UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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Scaling the Nation:
Local Literary Production and National Literature in Postwar Japan, 1946-1955

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Eric James Siercks

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Scaling the Nation:

Local Literary Production and National Literature

in Postwar Japan, 1946-1955

by

Eric James Siercks

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Seiji M. Lippit, Chair

This dissertation reintegrates the print culture of northern Tōhoku from the first decade of Japan's postwar period into our understanding of postwar literary history. To date, urban print culture has been scaled to a conceptual space congruent with the postwar Japanese "nation," obscuring the breadth and complexity of postwar print production. The postwar period witnessed an unprecedented boom in magazine publishing, one that was driven by independently produced non-urban texts. This dissertation deploys an archival methodology that reads postwar print in the aggregate, without concern for scalar modes of assessing literary value derived from circulation, distribution, or readership. Doing so reveals a participatory print culture aimed at decentralizing capital-centric literary production and incorporating democratic revolution within the space and labor of local publishing.

Chapter 1 establishes three critical approaches that will guide the dissertation: scale, archivization, and concept-work. Scalar methodologies show the postwar Debate on National Literature (*kokumin bungaku ronsō*) as not purely a hypothetical intellectual debate but a reaction to developments in independent rural print.

Chapter 2 reads Occupation censorship documents held in the Prange Collection against the holdings of northern Tōhoku libraries, showing how post-censorship was more widespread and less effective than previously understood.

Chapter 3 critiques the intersection of gender and locality, showing how rural women have been excised from literary history. The chapter challenges the gendered reading and archival practices that develop from urban print capital, arguing instead for critical approaches founded in class, gender, and environment.

Chapter 4 addresses the category of "Farmers' Literature" (*nōmin bungaku*), arguing that the writers active in northern Japan had little concern for a national literary movement. Instead, they advocated for a re-localizing of both print culture and democratic politics.

Chapter 5 imagines how Occupation censorship of local magazines can also impact "larger" scales, like world literature. Deliberately reading Occupation censorship archives as world literature rewrites the criteria by which translations come to be thought of as literature.

The dissertation of Eric James Siercks is approved.

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Introduction

This dissertation began as an intellectual history of the postwar National Literature Debate (『国民文学論争』*kokumin bungaku ronsō*). From the very start of my literature review and archival research, however, I could not help but feel uneasy about an essential disconnect between the way that historians of the postwar period described the debate and the print culture that survived from the period. Access to the Gordon W. Prange Collection on microform at UCLA allowed me to stake out an initial goal: Expand our current understanding of postwar theories of National Literature by squaring the original debate with the print culture active in the first decade of the postwar period. Quickly, however, I came to realize that there was a considerably larger archival collection of regional and independent magazines than had been acknowledged in postwar literary histories to date. Returning to roundtables and minor articles published by the major figures in the National Literature Debate—Takeuchi Yoshimi, Odagiri Hideo, Hirano Ken and others—I was surprised to find that they had already been participating in this explosion of rural print and were founding their theories of postwar literary subjectivity on this new democratic, distributed print culture. My objectives shifted in accord with archival holdings and my research project sought to answer two deceptively simple questions: What was postwar Japanese print culture in the aggregate? How did regional literature fit into postwar concepts of national literature?

The methodological component of the dissertation—critically examining archival materials through the lens of scale—surfaced out of necessity. The overwhelming wealth of archival materials available in the Prange Collection was further compounded by early research trips to Aomori, Akita, and Iwate and discovering that no, the Occupation had certainly *not*

collected and censored all postwar Japanese print. I was left sifting through a new and expanding baseline of archival materials: magazines that appeared in the small local libraries that dotted northern Japan and the stacks of postwar print that lingered in the top floors and back rooms of used bookstores, nearly forgotten. The idea that a single dissertation might reasonably apprehend the consequence and variety of these works became all too daunting. But why was this so? Critically interrogating my own sense of literary scales was essential to coming to grips with the surviving archival materials. Why was it that I thought *more* magazines meant *more important* magazines? Why was I trying to *expand* regional literary production to some larger concept of nation? What would the project gain by resisting this urge to scale rural materials up to the idea of an established "Japanese" literary history?

As a unified project, therefore, this dissertation intervenes on acts of scaling that place nation and region in a directional relationship whereby center exerts influence over the periphery. The very idea of a Japanese literature that could conform to the space of "nation," or the notion of local literature that could fit within "region," required scalar and archival contextualization. What I discovered was that the "nation" present in postwar Japanese literature was already over-explored in its own regionality: Urban print—specifically that published, written, or consumed in Tokyo—had become the perfect literary "region." One could read only establishment literature published from Tokyo's urban print capital, rely on theories authorized and promoted by members of the *bundan*, understand perfectly the spatial relationship between the text and the city's various neighborhoods, and one could reasonably expect that research to represent "Japanese" literature. At the same time, "region" was entirely under-explored in its own nationality: Independently produced magazines were not only being printed in every area of Japan, but many of these "local" magazines had print runs in the thousands and readership that

stretched from Hokkaidō to Kyūshū. "Central" writers were reading, editing, and publishing in journals across rural Japan. And yet if one were to read nothing but the books, magazines, and pamphlets published in Morioka, one could hardly expect to call their research a study of postwar "Japanese" literature.

Perhaps this was not always the case. Regional literature published from the interwar period to the wartime was often seen as representative of some "national" trend in Japanese literary culture. In the 1910s and 1920s, rural literature was understood as an expression of national proletarian politics. Mainstream writers like Ishikawa Takuboku, Kuroshima Denji, Kurahara Korehito, Itō Einosuke, even Kobayashi Takiji, regularly took up the plight of rural Japan in their works. Regional writers began publishing magazines that participated in a nation-scale political and literary movement. The convergence of central and rural writers led to the creation of NAPF (Nippona Artista Proleta Fegeracio) in the late 1920s. Militarist crackdowns slowly broke up unified political and artistic movements, and the fracturing of leftist literary culture resulted in the wholesale co-opting of rural print in the 1930s for the purpose of promoting Japan's imperial interests abroad. The rise of *tenkō* literature coincided with the mass migration of Tōhoku's rural poor to work the farms of Japanese colonies overseas. Militarists pressed writers to support the ideology of the war in text, and a new turn towards romanticized, militarized, and nationalized rural literary production centered around reactionary "Farmers' Literature."

The collapse of the wartime project did not wipe out rural literary organizations that had been organized by state power, nor did it force writers to disinvest from the literary possibilities of "rural" or "farmers'" literature entirely. The rural literary production of the postwar period, therefore, can be traced through the long-term reclamation projects that surround the re-

politicization of democratic rural space and democratic rural print. The horror of militarist rule over the rural left led most postwar writers to reject the concept of a "national" literary culture. This may be one reason we find relatively few appeals to "Japanese" literature or "national" literature in the magazines in northern Tōhoku in the early years of the Occupation. Postwar print culture can therefore be understood to have experienced several fundamental transformations from its interwar and wartime predecessors: The materiality of print culture returned to the individual, making the mimeograph the premier tool of reproduction; the *rate* at which these works were created quickly outstripped wartime print culture and its oppressive state censorship; independently produced works were no longer seen as a gateway to central intellectual culture; actively participating in and consuming local print was understood as essential to participating in and promoting democratic practices; and the politics of print culture were seen as an essential expression of the politics of ones lived space. Unlike the central intellectuals who were theorizing new literary subjectivities in the mid-1950s, rural writers were not invested in theorizing a new "National Literature" in the pages of their coterie journals because the grounds of democratic culture had already shifted. Their local space, to put it quite plainly, was enough.

Chapter Organization and Synopses

The archival materials addressed, as well as the scalar methodology deployed to analyze those materials, guide the form and structure of this dissertation. Outside of the scalar approach to locality, region, nation, or world, the contents of each chapter are starkly different. This was a deliberate decision, intended to give a brief glimpse into the entirety of postwar rural print. The

focus rests on general interest literary magazines, women's writing and magazines, (agri)cultural journals, and censorship documents that accompany rural print. Regretfully, this dissertation could not also include magazines published by poetry circles, historical societies, youth groups, railway unions, coastal fishing cooperatives, and all variety of dedicated individuals that made the postwar print world as complex and engaging as it truly was. Given space constraints, this dissertation only introduces a small fraction of northern Tōhoku's print culture—though I hope it gives some indication of what remains left to examine.

Chapters are organized in three parts. Essentially, each chapter "zooms in" to the topic being addressed, as if expanding a digital map to examine each area's spatial granularity. First, the chapter introduces general theoretical and historical background. Second, bridges or connections between the scale of the "nation" and the scale of the "local" are introduced. Finally, each chapter offers close readings of some archival document or text that would commonly be understood as explicitly "regional" or "local." Given the choice, I would have liked to present only regional texts—much in the way that the spaces and literature of urban print culture can be presented in dissertations without extensive aesthetic or historical contextualization—but the disorienting effect would be overwhelming. In the end, these chapters are backloaded. The strongest, most revelatory examples of local literary texts emerge in the final third of each chapter. The synopses provided below also follow that pattern.

Chapter 1: The first part of the chapter addresses the methodological approaches deployed throughout the dissertation: scale, archivization, concept-work. These theoretical tools place local literature in relation to postwar print culture without resorting to an overly simplified center/periphery dichotomy. The second part of the chapter presents a literature review of the postwar National Literature Debate. It explores how postwar concepts of national literature have

been discussed in literary and intellectual histories to date. The standard history of postwar National Literature asserts a philosophical approach to new democratic subjectivity and an advocacy for a literary movement that failed to materialize. Finally, the chapter argues that the central intellectuals active in debating a new postwar National Literature were themselves aware of—and often participants in—regional literary developments and the push towards radical democratic policies in rural areas independent of central state power. Given that the height of democratic publishing movements occurred in the late-1940s, it seems more likely that the theorists of National Literature were *reacting to* developments in rural print culture, rather than forecasting a future democratic literature. Internationally, they looked to rural literary production in China at the time of the Chinese revolution—a model for literary democratization that will be further discussed in Chapter 4. The debate was not mere philosophizing over an illusory literature that had yet to emerge. Postwar intellectuals advocated for the support and expansion of an already established democratic, participatory print culture.

Chapter 2: The first part of this chapter explains the structure of Occupation literary censorship—especially as it relates to magazine publishing—and introduces why archivization and scale are essential to understanding the relationship between censorship and print culture. Conventional histories assert that postwar Occupation censorship was total and inescapable, incapsulating all print across the national space of Japan. This understanding has flattened historical nuance and scaled censorship practices directly to the space of the Japanese nation; it is almost certainly a result of Occupation-authored histories of postwar Japanese print. The second part of the chapter explores specific historical interpretations of the censorship apparatus, many of which have become entrenched within Japanese literary studies. For example, the idea that post-censorship began in late-1947, or that post-censorship was an effective tool to promote self-

censorship. Regional magazines demonstrate that neither interpretation is true. Finally, this chapter will show through original censorship documents, surviving local print materials, and GHQ records that post-censorship was not only the standard mode of censorship throughout the Occupation, but that it was also generally unenforceable, and that Occupation officials new this to be the case at the time post-censorship was occurring.

Chapter 3: The first part of this chapter revisits important critical interventions made by scholars of women's writing, showing how the critical reading practices applied to modern Japanese literature are fundamentally gendered and cannot be decoupled from male-dominated literary elites and urban print capital. Relying on author-focused, historical biographical methodologies, or citing from dictionaries and anthologies produced by male elites for urban publishers, will always discard regional writers from "proper" literary history—doubly so for women writers. The second part of the chapter explores how regionality can introduce necessary nuance in some of the "in-between" figures of a "Women's Literature" that had been constructed through urban modes of narrating literary history. Hayashi Fumiko, Washio Yoshiko, and Takeuchi Teruyo are discussed through their relation to rural print culture. Finally, the chapter introduces the Iwate magazine *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』). Reading authors like Yokota Chie, Takeda Yūko, or Yamada Aiko demonstrates the total breakdown of the author-biographical method when dealing with "minor" women writers from rural Japan. By contrast, critical reading methodologies founded in class, gender, and environment open new possibilities for interpreting minor postwar works through their locality, as well as re-reading postwar literary history beyond any particular region.

