producing "a number of very revolutionary poems, plays, and other writings"; all of these legal spaces are set in unique cross-cultural and transnational stages on which we witness different contexts of discourse, political maneuvers, and fascinating performances of these charismatic figures. Coded by the imprint of the French imperial system or the anti-communist witch hunts of McCarthyism, these legal spaces aimed at "maintaining" the power relations and the spatial order.

325. Specifically, it was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that put Brecht on trial.

Beyond all these existing legal discourses, practices, and spaces, Mao, the director of epic theater, strived and succeeded in disrupting, subverting, and reinventing the legal space. This is probably why Brecht attached himself to Maoism before and after 1949. Brecht might have found his enthusiasm for Marxism, alienation effects, didacticism, and classical Chinese philosophy as well as "the people" (working class and peasants in the theater of Brecht) converging in Mao's strange and bold political innovations. One such innovation took place in the realm of law and in the theatricalization of court. After being prosecuted and driven out of Shanghai, the remaining members of the CCP moved around in remote regions and settled in the northwestern area of Yan'an in 1937. In this communist proto-state, a renewed legal system needed to be established to solve conflicts, promote legal education, and construct a new sociolegal sphere. In many respects, Mao and his fellow Chinese communists' attitudes toward law share a common ground with Soviet legal theoreticians. Pashukanis, the prominent Soviet legal scholar in his commodity exchange theory, for instance, advocated that it was in the market and commodity exchange that law emerged and that the law would also wither away when the market economy is replaced by the planned economy.[326] The law, in the eyes of Pashukanis and in the like-minded Chinese communists, was no longer the unshakable foundation of the civil society, but rather a vestige of the bourgeois state and was destined to disappear in the new socialist society. Such a negative attitude toward the law would eventually lead to a legal practice that is more flexible, elastic, and whimsical because the law is not to be obeyed, but to be mobilized for political and didactic purposes.

Following this "revolution of law," the roles and positions of the gatekeeper who speaks riddles and the befuddled countryman in Kafka's parable would no longer be fixed. The stage of

326. Evgeny Pashukanis, *The General Theory of Law and Marxism* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 132.

law would be reset and the script rewritten. Derrida in his reading of "Before the Law" uses a spatial metaphor to illustrate the indifference, impassivity, and reticence of law: "the law takes place (without showing itself, and therefore without taking place) in the space of this not-knowing. The guardian watches over this theatre of the invisible, and the man wishes to glimpse it by stooping down."[327] The place of law is behind an unknown number of gates and gatekeepers and is always beyond the grasp of the countryman—a promised land that could never be reached. In a revolutionary and juvenescent space of law, the countryman could finally reach the promised land of law though it may appear highly theatrical, performative, even melodramatic. The Latvian jurist Stuchka claims in his "Notes on the Class Theory of Law" that "the October Revolution tried to put law 'on its feet' in life, first driving the caste of 'priests of holy truth and justice' from the temple of justice and then allowing the 'boor' himself to judge his own legal affairs."[328] On this new stage, the laymen of law could take initiatives and take control of the parole, while the guardians of the gates may find themselves caught up in an impasse no less curious and tragic than the one that the countryman previously experienced.

In the early days of the CCP, two figures played critical roles on the stage of the legal practice in the Maoist era. Liang Botai could be considered as the first legal theoretician of the CCP and drafted the first revolutionary constitution in 1931. Like many of the early members of the CCP, Liang Botai was educated at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) in Moscow and worked at the court in the far eastern city of Khabarovsk. When the communists were driven out of Shanghai by the Chinese Nationalist Party and established the Chinese Soviet Republic, Liang was summoned back to China and helped with constructing the

327. Jacques Derrida, *Before the Law: The Complete Text of Préjugés*, trans. Sandra van Reenen and Jacques de Ville, A Univocal Book (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 57.
328. P.I. Stuchka, *Selected Writings on Soviet Law and Marxism*, ed., trans., annotated, and introduced by Robert Sharlet, Peter B. Maggs, and Piers Beirne (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1988), 38.

legal foundation of the newly established proto-state. In addition to drafting the constitution mainly based on that of the Soviet Union, Liang established legal institutions and set up formal procedures for court cases for the regions controlled by the CCP. Liang stayed in the southeast base when most of his fellow revolutionaries embarked on the Long March to Yan'an, the new base of the revolutionary state. He was then captured and killed in the Nationalist Party's operations to eradicate communists. Above all, Liang was a legal professional and did not demolish the conventional structure of the legal edifice.

