# **UCLA**

# **UCLA Previously Published Works**

# **Title**

Asia and the Historical Imagination

# **Permalink**

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7sj6g705

# **ISBN**

9789811074004

# **Author**

Cheung, K-K

# **Publication Date**

2018

# DOI

10.1007/978-981-10-7401-1

Peer reviewed



#### CHAPTER 4

# Fate or State: The Double Life of a Composite Chinese Spy in *A Map of Betrayal*

# King-Kok Cheung

Notwithstanding the premium put on global citizenship today, political allegiance to one state is still expected by most nations, and patriotism is taken for granted as a moral virtue. But should people be patriotic toward a dubious regime, such as Germany under Hitler or Japan during World War II? Often muted by the powers that be is the extent to which human lives are subordinated to the putative good of the polity, and to its monolithic, ethnocentric, and at times jingoistic ideology. Ha Jin's *A Map of Betrayal* uses a protagonist torn between two countries and between personal and political loyalties to explore the self-division of a marginal citizen and to interrogate the aggrandizement of nationalism and its fallout.

To magnify the conflict between the state and the individual, Jin chooses a protagonist who is a double agent, a figure inspired by the case of Larry Wu-tai Chin (1922–86), "the single most important Chinese spy case in the history of the FBI" according to I. C. Smith, a former special FBI agent. Chin, the subject of Tod Hoffman's *The Spy Within: Larry Chin and China's Penetration of the CIA* (2008), was a translator at the CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) who sold classified

documents to the People's Republic from 1952 to 1985.<sup>2</sup> He was convicted in 1986, and committed suicide in jail by suffocating himself with a plastic bag. This sensational story provides Jin with a springboard to dive into his own abiding political and historical concerns and to infuse into Gary some of his own sentiments as an expatriate turned immigrant.

Vertiginous doublings pervade the novel, thematically and structurally. Most conspicuous are the twinning of Larry Chin and the protagonist Gary Weimin Shang, their roles as double agents, and their dual loyalty (professed or real) toward China and the United States. Subtler are the correspondences between the character and the author, who knows first-hand the power of the state over individuals and the bane of repressed historical trauma, the challenges of acquiring a second language and the affective valences of the mother tongue, the pain of exile, and the psychological permutation wrought by protracted settlement in another country. Jin has put so much of himself into the creation of the fictional spy that there are as many similarities between Jin and Gary as between Gary and Chin, the actual sleeper.

Doubling also underpins the structure of the novel, narrated from the alternating points of views of Gary Shang and his daughter, Lilian Shang, representing two generations, two periods, and two-way transpacific odysseys. Unfurling along two time frames, 1949–80 and 2001 to the present, the two-track narration provides a plural vision of history and allows for the intersection of Gary's families in China and the United States, even foreshadowing espionage in the third generation. As a professor of history, Lilian wishes to search for the truth about her father, a commitment that prompts her to accept a Fulbright lectureship in China, where she locates Manrong, her half-sister, and learns about what happened to Gary's family during the most harrowing famine of Chinese history. She also meets Manrong's twins: Juli, a migrant worker in Guangzhou, and Ben, who runs a shady computer business out of Boston for the Chinese government. Toward the end of the novel, Lilian and Ben visit Suzie Chao, Gary's long-term mistress, who answers some lingering questions Ben has about his grandfather.

Interspersed with Lilian's first-person accounts are chronological records of Gary's past, told in the third person, presumably as Lilian's summaries of the six volumes of her father's diaries, spanning his three decades as a spy. Through these diaries, which Lilian has received from Suzie years after Gary's death, she discovers her father had left behind a family in China. In 1949, Gary, then Weimin Shang, a Communist newly

married to Yufeng Liu, is recruited to infiltrate the Chinese Nationalists after his graduation from Tsinghua University (Larry Chin attended Yenching University). Because of his English skills, he is soon detailed to penetrate an American cultural agency—a covert offshoot of the CIA where he goes by the name of Gary Shang. This job takes Gary to Okinawa, Pusan, and eventually the US, where he marries Nellie, an Irish American, who gives birth to Lilian in 1957. Unbeknownst to him initially, he has also fathered twins in his native country, children he will never meet. (There are indeed two generations of fraternal twins.) After becoming a naturalized US citizen in 1961, Gary, by then a skillful and trusted translator for the CIA, is granted access to the most classified documents. The double narrative, incorporating the points of view of women and men over three generations, enables us to see China through the eyes of Americanborn Lilian, North America through the eyes of China-born Suzie and Ben, and see both through the mole's tunnel vision, one blinkered by habitual patriotism. The novel maps the geographical, psychological, and linguistic vicissitudes of an accidental immigrant—whether as spy and translator like Gary, writer like Jin, or cyber thief like Ben. The themes of reciprocal betrayal, divided allegiance, bilingualism, and repressed historical trauma connect Ha Jin, Larry Chin, Gary Shang, and Ben.

### RECIPROCAL BETRAYAL

A Map of Betrayal is not only an espionage novel. [It] deals with the theme of the individual versus the state.

Ha Jin<sup>3</sup>

A Map of Betrayal delves into the psychological struggle of an anti-hero buffeted by historical forces and caught in the crossfire of international discords. Though the novel resembles a Greek tragedy in its sense of inevitability, the State has replaced Fate in controlling the protagonist's destiny. Just about every major step taken by Gary Shang—his initial employment by the US intelligence agency in Shanghai, his following the agency to several other countries (Okinawa, Japan; Pusan, Korea; Virginia, USA), his naturalization as an American citizen, his second marriage to Nellie—is dictated by Beijing. The Party exercises its power not so much through direct coercion as indoctrination and oblique intimidation. Gary feels he must do as instructed out of ingrained patriotism and his anxiety about possible negative repercussions for his family. After his arrest by the FBI

three decades later, however, the Chinese authorities deny (as they did in Chin's case) any connection with him whatsoever. Ben, Gary's grandson, has also been conditioned to regard the country as sacrosanct. But his reluctance to turn his back on China is, as for his grandfather, at once habitual and pragmatic. Though he maintains that his country is "a bigger cause than [his] personal well-being," he is more concerned about what will happen to his kin if he defects: "China will grind them down, and they'll never forgive me." It is only after Lilian offers to help his folks back home financially that Ben eventually summons the courage to escape with Sonya, his pregnant Ukrainian girlfriend.