Chapter 4: The first part of this chapter outlines the way that postwar rural space was seen as the frontlines for national democratization, and how the Occupation's land reform efforts

came to be understood as one of the Occupation's greatest successes. As with the historical narrative surrounding censorship, this interpretation excises regional nuance from postwar Japanese history. The second part of the chapter challenges notions of democratic national spaces by reading widely from regional journals from northern Tōhoku. Unlike the common postwar image of Tōhoku remaining a reactionary stronghold, writers (often farmer/writers) active in the rural press regularly attacked Occupation efforts for not being radical enough to bring about true democratic revolution. Their concerns were closely tied to their own lived experience as newly landed farmers: a system they reject for its inability to transform the relationship between human, capital, and agricultural labor. Finally, chapter revisits the many authors from Tōhoku who addressed the idea of the "farm" as it relates to literary production. They challenged the idea that a uniform "Farmers' Literature" might account for all postwar rural literary works. Reading print culture from Aomori, Akita, and Iwate shows us that "Farmers' Literature" was rejected in favor of an independent and local democratic print that circulated amongst the farmers in northern Japan. There was little concern, if not outright hostility, to central writers attempting to theorize agrarian literature without having the personal perspective necessary to critique the politics of literary production emerging in the rural print culture. Advocacy for a unified and democratic regional print eventually become expressed in the material design of farm-focused magazines, which I recognize as (agri)cultural journals.

Chapter 5: This chapter acts as a short, experimental coda. The focus returns to censored literature from northern Tōhoku and deliberately reads censorship practices as one possible form of world literature. Occupation censorship could only function if it affirmed the literature's affective power and translated that literature for a transnational readership. In this warped

version of world literature, we discover that translation need not be accurate, substantial, or intelligible.

Chapter 1:

Scalar Tessellations: Archivization, Concept-work, and Locality in the Postwar Nation

Abstract

This chapter briefly introduces the overarching methodological framework of the dissertation: How we might critically reconsider the acts of scaling that tesselate literary production to coincide with concepts such as nation, region, or locality. Although the following chapters—which will address Occupation censorship, women's writing, farmers' literature, and world literature—largely draw from the archives of rural literary production in northern Tōhoku, a scalar framework that addresses postwar literary production cannot be totally decoupled from wider trends in postwar Japanese history and intellectual life. The first portion of this chapter will demonstrate how local histories can destabilize our concept of a "national" Occupation, and how destabilizing the temporal and spatial borders of Occupation history can subsequently destabilize established narratives of intellectual or print history. The following section will address three key terms that will undergird the critical analysis of the dissertation as a whole: scale, archivization, and concept-work. The remainder of the chapter will introduce the postwar National Literature Debate (国民文学論争 *kokumin bungaku ronsō*) and its reception in literary and intellectual histories. "National literature" will be read alongside postwar developments in regional, independent print, showing how the excision of local literary production from postwar literary histories scales our understanding of postwar literary and intellectual history to the "nation" in problematic ways. Simultaneously reading establishment literary theory with regional print history allows us to critique the ways that acts of scaling stabilize concepts like "nation" or "locality." Finally, this chapter will introduce a new way to understand participatory democratic culture such that neither "national literature" nor "local literature" are seen as failures of postwar literature and politics.

An Occupation Prologue in Local Scales

> Three thousand Allied soldiers of the 511th Parachute Infantry Regiment, Fourteenth Army,[1] entered Morioka on September 14th, 1945. They seized the grounds of Morioka Technical College (now Iwate University's Engineering Department) and established barracks there. The commanding officer, Colonel Edward H. Lahti, seized a portion of the old Nanbu Mansion and established his residence there…By the beginning of 1946, Morioka, like other parts of Japan, had transitioned to peacetime and the American forces and their families called Japan home. To accommodate this

[1] There must be some misunderstanding here, as the Fourteenth Army was a fictional creation of Allied Intelligence in Operation Fortitude to deceive Axis powers regarding troop strength and viciousness. See the official history of the Operation as written in 1949 by British Army Colonel Roger Fleetwood Hesketh. Roger Hesketh, *Fortitude: The D-Day Deception Campaign* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2000).

> change, many general housing facilities were seized for Allied troops…By August of that year, some 20 private mansions and larger facilities had been seized and converted to Allied housing.[2]
>
> Mizusawa, like Ichinoseki, was occupied by a detachment of Allied troops. On September 23rd a group of about thirty men under the command of Second Lieutenant [シオクーラ *Shiokūra*] entered Mizusawa and seized the restaurant Komanbai for a barracks, though soon after they seized the Mizusawa Community Center and moved there.[3]
>
> Suddenly, on September 18th, a US commissioned officer visited the office of Ichinohe's mayor. He was seeking some guidance regarding how the town should offer space for the 511th Regiment's barracks and commissioned officer residences. This set off an extreme degree of anxiety for the people and government in town about the loss of the war.
>
> On October 11th, a US Army convoy entered town. Some people said that they had chosen to station in this town because it's north of the 38th parallel. Others, however said that Ichinohe had been selected for occupation because it had been the site of the "Home Guard" (郷土防衛部隊 *Kyōdo bōei butai*), which had been established in Ichinohe by the home town military leader, Captain Komaki Jiemon. Despite these rumors, Ichinohe had been selected because it offered a rail stop between Morioka and Hachinohe.[4]

In Aomori City, municipal historians mark the opening of "Aomori's Occupation" on September 9th. This was not the date that troops first arrived in the city, but the date on which the American Navy's North Pacific Force, led by Admiral Frank Jack Fletcher, crossed into Mutsu Bay and dropped anchor outside of Ōminato, Mutsu.[5] For residents of Aomori City, the restriction of nautical space was as disruptive to daily life as the stationing of Army troops in local barracks. Troops from the U.S. Eighth Army—which remains headquartered in South Korea to this day—ferried ashore on September 25th, alarming residents because the occupying

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[2] Morioka Municipal History Editorial Board (盛岡市史編纂委員会 *Morioka-shi shi hensan iinkai*), ed., *Morioka Municipal History, Vol 9, The Showa Period Part 1* (『盛岡市史　第９分冊　昭和期上』 *Morioka-shi shi dai kyū bunsatsu Shōwa-ki jō*) (Morioka: Morioka-shi, 1966), 237-239.

[3] Mizusawa Municipal History Editorial Board (水沢市史編纂委員会 *Mizusawa-shi shi hensan iinkai*), ed., *Mizusawa Municipal History, Vol 5, The Modern Period Part 2* (『水沢市史　５（近代２）』*Mizusawa-shi shi go kindai ni*) (Mizusawa: Mizusawa-shi shi kankōkai, 1990), 5.

[4] Ichinohe Town Journal Editorial Board (一戸町町誌編纂委員会 *Ichinohe-chō chōshi hensan iinkai*), ed., *Ichinohe Town Journal, Vol 1* (『一戸町誌　上』*Ichinohe chōshi jō*) (Ichinohe: Ichinohe-chō, 1982), 844.

[5] Aomori Municipal History Editorial Board (青森市史編集委員会 *Aomori-shi shi henshū iinkai*), ed., *A New Aomori Municipal History: Historical Overview, Vol 4, The Contemporary Period* (『新青森市史　通史編第４巻現代』*Shin Aomori-shi shi tsūshihen daiyonkan gendai*) (Aomori: Aomori-shi, 2014), 2.

unit was the "Wildcat" 81st Infantry, famed for ferocity in the Philippines.[6] 15,000 troops in total made landfall and quickly dispersed across Aomori Prefecture, fanning out towards Hirosaki, Misawa, and Hachinohe. On September 26th about 3,200 troops arrived in Hachinohe and took over the Japanese military base in Takadate, what is now the Hachinohe Airport.[7] Nearly simultaneously, Hirosaki saw about 3,900 troops arrive across four waves—the city was paralyzed in fear due to the extensive propaganda efforts made by the prefectural police to paint the incoming Occupation troops as "fiendish savages" (鬼畜 *kichiku*).[8]

In Akita City, 1,650 Occupation troops arrived beginning on September 16th, with the final troops of this first dispatch arriving on the 19th.[9] Municipal historians emphasize the importance of local space in tracing this arrival. Occupation troops who arrived on the 16th first stayed in temporary quarters, but with the arrival of the complete force on the 19th the Occupation took control of the Akita Red Cross Hospital, as well as several schools, most notably the Akita School of Mines, which became Occupation Headquarters in Akita.[10] Although the precise reasoning for the Occupation's decision to use the School of Mines as HQ is left unstated, *Akita*

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[6] *A New Aomori Municipal History*, 5.

[7] Hachinohe Municipal History Editorial Board (八戸市史編纂委員会 *Hachinohe-shi shi hensan iinkai*), ed., *Hachinohe Municipal History, Revised Edition: Historical Overview, Vol 3, The Modern and Contemporary Period* (『新編八戸市史　通史編３　近現代』*Shinpen Hachinohe-shi shi tsūshihen san kingendai*) (Hachinohe: Hachinohe-shi, 2014), 250-251.

[8] Hirosaki Municipal History, Revised Edition, Editorial Board (「新編弘前市史」編纂委員会 *Shinpen Hirosaki-shi shi hensan iinkai*), ed., *Hirosaki Municipal History, Revised Edition: Historical Overview, Vol 5, The Modern and Contemporary Period Part 2* (『新編弘前市史　通史編５　近・現代２』*Shinpen Hirosaki-shi shi tsūshihen go kingendai ni*) (Hirosaki: Hirosaki-shi, 2014), 294-295.

[9] Akita City (秋田市編 *Akita-shi hen*), ed., *Akita Municipal History, Vol 5: The Modern and Contemporary Period Part 2, A Historical Overview* (『秋田市史　第５巻　近現代２　通史編』*Akita-shi shi daigokan kingendai ni tsūshihen*) (Akita: Akita-shi), 344.

[10] *Akita Municipal History*.

City History makes clear that the School of Mines was closely related to the large number of Korean residents working in mining labor in the prefecture.[11] Residents of Yokote didn't witness the arrival of Occupation troops until October, when about 100 troops arrived in the city on the 4th and 5th of that month. They seized the local library as a barracks, but only stayed through the winter—for whatever reason, the Occupation withdrew all troops from Yokote soon after their arrival.[12]

Locating Postwar Histories of Occupation

The instability of Occupation historical narratives does not rest in regional histories alone. A variety of dates and locations mark the beginning of the Occupation, or the postwar period more broadly, within national historical narratives. If one were to assign the commencement of Japan's postwar period a single date would it begin on August 15th, 1945, the date of Emperor Hirohito's public radio broadcast announcing the end of the war? Or would it occur later with Japan's formal surrender to the Allied powers on September 2nd? Perhaps the start of the Occupation is located somewhere in between with the uncontested arrival of Allied naval vessels in Japanese controlled waters on August 27th, or the first Occupation troops to set foot on mainland Japanese soil on August 28th, or the arrival of Douglas MacArthur two days later on the 30th. These many historical facts are neither consistent, nor contradictory. They all express some degree of granularity. Even "national" Occupation finds a basis in local history—particularly when we

[11] *Akita Municipal History*.