His successor in Yan'an,[329] in contrast, was the "boor" who "intruded" into the temple of law and justice. Ma Xiwu (马锡武) was born in the same year as Liang Botai, but he barely finished his primary education because of the extreme poverty of his family. He is famous for "Ma Xiwu's way of judging" (马锡武审判方式), which represents the spirit of legal innovations of Maoist China and still works as a code of conduct of legal practices in PRC today.[330] Mao highly valued Ma Xiwu's way of judging and dedicated a handwritten commendation and instruction for the legal practitioner in 1942 that reads: "Do not leaving *qunzhong* for a second." Despite the peculiar wording of the instruction, the message is straightforward, which is to closely (not to stray from the road for a second) follow a mass line (*qunzhong luxian*) of legal practice. In Chapter 3, we have encountered the word *qunzhong* in Ai Qing's poem using it as its title. The poet found himself mesmerized and transformed by *qunzhong* in the crowds: "When I am still, my heart is trodden over by countless feet/When I move, my heart is like a bustling crossroad/I sit here. On the street are countless people/Suddenly, I see myself as a grain of dust

329. The Long March to Yan'an established Mao's central position in the CCP. A group of well-educated professionals such as Liang Botai, especially those with Soviet liaisons, were marginalized in the Party.
330. Notably, since 2020, "Ma Xiwu's way of judging" has been further revived by a series of commentaries published by the Supreme People's Court of PRC and by several provincial supreme courts. It designates a shift from the "rule of law" promoted by former president Hu Jintao to the mass line of legal practice under Xi Jinping. (https://www.court.gov.cn/jianshe-xiangqing-217661.html)

rolling among them." [331]Not only poets and intellectuals, but also judges and lawyers have to blend into the torrents of *qunzhong*, to roll among the crowd, the masses, and eventually "the people." Ma Xiwu declares in his notes on judicial processes of the revolutionary region that "the opinions of *qunzhong* are better than the law" and that "one of the achievements of the judicial system of the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region is to place *qunzhong* above the law."[332] According to Lin Boqu (林伯渠), one of the leading figures of the border region government, Ma Xiwu's way of judging provided an efficient legal education for the masses.

The countryman is no longer waiting outside the gate of law. He is now standing at the center of the stage of legal discourse and practice. A central procedure of Ma's way was to mobilize *qunzhong* by installing courts in villages, simplifying legal procedures, and gathering opinions from people in local communities. The procedure did not follow the rules of formal judicial systems of the Western tradition and followed a more flexible and theatrical display. It also focused more on mediation instead of punishment. For minor criminal offenses, for instance, community mediation sessions would replace the formal court procedure. Neighbors, relatives, and people in the community could be invited "to the site to determine right from wrong" (从场评议曲直) while "advising both sides on ending the dispute."[333] The setting of the community mediation session was both theatrical and revolutionary, with supporters of each side gathering in an assembly to debate, discuss, and come to a conciliation. No judges and lawyers would be

331. Ai Qing 艾青, *Ai Qing Quanji*, Vol. 1, 艾青全集 第一卷 [*Complete Works of Ai Qing*, Vol. 1] (Shijiazhuang: Huashan Literature and Art Publishing House, 1991), 424. Translation from Tie Xiao, *Revolutionary Waves: The Crowd in Modern China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), 2.
332. Ma Xiwu 马锡武, "Xin minzhu zhuyi geming jieduan zhong Shaan-Gan-Ning bianqu renmin sifa gongzuo," "新民主主义革命阶段中陕甘宁边区的人民司法工作" ["People's Judicial Works in the SGNBR during the Period of the New Democratic Revolution"] in Zhang Xipo 张希坡, *Ma Xiwu shenpan fangshi*, 马锡五审判方式 [*Ma Xiwu's Way of Judging*] (Beijing: Law Press, 1983), 80.
333. Xiaoping Cong, "'Ma Xiwu's Way of Judging': Villages, the Masses and Legal Construction in Revolutionary China in the 1940s," *The China Journal* (Canberra, A.C.T.) 72, no. 1 (2014): 33.

involved in the procedure if the case could be settled in the public mediation session, just as Stuchka envisioned that the caste of priests of holy truth and justice would be replaced by a system that allows "the 'boor' himself to judge his own legal affairs." And for cases that needed a judge to settle, seminar-like open courts would be organized in public spaces, most likely where the local open-air theaters were located. Similarly, *qunzhong* were involved in a general discussion of the case as well as revolutionary principles.[334] In the process, *qunzhong* was mobilized, a new revolutionary understanding of law was fostered in the community, and the Party established its authority through an efficient and down-to-earth mass-line practice.