Intertwined with the theme of the state versus the individual is that of reciprocal betraval, a recurrent motif in Jin's work.<sup>5</sup> In a novel revolving around a spy, betrayal unsurprisingly looms large. I. C. Smith, who denounces Chin, the actual mole, as "one of the most harmful spies in the history of this country," uses the words "betrayal," "treason," and "treachery" repeatedly in his two short chapters on Chin (totaling 22 pages), as in "lives had certainly been lost due to his betrayal"; "he was paid only \$2000 for his act of betrayal"; "tragic as the betrayal of Chinese POWs was, that treason pales when compared to the number of American soldiers and other United Nations personnel who died because of Chin's treachery involving the Korean armistice." But Jin has upended the equation: Gary is a double agent who has also been double-crossed. Lilian muses: "There was no denying that my father had been a top spy, but ... he'd been not only a betrayer but also someone who'd been betrayed. ... Historian by profession, I wanted to tell it in my own fashion while remaining as objective as possible."7 As Gary's daughter, Lilian cannot be expected to be entirely impartial. But she makes good her word to be "as objective as possible."

Lilian's hunch that Gary was betrayed by the state readily reminds one of Chin. According to a defector source from China, Chin was deeply valued by the Chinese government, "upheld as a hero in the People's Republic for his role in advancing Sino-American relations"—specifically, in facilitating Nixon's visit.<sup>8</sup> After he was caught, however, a spokesman for the Chinese foreign ministry denied it had any connection to Chin: "We have nothing to do with this man, and the accusation made by the U.S. side is groundless." Chin nevertheless remained hopeful that Deng Xiaoping would initiate a spy exchange on his behalf, and asked his wife Cathy Chou (周谨予) to contact Deng personally. But Chou decided against going to China, as indicated in the book she wrote after Chin's

death, entitled *The Death of My Husband*. To her mind, Chin was "a lemon that had been thoroughly squeezed," no longer of value to the Ministry of Public Security, which couldn't wait to "discard" him.<sup>11</sup>

Jin adheres to Chin's story quite closely here to illustrate the mole's betrayal by the Chinese government. After Gary is convicted in 1980 (Chin was convicted in 1986), he is asked by a reporter whether he wants to say anything to the Chinese government. Gary hollers: "I appeal to Deng Xiaoping to intervene on my behalf. President Deng, please bring me home!"12 These words appear in many newspapers the next day. But the Chinese ambassador to Washington, like the foreign ministry spokesman quoted above, disavows the mole: "I never heard of that man. China has no spy in the United States at all, so we have nothing to do with him."13 A personal appeal to Chinese leaders also occurs in the novel, though to no avail. Suzie, asked by Gary to visit Deng in Beijing, is received instead by Hao Ding (the same minister of national security who met Gary in Hong Kong in 1972). Ding tells her "his country had nothing to do with Gary Shang anymore. ... Gary was a traitor," adding that Deng has already spoken regarding Gary: "Let that selfish man rot in an American prison together with his silly dream of being loyal to both countries."14

From the perspective of the head of state, Gary's goodwill toward both nations is at best a "silly dream" and at worst proof of his two-way treason. Gary is thus condemned by both the US and China despite his sworn patriotism toward both countries. Deng's denunciation comes across as particularly harsh in light of Gary's stalwart service, which the fictionalized Mao once declares as tantamount to "four armored divisions." Bingwen, Gary's former handler, later tells Lilian that her father belongs to the type of special agents categorized as nails: "A nail must remain in its position ... and rot with the wood it's stuck in, so a spy of the nail type is more or less a goner." The metaphor conveys the provisional utilitarian value and infinite dispensability of an individual, however dedicated to the state machinery. That Gary is allowed to "rot" (a word used by both Deng and Bingwen) after a lifetime of service signifies his flagrant betrayal by the motherland.

The historical chapters about Gary suggest he has been betrayed long before his exposure as a Communist spy. To ensure his dedication to the work overseas, Bingwen refrains from telling Gary before his second marriage that Yufeng has given birth to twins, and gives him false assurances that the government is looking after his family in Shandong when his parents and children are in fact starving. Gary, of course, is also a betrayer in being a bigamist (with a mistress to boot), in feeding classified information from the American intelligence services to the Mao administration, and in getting the Chinese government to pay for Nellie's bakery. His most egregious act (of which Chin was also guilty) is tipping off Beijing during the Korean War about Chinese POWs with anti-Communist leanings, resulting in their execution after repatriation. All the while Gary deludes himself into thinking he has been dutifully supporting both families and serving two regimes. Like the Communist Party that uses him, he is inured to the human lives destroyed by his "patriotic" acts. The duplicity that defines his undercover life mirrors that of the handler, who poses as Gary's confidant while withholding critical information from him, and that of the state, which uses the feckless mole ruthlessly till he is used up.

This theme of two-way betrayal is picked up again when Lilian meets Ben, whom she suspects, rightly, of being "a petty spy specializing in industrial and technological information" and whose stateside business (a Chinese government investment) is worth one and a half million dollars. When Sonya becomes pregnant, the higher-ups recommend abortion. Lilian tries to persuade her nephew to turn himself in to the FBI, but Ben demurs: "If I surrender to the FBI, the business will be gone and I'll be blamed for the loss. Worse yet, I'd have to give the FBI a lot of information on Chinese espionage operations. … Then to China I'll become a criminal guilty of high treason." Lilian retorts: "Why can't you reverse the roles of the plaintiff and the accused? Why is a country always innocent and always right? Hasn't China used both you and your grandfather relentlessly? Hasn't your country betrayed you?" Her heated remonstrance is no doubt set off by her knowledge of how Beijing hung Gary out to dry after he was caught.

A political writer like Jin is, in a sense, not unlike a spy; both are intent on ferreting out and exposing national information that the state prefers to withhold from the public or sweep under the rug. Consequently, both are being controlled or policed, albeit to a different degree, by China. Jin, like Chin and Gary, also straddles languages and cultures. In his own words: "I live in the margin as a writer—between two languages, two cultures, two literatures, two countries. This is treacherous territory."<sup>20</sup> Because many of his books are banned in China, Jin has educed the trope of betrayal in a writerly context: "Historically, it has always been the individual who is

accused of betraying his country. Why shouldn't we turn the tables by accusing a country of betraying the individual? ... The worst crime the country commits against the writer is to make him unable to write with honesty and artistic integrity."21 Jin has made these same points with specific reference to himself in an op-ed in the New York Times: "To some Chinese, my choice of English is a kind of betraval. But loyalty is a two-way street. I feel I have been betrayed by China, which has suppressed its people and made artistic freedom unavailable. I have tried to write honestly about China and preserve its real history. As a result, most of my work cannot be published in China."22 It is precisely on the ground of upholding "real history," Jin implies, that his work has been censored. As Taiwanese scholar Te-hsing Shan wryly observes, "Among overseas Chinese writers, Jin has had the most awards and the greatest number of books translated into Chinese and banned."23 For a writer, there is perhaps no greater bane than being silenced. Asked whether A Map of Betrayal will be published in China, Jin answers: "this one is out of the question [because] the protagonist is betrayed by the country ... I don't think this book will see print in China."24 Chin, Gary, Ben, and Jin are all betrayed by a regime that discounts a citizen's life, emotional welfare, and freedom of expression.