[12] Yokote City (横手市 *Yokote-shi*), ed., *Yokote Municipal History, The Shōwa Period* (『横手市史　昭和編』 *Yokote-shi shi Shōwahen*) (Yokote: Yokote-shi, 1981), 58.

begin to understand Tokyo as itself the principal "region" or "locality" of postwar historical narratives. Collating the historical trends that have been addressed in the most frequently cited histories of the first decade of the postwar period reveals a subset of recurring themes: the figure of Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander, the drafting and implementation of the new postwar constitution, bombed out ruins, black markets, prostitution, censorship, democratization of the workplace, the reverse course, remilitarization, the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the problem of American bases, rehabilitation of wartime militarists, the establishment of the 1955 system. Recognized trends in postwar Japanese history tend to be animated through their proximity to the urban spaces and central authorities in Tokyo. Which is not to argue that these are insignificant aspects of postwar history, but rather that they describe a relatively narrow fraction of the Japanese postwar experience. Reading through the archives of rural, independent print history, we uncover a trove of central issues that might otherwise fall by the wayside of "national" history: agricultural land reform, the reemergence of farm co-ops, inflation, the mass deployment of DDT, infrastructure reforms that introduce electricity and sewer systems to the rural poor, the arrival of radio, decentralization of governmental power and the development of regional self-governance, and the growing independence of regional Japan from Tokyo-based political and intellectual elites.

Even when histories of the Japanese Occupation address these complexities, a simple calculus often guides the act of writing Occupation history *as national history*: the arrival and deployment of Occupation forces *in* Japan is congruent with the arrival and deployment of Occupation forces *throughout* Japan. Local histories differ from other modes of writing Occupation history in the sense that they specifically reject the assumed stability of attempts to scale the times and spaces of Occupation to the concept of the nation. Contrary to most national

histories of the postwar period, many of the rural villages that will be discussed in this dissertation as centers of literary production never experienced "Occupation" in the ways that we have come to understand it: there were no bombed out ruins; Occupation troops rarely if ever appeared; black markets never materialized; and democratic reforms emerged from the home or the workplace, not GHQ. As texts, local histories—whether published in the immediate postwar period or more recently—are a salient remainder of postwar Japan's vast print culture. Although the works cited above come from relatively populated cities in northern Tōhoku, similar volumes can be found in nearly all cities or villages across northern Japan. These locally written and locally printed historical texts can be reliably found from Nikaho, on Akita's southwest coast, to Mutsu, in northern Aomori. They are not only records of Occupation and postwar history, but remnants of a participatory material culture that was organized first and foremost through the space of the region or locality. We cannot overlook the fact that all the local histories cited above were physically printed and distributed in the city or prefecture of their production—a practice that has nearly vanished from mainstream publishing. Although these historical volumes emerge from a more contemporary form of local publishing culture, they demonstrate the complex intersections of historical record, local space, and print media.

Local literary print from the postwar period brings the unevenness and contradictions of postwar history into greater relief. Whereas mainstream literary journals and professional writers in Tokyo were rightfully concerned with the arrival of Occupation troops and the new reality of publishing under Occupation censorship, local journals far from Tokyo-as-administrative-center were churned out prodigiously with a singular focus on re-centering the political and artistic life of postwar Japan in the lived everyday of local space. Local print was less concerned with "Occupied Japan" than it was with future democracies. In the process of publishing independent

local journals, postwar writers aimed explicitly at allowing for multiple political and literary subjectivities to emerge not just in literary development, but the social development of postwar democratic culture.

In a broad sense, the dominant historical narratives of Japanese postwar literature also developed in concert with regional and material characteristics of print culture. The centralization and urbanization of print capital within Japan's postwar recovery helped codify a historical view of postwar literary production at the scale of nation, rather than as a fragmented amalgamation of regional independent presses. The scaling of postwar print to a combined (and deliberately created) urban/national space followed multiple paths, from investment in urban printing presses to replace the machinery destroyed in air raids, to efforts by the largest Tokyo-based publishing houses to push out new, nationally distributed literary magazines, to the reinstitution of the Akutagawa and Naoki prizes. These many acts of scaling literature to the nation worked to smooth over the endless messiness of cultural production one might face when approaching the entirety of print production from every possible source. Massive re-investments in postwar urban print capital displaced short-run, hand-printed journals from small rural villages—the main primary sources of literary culture that will be addressed in this dissertation—and concealed transnational histories of Japanese-language texts from beyond the boundaries of the postwar Japanese nation. Before print culture was re-urbanized and re-scaled to the space of the nation in the closing years of the Occupation, however, a vital and active regional print culture had already established what appeared at the time to be an unshakable hold on the future of Japanese literature. The initial years of the postwar period marked a unique moment in the development of modern Japanese literature literary aesthetics, and more importantly in material production. It was the only time when non-urban independent writers,

editors, and publishers produced print grounded in local space *and through that act of production* believed themselves to be participating in a new period of Japanese literary history. Local writers and publishers saw the early Occupation period as a transformative moment when the literary culture of the nation in the aggregate no longer required the participation of urban print capital or urban intellectual elites.

This dissertation aims to explore how the literary historical narratives that formed in the first decade of the postwar period became so durable—especially in the way these durable structures came to be scaled to the concept of nation within their contemporaneous moment. As outlined above, the simplest "facts" of the Occupation itself begin to blur when contextualized by non-urban, non-Occupation-drafted narratives. Local history rewrites the when, where, who, and how of the arrival of Occupation forces—a process that repeats itself when applied to other images that have defined postwar Japanese life: censorship practices, black markets, military bases, etc. Postwar literary history experiences a similar destabilizing shift when forced to come to terms with the extant archival materials beyond urban print capital, central intellectuals, or the Occupation's bureaucratic apparatuses. Local literary histories reveal the acts of scaling that shaped our concepts of postwar literary culture such that they came to coincide with a spatial—and literary—concept of nation.

Archives of Occupation-era Literature as Postwar Literary History

Postwar literary archives evidence an unprecedented burst of publishing activity across Japan. The magazine boom that began at the start of the 20th century—which was eventually derailed by both the militarist crackdown on publishing freedoms in the 1930s and the growing

lack of print resources as the war dragged on—reached a zenith in the late 1940s as regional and independent magazine production swelled up to meet public demand for new reading materials in the immediate postwar period. The Gordon W. Prange Collection, held at the University of Maryland, collects the records and holdings of the Allied Occupation's Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD). From late-1945 to late-1949, the Occupation tasked the CCD with collecting, examining, and censoring all print materials published in Japan. And although it is by no means a "complete" archive, it has become the first resource for researchers of postwar Japanese print culture around the globe—including academics in Japan who travel from Japan to access the breadth of materials available in a single location. The Prange homepage lists the general characteristics of the collection: some 71,000 books, 18,000 newspaper titles, and 10,000 photographs. Simply put, the Prange Collection holds the most comprehensive single archive of postwar books, newspapers, magazines, scripts, and ephemera outside Japan, and contains an unparalleled collection of Occupation-era regional magazines.

Because this dissertation will focus on magazine publishing specifically, it is worth considering the archival data related to the Prange collection, while also placing that data in its appropriate archival and spatial context. An online, searchable database of the Prange Collection, the 20th Century Media Information Database, has been created and maintained by Waseda University's Institute of Intelligence Studies, Japan. In its current format, the database indexes magazine information not only by title, but by individual article, boasting a searchable database of nearly two million magazine articles across about 14,000 magazine titles. These magazine and journal titles are further categorized according to "genre." This includes 447 literary magazines (文芸誌 *bungeishi*), 269 tanka magazines (短歌誌 *tankashi*), 404 haiku magazines (俳句誌

haikushi), and a host of other journals.[13] Given the degree to which the Prange Collection has become solidified as the premier archive of Occupation-era print culture, it would not be off base to claim that these statistics represent our current understanding of magazine publishing for the entirety of Japan from 1945 to 1949. Fukushima Jūrō (福島鑄郎, 1936-2006), perhaps the most important collector of postwar magazines, notes the following statistics regarding the rate of publishing for "mass" or "popular" magazines across the first decade of the postwar period:[14]

Number of Popular Magazines (大衆雑誌 *taishū zasshi*) Published	
Year	Number of Magazines Published
1945 (From August 15)	5
1946	129
1947	298
1948	378
1949	291
1950	161
1951	92
1952	68
1953	59

[13] As will become clearer when looking at individual journals, these categories are rudimentary at best. Most of these magazines blend content and publishing styles across fiction, non-fiction, literary essays, travelogues, and all varieties of poetry. These statistics are available in both the print edition of the University of Maryland's Prange Index, as well as on the Institute of 20th Century Media website. For print, see: Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland at College Park Libraries, Guide to the Gordon W. Prange Magazine Collection (New York: Norman Ross Publishing, 2001). Online, see: https://www.20thdb.jp/categorylist/, Institute of 20th Century Media, (accessed November 17, 2021).

[14] Fukushima Jūrō (福島鑄郎), "On *Kasutori* Magazines" (「カストリ雑誌考」 *Kasutori zasshikō*), *Intelligence* No. 2 (February, 2003): 64.

1954	44

Regardless of how exactly the magazines published between late-1945 and 1949 have come to be categorized—and one goal of this dissertation will be to destabilize and shift these modes of categorization—there is no question that this period marks an unprecedented level of magazine publishing in Japan. Consider our contemporary moment by way of comparison: the Japan Book Publishers Association most recently estimated that 3,078 magazine titles were published in 2015—to be clear, this includes *all* genres of magazine publishing.[15]

As was the case with local histories of Occupation, however, investigating magazines and journals published in northern Japan across the same period complicates even these seemingly straightforward statistics. Yamamoto Taketoshi (山本武利, 1940-)—the head of the Institute of Intelligence Studies, Japan and the leading researcher on postwar media studies—has suggested that the Prange archives only contain about one-half to one-third of all printed materials from the period of late-1945 to late-1949.[16] As Yamamoto suggests, and as this dissertation explores, it is safe to assume that a significant portion of regional and rural print was either never collected by the Occupation forces or was not preserved in the archival materials that eventually came to form the basis of the Prange Collection. In the case of the Prange specifically, the 20th Century Media Database breaks down magazine titles by prefecture: 653 titles published in Hokkaidō, 78 published in Aomori, 111 in Iwate, and 79 in Akita. In total, Hokkaidō and Tōhoku magazines

[15] "An Introduction to Publishing in Japan 2017-2018," Japan Book Publishers Association, https://www.jbpa.or.jp/en/pdf/pdf01.pdf, 18, (accessed November 17, 2021).

[16] Jitsugyō no Toyama 実業之富山, eds., *Regional Magazines During Occupation: Tracing the Footprints of Censorship Through the Prange Collection* (占領期の地方雑誌：プランゲ文庫で辿る検閲の足跡 *Senryōki no chihō zasshi: Purange bunko de tadoru ken'etsu no ashiato*) (Takaoka, Toyama: Jitsugyō no Toyama sha, 2007), 251.

account for 1,317 titles, or about 9.5% of the Prange collection. To put these numbers into perspective, the Prange archive includes 4,921 magazine titles for Tokyo (about 35%), 944 for Osaka (about 7%), and 408 for Kyoto (about 3%). In other words, the "major" urban centers of publishing do not account for even half of the titles produced in postwar Japan. Furthermore, the rate at which rural magazines came to be collected and preserved in the Prange Collection lags significantly behind the completeness of records for major journals published in urban Tokyo. The exact reason for this variation remains unclear, but the two most likely explanations are A) rural publishers were less likely to submit their magazines for censorship review or B) Occupation authorities were less likely to preserve the censorship records of rural magazines. Whatever the cause, the upshot remains the same: The records and collections of important journals from northern Tōhoku are often incomplete, and short-run magazines and independently produced journals are often not collected in the Prange at all.