Figure 14. Comrade Ma Xiwu is mediating a litigation (woodcut by Gu Yuan)

In his discussion with Maoists on popular justice, Foucault evokes the question of "the spatial arrangement of the court, the arrangement of the people who are part of or before a court."[335] The woodcut painting shows Ma Xiwu mediating a litigation in a theater-like open space. Obviously, Ma is not wearing a gown and holding a gavel, so that he does not present

334. Xiaoping, 46.
335. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon; trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 8.

himself as a judge who represents the legal authority. More interestingly, he does not even sit in front of a table, which Foucault specifically mentions in his discussion of the spatial arrangement of the court. For Foucault, the table plays an important role in the organization of courts at least in the West. A table would distance the judges from the two litigants and indicate their neutral position, which means that their decision is not made in advance. In contrast to this spatial arrangement, the absence of the table in the painting places Ma, the mediator, in a more flexible and spontaneous position that implies he is not anchored and constrained by the law or the "abstract universal idea of justice."

In the remote border regions where most people were poor and illiterate peasants, where the legal system was still in its nascent stages with limited and generalized articles of law, and where closely knitted rural communities were still the dominant mode of social organization, Ma's mass-line legal practice created a juvenescent legal space and mobilized local communities. Meanwhile, as a mass-line practice that represents the Maoist legal legacy, the procedure was radicalized in the high socialist era and extensively applied to the subsequent social movements including the Cultural Revolution. When this set of approaches was applied in cities like Shanghai, whose residents came from all types of backgrounds, it posed a critical question: who could be counted as a member of *qunzhong*? Ai Qing himself, who came from a landlord's household and received an elite education in Paris, was cast out of the *qunzhong* and sent to the far north, known as the "little Siberia," for reeducation in 1958, regardless of his efforts to blend into the crowd. At the same time, upon the launch of the Anti-Rightest movement, Chinese communists started to promote a legal elasticity that was based on Mao's friend/enemy formula of political discourse and practice. Unlike the elusive law of not-knowing in the Kafkaesque maze, on this rejuvenated stage of law, the law was unambiguous and clear-cut under the

principle that for the enemy, the law is antagonistic and punitive and for the friend, the law is non-antagonistic and lenient. This new legal language beyond the formal law would be a further step toward the "lawlessness" of the Cultural Revolution. It was a drama played out in the theatricalized court that was liberating for "the countryman," devastating for legal professionals (gatekeepers), and thrilling for the crowd.

If the urban light comedy *It's My Day Off* depicts the communal utopia of socialist China, then Zhang Yimou's film *To Live* sets out to reveal the dystopic dark corners that were concealed in films produced in the first seventeen years of the PRC. People in *It's My Day Off* seem to fully enjoy the publicness of action of speech, while in *To Live*, no action or agency could be evoked in the mere living and bare life of the protagonist. A scene in Zhang Yimou's film *To Live* captures a moment of the theatricalized court in Maoist China that would complicate our understanding of popular justice. The film is loosely adapted from Yu Hua's novella of the same title and depicts the extreme hardships experienced by the Xu family just to survive amid waves of turbulent historical events from the 1940s to the Cultural Revolution. The film opens with Xu Fugui, a playboy from a well-off landlord's family, gambling and watching a shadow show. Soon, he gambles away his family mansion and land to Long Er and becomes a vagrant. While Fugui is struggling to merely survive, Long Er turns into a rich landlord. A few years later, during Mao's Land Reform Movement, the mansion is to be confiscated for redistribution, but Long Er refuses and sets it on fire. He is then arrested and put on trial for his anti-revolutionary actions. Being a landlord and an anti-revolutionary, he belongs to the category of enemy and is sentenced to death. His trial is a carnivalesque assembly of *qunzhong* on the streets with "countless feet, countless hands, countless jostling heads" cheering and chanting slogans, "Defending the fruits of victory, down with the anti-revolutionaries, and long live People's