There is an additional detail in the novel related to state control that is shared by Jin and his fictional spy, though not by Chin. Each time Gary asks permission to visit his family in China, Bingwen replies negatively, often in conjunction with a veiled threat: "under no circumstances must you contact your family directly. That would put a lot of people in danger."25 (Chin, in contrast, was able to travel to China several times, especially after his retirement. In fact, a hotel key for the Qianmen Hotel in Beijing, found in his luggage, was what nailed him as the mole the FBI was trying to identify.) Although Jin is much more fortunate than Chin, Gary, and Ben in that China does not directly control his life and livelihood, he is persona non grata in his native country (owing to a petition for democracy he once signed). He seems to be projecting his own frustration onto Gary, whose desire to return to China and visit his family is incessantly deferred. Jin discloses in a 2014 interview: "Almost 30 years, I have not been able to go back. ... My mother died last October. I couldn't get a visa."26 Gary, too, is absent from his parents' deathbeds and funerals. In both cases, the polity ignores affective bonds of kinship for the putative greater good of the state.

### Double Allegiance

"This kind of misery over the years gave me insight into Gary's situation, his mental state," Jin comments on his prolonged exile in another interview.<sup>27</sup> Gary's anguish as a Janus-faced citizen lies in his divided personal and political allegiance, pining for his Chinese family and taking orders from Beijing even as he becomes increasingly entangled emotionally in the New World. At his trial he avers that he is devoted to both the United States and China: "They are like father and mother, so as a son I cannot separate the two and I love them both."28 He is telling the gnawing truth, but he fails to convince the jury. Just as political writers can be likened to spies in their efforts to unearth hidden facts, immigrants (Jin included) as well as double agents may experience conflicted loyalties. Like Chin and Gary, Jin is an accidental immigrant. When he came to the US in 1985, he planned to finish his Ph.D. at Brandeis University and then return to China to teach English. "But a series of events shocked him into staying permanently, starting with the capture and trial of a Chinese spy named Larry Chin."29 Presumably Beijing's disingenuous repudiation of Chin rattled Jin and prompted him to think about emigration. Gary, too, did not intend to leave his country of origin, but biddings from above turned him from a Chinese national to an American citizen, with families, and hence emotional attachments, on both sides of the Pacific.

Chin's loyalties were less clear. He had spent decades infiltrating the CIA, but swore at his trial in 1986 that he was trying to reconcile the two adversaries: "My objective is to influence the [Chinese] faction which is practical, which is pro-Western ... to improve the Chinese people's livelihood, to improve the economy, and to establish cooperation with the United States and the Western world." He said "he was rewarded with the satisfaction of seeing relations between China and the United States flourish, and the knowledge that, were it not for his decisiveness and courage, they would conceivably be at loggerheads." This claim was dismissed by I. C. Smith as "a time-honored justification for many who commit espionage but one with little credibility." Be that as it may, Chin apparently did play a positive role in the Sino-US rapprochement. T. Van Magers, one of the FBI agents assigned to his case, conceded that, prior to Nixon's historic visit, "Mao was not convinced Nixon was sincere ... only when Chin told them it was legitimate were they prepared to proceed." 33

Gary, the fictional counterpart, has always been earnest in his wish to mend Sino-US fences, initially because he wanted to be repatriated but gradually because his adoptive country has become dear to him. In addition to showing Gary's unwavering fealty to China and growing attachment to the US, Jin registers the protagonist's unspoken emotions, which he often hides for the sake of his efficiency as an operative. In 1950, when Gary hears the news that the Chinese army has ambushed and mauled the US troops east of the Yalu, he is devastated at the thought of "a long spying career ahead"; at this point he dreads a lengthy sojourn, feeling "marooned."<sup>34</sup> By 1963 he is drawn to "the orderliness, the plentitude, the privacy, the continuity of daily life, the freedom of travel" in the US, though his mind still wanders to "the distant land where his other family was."35 By the time of Kennedy's assassination in 1963, he feels almost as bereaved as his CIA cohorts. When the Americans land on the Moon, he is glued to the television. After Nixon's visit to China, Gary is genuinely elated by the normalization: "Far away from his homeland, he was ecstatic to see the rapid progress in the two countries' relationship. Apparently the Chinese leaders had made full use of his intelligence, which had reinforced their resolve to receive the Americans with open arms."36 Gary seems convinced that he has been instrumental in effecting the breakthrough for the two nations.

Jin further brings out Gary's divided self by telescoping two award ceremonies and their equally palpable impact on the secret agent. In one, Gary learns about his ascent up the ladder of the Chinese ministry of national security, which also confers on him a special merit citation; in the other, he receives an award from his CIA supervisor. During his trip to Hong Kong in 1972, five months after Nixon's visit to Beijing, Hao Ding, the new minister of national security, informs Gary of his promotion to vice minister of the organization. Gary is astounded, saying to Ding and his entourage:

"Whatever I did was out of my deep love for our motherland. A spy's life can be miserable and lonely"—his voice caught—"but when I think that hundreds of millions of people might benefit from my service and that our country might be safer because of the intelligence I have gathered, I feel that my personal pain and privation are no longer worth fretting about." 37

Gary's words are remarkably similar to those spoken by Chin after his verdict: "When I think about what I accomplished—the improvement of the livelihood of one billion Chinese people—my imprisonment for life is a very small price to pay. It was worth it." These formulaic remarks of Gary

and Chin attest to the enduring effect of nationalist ideology and to their delusions of grandeur with regard to their roles in uplifting the populace. To this day, Chinese textbooks in the mainland constantly glorify heroes who sacrifice themselves for the country. Gary's Chinese contacts knowingly pump up his ego each time. In 1954 Bingwen tells Gary: "Brother, I know it's hard for you. You've been making a tremendous sacrifice for our country. For that you have our highest respect"; "please always remember that China has raised you and appreciates your service and sacrifice."39 Again in 1959: "Among us you're the only one destined for greatness. ... Someday you will come home with honor and glory."40 "You are our hero," Bingwen gushes in 1972. 41 The eulogy in tandem with the patriotic inculcation prevent Gary, time and again, from asserting his deepest longing to be reunited with his Chinese family and from revealing his growing attachment to the New World. When Bingwen adds, by way of defining Gary's heroism, "You're a dagger plunged in the enemy's heart," Gary "twitched as his insides tightened."42 The visceral response suggests that Gary has become at once the "dagger" and the wounded "enemy."