Of course, these archival concerns are not limited strictly to the Prange Collection. Research conducted on postwar print culture in Japan often relies on the collections of the National Diet Library, major university libraries (such as Tokyo University, Waseda University, or Keio University), or independent literary archives (such as The Museum of Modern Japanese Literature or The Kanagawa Museum of Modern Literature). And while most of these "national" archives have exceptional collections of postwar literature in the traditional sense—books and magazines that were produced in a close relationship with either establishment intellectual figures or urban publishing firms with access to considerable print capital—regional magazines seldom appear in their holdings. A specific example can help illustrate this archival divide. *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) was Aomori's premier general interest literary magazine from its start in 1939 through the Occupation period. It was published by the prefectures largest newspaper

company, *Tōō nippō* (『東奥日報』) and likely had the largest print run and widest distribution of any monthly published in Aomori at the time. The National Diet Library holds only eleven copies, all published between 1949 and 1950; Waseda University holds only six copies, a piecemeal selection from 1946 to 1950; and The Museum of Modern Japanese Literature holds only two copies, one from 1941 and another from 1947. This magazine makes for a particularly good measure of Occupation-era archival collecting because it published continuously and regularly from September, 1945 through the closure of CCD in 1949. The Prange Collection holds all copies from this period with the exception of the volumes published between December, 1945 and March, 1946—a collection even more complete than what can be found in the Aomori Prefectural Library.

Just as the historical narratives of the Allied Occupation have come to coincide with a relatively narrow urban experience, archival records have also been subject to forms of scaling that can warp or suppress a more accurate picture of postwar print culture. The bulk of this dissertation addresses archival materials that will complicate our understanding of postwar archival collections similar to how local histories destabilize the most basic historical facts of Japan's "national" occupation. They do so by revealing how the nation-state form has supplanted a more complex and accurate view of postwar print culture in the aggregate. Deliberately including regional, rural, and independent print practices reveals the degree to which postwar literary culture struggled to conceptualize, challenge, disavow, or inaugurate two forms of "national" literature: the modern discourse of national literary history, *kokubungaku* (国文学) and the radical praxis of a new postwar *kokumin bungaku* (国民文学). Analyzing print and intellectual practices that animated these trends requires careful attention to the many ways that literature came to be scaled between any number of seemingly stable concepts: nation, region, locality,

farm, or individual.

Scale as Methodology

Scalar critiques—and, by extension, critiques of the concept of scale itself—are generally perceived to be the realm of human geography or, more recently, big-data driven digital humanities projects; and while that disciplinary presupposition holds some truth, the fruits of the intellectual labors undertaken in geographical studies of culture have provided literary scholars and intellectual historians with new methodological avenues through which archival materials can be located globally, regionally, nationally, or locally. Most importantly, the deployment and reproduction of scale as a meaningful mode of comparison came to be the subject of significant theoretical interventions within geography as a field.[17] And while certain geographers argue that critical research that engages with scale should in fact work to replace scale itself as a conceptual possibility, the most well-known uses of scalar critique aim to add complexity or nuance to established scales, rather than strip scales from our modes of analysis entirely.[18] Studies in this mode include scalar critiques that engage with "large scale" modes of historical development

[17] Andrew Herod has succinctly summarized the origins and core suppositions of these critiques, focusing particularly on post-1980s critical critiques and on "scale's ontological status." See, Andrew Herod, *Scale* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 1-58. Neil Brenner further expands on the ontological implications of these debates and offers "nine propositions on rescaling" in Neil Brenner, *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 87-114.

[18] See, for example, the call to replace a "spatial ontology" with a "flat ontology": Sallie A. Marston, John Paul Jones III, and Keith Woodward, "Human Geography without Scale," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 30, No. 4 (December, 2005): 416-432. This article itself reignited the debate on scale and inspired direct responses in the same journal that included, in part: Andrew E. G. Jones, "Pro Scale," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 31, No. 3 (September, 2006): 399-406; Arturo Escobar, "The 'Ontological Turn' in Social Theory," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January, 2006): 106-111; and Peter Merriman, "Human Geography without Time-space," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2012): 13-27.

(transnationalism, globalization, or world-system theories) or studies focused on the minutiae of "small scale" components—micro-histories or local studies. This dissertation incorporates both strategies. While the research presented here acknowledges that scalar concepts such as the "nation" or the "rural" are fundamental to postwar Japanese literary studies, the intention is not to reify those scales in such a way as to affirm their naturalness. Rather, by investigating the many ways that a "national" or "regional" concept of literary history developed, this dissertation aims to reveal the acts of scaling—what I call scalar tessellations—that shaped the emergence of postwar literature as a concept.

The field of Human Geography deliberately destabilized the seemingly natural act of scaling and in doing so opened the concept of scale to methodological challenges beyond codified modes of comparison. Concepts deeply embedded within historical or cultural analyses—such as the national, regional, or local—became the target of critical interventions beyond the field of geography itself. Broadly speaking, this dissertation aligns with deconstructive analyses of the seemingly natural scales that regularly appear in literary studies. As E. Summerson Carr and Michael Lempert write:

> …[T]he scales that social actors rely upon to organize, interpret, orient, and act in their worlds are not given but made—and rather laboriously so. For to scale is not simply to assume or assert "bigness" or "smallness" by way of a ready-made calculus. Rather…people use language to scale the world around them…As an inherently relational and comparative endeavor, scaling may thus connect and even conflate what is geographically, geopolitically, temporally, or morally "near" while simultaneously distinguishing that nearness from that which is "far." Similarly, scaled hierarchies are the effects of efforts to sort, group, and categorize many things, people, and qualities in terms of relative degrees of elevation or centrality…The fact that scaling involves vantage points and the positioning of actors with respect to such vantage points means that there are no ideologically neutral scales, and people and institutions that come out "on top" of scalar exercises often reinforce the distinctions that so ordained them. In other words, the scales that seem most natural to us are intensively institutionalized…Yet people are not simply subjected to preestablished scales; they develop scalar projects and perspectives that anchor and (re)orient themselves.[19]

[19] E. Summerson Carr and Michael Lempert, eds., *Scale: Discourse and Dimensions of Social Life* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 3-4.

Insofar as Carr and Lempert are proposing a methodological investigation of *acts of scaling*, rather than advocating for further analyses of scales in and of themselves, their intervention resembles earlier critical debates over the many conceptualizations of space (and its subdivisions) within global, national, regional, or local geographical studies. Doreen Massey summarized this critical approach early in the debate in her 1984 volume, *Spatial Divisions of Labor*: "To say that space is relational means both that it should not be conceptualized as some absolute (that is to say, pre-existing) dimension and also that it is actually *constructed out of*, is a product of, the relations between social phenomena. We actively create space (time-space, time-spaces) in the organization and living of life."[20] Although Massey's study was concerned principally with geographical organizations of labor, production, economic development, and capital distribution in modern England, her spatial methodology provides essential tools for researchers concerned with the construction of space within intellectual labor, literary production, and print capital. Massey explores the economic situation in England, writing:

> …new spatial divisions of labor (forms of economic uneven development) are thorough re-workings of the social relations which construct economic space (for divisions of labor themselves are conceptualized as constructed through social relations). They are more than just new patterns of employment, a kind of geographical re-shuffling of the same old pack of cards. They represent whole new sets of relations between activities in different places, new spatial forms of social organizations, new dimensions of inequality and new relations of dominance and dependence. Each new spatial division of labor represents a real, and thorough, spatial structuring. It marks a new form of regional problem; and more basically it marks not a new re-organization of relations *in space*, but *the creation of a new space*.[21]

Or, more simply: "Spatial patterns are not necessarily the result of spatial causes."[22] Massey's methodology proves particularly useful when critiquing the acts of scaling that occur in postwar

[20] Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 1. Emphasis in original.

[21] Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor*, 3-4. Emphasis in original.

[22] Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor*, 12.

Japanese literary histories. As this dissertation will show, the many kinds of "national," "regional," or "local" literatures seldom coincide with any particular space described by those same words. Instead, these concepts were created as "spatial patterns" of nation or locality through archival collecting practices, the concentration of print capital, critical reading practices, or engagements with literary and social movements that rejected simple spatial scales.

Massey reflected on the spatial debates that emerged in the late 1970s and peaked through the 1990s in the 2005 volume *For Space*. Looking back, Massey appended two essential complications regarding spatial critiques that emerged from the interdisciplinary debates centered in geography. First, if space is constantly co-created through the interaction of distinct geographical and social trajectories, then it must necessarily be a "coexisting heterogeneity" that "must be predicated upon the existence of plurality."[23] And being that this heterogeneous plurality is always socially created *through our experience* of created space—the "relations-between"—"it is always in the process of being made…we could imagine space as the simultaneity of stories-so-far."[24] Massey highlights the necessity of recognizing not just space's heterogeneity, but also acknowledging that the very act of recognizing and narrating the pluralities of constructed space-times will go on to impact the social constructions of those spaces. Massey illustrates this truth by describing the process of riding a train—an essentially "modern" experience where one moves rapidly from a particular (i.e. defined) location to another by passing through space at a disorienting pace. This is not travel "across space-as-a-surface" but "across trajectories,"[25] wherein the movement of the subject impacts the social construction of

[23] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 9.

[24] Massey, *For Space*, 9.

[25] Massey, *For Space*, 119.

space-time. Being constantly aware of all present histories as one transects them spatially and temporally, is nearly impossible. Massey positions this realization within Frederic Jameson's critique of "postmodern depthlessness,"[26] writing:

> Every train journey (and that would be the least of it) would become a nightmare of guilty admission of all the stories the fullness of whose coeval existence you did not manage to recognize…What is at issue is not this but the change in perspective…the imaginative opening up of space. It is to refuse that flipping of the imaginative eye from the modernist singular temporality to postmodern depthlessness; to retain at least some sense of contemporaneous multiple becomings.[27]

Beyond Massey's astute summary of the contradictory messiness one must confront when coming to terms with the social history of space in the face of modernization, it is somewhat shocking how accurately this passage describes early experiences with modern train travel from northern Japan to urban Tokyo (and vice versa).[28]

This dissertation is not only concerned with how social concepts of spaces are constructed, but how the act of constructing space occurs coeval to scalar processes which bring space into comparative comprehension. That is to say, not only are spaces such as world, nation, region, locality, or farm socially created, they come to be understood in relation to each other by selecting particular aspects that appear innate to each space, then scaling those characteristics to another category of space in a series of seemingly unproblematic tessellations. In instances when the object of comparison also includes print culture, these constructed spaces become scaled in

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[26] Jameson cites "depthlessness" as one of the "constitutive features of the postmodern" along with: a weakening of historicity, "intensities" as the new emotional ground tone, new technology as a figure for the new economic world system, and the bewildering new world space of late capital. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism: Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 6.

[27] Massey, *For Space*, 120.

[28] Nathan Hopson notes early efforts to establish railroads in northern Tōhoku were not seen by local residents as a harbinger of regional development but as a mode of extraction, moving raw materials out of rural Japan to feed urban growth. Nathan Hopson, *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast: Tōhoku as Postwar Thought, 1945-2011* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 74-77. For a deliberately disorienting passage through multiple historical and social space-times in fiction, see the opening chapters of Inoue Hisashi's *Kirikirijin*. Inoue Hisashi (井上ひさし), *Kirikirijin* (吉里吉里人) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1981).

order to square historical critiques that have come to be understood as "large" (universal, global, national) with archival elements that have come to be deemed "small" (regional, local, specialized, or even irrelevant). It is not the case that comparative scaling reveals these historical facts, but that through the act of scaling—as a *seemingly unproblematic tessellation*—we as researchers bring these spaces into being. The research presented here emerges from a critical stance that agrees that scales exist insofar as they are in fact deployed as a mode of comparative analysis, yet in their very deployment they are in turn always already contradictory and constructed.