Government." No judges and lawyers, no inscrutable codes of law, and no gates, walls, and segregations. In the juvenescent open space, the law seems to be transparent, black and white, and easy to grasp. The death of Long Er and the survival of Fugui seem to be a game of Russian Roulette that was loaded when they were sitting in front of each other in the gambling house. Fugui gambled away his wealth but gained a position among *qunzhong* or "the people." Long Er, the newly anointed landlord, got everything except the right to be part of "the people," which led to his destruction. Witnessing Long Er's trial and the death sentence, Fugui appears simultaneously confused and frightened in the scene. He does not raise his fist like everyone else in the crowd, but nervously clenches it in front of his chest. That could have been him if he had not lost the gamble. He leaves the cheering crowd and rushes back home to find a certificate that categorizes him as a "pauper." Fugui feels somewhat relieved and murmurs "Nothing's better than being a pauper."

By evoking the concepts of "the people" and "the public," Rey Chow provides an interesting reading of Zhang Yimou's *To Live*. Fugui's struggle to survive in poverty, hunger, and political turmoil, for Chow, represents "the people" held hostage by an essentialist survivalism who are not capable of popular resistance in the idealized vision of intellectuals. And the public spaces in China, according to her, are "similarly an empty space, a space to be manipulated." It is where "the political machine 'serves at the same time as a judicial apparatus.'" [336]Chow's comments are sharp, yet generalized and pessimistic. Without the context, they could be applied to many countries with a large number of their population in poverty, a strongman in power, and corrupted political and legal systems, despite their political culture and ideology. Following

336. Rey Chow, *Ethics after Idealism: Theory, Culture, Ethnicity, Reading*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998),124.

Chow's bold claims, "the people" could hardly become an agent in history, and public spaces are no more open than a gated hall.

I still like to call the legal spaces created by Ma Xiwu and the open courts often carnivalesque and theatrical, juvenescent legal spaces in the sense that the topology of law, the place of law if we go back to Derrida's terms, is truly transformed and renewed, for better or worse. When watching the scene of the public trial in *To Live* for the first time, I thought about fate. It might be fate that determines Fugui's gambling fiasco. But it is the law that determines the life and death of Fugui and Long Er. Looking back, the reason why I mistakenly took it as mere fate is that the "revolutionary law" is no more determined than a roll of dice. Ma Xiwu's mass line and didactic court as well as the mobilization of the local community are innovative. But to some extent, they already replace the rule of law with the rule of man that is built on an idealized world in which men are not whimsical, selfish, and lacking judgment. Otherwise, they could only be a success in a small-scale experiment, and when applied extensively, problems would appear. We could imagine that even the most selfless and altruistic revolutionary would hardly be as consistent as an article written in the "bourgeois" law. The moment that leads to the disastrous effect is a fatal flexibility of law and legal practices in combination with Mao's dialectic system of friend/enemy principle according to which today's friend could be tomorrow's enemy, and today's enemy could also be tomorrow's friend. This is the final moment of the coup de thêatre that led to the disastrous consequences through which an overall distrust of "the people" or "the public space" arises, as we see in Rey Chow's critiques.

There were also intellectuals who believed in these terms. When Sartre was a promising writer in his early thirties, he created the existalist world of Roquentin who did not care about anything except for Sophie Tucker's "Some of These Days." Three eventful decades after the

publication of *La Nausée*, he was known as an engaged public intellectual. After the political upheavals of 1968, recollects Simone de Beauvoir in her mémoir dedicated to Sartre, Sartre reflected upon the intellectual's role and modified his conception of it. In the aftermath of May 68, he wanted to "set up the new intellectual who endeavors to become integrated with the masses so as to bring about the triumph of true universality."[337] One such endeavor made by Sartre is the installation of people's courts to achieve a popular justice that could not be realized in the formal judiciary system and state institutions. This popular legal practice of Sartre is a result of being a fellow traveler of young Maoists as well as a continuous explorer of a new space of justice since his collaboration with Bertrand Russell in the Russell Tribunal (International War Crimes Tribunal for Vietnam) against the US imperialism and military atrocities. His engagement with the legal practice and the installation of people's courts, to some extent, simultaneously mobilized the two terms "the people" and "the public space." A critical distinction should be made here. The Maoist political culture was dominated by a binary discourse with which people and the enemy (most likely counter-revolutionaries), the public and the private formed contradictions that worked as the revolutionary momentum. It was an essential part of the reality and the theatricalized and dramatized quotidian routines of people in Maoist China. In the case of Sartre, the terms "the people" and "the public space" are much more ambiguous and ambivalent, and correspondingly, they are also much less disastrous.