Barely two months after being honored by the Chinese bigwigs in Hong Kong, and right on the next page of the novel, Gary is commended in a conference room at CIA headquarters, where he receives a medal for distinguished service from his long-time supervisor, George Thomas, now chief of the East Asia Division. Thomas describes Gary as "a model of devotion, diligence, and loyalty."<sup>43</sup> Gary is again deeply moved, not only by his supervisor's words but also by his own thank you speech:

I'm greatly honored by this award. ... Twenty-three years is a long time in a person's life, and for me, it has also been a transformative period, during which I first became a refugee, then an immigrant, and then a U.S. citizen. This country took me in and gave me a family and a home. I pride myself on serving this nation.<sup>44</sup>

This speech "had come from deep within" because Gary, after living in America for 17 years, has begun to view it as "his second country." After the award ceremony, Gary picks up Lilian, then a teenager coming home from Groton, at the train station. His relationship with his daughter, expressly "his deepest attachment to this land," indicates his increasing regard for his adoptive country. His emotional responses during the two ceremonies, and his love for Lilian, suggest that he is genuinely attached to both countries and that the United States, as Lilian's birthplace, has become a second homeland.

It has taken Ben (Gary's grandson from his Chinese wife) much less time to become acclimatized to North America. Asked by Lilian at their first meeting whether he would like to settle down, he replies: "Absolutely. I like America. Life's good here." But after getting Sonya pregnant, he dreads repeating his grandfather's "mistake" by starting a family stateside and being captivated (in both senses of the word) by the new land. He tells Lilian: "if [Gary] hadn't started a family here or raised you, a daughter he loved, his life could have been much less tangled. He wouldn't have felt like a divided man, as he claimed in court." Ben's greatest fear in marrying Sonya and fathering a baby is to "love both places and be torn between them." 48

Of Chin's true feelings for China and the United States one can only speculate. But a twofold national attachment links Gary, Ben, and Jin. Years after Gary's death, during Lilian's interview with Bingwen in Beijing, Gary's former handler tells Lilian that her father "loved China and did a great service to our country."49 Asked whether Gary might have loved the United States as well, Bingwen responds: "Yes ... I could sympathize with him. No fish can remain ... unaffected by the water it swims in."50 The author's sympathy is even more pronounced: "I do feel that I've lived here long enough—I am an American. But emotionally, I could feel the division. Because I lived in China for 29 years before I came to the States. That was part of myself, my past—I can't just erase it. So I could feel the pain, the suffering of [Gary]."51 As Michael Wutz observes, Gary, like many of Jin's anti-heroes, "is a suspended man, at home really nowhere and condemned to live in a kind of transnational limbo."52 In Lilian's words, "His heart was always elsewhere. Wherever he went, he'd feel out of place, like a stranded traveler."53 This tantalizing sense of being between worlds is aggravated by the fact that the two worlds are antagonistic, so that Gary must keep his dual attachment to himself; he cannot even confide in the two people in the same household—his American wife and daughter. It also accounts for his susceptibility to the amorous overtures of Suzie, a compatriot who shares his mother tongue in the adoptive country.

### MOTHER TONGUE AND BILINGUAL LITERACY

Closely tied to the theme of dual allegiance is that of language and literacy. Bilingualism is a common denominator of Chin, Gary, Ben, and Jin. Chin was exceptionally well versed in Chinese. According to Paul Moore, the

FBI's senior China analyst between 1978 and 1998: "Larry was very educated, an excellent wordsmith in Chinese. When handlers need to compose concise messages to communicate with their agents in Chinese ... he becomes the go-to guy."54 While Moore commends Chin's Chinese skills, Jin (perhaps reflexively) accentuates Gary's mastery of English—both language and literature. Gary reads the novels of D. H. Lawrence: "He liked the novelist's poetic prose, the spontaneous narrative flow, the earthy myth, and also the daring eroticism."55 He also reads George Bernard Shaw and even, in his spare time, translates Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-Five into Chinese. 56 But the translation of literature, in which nuances and connotations speak volumes, is rather different from his humdrum work as a translator for the CIA:

In translating the Chinese warnings in the intelligence report he compiled for the CIA, Gary deliberately toned up the original a bit, and whenever possible, he'd render the wording more striking. ... Deep down, he knew no politician or general might notice the nuances of his word choices. Indeed who would pay attention to his little verbal maneuvers? The sense of futility depressed him.57

Jin apparently considers Gary's job as a high-ranking CIA translator to be incommensurate with his literary talents, and as indicative of his servitude to the state, or to two states. "To a degree, his job as a translator has wasted his ability because he serves both countries, not himself."58 Gary, Jin implies, gets little personal gratification from his assiduous bilingual effort. By contrast, Jin believes that, as a writer, he serves only on his own terms: "I serve no country."59

Bilingual and bicultural literacy is not just a means of livelihood for Gary, however. Languages play a pivotal role, not only in his profession as translator but also in his relationship with his mistress, Suzie, and in their lives as intellectual migrants. In The Writer as Migrant, Jin has contended that if a physical return to one's native country is impossible or disappointing, the mother tongue can make an expatriate feel virtually at home. To illustrate its power over exiles, Jin cites a passage from Milan Kundera's Ignorance, in which two Czech emigrants (who have felt like strangers to their homeland after 20 years abroad) literally and ardently cling to each other upon hearing their native tongue during a one-night stand:

How unexpected! How intoxicating! For the first time in twenty years, he hears those dirty Czech words and instantly he is aroused to a degree he has never been since he left his country, because all those words—coarse, dirty, obscene—only have power over him in his native language. ... Until this moment these two have not even kissed. And now thrillingly, magnificently aroused, in a matter of seconds they begin to make love.<sup>60</sup>

"In the context of the novel, this is a moment of revelation," Jin observes. "They find that their real homeland actually exists within their own beings. ... To the two lovers, a hotel bed is more essential than a city or a country." In other words, just as the mother tongue is sufficient to quench their nostalgia, the physical homeland is less important than linguistic affinity in giving the immigrants a sense of belonging.