Scales of Postwar Japanese Literature

Although the archival focus throughout this dissertation will remain firmly focused on the prefectures of Aomori, Akita, and Iwate, the archives of local materials I have been fortunate enough to explore in other "regional" areas of Japan confirm the intensely localized nature of Japanese print culture in the first decade of the postwar period. Local print developments mirror the widespread movement in postwar Japan to meet a new form of "democratic" readership with an appropriately "democratic" print production. This desire for democratic print subsequently fueled a need to theorize, access, and produce literary cultures across rural and urban Japan, driving participation and interest in both independently and commercially published magazines. This aspect of postwar literary culture has since been superseded by a narrower history of centralized national literature that developed through the rebuilding of urban print capital. Put simply, postwar Japanese literature today is most often thought of as a period of "reconstructing" that which was lost in the war, either literally in the case of bombed-out urban Japan and its

centers of print capital, or metaphorically in the case of literary developments halted by the brutal imposition of censorship policies under the militarist state. Very few historians or literary researchers view postwar Japanese literature as an explosion of decentralized independent publishing projects driven by a desire to enact democratic praxis not only in social life but in local literary production.

The goal of this dissertation is not to "scale up" local history and literary culture as a way to contest some of these nation-scale narratives. In fact, that very process has already occurred—and continues to occur in the present moment—in a nearly flawless reproduction of "national" histories of print culture. The literary culture and print history of Tokyo has already been scaled in such a way that it acts as a representative of the nation. Tokyo as a literary, aesthetic, and intellectual space already exists as region *par excellence*. As a methodology, the "local scale" of Tokyo print culture becomes the fixed and central origin for the tessellations upon which many complex and interwoven acts of scaling national literary history have occurred. These scalar tessellations have become reified so wholly that we have largely forgotten the efforts undertaken to enact them to begin with. To "scale the nation" in postwar Japanese literature is to read narratives of "national" history under the Allied Occupation without investigating the tessellations that underwrite those narratives. When we narrate or consume a "national" literature without regard for what is written and read *in space*, we are replicating the initial scalar acts that first established the space of the postwar Japanese "nation." If we read the historical narratives that define the postwar experience in Tokyo, and then stretch those familiar tropes to the ends of the "space" of the nation, we quickly find ourselves caught in bewildering contradictions: To read ruins where no bombs were dropped. To see Occupation soldiers where none lived. To visit black markets where none existed. Or alternatively, and to foreshadow the contents of the

following chapters: To disregard the ineffectiveness of Occupation censorship in regional print and continue to assert the Occupation's "total" control of Japanese publishing. To overlook the independent development and theorization of women's rights in practice and read postwar gender politics exclusively through Occupation-enforced constitutional reforms. To forgo rural critiques of land reform in order to focus on central policy makers or the intellectual arguments offered by those who were entirely dissociated from agricultural labor.

These various scales—and there are certainly more than what might be expressed within a so-called urban/rural divide—do not appear independent of the historical materiality from which they emerge. In the case of literary studies, a critical intervention that utilizes scalar analysis cannot happen without recognizing and deconstructing the many ways that the materiality of textual production has shaped the very tessellations which have scaled literary history. In this dissertation, these tessellations will come into focus by investigating independent print in relation to urban print capital. Recent scholarship on Japanese modernity and modern literary history has also addressed the ways that modern capitalism has shaped concepts of nationalism, gender, regionality, centrality, and canon. Even when these studies do not directly cite scalar approaches, we find that the modes of analysis present in contemporary Japanese studies of regional or rural Japan implicitly critique these created, enacted scalar tessellations. One goal of this dissertation, therefore, is to make these scalar relations *explicit* in a sustained examination of archival materials that are already inextricably entangled with comparative spatial relations through their own self-proclaimed "localness."

Archivization

A scalar critique of archival practices hinges on recognizing that, as a method of collating materials, archivization introduces problematic tessellations that distort our analyses of objects based on "archival scales." Rather than making certain materials legible for historical or literary analysis, acts of scaling obscure our ability to grasp how collected print materials exist in relation with other objects. This is true not only for inter-archival comparisons—reading official archives of Occupation-produced bureaucratic documents alongside collections of surviving magazines, for example—but also for how materials within a particular archive often come to be read as representative of a broader aspect of print culture. In the case of Occupation censorship, this means using individual examples of censorship present in archival holdings to speak for the entirety of the censorship archive—or even the historical narrative of Occupation censorship itself. This is what I call an "archival scale": When an object is read not within the historical or material context of its production, but within its relationship to the objects with which it shares an archive. These tessellations are particularly important for postwar literary production precisely because the methods of archivization that collected, collated, and made postwar materials legible to us as historical documents demonstrate a significant gap between the print materials actually produced between 1945 and 1955 and those that came to be preserved in archival collections. This has led to a narrow vision of "canonical" postwar literature which has little in common with the most widespread and democratically radical practices of independent print that would come to be theorized under the guise of a new "national Literature" in the mid-1950s. The failure to preserve, collect, archive, publish, and republish regional print from this period has by now fundamentally re-shaped our understanding of postwar "national literature." Instead of collecting the materials that were being produced "nationally," the archivization of postwar print coalesced around previous established collecting and publishing practices:

reproducing the literature most closely associated with urban intellectual elites, then re-entrenching the centrifugal pull of urban print capital as the center of cultural production by repeatedly collecting and recollecting those same materials.

Archivization and the Formation of Archival Scales

Archives, insofar as they are repositories of physical objects in a particular space, are subject to archivization from the moment of their conception and formation. According to Derrida—who was writing in response to the experience of exploring and theorizing the archival records of Sigmund Freud—"archivization" refers to the "private and public procedures, those which are secret or manifest, provisionally or definitely encrypted"[29] within the structuring of a particular archive. The procedures involved in gathering, observing, and selecting archival materials constitute a "primary" archivization. Derrida also argues, however, that a "second recording" of the archive occurs, wherein "the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event."[30] In tracing both the etymology and ontology of "archive" as concept, Derrida uncovers the ideology and spaces that archivized the Freudian archive into the space of Freud's home. These records were not simply "collected" but were subject to *an ideology of collection* that reflected the influence of Freudian psychology itself. Like earlier collections of classical documents, part of this ideology operated

[29] Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer, 1995), 17.

[30] Derrida, "Archive Fever," 17.

on the logic that archived materials would produce a kind of "official" historical discourse. Archived documents were subject to a privileged process of knowledge formation Derrida named "archival violence": "*every* archive…is at once *institutive* and *conservative*. Revolutionary and traditional. An *eco-nomic* archive in this double sense: it keeps, it puts in reserve, it saves, but in an unnatural fashion, that is to say in making the law (*nomos*) or in making people respect the law."[31]

Whether examining the formation of censorship practices or the development of the postwar literary canon, postwar literary archives lay bare the ideological laws that were established through and engendered within acts archivization. The following chapters will explore three aspects of postwar regional print culture that continuously reveal the conditions of their own archival making. In censorship, we discover that the oft-touted "completeness" of the censorship apparatus—either in the reach of censorship spatially, or in the ideological dominance of censorship as form of suppression—was a propagandistic talking point of the occupying forces. A comparative archival methodology reveals the blunted reach and efficacy of censorship enforcement in rural Japan, while records from the administrative branches of the Allied Occupation regularly betray the worries of censorship authorities about their own inability to execute their stated mission. In women's literature, archived postwar print materials came to be structured through a process of republishing, recollecting, and recanonizing a narrow, gendered sliver of literary production. The critical reading practices of the male-centered *bundan* became the basis for archival practices that repeatedly (and deliberately) excluded the breadth of women's writing that was in fact flourishing in the immediate postwar period. And in farming literature, the print practices of rural writers were cast aside in favor of mainstream theorists of

[31] Derrida, "Archive Fever," 12.

regional literary theory. The true extent of independent rural publications will likely never be recovered, as these magazines were seldom targeted for archival collection even by local libraries. Accompanying the loss of regional print history comes a recognition that a major branch of intellectual history and social critique has been excised from possible literary futures through the process of archivization.

As Derrida suggests—and more recent scholars have expanded upon—from their very origin archives were a system of accumulating not only materials but creating the basis for an exclusive cultural power.[32] When archivization moves towards collecting not only materials but also cultural power, it deploys a scalar logic. This is most clearly understood at the extremes of archival formation. Let's imagine two scenarios. In the first scenario, a particular author hoards their entire creative output—every written document, every copy of every word—in their home. They demand their friend burn their house to the ground after their death to destroy all traces of their writing. The friend does so, only to discover a notebook has miraculously survived the conflagration. They immediately take the notebook to the nearest library and donate it as the "archival collection" of their late friend. The archivist opens the notebook and finds it entirely blank, unused. In the second scenario, rather than setting fire to the home, the friend donates every single object in their home—in fact, even the home itself—to the nearest library. After the author's death, the friend pays to uproot the entire building, transporting it to the library for cataloguing. The building then opens to the public exactly as the writer left it on the eve of their death. In each scenario, the library dutifully displays the donated item(s) as the author's

[32] Markus Friedrich outlines some of the earliest formations of archival institutions, demonstrating how the systems of cultural control that emerged coeval with the creation of the archive as both a concept and a space have not yet been expelled from archivization as practice. On power and the archives, see: Markus Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge*, trans. John Nöel Dillon (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 139-165.

"archive." Now imagine how we might scoff at this first "archive," only to dive in to the second with great aplomb, digging through the eccentric genius of this obsessive collector/author. That is, through the volume of preserved objects and the organized space they inhabit one of these archives becomes in some sense *authoritative*. And if we take a few steps back into the realm of reality, rather than existing at the extreme edges of imagination, any number of actual authors might be substitute for this unnamed writer. Miyazawa Kenji and Franz Kafka immediately come to mind, given their posthumous rise to fame and complicated legacies based solely on materials left behind. Archivally speaking, however, the *who* is of no great importance, but the *what* (or perhaps, *how many*) is essential.

Once the "archive" is formed *as archive*, the scalar logic that allowed a particular collection of material objects in space to develop its own authority or "archiveness" is then turned back in on itself and reapplied to the materials within this new collection, creating an "archival scale." Archivization occurs not only in the creation of the archive, the "primary" recording as Derrida might put it, but also in the "secondary" recording which makes the objects within the archive legible *as archival objects*. Individual items begin to scale up to the archive itself. One item, or even a subset of related items, can come to represent the archive in its entirety. Perhaps we sift through the holdings of a famous author only to discover a passage written by one of the author's literary rivals scribbled in the margins of a manuscript draft. Or we turn over a crumbling bookmark and discover a previously unpublished poem addressed to a major political figure. In many instances, such "small" ephemera come to speak for the entirety of the archive itself. For literary researchers, "small" discoveries in "large" archives can upend a field of study. But these notions of "small" and "large" exist through the archivization of the objects themselves and allow for seemingly unproblematic tessellations of print history that otherwise collapse outside

of their scalar relationships.