Unlike the theatricalized everyday space including the legal space in the Cultural Revolution, the Russel tribunal and the popular tribunal of Sartre are more approximate to the

337. Simone de Beauvoir, *Adieux: A Farewell to Sartre*, trans. Patrick O'Brian (Westminster: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2013), 4.

space of a show trial.[338] Without being backed by the state and formal legal institution, directors, organizers, and actors of the show trial are all aware of the limit of their performances. But just as the use of theatricality in the spatial mobilization of May 68 does not designate a futile farce, the show trial also does not mean that these legal experimentations were just wishful thinking and a clumsy performance of intellectuals. Not long after the US waged war against Iraq, Derrida, in an interview, told his audiences that "A Russell tribunal is symbolically an important and necessary thing to do today." He further asserted that "I believe that, in its principle, it is a good thing for the world, even if only in that it feeds the geopolitical reflection of all citizens of the world." [339]Again, Derrida reminds us of his new internationale and his interest in the international law. "Citizens of the world" in this context is the synonym of "the people," and a public show trial of an unjust war broadcast globally would be the modern-day "public space." When a "rogue state" or a sovereign makes the law, is above the law, and has the ability to suspend the law, a show trial could at least work as "an expression outrage" as Russell said about the Nuremberg Show Trial.

The Russell Tribunal was held in London in 1966, with Russell serving as honorary president and Sartre playing the role of executive president. Originally, their plan was to hold the tribunal in Paris, but a member of the tribunal, Yugoslavian historian Vladimir Deijer, was denied the visa to enter France. Sartre wrote to de Gaulle directly to appeal the case, and de Gaulle rejected his appeal on the grounds that "justice of any sort, in principle as in execution, emanates

338. The term "show trial" has been frequently used to refer to the Moscow Show Trial of 1937 through which Stalin purged the Trotskyists and the oppositionists hidden in the Bolshevik Party. Yet, the ironic part is that the Moscow Show Trial was not theatrical at all, or in other words, it was anti-theatrical. Feuchewanger, the playwright of Moscow 1937 and a witness to the Nuremberg Trial was struck by the lack of theatricality of the Moscow Show Trial. Minou Arjomand, *Staged: Show Trials, Political Theater, and the Aesthetics of Judgment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 58.

339 Lieven De Cauter and Jacque Derrida, "For A Justice To Come: An Interview with Jacques Derrida," Web Archive Indymedia, July 15, 2022, http://archive.indymedia.be/news/2004/04/83123.html.

from the State."[340] While de Gaulle was defending the State as the sole arbitrator of justice, Sartre was trying to challenge the legitimacy of a war accepted by "the State." When asked "Does this not lead you to the view that there is a way of waging war which is to be condemned, and another which is not?" in his interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sartre took a step to venture into the grey area of "lawlessness" of imperial powers—as we have discussed in Chapter 2. He answered: "When somebody shouts out in a meeting: 'The war in Vietnam is a crime' we are in the realm of emotion. This war is certainly contrary to the interests of the vast majority of people, but is it legally criminal? This is what we will try to determine. We cannot say in advance what our conclusions will be." This "legal criminality" or "lawful lawlessness" behind imperialism, state hegemony, and all forms of power structure became a crucial site of research in the 1960s and 70s and generated a copious collection of scholarly works, including those of Foucault.[341] At the level of international law and the international society, the Russell Tribunal challenged the "lawful lawlessness" of imperial powers.

In 1970, Sartre organized a popular tribunal to call into question the state-controlled discourse of justice and legitimacy at the domestic level. On February 4 of the same year, sixteen miners were killed in a gas explosion in the coal mine in Lens. The tragedy was ruled by the public prosecutor as a pure accident so that no investigations and trials would be carried out. At the popular tribunal held at the city hall of Lens, the question of who was responsible for the deaths of miners was discussed. Miners, sympathetic engineers, and doctors were present at the tribunal to testify. In his prosecution closing speech, Sartre declared "We must decide if the

340. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situation VIII: Autour de 68* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 44.
341. Foucault's concept of illégalisme, or in other words "outlawry," for instance, originated from his support for imprisoned Maoist activists that drove him to consider prison as a significant political space and establish the Groupe d'Information sur les Prisons (1971). In a lecture given at the University of Montreal, Foucault points out that "Prison is the darkroom of legality, the camera obscura of legality." Michel Foucault, "Alternatives to the Prison: Dissemination or Decline of Social Control?," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 6 (2009): 20.