I cite Kundera's passage and Jin's commentary at length because together they indirectly reveal the magnet that draws Gary and Suzie to one another. Gary has met Suzie, a native of Jiangsu and a Mandarin broadcaster at Voice of America, in Alexandria, Virginia. After a few meetings, Suzie invites Gary to her apartment for tea one evening, but they share a jar of rice wine instead:

The sex that followed was bone-shaking and tempestuous. ... They panted out coarse words that neither of them had ever heard spoken here ... raising a tremendous din ... assuming nobody in the building could understand their love cries. ... The vulgar expressions gushed out of them with force, as though the words were forgotten incantations, coming back with a vengeance to drive them to copulate for the sake of self-preservation. 62

As in Kundera's *Ignorance*, the sexual excitement is in large part linguistically induced. Their love cries are figured as "incantations" adjoining them "for the sake of self-preservation." What kind of self-preservation? Certainly not biological continuity; Gary has sired three children already. Perhaps the mother tongue is so much a part of themselves that it cannot be lopped off without some sense of self-atrophy. In an earlier conversation Suzie tells Gary: "No matter where I go, I always feel I'm Chinese ... something inside me cannot be changed, was already shaped and fixed in China." After their lovemaking, Gary realizes that Suzie, like him, is "a lonely soul, homesick and restless. ... What amazed both of them was that, lying shoulder to shoulder in bed, they became chatterboxes, as if there were endless things they could talk about." Afterwards, on his way to his

car parked behind Suzie's building, Gary recalls the English idiom "talk a blue streak," picturing him and Suzie "caged like a pair of birds that could chirp and warble only to each other." The image evokes the linguistic isolation of exiles and the pull of verbal intimacy.

This episode effectively conveys the magical hold of the native language on the duo. When, decades after Gary's death, Lilian visits Suzie in Montreal with Ben, she asks the now-aged lady: "Why was my dad so fond of you?" "When we were together we could talk endlessly, about everything, so after many years an affair grew into a friendship in spite of all the quarrels we had," Suzie replies. 66 What enabled them to talk endlessly and sustained their relationship unto Gary's death were their mother tongue and common station as exiles whose professions are tied to their biliteracy. As a translator for the CIA and broadcaster at Voice of America respectively, Gary and Suzie are exceptionally adept at two languages; they also share a transnational legacy, two cultures, and contrapuntal ways of seeing. Their finding solace in each other demonstrates that, while it is hard to rid oneself of nostalgic yearnings, homesickness does not have to be tied to a place, a country. An affinity with another uprooted person with the same mother tongue, bilingual proficiency, and emotional ties abroad allows these two lovebirds to salve the desolation peculiar to exile. What cements their relationship is not national allegiance but their loyalty to one another. Furthermore, the two are able to piece together from afar a history hushed in their home country.

### Repressed Historical Trauma

History, after all, is the version of the victors. The history books are slanted in favor of the successful conquerors. Literature, on the other hand, documents the version of the conquered. I'm on the side of literature.

Wendy Law-Yone<sup>67</sup>

Jin is a strong believer in the historical function of literature. "Yes, to preserve is the key function of literature," he states unequivocally in *The Writer as Migrant*. "The writer should be not just a chronicler but also a shaper, an alchemist, of historical experiences." Without a gifted craftsman to transmute historical trauma into memorable prose, he contends, "sufferings and losses will fade considerably in the collective memory, if not altogether." Most of his novels (*Waiting*, *The Crazed*, *War Trash*, *A Free Life*, *Nanjing Requiem*) combat historical amnesia by depicting how

political events wreak havoc in individual lives. *A Map of Betrayal* is no exception. Jin takes a deliberate detour from Chin's biography, by inventing a family left behind by the fictional spy, so as to disinter historical trauma suppressed by the nation state, paradoxically using fiction to unveil history. Although Chin was also married twice (with three children from his first marriage), his first wife, Doris Chu, lived in Hong Kong, not the mainland. By endowing the fictional spy with a Chinese family and a Chinese mistress, arguably two of the most ingenious strokes in the novel, Jin reinforces the themes of the state versus the individual, conflicted allegiance, the rapture of the mother tongue and, above all, betrayal by the state on a personal and national level. Jin takes upon himself to describe—as counter-memory—the collateral damage of state policies that has remained nebulous in official documents.

Take the Great Leap Forward (1958-62): It was a campaign intended to accelerate industrialization in China so that it could "catch up with and overtake Britain in less than fifteen years."71 Communes were formed, backyard steel furnaces constructed in every neighborhood, peasants organized into brigade teams, and communal kitchens established so that women could join the workforce. But the inefficiency of the communes and the disruption of agriculture, along with consecutive natural calamities, led to a widespread famine. When Yang Jisheng (杨继绳), a long-time Communist Party member and reporter for Xinhua (the official Chinese news agency with privileged access to Party documents), published a tome totaling 1100 pages entitled Tombstone in 2009 (translated into English in 2012), it was promptly banned on the mainland. Among the reasons the author gave for choosing the title were "to erect a tombstone for my father, who died of starvation in 1959 [and] to erect a tombstone for the thirty-six million Chinese who died of starvation."72 The death toll presented by Frank Dikötter in 2011 is even more staggering: "a minimum of 45 million excess deaths."<sup>73</sup> Dikötter describes this part of history as being "quite forgotten" in the official memory of the People's Republic of China. For a long time, "the famine officially doesn't exist—Chinese history textbooks speak of 'three years of natural disasters,' not a mass famine caused by Chairman Mao."74

Jin has woven this haunting historical chapter into *A Map of Betrayal*, in which multiple accounts are offered—by Gary, who has access to news sources from all over the country; by Suzie, who relates what has happened to her uncle's family in Jiangsu; by Bingwen, whose habitus belies his reassurances to Gary; and, decades later, by Gary's relatives and offspring in

China. Gary learns about the famine by sifting through newspapers. Although he finds little information about Shandong, his hometown, he reads many reports on nearby counties: "Most country folks there suffered from dropsy, with swelled bellies and their legs puffed out like small barrels. Many women had prolapsed uteruses; even those in their twenties and thirties underwent menopause." An official in charge of birth control relates that "she no longer needed to hand out contraceptives because people were too feeble to conceive."75 The physiological anomalies, objectively rendered, evince a topsy-turvy world. But the blithe remark of the official shows she is less than alarmed or solicitous, just glad to be relieved of her routine duty.

It is also during this period in China that Gary meets Suzie at a Chinese restaurant in Virginia. Their shared anxieties about relatives in their respective hometowns create a ready bond. Suzie tells Gary that her uncle's family has lost their home, which has been demolished so that the bricks and timber can be used to build a pig farm. But then all the pigs either die of disease or are slaughtered for food: "People were too desperate to think about their future livelihood," Suzie tells him. "They even ate grass and elm bark. ... I heard there was cannibalism in my home county."<sup>76</sup> Her disclosure bewilders Gary because she is from Jiangsu, a fertile province generally called "a land of fish and rice": "If the famine had wreaked havoc in a place like that, then the whole of China must have become hell."<sup>77</sup> Yet when Gary meets Bingwen in Hong Kong in 1961, the handler pretends that all is well. He informs Gary that his parents have passed away of old age in their sixties during the previous winter, in 1960. Although Gary takes his minder's words for granted, it is obvious to the reader that his parents starved to death at the height of the famine. Dikötter notes how food was doled out or denied according to some kind of triage during those lean years: "entire groups of people considered to be too old, too weak, or too sick to work were deliberately banned from the canteen and starved to death."<sup>78</sup> Gary's parents would fall into the "too old" sector. Bingwen himself looks "sickly and emaciated," but he denies that there is any food shortage: "I just had hernia surgery. ... Everything's swell back home."<sup>79</sup> Gary muses skeptically: "That couldn't have been true and must have been what Bingwen had been instructed to tell. ... Plainly the man had a famished look, and when they dined ... [Bingwen] would wolf down whatever he could."80 This meeting between Gary and Bingwen manifests the gulf between Party propaganda and sorry reality. The handler's failure to be honest with Gary bespeaks the thick wool pulled over everyone's eyes during the nationwide catastrophe.