The modes of archivization that accumulated and preserved postwar print materials in order to make them legible *as archives* were, of course, no exception to these scalar processes. Archivization helped create the archival scales through which we now define postwar Japanese literary history. The Prange Collection in particular is seen as a primary source for literary studies because it collects pre-censored materials and other texts that have likely been lost to time. Interestingly, the bulk of the Prange Collection does not include the kinds of materials that we most often associate with literary archives: manuscripts produced by authors themselves. Instead, the Occupation's censorship apparatus deliberately structured their holdings and records to give the impression that Allied authorities held comprehensive and infallible coverage over Japanese print. This mode of archivization—in a sense scaling the contents of the archive to the space of postwar Japan as nation—rendered discrete materials legible and comparable through acts of collation and consolidation. Literature published during the Occupation is often referred to as literature *under* Occupation; this was the creation of postwar Japanese literature's archival scale. Archival scale here has a double meaning. In one sense, archives *are scaled* in such a way that the materials—and the amount of those materials—become representative of historical or cultural features beyond the boundaries of what are described in the archival materials. But archives themselves also *scale* the materials contained within them in a similar way, making individual documents appear legible in relation to other documents within the archive. It is in fact this second meaning of archival scale that will prove most problematic for postwar literary studies. In Chapter 2: Single works of fiction that were targeted by Occupation authorities will come to stand in for the contents of the Prange Collection as a whole and, through a secondary act of scaling, national censorship history. In Chapter 3: The prevalence of male authors in major

library collections—ones that generally fail to collect independent and rural print—will obscure the gendered history of postwar cultural production. And in Chapter 4: A small coterie of rural farmers who move to urban Tokyo to become public intellectuals will come to define the contours and goals of farmers' literature throughout the nation, foreclosing the need for later readers to engage with the actual print materials circulating throughout rural Japan.

Recent Critical Interventions in Archival Methodologies

Contemporary research on archival studies and modes of archivization have shifted towards a critical restructuring of the core logics that have long been baked into the creation, housing, and storing of archives. And while it is convenient to contend that this shift is due in part to the rapid proliferation of digitization and digital-native archives, the move to a digitized collection does not in fact render moot questions of storage space or physical damage to preserved materials. Nor do digital methods automatically remove the role of archivists from the early formation of archives. Rather, recent innovations in the field of archival studies are largely driven by an effort to uproot the conception that only certain varieties of materials—generally those closest to centers of power—are worthy of collecting in the first place. Waldo Gifford Leland (1879-1966), one of the early advocates for establishing the United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), which now houses a significant portion of historical research materials related to the Allied Occupation of Japan, described his perception of archives as follows:

> As respects manuscripts, first of all a distinction must be sharply drawn between historical manuscripts, on the one hand, and public archives on the other. Historical manuscripts are such documents as diaries, letters, account-books, etc., in short all manuscript material having historical value which does not come from the archive of any public office. For convenience the term historical manuscripts may be used to include private archives, which are the official records of non-governmental bodies, such as churches, societies, business and industrial organizations, etc.
>
> Almost all librarians have a few manuscripts in their libraries, and it is rather common practice

> to call these manuscripts "archives," but we must distinguish very sharply between archives and historical manuscripts, because the two are not the same thing. …
>
> That, then, is the first thing for a librarian to remember—that he must distinguish between public archives and historical manuscripts, that he must not mix them. They may be kept in the same building of course, or in the same room; but they must be entirely separate, both as to location and as to treatment.[33]

On display here is the kind of centripetal force the process of archivization can exert on materials within a particular collection. The logic that ensures the archive retains its "proper" focus on official documents propels the act of collecting as an operation based in power: Records that are produced by official, governmental, and bureaucratic sources are worthy of archiving by virtue of proximity, figuratively and often literally, to centers of political power. Interestingly, the logic proposed here—one in which archives are only understood as such when they are derived from official sources—is challenged early in the postwar period by NARA's Director of Archival Management, Theodore R. Schellenberg (1903-1970).[34] Often seen as an early proponent of and innovator in the field of archival theory, Schellenberg was willing to question the relationship between the proximity of a collection of records to political power and their status as archival materials. And yet, perhaps because the established concepts of archivization remained quite strong, we find that Schellenberg's logic grows tortured and tautological:

> The term "archives" may now be defined as follows:
>
> "Those records of any public or private institution [including churches, business houses, associations, and unions and even private families] which are *adjudged worthy* of permanent preservation for reference and research purposes and which have been deposited *or have been selected* for deposit in an archival institution."
>
> The essential characteristics of archives, then, related to the reasons why records came into being and to the reasons why they were preserved. We now accept that to be archives, records must have been produced or accumulated to accomplish a specific purpose and must have values for purposes other than those for which they were produced or accumulated. Public archives, then, have two types of values: the primary values to the originating agency and the secondary values to other

[33] "Archival Principles," Staff Information Paper 20, National Archives and Records Service, 1955, 6-7.

[34] Schellenberg worked intermittently at NARA from the mid-1930s onward. He eventually acted as Director of Archival Management from 1950 to 1962, standardizing archival practices while also writing prodigiously on the subject. His 1956 book *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques*, cited here, is widely considered a foundational text in the field of archival studies. Leland himself gave the book high praise when it was released in a review in the journal *American Archivist* (October, 1956): 325-327.

agencies and to non-government users.[35]

Although Schellenberg often treats subjects with considerable nuance, the core assertion that drives Derrida's critique of archivization remains: Archives are archives because they were collected and named as such.

In contrast to the theories of archivization prevalent in the postwar period, contemporary research on archival theory places considerable weight on the structuring power of archivization and the work that must be undertaken to de-center expressions of political power within and around collections themselves. These recent interventions often occur at the practical level—archival collection formation, library sciences, big data management, etc. They reflect a fundamental concern with the way archives and archival research has been scaled, even if the term "scale" is not the particular object of the analytical arguments themselves.[36] These interventions have arrived in a variety of forms: re-localizing libraries in the Anthropocene in order to stave off a monoculture-driven collapse,[37] recognizing the need for radical reorganizations of knowledge presentation through anti-oppressive descriptions of archival contents,[38] reconceptualizing contemporary archives as data,[39] recentering archival practices on

[35] T.R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956), 15-16. Emphasis mine.

[36] Although slightly different from the sense of "scale" I am addressing here, professional archivists have been at the forefront of critiquing digitization, digital-native materials, big data analysis, and the ethical and privacy concerns that arrived alongside those technological advancements over the past twenty years. See, for example, Alyssa Hamer, "Ethics of Archival Practice: New Considerations in the Digital Age," in *Archivaria*, 85 (Spring, 2018): 156-179.

[37] Amy Brunvand, "Re-Localizing the Library: Considerations for the Anthropocene," in "Libraries and Archives in the Anthropocene," eds. Eira Tansey and Rob Montoya, Special Issue of *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 1 (2020).

[38] Jessica Tai, "The Power of Words: Cultural Humility as a Framework for Anti-Oppressive Archival Description," in "Radical Empathy in Archival Practice," eds. Elvia Arroyo-Ramirez, Jasmine Jones, Shannon O'Neill, and Holly Smith, Special Issue of *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies,* Vol. 3 (2020).

[39] Michael Moss, David Thomas, Tim Gollins, "The Reconfiguration of the Archive of Data to be Mined," in

the body and theories if embodiment,[40] and destabilizing the positionality of archivization through feminist and queer critiques.[41] In sum, the current state of the field of archival studies shows a growing concern with the dominant modes of collecting and presenting materials. Established archival methodologies tend to obscure the local, the minor, or the individual through their relations to centers of power—relations which are necessarily scalar.

In order to position archival methodologies against the many "centers" which govern their own construction, Michelle Caswell has advocated for the prioritization of *feeling*[42] as an essential methodological shift within a framework she calls "liberatory memory work." Injecting a concern for affect into our critiques of archival practices speaks directly to the unease many researchers feel when first exploring—or even trying to summarize the contents of—seemingly "complete" archival collections:

> When we learned dominant Western archival theories and practices; when we learned that archivists are supposed to be neutral and objective; when we learned that records are the passive, neutral by-product of activity; when we learned that provenance is based narrowly on the record creator; when we learned that individual creators and owners alone are entitled to rights over their records; when we learned to privilege universal access over the protection of vulnerable communities, many of us had a gut reaction. A feeling that told us, "Wait a second; that does not feel right."[43]

Archivaria, 86 (Fall 2018): 118-151. And Devon Mordell, "Critical Questions for Archives as (Big) Data," in *Archivaria*, 87 (Spring 2019): 140-161.

[40] Jamie A. Lee, "In Critical Condition: (Un)Becoming Bodies in Archival Acts of Truth Telling," in *Archivaria,* 88 (Fall 2019): 162-195. And Nicole Gray, "Toward an Embodied Poetics in Appraisal: Walt Whitman in the US National Archives," in *Archivaria*, 89 (Spring 2020): 106-127.

[41] Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood, "Critical Feminism in the Archives," in "Critical Archival Studies," eds. Michelle Caswell, Ricardo Punzalan, and T-Kay Sangwand, Special Issue of *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (2017). And Jamie Ann Lee, "A Queer/ed Archival Methodology: Archival Bodies as Nomadic Subjects," in "Critical Archival Studies," eds. Michelle Caswell, Ricardo Punzalan, and T-Kay Sangwand, Special Issue of *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (2017).

[42] Caswell's emphasis on feeling stems from a well-established trend in archival studies to account for the active omission of records from racial and sexual minorities in dominant archival methods and analyses. See for example: Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). Cvetkovich's book closes with a question that continues to resonate nearly twenty years later: Whose feelings count?

[43] Michelle Caswell, "Feeling Liberatory Memory Work: On the Archival Uses of Joy and Anger," in *Arcvhivaria,*

Just as many professional archivists have begun to approach the foundational practices of their field with mistrust, researchers hoping to uncover archival objects or records that exist outside of the "big" scales (nation, patriarchy, imperialism, capitalism) often leave the "big" archives with a renewed cynicism. This frustration grows all the more prevalent when one recognizes how the "bigness" of scales and archives are intertwined. A "national" archive, for example, quietly deploys strict scalar perimeters, while these created scales reinforce the seeming relevance of the archive. Discovering the many ways in which "major" archives are in fact *lacking* sets alarms ringing about the criteria by which collected materials come to be seen as providing sufficient coverage of historical or cultural records.

Having set out the conceptual problems that emerge with archivization and scaling, let's also briefly consider one specific example from postwar print culture that clearly illustrates the long-term consequences of both archival methodology and the reproduction of national and regional scales. Regional women's literary production, the central topic of Chapter 3, has recently become the object of a groundbreaking bibliography project: *The Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines* (『占領期女性雑誌事典』 *Senryōki josei zasshi jiten*).[44] I emphasize "regional" here, because this dictionary collection—which is still in progress as of 2021—goes well beyond previous research on women's magazines that tend to focus exclusively on "major" titles such as *Shufu no tomo* (主婦の友), *Fujin kōron* (婦人公論), *Ie no hikari* (家の光) or the like. From the very

90 (Fall 2020), 154. See also, Michelle Caswell, *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

[44] This multivolume set will be addressed in further detail in Chapter 3. Because the final volumes have not yet been published, I will provide a reference to the first volume: Yoshida Kenji (吉田健二) ed., *The Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines, Volume 1* (『占領期女性雑誌事典　第１巻』 *Senryōki josei zasshi jiten daiikkan*) (Kanazawa: Kanazawa bumpokaku, 2003).

first volume, editor Yoshida Kenji (吉田健二, 1942-) notes that Occupation-era regional publishing saw the largest boom in women's magazines, including nineteen new and important titles in early 1946 alone.[45] Both Yoshida and the publisher, *Kanazawa bumpokaku*, emphasize in separate notes that any effort to fully account for postwar magazine publishing will inevitably fail to account for "phantom magazines": the uncountable number of magazines that were produced and distributed, yet never reported to either Occupation authorities or bibliographical texts like *Nihon shuppan nenkan* (『日本出版年鑑』). This "phantom" designation holds particular weight when considering the intersection of independent rural publishers working within an already "minor" category of literary publishing such as "women's magazine." To the series' credit, it casts a wide net both spatially and thematically. Entries cover magazines from across regional Japan and include titles that might otherwise be overlooked. Some examples include *Life Science* (『生活科学』 *Seikatsu kagaku*) a science-forward magazine that was relaunched in the postwar period after ceasing publication during the war,[46] and regularly featured writing by women; *Geien* (『藝苑』), a continuation of the Tokyo-based "Murasaki Shikibu Study Group" organ *Murasaki* (『むらさき』) which first began publication in 1934;[47] or *Factory and Home* (『工場と家庭』 *Kōjō to katei*), a labor and culture coterie magazine published by and for union members in the Kōriyama branch office of Sendai Rail.[48] Although this dictionary series should be applauded for its comprehensive and forward-thinking efforts, it

[45] *Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines, Volume 1*, 253.