catastrophe is due to bad luck." And the conclusion he drew from the tribunal was that it was not even a negligent manslaughter, but an intentional homicide because "these deaths were necessary for coal production to reach its maximum output." For this reason, "the Boss-State[342] is guilty of the February 4, 1970 murder, and "the managers and the engineers responsible for pit 6, are also guilty of intentional homicide." In capital letters, the conclusion emphasizes that "IGNORANCE OF THE LAW OF THE PEOPLE IS NO EXCUSE." [343]Here, the central point of Sartre's conclusion is unambiguously Maoist, which presents the illegalism of the state and dominant class as well as echoes the aims of Ma Xiwu's supreme law of the *qunzhong* and Stuchka's direct legal invention of the boors.

The popular tribunal received widespread media coverage. Though the accused parties were not put on formal trial, the experiments with justice and theatrical court became an important practice and spatial mobilization of French Maoists. Two years later, another case, known as the *affaire de Bruay-en-Artois*, drove these Maoists to claim a popular justice according to a class-based friend/enemy judiciary system. In the case that is yet to be resolved today, Brigitte Dewèvre, daughter of a miner was brutally murdered and Pierre Leroy, a local public notary from a bourgeois background, became the main suspect. The proceedings of the case became a battlefield of class conflict. Evoking the incident of Lens, Pierre Gavi writes in his commentary that "First they kill us at the bottom of the mines; now they kill and mutilate our children."[344] Although the anger of the mass was a result of the class tension accumulated over a long time, Sartre questioned the class-based and mass-line justice. In response to Victor Serge, a

342. The exact word used by Sartre is État-Patron (State-Boss) because the coal mine involved in the incident was a state-owned company.
343. Sartre, *Situation VIII: Autour de 68*, 330.
344. Philippe Gavi, "Bruay-en-Artois: Seul un Bourgeois Aurait Pu Faire Ça?," *Les Temps Modernes* no. 312–13 (July–August 1972): 196.

Maoist militant's claim that if Pierre Leroy were to be released, it would be justifiable for the mass to arrest him, Sartre in "Lynching or Popular Justice" expresses his concern with the potential mob violence and the danger of allowing the class to which one belongs to determine an individual's fate.[345] As Wolin concludes, Sartre "remained true to his later philosophical mission: reconciling existentialism's focus on individual freedom with Marxism's emphasis on the dynamics of history and class struggle."[346] The fundamental difference between the Russel Tribunal (or the Lens People's Court) and the Maoist mass-line tribunals, sometimes in the form of struggle sessions, is that the former challenges the institutional illegalism while the latter attacks individuals.

This leads us back to Roquentin, the Sartrean protagonist's profound solitude, and his desire to connect with the other. He found the connection in the internationalist jazz poetics. But Sartre never found the sweet spot between his existentialist individualism and the Maoist mass-line mobilizations. Had Sartre maintained this nonchalant attitude or had he been more skeptical of utopian visions, he might have become a writer who was much less controversial and much more adored by literary critiques like Camus. Instead, he hoped for a better world and dwelled obsessively in the public spaces, speaking, performing, and making mistakes spectacularly. He admired the USSR and then denounced his support. He had high hopes for Maoism and was then disillusioned by the revolutionary violence. His hopes and support were sincere, as were his denunciations and disillusions. It is the same with all the previously unimaginable juvenescent spaces that emerged in the Maoist era: mobilized streets, new roles of police, theatricalized courts. The creativity and transgressive impulse were real, as were the destructions and violence.

345. Richard Wolin, *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s* (Princeton: University Press, 2010), 35.
346. Wolin, 35.

The cruel reality of the Great Cultural Revolution was gradually unmasked in the 1970s, which put an end to the imaginary utopia of progressive French intellectuals. Sartre, Foucault, and their fellow radical leftist intellectuals were forced to reevaluate their affinity with Maoism and shift course, which is summarized by Richard Wolin as a shift from "the prophetic intellectual—the clairvoyant who specialized in envisioning humanity's radiant utopian future" to "the universal intellectual"[347] who espoused democratic values and humanitarian intervention (*le droit d'ingérence*). At the same time, law and order were gradually restored near the end of Mao's reign. Incarcerated and exiled intellectuals, artists, professionals, and government officials (including police officers) got the chance to be pardoned. Ai Qing was allowed to write freely again and restored as a senior CCP member. Deng Xiaoping, previously denounced as a capitalist roader, was pardoned and took charge of fighting crimes and restoring the order on the railways. After Mao's death, Deng became the de facto leader of the PRC and the rest is an absolutely different story, an absolute negation of Mao's endless negations.