More information contradicting official pronouncements surfaces four decades later, when Lilian meets her half-sister Manrong and other relatives in China. Manrong recalls: "Our brother and I were eleven that year [1961], both skinny like bags of bones, hungry all the time." Though the local clinic chalked his death up to encephalitis, Ben learns from his grandmother that his uncle "actually starved to death, his belly sticking out like a balloon." As though his death were not devastating enough to the mother, "[a]ll the Shangs in the village got angry at Yufeng, because the boy was the single seedling in your father's family." There were rumors, moreover, that her husband had defected to Taiwan, and then to the US. "Some people even threatened to denounce her publicly and drag her through the streets," Ben later informs Lilian. While public records about the upheaval concentrate on finger-pointing at the top, Jin's novel retraces the fates of the most vulnerable: the aged, women, and children.

What happens to Suzie's and Gary's families in China are but thumbnail sketches of the massive tribulation of ordinary people during the Great Leap Forward. The clan's chauvinistic treatment of Yufeng, already a bereft mother who has almost lost her mind with grief, parallels the abuse of the rural populace in the name of national progress. The political leaders disregard the emotional costs of Gary's exile and Yufeng's virtual widowhood, all the time placating Gary with encomia about his patriotism and with false reassurances of his family's well-being back home. Similarly, the official history concerning the Great Leap Forward eclipses the extensive suffering of an entire population.

By presenting Gary's research about the northeast provinces, Suzie's description of a southern province, and Manrong's eyewitness account about Shandong successively, Jin shows the magnitude of the national disaster, its local manifestations, and the havoc wrought in ordinary lives. Like Yang's *Tombstone*, the novel ensures that memories of these unspeakable events are not buried along with the victims. More importantly, these memories are caveats against the perils of following the flag when national leaders treat the citizens as fodder. Jin implies (and history corroborates) that man-made catastrophes must be acknowledged and publicized, not just for the sake of preserving history but also to prevent it from repeating itself. Would the Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen suppression—events triggered by national fiats that also ran roughshod over the citizenry—have been averted if the government had been made accountable for their lethal blunder after the giant leap backward? That history was hushed. So was and is the Tiananmen crackdown. Jin, a doctoral student at Brandeis

in 1989, watched the bloody event on American television and decided to stay in the US for good. Repressed historical trauma haunts both the author and his characters.

Jin could have extended his critique of the state beyond China, however. The 1950s and 1960s were also harrowing times in the United States. The violent backlash after the passing of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 and also during the civil rights movement—the murder of Emmett Till, the arrest of Rosa Parks, the Little Rock Crisis, the murder of Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and, above all, the "state"-sponsored police violence in Birmingham, Alabama—all go unmentioned in A Map of Betrayal. Gary, after all, was living in the US during that time, working in the very seat of the capital. It is, therefore, somewhat perplexing that he should screen out all of these stateside brutalities. One can only attribute such palpable omissions to the fact that the author was not himself in the US at that time. But these events would lend transnational resonance to the theme of the state versus the individual. Furthermore, the civil rights movement and the Black Power movement, as well as other ethnic and feminist movements, would provide a clamorous counterpoint to the pall of silence that hung over the Great Leap Forward, in which most victims simply died with scarcely a whimper.

The legion of lives destroyed in the Chinese nationalist cauldron has not derailed the regime from spurring the young to put the interests of their country before their own. Lilian observes that, even in contemporary China, all her graduate students claim "they had to serve the country and the people heart and soul," that "the individual had to be subsumed under the collective."86 Many young people, Ben included, "claimed they wouldn't hesitate to sacrifice themselves for their motherland. They insisted that their love for the country was unconditional, and many of them were proud of being nationalists."87 Lilian, who begs to differ, tells Ben:

I loved America, but not more than I loved my husband. I believe that a country is not a temple but a mansion built by the citizens so they can have shelter and protection in it. Such a construction can be repaired, renovated, altered, and even overhauled if necessary. ... It's unreasonable to deify a country and it's insane to let it lord over you. ... On what basis should a country be raised above the citizens who created it?88

"Don't be a blind patriot like Gary" is Lilian's recurrent admonition to Ben. 89 The knowledge that his grandfather—allegedly a Chinese national hero who had been promised a cushy retirement in his homeland—was

openly disowned by the Party eventually gives Ben pause. The promise of a glorious homecoming for Gary is not unlike the mantra of the "Great Leap Forward," the promised abundance confected to rally the masses during the deadly campaign—arguably the greatest betrayal of the people by the state.

### Personal Loyalties

I do not view myself in terms of loyalty to a country or to any government. I feel it's safer to have loyalty to people, to individuals.

Ha Jin<sup>90</sup>

A quick comparison between Hoffman's *The Spy Within* and *A Map of Betrayal* makes plain that Gary Shang is not Larry Chin and that the novel should not be construed as Chin's biography despite the scores of corresponding details between Jin's fiction and Hoffman's non-fiction. From Hoffman's perspective, Chin is downright seditious; from Jin's perspective, Gary is also betrayed, at least by China. Hoffman's book is confined to Chin's years as spy; Jin's novel traverses three generations. Hoffman's account focuses on Chin's covert activities and particularly the "damages" done to the nation; Jin's narrative delves into the psychological damage inflicted on Gary, whose feelings for Yufeng, Nellie, and Suzie both reprise and jostle against his confused political loyalties.