[46] *Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines, Volume 6*, 249-276.

[47] *Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines, Volume 2*, 197-235.

[48] *Dictionary of Occupation-era Women's Magazines, Volume 2*, 247-251.

also illustrates the dangers of archivization. Precisely because it sets out from the start to collect "women's writing" it redeploys that categorization as if the concept itself is a perfectly natural, unproblematic concept. That is to say, it is constructing the means through which the archival category "women's magazines" might come to be understood as such. Future research could easily rely on these volumes to gather a "comprehensive" understanding of women's writing when, in reality, no such category exists in practice. And this fact remains true despite both the editor and publisher *feeling* a certain degree of unease when describing the specifically gendered process of archivization—the domination of literary records by male intellectual elites—that necessitated the development of this dictionary to begin with. Researchers concerned with a more accurate accounting of peripheral print culture must recognize this contradiction as archived materials gradually transform into an increasingly solidified postwar literary "canon."

Postwar Regional Literature Against Literary Canon Formation

Literary canons and canonization occupy hotly contested theoretical ground. Like scales, canons and methods of canonization are worthy objects of critical analysis not by virtue of their content, but for their ability to conjure imaginary demarcations of value where none previously existed. Literary canons are "real" in so far as they are repeatedly asserted to exist (even when subject to intense critique) and appear to have some impact on reading practices. This dissertation, however, addresses surviving print materials that have been consistently excised from the forms of canonized texts with which we are most familiar: textbooks, anthologies, literary dictionaries and encyclopedias, reproductions, and as the object of literary critiques. To maintain a focus on postwar Japanese print culture, it will be beneficial to focus on two specific

theories of canon and canon production: The first springs from a historical materialist critique of modern print capital in Japan. This theory of canon formation asserts that literary canons exist in relation to global capital. Whether read in national or global scales, the idea of a "local" literary canon cannot in the end be fully divested from its relation to global capital and the ways print capital organizes texts as objects of comparison and competition. The second mainstream theory of canon formation focuses on cultural production, reception, affect, and translation, particularly in the ways that flows of print culture might actually suggest new modes of canonization that function beyond their material relation to print capital. This first method can help us understand why it is that independent, regional production failed to gain a foothold when postwar works began to be canonized, while the second method allows for a future potentiality wherein these regional texts attain some degree of readership without necessarily relying on the process of canonization inherent to print capital.

In Japanese literary studies, certain aspects of both approaches have been tapped to explain the establishment and development of a national, modern Japanese literature. Edward Mack unpacks the material history which undergirded the development of mass print and canon-culture, noting that the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923 was accompanied by a legitimate concern that publishing would quickly decentralize across regional Japan in order to avoid another catastrophic collapse in the event of a disaster. Instead of this feared process of decentralization, however, "the earthquake accelerated a process of consolidation and centralization" by virtue of the survival of a handful of essential factories, an abundance of cash and financial records, and the efforts of powerful industry associations.[49] Post-disaster, a

[49] Edward Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 86-88.

modernized and centralized urban print industry went to work disseminating a "static" canon of world and Japanese literature at low prices.[50] Working on the other end of the canonization debate, though in concert with these developments in print capital, Haruo Shirane emphasizes the impact of pedagogical trends governing the "readerly" and "writerly" canons of modern and postwar literature. [51] Educational practices canonized works of literature in part as "model" writing, much like earlier eras established "proper" models for poetic composition or codified local learning through writing practice at *terakoya* schools.

Of course, an unspoken connection binds historical analyses of pedagogical practices to print capital: textbooks drove profits for major urban publishers as education itself became "nationalized." What regional variation existed in educational practices during the early modern period were eventually subjected to standardized educational norms that fell in line with collective identity established through shared literary norms—standardization which was supported through the centralization of textbook writing, editing, and printing. Although neither Mack nor Shirane directly address the rural/urban divide in the establishment and centralization of print capital, their particular objects of analysis make the argument implicitly. Urban publishers were capable of collecting, advertising, and mass-producing affordable volumes of "canonized" literature by virtue of their geographical location. Urban print capital had ready access to industrial presses, an unshakeable grip on industry standards, and influence over educational practices by quite literally *manufacturing*—to borrow Mack's term—the literature designated for nationalized textbooks. Meanwhile, the *concept* that shared literary standards

[50] Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 91-93.

[51] Haruo Shirane, "Curriculum and Competing Canons," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature,* eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 220-221.

should come in the form of mass-produced, canonical collected works drew inspiration from global flows of print culture that were already well established by the early 20th century. That is to say, the concept of a nationalized literary education was coterminous with the moment that the mechanized mass-production of literature in Japan became economically and materially viable.

The inseverable relationship between the development of Japan's "national" literary culture and the expansion and centralization of print capital bears an uncanny resemblance to theories of modern print, nationalism, and world literary culture. In the development of Japan's modern print culture, we might recognize Benedict Anderson's "imagined community," wherein Anderson's concept of "print-capitalism" was seen as the premier method of "linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together" in a moment when the collapse of an older order drove "a harsh wedge between cosmology and history."[52] Étienne Balibar also theorizes the "nation form" as being bound to the "concrete historical form" of the capitalist market—the "world-economy," with all its unavoidable cores and peripheries[53]—and nation-states comprised of "fictive ethnicities":

> No nation possesses an ethnic base naturally, but as social formations are nationalized, the populations included within them, divided up among them or dominated by them are ethnicized—that is, represented in the past or in the future as if they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions. … How can ethnicity be produced? How can it be produced in such a way that it does not appear as fiction, but as the most natural of origins? History shows us that there are two great competing routes to this: language and race.[54]

If we were to focus specifically on the literary aspect of the relationship between language, race,

[52] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition* (London: Verso, 2006), 36-37.

[53] Étienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), 89.

[54] Balibar, "The Nation Form," 96.

ethnicity, nation, and global capital, it might appear as if modern Japanese intellectual elites were clawing towards entry into what Pascale Casanova called the "world republic of letters":

> This world republic of letters has its own mode of operation: its own economy, which produces hierarchies and various forms of violence; and, above all, its own history, which, long obscured by the quasi-systematic national (and therefore political) appropriation of literary stature, has never really been chronicled. Its geography is based on the opposition between a capital, on the one hand, and peripheral dependencies whose relationship with this center is defined by their aesthetic distance from it. It is equipped, finally, with its own consecrating authorities, charged with responsibility for legislating on literary matters, which function as the sole legitimate arbiters with regard to questions of recognition. Over time, owing to the work of a number of pioneering figures remarkable for their freedom from nationalist prejudice, an international literary law came to be created, a specific form of recognition that owes nothing to political fiat, interest, or prejudice.[55]

These analyses, which attempt to disentangle the complex relationship between modernity, capitalism, nationalism, and cultural production, accurately describe the development of the postwar literary canon through the capital-laden origins of its own production. Similar to how the development of a modern Japanese literature—and a modern Japanese literary language as ideology—were inseparable from the literal manufacturing of print, the postwar writers and works that are becoming canonized within Japan's "national literature" are subject to similar forces: creation (acts of publishing and re-publishing), followed by archivization (acts of collecting and re-collecting). Theories of print nationalism or the world republic of letters, however, cannot fully account for literary production that was produced without reliance on central print capital. Local texts from the early postwar period were generally handwritten and distributed as mimeograph copies, copies which were often printed on locally produced paper. Furthermore, the contents of these magazines often state clearly that this form of publishing is preferred precisely because it counters the literary and industrial centers of urban Japan. Historical analyses that focus exclusively on the role of centralized urban print capital insufficiently account for the intentionality of independent, regional print. Critiquing print

[55] Pascale Casanova, *World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. Debevoise (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 11-12.

culture from the standpoint of the modern nation-state (or a world system of modern nation-states and the global capital that animates them) will certainly fail to properly comprehend the role of non-capital-intensive print culture because it expresses its fundamental political and artistic stance through its very form: It rejects the logic whereby literary value is inseparable from reproduction or readership.

The central stipulation of a new postwar national literature was the total dismantling of capital-centric literary production. As this dissertation demonstrates, the regional literature that survives from this period advocates for a wholesale de-centralization of print culture that foreshadowed the demands of later leftist National Literature movements. If we are to take this position seriously, we must remain attentive to the fact that the relationship between independent or regional works from the postwar period and the ongoing project of modern literary canonization was oppositional—and deliberately so. Regional writers and publishers were not attempting a "break-in." They were proposing a literary future that did not (or has not yet) come to pass. With that antagonistic relationship in mind, we should turn to recent critiques of canon formation that have tried to work out from under the weight of capital and nation. Doing so relieves us of a compulsion to analyze postwar regional literature through a lens of misapprehended "failures"—a "failure" of independent regional literature to displace urban literary elites, or these works' "failed" to become canonized in the same publisghing formats that had reproduced *bundan* literary production in the past.

Scales, Archives, and Concept-Work

Scales and archives have become feasible methodologies for literary analysis by virtue of

their apparent stability. Meaningful debate over the end results of certain acts of scaling, or the meaning/authenticity of a given object within a particular archival collection, occurs regularly. Genuine challenges to the very concept of scaling or archivization, however, remain relatively unexplored. This is particularly true of scales and archives as concepts within research on modern Japanese literature. In the case of scale, we might consider critical efforts to "expand" the space of the Japanese Imperial nation to include literary texts from beyond the borders of the postwar nation-state. In the case of archives, we might consider the activists who argue for the inclusion of non-Japanese-language texts in the collections of modern Japanese literature. These are essential projects that move the field of Japanese studies in valuable directions, but they also reinforce the *scaling* of literary texts to "larger" spaces. Regardless of their cultural, spatial, or historical contexts, both scales and archives are fundamentally constructed; they are formed and re-formed through a strenuous effort to maintain the stability of their definitions. To properly account for the *instability* of these ideas, this dissertation interrogates scales and archives as products of "concept-work." In *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times*, Ann Stoler intervenes on "concepts" that have been used to express or understand colonization and imperialism, revealing the instabilities these ideas present when reread in contemporary contexts.

> Stability is not an a priori attribute of concepts. Concepts are construed as more stable and made more stable than they are—as are the distinguishing feature of the members assigned to them. There is work that goes into securing that stability and into their repeated and assertive performance…If stability is not an intrinsic feature of concepts, then one task must be to examine how their stability is achieved, how unequal things are abstracted into commensurabilities that fuel our confidence in those very concepts that then are relegated as common sense.[56]

Although this dissertation does not tackle the durabilities and instabilities in Japan's imperial project directly (that project is best left to scholars of Japan's imperial literature or racialized

[56] Ann Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 17-18.

language policies), Stoler's critique of contemporary imperialism and imperial legacies resonates methodologically with postwar regional literature:

> One impulse in addressing the admittedly broad sense of imperial ruin embraced here might be to distinguish between those processes played out in imperial centers and those situations and sites that appear in formerly colonized regions. But more might be gained by suspending that impulse and not making such distinctions too readily. The "interior" and "exterior" spaces of imperial formations correspond only to the common geopolitical designations that imperial architects scripted themselves. Terms such as "metropole" and "colony," "core" and "periphery" presume to make clear what is not.[57]

Certainly, the exploitation of northern Japan remains deeply imbedded within a larger framework of global imperial histories. The ongoing regionalization of Tōhoku bears the durable scars of a colonial project that cannot fully be divided into internal (内地 *naichi*)/external (外地 *gaichi*) or developed/backward. It is precisely within the apparent stability of postwar Tōhoku (and certainly also Hokkaidō) *as region* that we can begin to locate a fertile critical space where "localities" exist as the product of concept-work, and how those spaces expose concept-work's ruptures. Stoler's intervention does not reject analyses of peripheral space, rather it challenges future research to disrupt the logic through which peripherality—or centrality—became codified as a stable concept.