In the post-Mao era, reflections on violence, displacement, and tragedies that happened during the Cultural Revolution became a main theme of literature[348] and art. Chinese intellectuals became engaged and started conceiving different paths for China to be reconstructed amid the debris of the Cultural Revolution until 1989, when protests at Tiananmen Square were subdued by ruthless military interventions. The triumph of the Party in 1989 ruled out other possible paths, including that of democracy. Economic reforms from 1976–1989 also prepared China for the rapid capitalization and neoliberalization in the existing framework of the regime in the

347. Wolin, 349.
348. There is the Scar Literature that focuses on the traumatic experience during the revolutionary period and the *Xungen* (Root-Seeking) Literature that tries to search for the tradition and cultural root discarded and destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.

1990s, which has eventually marginalized *poli*-tics[349] and intellectuals as well as eliminated discussions on alternative social and political paths. Though the memory of May '68 is not as tainted by trauma and violence as that of the Cultural Revolution, it has been gradually swept away by the consumer culture in a more sustainable and attractive form. Consumer culture itself is not the guilty party; the danger originates in the shift of demands in that youths no longer desire a more egalitarian and collective society and a rejuvenated spatial order but instead long for better *things* and better life in an individual sense. In 1980, French intellectuals witnessed the grand farewell to *les années 68* when Parisian streets were filled with the masses attending Sartre's funeral. Gone with Sartre were the Sartrean subjectivity and engagement. Everything could be marketized and liquidated, even the images, sound, and memories of May.

The historical demarcation of 1989 has ultimately terminated experiments in alternative social structures and the revolutionary global connectivity. As Francis Fukuyama claims, it is "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government."[350] The true dilemma and impasse of youth revolutions in the twentieth century does not necessarily stem from the fact that these events, acts, and practices of May 1968 or of the Cultural Revolution failed to create a sustainable alternative as opposed to the capitalism and neoliberal globalization. It is the potentialities erased by the absolute desertion of revolutionary practices and discourses. In the post-1989 era, the radical and utopian imaginations and attempts of subverting the entire system of law and order in the capitalist and bourgeois nation-states were replaced by small-scale social movements with specific and segregated demands. Consequently, the liaison, collectivity, and connectivity across

349. The *poli*-tics is used in the Aristotelian sense, which is related to the political way of life in the Athenian *polis*. Jean-Luc Nancy interprets this way of life as a being-in-common with shared *logos*. (Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, trans. Peter Connor, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991, xxxviii.)
350. Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?," *The National Interest* no. 16 (Summer 1989): 4.

different groups of people become more and more impossible in the neoliberal globalization in which the progressive impetus of imaginative and innovative politics has been replaced by the imaginative and innovative economics and technologies.

Now, the revolutionary moments have become ruins of the past. But ruins, in Benjamin's evocation of Karl Borinski, "are supposed to bear witness to the miracle that the sacred edifice has withstood even the most elemental forces of destruction, lightening and earthquake."[351] Ruins of the 1960s are not only preserved in today's Leftist intellectuals' writings[352] but also preserved in popular culture and a younger generation's bold intervention in urban spaces. Deleuze and Guattari in their article "May 68 Did Not Take Place" point out that the reason why May 68 did not take place is that "the subjective restructuring on the collective level" has failed because of the extreme incapability of the French society to assimilate the demands of May '68.[353] Nonetheless, they claim, "an event can be subverted, repressed, co-opted, betrayed, but something always remains . . . Even for an event that is ancient, something remains. It enters as much into the interior of individuals as into the depths of a society." For better or worse, the claim also works for Mao's Cultural Revolution. In this chapter I aim neither at revisiting the moments as a nostalgic voyage nor at adding another list of accusations about the menace and violence brought by these youth revolutions. Whether they are inspirational stories or cautionary

351. Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1998), 178.
352. This article has left École Normale Surpérieur at rue d'Ulm out of the picture because the main intervention of this article is in the spatial realm. However, Althusser's disciples—Alain Badiou, Étienne Balibar, Jacque Rancière—are among the major Leftist intellectuals whose writings have retained the traces of the event of May 68 and Maoism. In China, the controversial New Leftist intellectuals have been trying to reflect on the failure and legacy of the Cultural Revolution. Wang Hui, an influential intellectual of the New Left group in China, brings about the concept of "depoliticization"—first in power struggles within the Party during the Cultural Revolution, later in the economic reformation that downplayed the political debates—as the main reason why the mobilization of political space, theoretical debates about politics, and the mass participation in politics are discarded.
353. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "Mai 68 n'a Pas eu Lieu," in *Chimères* no. 64, February, 2007: 23. (Originally published in *Les Nouvelles*, May 1984, 3–9.)

tales, or both, these revolutionary moments might simply be "a stage of a long struggle."[354] But how the law, police, and space could be theatricalized and mobilized as well as how they intertwine and negotiate with each other become more and more pertinent in a new economic, spatial, and technological "biosphere" where our sense of space has been unprecedentedly updated and empowered. It is a reminder that ruins of youth mobilizations may contain clues for our exploration of new possibilities for the mobilization of space and rejuvenation of social order.

354. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 164.

Epilogue

In 1965, Malraux visited China as a special envoy of De Gaulle. He wrote about his trip as if he was indeed a young revolutionary living China in the 1920s as he claimed. Being a charlatanic self-inventor does not prevent him to be an eloquent story-teller. He wrote in *Antimémoires* (1967):

> "Long ago I saw the old China come to an end and the shadows of foxes flitting across the violet asters of the ramparts, above a procession of Gobi camels covered in hoarfrost…When we turn round and look back after leaving the majestic courtyards, the orange roofs gently curving over the ox-blood walls give impression of such architectural power that the giant characters extolling the People's Republic seem to have been fixed there from time immemorial, and the terrace seems to have been specially built for Mao's speeches." [355]

Malraux's delineation of the imaginary old China and the China before his eyes registered the trajectory of how the landscape changed from early 20th century to the 1960s- from a time capsule of the past to a present overseen by Mao's supreme omnipresence. He wrote about Mao's extraordinary determination to "re-create China" and to carry on an "uninterrupted revolution." Malraux noticed that "it is essential to him that youth should want it too." "I think of Trotsky," he continues "but the 'permanent revolution' is related to a different context." Walking slowly by Mao, he saw a man haunted by the "uninterrupted revolution" as well as the "global revolution." Near the end of their conversation, Mao repeated that "I am alone." Then he laughed and said to Malraux "Well, with a few distant friends: please give General de Gaulle my greetings." In reality, Malraux's meeting with Mao was brief and perfunctory. Yet, the great story-teller enacted a sublime figure who truly believed in continuous and global revolutions, who wanted to create a new world with youths, and who was also inescapably alone.

355. André Malraux, *Anti-Memoirs*, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), 358.

The decade after Malraux's China visit [356] was eventful. And these events in the global 60s to some extent shaped our understanding of space and how space could be mobilized to facilitate a social and political rejuvenation. Yet, the ideological and geopolitical started to change once again in the 1970s and 1980s. This time, Mao, Malraux, de Gaulle as well as Sartre, they have all been left behind and became historical figures of the previous era. After Mao's death in 1976, the "continuous revolution" officially discontinued. Deng Xiaoping steered China towards a different direction, a direction that is also marked by the desire for the new and an obsession with the vitality of becoming young in the neoliberal era. In this backdrop, Shanghai has been reborn as a major metropolis with constantly rejuvenating itself in terms of urban planning and constructions. Juvenescent spaces also acquire a new form in this new age. The obsession with incessant rejuvenation of urban spaces have been commercialized and turned into spectacles that are futuristic and somehow unheimlich.

Shanghai World Expo in 2010 displayed a young China as Liang Qichao dreamed at the dawn of the 20th century. It is the most expensive world exposition to date with the largest site. "Better City, Better Life" is the slogan of Shanghai Expo and the message is simple and clear: Shanghai represents what juvenescent spaces should be like and how people could live together in the future. To some extent, Liang Qichao's dream has been fulfilled. Yet, just as it is hard to say if the dream of Deng Xiaoping and his fellow young revolutionaries in Paris was fulfilled or failed, this promise of "better city, better life" also faces the challenge of an uncertain or even tumultuous future in which it could also become a broken promise.

356. During his visit, he also had conversations with Chen Yi, who in his words, was the "conqueror of Shanghai" and Zhou Enlai, probably because both Chen and Zhou lived in France when they were young.

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