Gary is definitely a much more sympathetic figure than Larry. The historical predecessor is, in Hoffman's unflattering account, an avaricious mercenary, a lecherous womanizer, and a devious operative who lied to both the US and China. 91 His motives for espionage are prompted primarily by greed, but Gary is sincere in his effort to improve Sino-US relations. Unlike Chin, Gary never bargains with his superiors, accepting whatever monetary compensation they offer. "It's an honor to serve our motherland. Please don't mention compensation," Gary says to his spymasters repeatedly.92 The only exception is when he asks for a big loan from the Chinese administration out of his desire to help Nellie buy a bakery. Unlike Chin, who allegedly made many passes at young girls and had "countless escapades" with sundry women, 93 Gary, notwithstanding his two wives and a mistress, takes the three relationships seriously: he continues to dream about Yufeng, look out for Nellie, and cherish Suzie. When the FBI agents enter his house in 1980 to "interview" him, Gary agrees to cooperate by telling the truth on one condition: "My family and my girl friend, Suzie Chao, know nothing about what I've been doing. Leave them out of your investigation."94

Gary has tried his best to be faithful—in his schizoid fashion—to all three women, to the extent of risking his own exposure. His downfall is indirectly tied to his attempts to protect Yufeng's family and Suzie, and to help Nellie. Suzie, who went with her family to Taiwan before settling in North America, has an uncle who is a senior officer in Taiwan's intelligence service. As the only woman privy to Gary's true identity, she urges him to work for the Nationalists so that, should his cover be blown, he will be able to identify himself as a spy for Taipei, making his crime "a lot less serious because Taiwan was not an enemy country to the United States."95 Toward the end of the novel Suzie tells Lilian why Gary declined: "he would not betray the mainland because he didn't want to endanger his family there, also because he wouldn't get me embroiled in the espionage business. ... He never took advantage of me." In addition to showing Gary's solicitude toward Yufeng's family and Suzie, this disclosure also illustrates how national interests determine the fate of individuals. Gary could be doing the same work as a spy for the Taiwanese government (which in Jin's novel is no better than its Communist counterpart in committing atrocities), but a spy working for an ally country would be judged much more leniently, demonstrating the disproportionate degree nationalist contingencies play in arbitrating individual conduct. Gary's refusal to work for the Nationalists, by contrast, is prompted by personal rather than patriotic considerations.

When Gary, against his better judgment, asks Beijing for a huge loan to help Nellie buy the bakery from her employer, he once again puts personal loyalty above political discretion. He knows he is acting with "reckless resolve" in transferring a large sum of money from Hong Kong to the United States, thereby alerting the FBI. Far As Ben later puts it, "That was like blowing his identity on purpose—no professional spy would make such a dangerous move. Fallian defends Gary's imprudent act as an attempt to "do right" by Nellie: "he was [planning] to leave America for good, he wanted to make sure she'd be able to survive without him around. We can call that love or honor or a sense of responsibility. ... What's essential is that he finally did something he felt right on his own, and was willing to pay the price. Fall, on account of his "patriotic" duty, Gary plans to retire in China to rejoin his original family he has not seen for three decades. His split political and personal allegiances have taken a heavy psychological toll on him. He tells Father Murray (his US)

handler): "I'm afraid my heart won't hold out for long and I might fall to pieces here." He feels "he had reached the point where the pressure might break him anytime." 100

Gary's qualified loyalties to Suzie, Nellie, and his family in China redeem him somewhat in the eyes of Lilian and, eventually, Ben. These rare acts of autonomy go against his tendency of permitting "the country to take the moral high ground and to dictate how he lived his life." The lesson is not lost on Ben. Personal desire and obligation take precedence over national allegiances when he runs away with Sonya at the novel's close instead of continuing to follow Beijing's dictates or defecting to the United States.

Across the Pacific, Juli, Ben's twin sister, also has to choose between obeying the Party and following her own heart. She has become quite close to Lilian, her new-found aunt, in China. When Lilian returns to Maryland, Juli is visited by two officers from the local National Security Bureau who question her and her parents about Lilian and urge her to keep her distance from her American aunt, whom they deem "biased against China."102 They also demand she inform on Lilian immediately if she hears "anything unusual." Even her father urges her to hold back from telling Lilian "too much about China" and to "keep in mind that there're other eyes to read what you write to her and other ears to catch what you say."104 Lilian herself feels too wary to speak freely from then on when she communicates with Juli via email or phone, lest their communication be monitored. Juli's decision to continue to confide in her aunt unconditionally shows her determination to put kinship before state directive: "I don't believe a word of what they said about you. ... Family is family, right?"105 Meanwhile, Lilian and her husband Henry also put themselves at risk by alerting Ben that the FBI is on his tail.

Although Jin's protagonist is very different from Hoffman's Communist mole, the epigraph for *The Spy Within*—a quotation from Henry Bromell's *Little America*—is no less apropos to *A Map of Betrayal*: "I'm interested in what happens inside history, what history hides, what gets left out and what is forgotten." The novel zeroes in on some unacknowledged episodes in Chinese history so as to demonstrate the extent of state power on individuals, illuminate the gulf between official pronouncements and voices of the oppressed, and between touted ideals and inhuman practices. Jin suggests that a country should not presume to sit on the moral high ground adjudicating on its citizens, who can very well be betrayed by the polity.

Through Gary, Jin has mapped a nuanced and poignant psychological journey of someone whose destiny is determined by fate or, more precisely, state. Individuals who feel attachments to two nation states are often viewed askance by both; they may also find it difficult to feel a sense of belonging to either. Gary and Suzie, who emigrate to North America as adults, are unable to shed their indigenous selves, even as they become increasingly assimilated in the United States. Through their relationship, Jin shows the strong mutual attraction of two people who share a common mother tongue, who excel in two languages, who have loved ones across the Pacific, and who still feel like outsiders in their second homeland. For them the mother tongue at times replaces the motherland in quenching nostalgia.

The author has projected his own sensibility as a migrant writer onto Gary Shang. Like the protagonist, Jin is an accidental immigrant forbidden to return to his native country. Like Gary, Jin has spent half his lifetime in another country that has given him a home and a distinguished career. Like Gary, Jin has been suspended between nations, cultures, and languages. Whereas Gary is lost in translation in serving two masters, however, Jin is able to claim a space within this troubled world of muddled allegiances, of national, cultural, and linguistic liminality, by forging a new voice of America that also resounds on another shore.

### Notes

- 1. I. C. Smith, Inside: A Top G-Man Exposes Spies, Lies, and Bureaucratic Bungling Inside the FBI (New York: Nelson Current, 2004), 29.
- 2. Todd Hoffman, *The Spy Within: Larry Chin and China's Penetration of the CIA* (Hanover, NH: Steerforth Press, 2008).
- 3. Michael Wutz, "The Individual versus the State: A Conversation with Ha Jin," *Weber: The Contemporary West* 31.2 (2015), 14–15.
- 4. Ha Jin, A Map of Betrayal (New York: Pantheon, 2014), 213, 270.
- 5. King-Kok Cheung, "The Chinese American Writer as Migrant: Ha Jin's Restive Manifesto," *Amerasia* 38.2 (2017): 2–12; Shan, Te-hsing单德兴. 2014. "背叛与被叛:《背叛指南》之指南 [Betraying and Being Betrayed: Map of 'A Map of Betrayal]." In 《背叛指南》[*A Map of Betrayal*], translated by汤秋妍Qiuyan Tang, 319–27. Taipei: 时报文化.
- 6. Smith, Inside, 45, 30, 33, 33.
- 7. Jin, A Map, 8.
- 8. Hoffman, The Spy, 184.

- 9. Gaylord Shaw, CIA Aide Called a "Living Lie" for 30 Years. November 28, 1985, accessed July 1, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1985-11-28/news/mn-8993\_1\_fbi-agent.
- 10. Hoffman, The Spy, 265.
- 11. Chou, Cathy 周瑾子. 1998. 《我的丈夫张无怠之死》[*My Husband Larry Wu-tai Chin's Death.*] Accessed December 30, 2014, https://www.bannedbook.org/forum2/topic1259.html, 341–2; my English translation.
- 12. Jin, A Map, 262.
- 13. Ibid., 263.
- 14. Ibid., 273-4.
- 15. Ibid., 219.
- 16. Ibid., 19-20.
- 17. Ibid., 242.
- 18. Ibid., 270.
- 19. Ibid., 270.
- Sarah Fay, 2009, "Ha Jin, The Art of Fiction No. 202," accessed Feb 25, 2017, http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/5991/the-art-of-fiction-no-202-ha-jin.
- 21. Ha Jin, *The Writer as Migrant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 31–2.
- 22. Ha Jin, "Exiled to English," New York Times, May 31, 2009: WK9.
- 23. Shan Te-hsing 单德兴. 2009. "辞海中的好兵: 哈金访谈录 [The Good Soldier in Cihai: An Interview with Ha Jin.]," in *In the Company of the Wise: Conversations with Asian American Writers and Critics*, 20. Taipei: 允晨文化 [Yunchen Wenhua]; my English translation.
- NPR Staff, 2014, "An Ambivalent Double Agent, Torn between Two Countries," ed. Arun Rath, November 1, 2014, accessed Feb 25, 2017 (hereafter cited as NPR Staff 2014).
- 25. Jin, A Map, 62.
- 26. NPR Staff.
- 27. Kevin Nance, "Ha Jin on 'A Map of Betrayal," November 13, 2014, accessed Feb 25, 2017, http://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/books/ct-prj-map-of-betrayal-ha-jin-20141113-story.html.
- 28. Jin, A Map, 260.
- 29. NPR Staff.
- 30. Hoffman, *The Spy*, 249.
- 31. Ibid., 256.
- 32. Smith, *Inside*, 46.
- 33. Hoffman, The Spy, 184.
- 34. Jin, A Map, 40.
- 35. Ibid., 135.

- 36. Ibid., 219.
- 37. Ibid., 220.
- 38. Smith, *Inside*, 46.
- 39. Jin, A Map, 58, 62.
- 40. Ibid., 126.
- 41. Ibid., 221.
- 42. Ibid., 221.
- 43. Ibid., 222.
- 44. Ibid., 223.
- 45. Ibid., 223. Chin was also presented with a Career Intelligence Medal at the CIA headquarters in 1981, before his retirement. The recommendation, signed by the director of FBIS, describes Chin's service as "marked by the highest degree of professionalism and dedication." Chin is lauded for his "dependability and personal integrity" (Hoffman 2008, 50). These words are echoed by Thomas in the novel.
- 46. Ibid., 172.
- 47. Ibid., 212.
- 48. Ibid., 242.
- 49. Ibid., 19.
- 50. Ibid., 19.
- 51. NPR Staff.
- 52. Wutz, "The Individual," 14.
- 53. Jin, A Map, 103.
- 54. Hoffman, *The Spy*, 50–1.
- 55. Jin, A Map, 24.
- 56. Ibid., 237.
- 57. Ibid., 29.
- 58. Wutz, "The Individual," 15.
- 59. Ibid., 15.
- 60. Milan Kundera, *Ignorance* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), 178–9.
- 61. Jin, The Writer, 74.
- 62. Jin, A Map, 140.
- 63. Ibid., 139.
- 64. Ibid., 140.
- 65. Ibid., 141.
- 66. Ibid., 274.
- 67. Wendy Law-Yone, interview by Nancy Yoo and Tamara Ho, in *Words Matter: Conversations with Asian American Writers*, ed. King Kok Cheung (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 302.
- 68. Jin, The Writer, 33.
- 69. Ibid., 29.
- 70. Hoffman, The Spy, 159.

- 71. Frank Dikötter, Mao's Great Famine: The Story of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe 1958–62 (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), viiii.
- Yang Jisheng, Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958–1962, eds.
  Edward Friedman, Jian Guo and Staci Mosher. Translated by Staci Mosher and Jian Guo (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 3.
- 73. Dikötter, *Mao's*, 333, x.
- 74. Anne Applebaum, *The Dissident Within: What a Book about China's Great Famine Says about the Country's Transformation*, August 11, 2008, accessed June 21, 2015, http://www.slate.com/articles/news\_and\_politics/foreigners/2008/08/the\_dissident\_within.html.
- 75. Jin, A Map, 137.
- 76. Ibid., 138.
- 77. Ibid., 138. What happened to Suzie's family was rather typical at the time. According to Dikötter: "Livestock declined precipitously, not only because animals were slaughtered for the export market but also because they succumbed en masse to disease and hunger—despite extravagant schemes for giant piggeries that would bring meat to every table ... Up to 40 per cent of all housing was turned into rubble, as homes were pulled down to create fertilizer, to build canteens, to relocate villagers, to straighten roads, to make room for a better future or simply to punish their occupants" (xi, xii).
- 78. Evan Osnos, *Q. & A.: Frank Dikötter on Famine and Mao*, December 15, 2010, accessed June 21, 2015, http://www.newyorker.com/news/evan-osnos/q-a-frank-diktter-on-famine-and-mao.
- 79. Jin, A Map, 142.
- 80. Ibid., 142.
- 81. Ibid., 85.
- 82. Ibid., 240.
- 83. Ibid., 48.
- 84. Ibid., 240.
- 85. See also Dikötter, Mao's, 245-65.
- 86. Jin, A Map, 28.
- 87. Ibid., 151.
- 88. Ibid., 151.
- 89. Ibid., 201.
- 90. Nance, "Ha Jin," 2014.
- 91. Hoffman, The Spy, 56-65.
- 92. Jin, A Map, 160.
- 93. Hoffman, The Spy, 57.
- 94. Jin 2014a, 258.
- 95. Ibid., 275.
- 96. Ibid., 275.

- 97. Ibid., 248.
- 98. Ibid., 276.
- 99. Ibid., 276.
- 100. Ibid., 250.
- 101. Ibid., 276.
- 102. Ibid., 169.
- 103. Ibid., 169.
- 104. Ibid., 170.
- 105. Ibid., 169.
- 106. Hoffman, The Spy, 1.