From a scalar perspective, therefore, an investigation of postwar literature published in areas like Aomori, Akita, or Iwate requires a negotiation of the concept-work that has established these places (and the literary production found there) as "rural," "local," or "regional." The chief concern, therefore, is not necessarily a total dismantling of all possible scales. Negating the "concepts" within this "work" will not necessarily destabilize the work itself. Rather, searching for the mechanisms that allow these scales to function grants a better understanding of how they are incessantly reproduced. This critical mode can be found at the root of many fundamental

[57] Stoler, *Duress*, 362.

questions that researchers raise regarding rural literature and its reception: When did the concept of "rurality" emerge? How was it connected to other spatial concepts; and how was it that these various concepts came to be associated with specific developmental stages? Why is it that discourses of backwardness and rurality become reappropriated by and refocused on those people who are already living in regionalized spaces? How does the conscious projection of "regionality" on one's own writing expose regionalization as a comparative process? Print history in non-urban areas opens new avenues to understand how the material processes of cultural production varied across space, how ideological stances developed within literary production, or how particular materials came to be seen as valuable archival objects while others were passed over. Investigating works written and published beyond the nebulous borders of centralized, urban print culture invariably requires some comparative negotiation through scalar concepts. In other words, the concept-work invested in stabilizing concepts such as "rural" or "regional" has been particularly efficacious.[58]

Scaling the Subject in Postwar Debates on Literature and Politics

Before moving into a relatively close analysis of the postwar Debate on Postwar Literature specifically, it will be helpful to make clear the connection between regionality in postwar literary movements generally and the scalar concept-work that animated those analyses.

[58] Relevant examples are too numerous to list here, but one illuminating example from Marx demonstrates the stability of these spatial concepts: "The greatest division of material and mental labor is the separation of town and country. The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilization, from tribe to state, from locality to nation, and runs through the whole history of civilization to the present day...The antagonism between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property." *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 176.

Philosophical and political definitions of subjectivity became the central concern of writers and theorists in the immediate postwar period. Insofar as the politics of subjectivity was implied in literary production, these arguments often intersected with spatial concepts. The introduction of spatiality in these analyses was inevitable given the collapse of Japan's colonial empire and the reconcentration of a kind of nation-ness within the fresh boundaries of the postwar Japanese nation-state. National efforts to support those imperial goals through nationalized literary production likewise collapsed and the "proper" writing subject turned away from the imperial and colonial masses and towards the individual. For intellectual elites, in any case, this concern for individual subjectivity was part and parcel with determining which *individual* writers bore responsibility for the war. In the early years of the Occupation, this subjective turn hinged on determining who could stand in for "the people." And we might add some emphasis on the *stand in for* approach to literary subjectivity.

As will be explored in the following section, the intellectual, political, and literary battlelines in postwar debates were not drawn according to actual writing by "the people," but rather by the imagined intellectual production of a surrogate, imagined "people" that might accommodate the politics of elite intellectuals in their effort to claim the space and production postwar literature. Tokyo-based establishment intellectuals began a direct and heated debate over the purpose and proper subject of literary production moving into the new postwar order. Ara Masahito (荒正人, 1913-1979) and Hirano Ken (平野謙, 1907-1978) laid out an attack on the writers they identified as members of the urban literary elite—Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治, 1902-1979), in particular—who they felt had usurped the interwar proletarian movement, transforming it into a literature of "the petit bourgeois intelligentsia."[59] In leveling this class-based attack on Nakano and other

[59] Hirano Ken (平野謙), "What is the 'Primacy of Politics?'" trans. and annot. Miyabi Goto and Ron Wilson, in *The*

members of the postwar literary left, Hirano and Ara laid claim to an earlier, more genuine representation of a radical literary and movement led by Aono Suekichi (青野季吉, 1890-1961). Aono, a Niigata-born writer, remained extremely active in the postwar period as a theorist of radical farmers' literature, often publishing his work in regional journals. Hirano in particular aspired to rehabilitate Aono's 1926 appeal to a "directed consciousness," Aono's theory of combining Marxist politics with the proletarian literature movement—a particularly loaded theory, considering Hirano understands Aono's approach to have led to the factionalization of the proletarian movement.[60] Aono's ideological opponent in this interwar struggle? Nakano Shigeharu.

On the opposite end of this debate, Nakano Shigeharu responded from his position as a prominent leftist and party member. He cut down Ara and Hirano's attempt to claim their new vision of literature for "the people"—a term already loaded with vague images of rural poverty and a long history of co-opting proletarian writers for the publishing needs of central intellectuals. Instead, Nakano joins the advocates of a new postwar democratic literature that might establish "a new ethnic culture." This anti-reactionary literature would lead to "the concrete and historical human reestablishment of the Japanese ethnic nation."[61] Nakano also

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Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52, eds. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 118. See also, Ara Masahito's "Who Are the People?" in the same volume. For a complete overview of the debate, see the introduction to this volume, as well as the companion volume of critical essays: Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda, eds., *Literature Among the Ruins, 1945-1955: Postwar Japanese Literary Criticism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018).

[60] Hirano Ken (平野謙), "Politics and Literature I," trans. and annot. Sarah Allen, Miyabi Goto, and Mariko Takano, in *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52,* eds. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 98-100.

[61] Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治), "The Humanity of Criticism II," trans. and annot. Joshua Solomon and Kaori Shiono, in *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52,* eds. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 138-140.

makes his appeal to "the people":

> Where the Emperor's many ministers and all their ilk have been abandoning the people and their troubles, the laboring farmers have been proactively working to solve the provisions crisis, while the laboring workers have been running themselves ragged in an effort to revitalize production and bring about its effective management…The tasks that will continue to face the Japanese for the foreseeable future must be the physical and spiritual liberation of the people from conditions and feudality and semislavery; the accomplishment of this deliverance by one's own hand…And it is in achieving a resolution to these problems that Japanese literature will be able to establish itself as a most beautiful, *Japanese* constituent of world literature as a whole.[62]

Despite predating Takeuchi Yoshimi's advocacy for a new postwar national literature by several years, Nakano expresses the core thesis of a new political literature for the postwar era from the position of the nationalist left. Beyond a clear concern for both a strong, Marxist ethnic nation, part of this cultural revolution will require the establishment of a democratic literature of "the people" which could overthrow contemporary print capitalism: a rising underclass of everyday writers that would emerge from the laboring classes in factory and farmland.

Despite the rhetorical fury demonstrated between the members of the debate, this momentary upheaval within the urban postwar intelligentsia did not translate into radical reform of print production. The centralization of literary culture in Tokyo and other urban areas carried on, print capital was reconstructed, and the idea of non-urban writers of consequence again recentered around whichever regional writer happened to break into the *bundan*-centered publishing world. The proposed new subject in postwar literary history—"the people" who would arise from rural life—was generally omitted from the bibliographic and reference texts that would come to describe the conditions of the literary world from this period. Instead, the concept of "regionality" in literature further stabilized and coalesced, generating an inescapable centrifugal

[62] Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治), "The Role of the Writer as National Citizen," trans. Scott W. Aalgaard, annot. Richi Sakakibara and Mariko Takano, in *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52,* eds. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 162-163.

archival practice. The meager selection of independently published texts that eventually broke into urban print culture were swiftly taken up for publicity and re-publication by leading publishers.[63] This process finalized the texts' "centralization" and only further reinforced the dominant position of the urban presses.

As for the remainder of texts published during this unprecedented period of local print activity, localities became responsible for the collection and maintenance of literary archives in each area. "Local" texts became the archival backbone of "local" libraries. The stabilization of locality or regionality as concept—often as a "backwards" counterpoint to the "progressive" cultural development of urban literary production—generates stabilized and predictable reactions to space in archival practices. Researchers active today quickly discover a dearth of non-urban materials in major libraries in central Tokyo yet find more materials than one can reasonably explore for a single project in village libraries or storehouses. This local/national division of archival labor has subsequently obscured the essential position of regional print in major "national" literary movements that define the first decade of the postwar period. As I will explore below, some of the most impactful literary debates in the late-1940s and early-1950s are inseparable from the explosion of local, independent print—even if nation-scaled archival methods have generally failed to account for these materials.

The National Literature Debate (国民文学論争 *Kokumin bungaku ronsō*): Postwar Discourse and Critical Reception

[63] *Yamabiko gakkō* (山びこ学校), a collection of grade student essays from Yamagata published in 1951, stands as one prominent example. This text became a cultural sensation, leading to a major film adaptation in 1952 and countless reprintings. It continues to be one of the most republished and archived texts from Tōhoku, with the most recent version appearing as a *bunkobon* from Iwanami in 1995.

This section will trace the overarching trends of the postwar "National Literature Debate" (国民文学論争 *kokumin bungaku ronsō*), summarize the response to that debate in literary and intellectual histories, and explore the role independent local print culture played in forming the fundamental terms of the debate. Reading the postwar debate over a new National Literature in tandem with regional print history forces us to reexamine the extent to which our historical assumptions regarding this debate are based on the extant, contemporaneous print culture (the theoretical and actual object of critique). Stated directly, many intellectual and literary histories of the National Literature Debate reproduce a logic that situates professional, urban intellectuals as the proper "subject" of postwar literary theory. The theoretical writings of critics such as Takeuchi Yoshimi, Itō Sei, or Odagiri Hideo have become the primary objects of recent historical analyses, even in cases when these writers themselves were advocating for an alternative nexus of literary culture that exists outside of (and directly challenges) the ascendency of the *bundan*, or urban print capital generally. Rather than engaging with the entirety of literary production of the immediate postwar moment, our current interpretations of the debate over a new National Literature draw from the material conditions of urban print capital. Neither the intellectual nor material histories of regional print cultures have been considered an essential component of analyzing the postwar concept of National Literature (or the concept of a modern national literature, for that matter). As Takeuchi Yoshimi contends, however, a proposal for a new National Literature was explicitly concerned with describing the actual print conditions that emerged "in the aggregate." And the aggregate of postwar literary production also includes regional texts aimed at overturning the centralizing, urbanizing tendencies that arrive alongside a modern concept of "national" literature. Including

independent, local print prevents the proposal for a new postwar National Literature from being equated with the culture of urban print capital.

At the outset, I should be clear that the concept of "National Literature" (*kokumin bungaku* 国民文学) being debated in the postwar period should be viewed as distinct from the effort to establish a modern "national literature" (*kokubungaku*, 国文学) that emerged early in Japan's modernization project and developed through and beyond the Meiji period. Meiji intellectuals—often educated directly by and for the benefit of the emerging modern Japanese state—collected and curated literary texts from a range of historical periods in an effort to draft a nationalized lexicon of linguistic expression and literary aesthetics. As these texts were subsequently reproduced and distributed beyond the upper echelons of educated society, people across variegated linguistic and cultural backgrounds could locate a seemingly unified identity in relation to a new national space. Shinada Yoshikazu (品田悦一, 1959-) describes this process in relation to the *Man'yōshū*:

> The formation of and modernization of this state, which was carried out through the early Meiji period, proceeded very much by design, following the model of various Western countries, but it occurred before the notion of the "people" (*kokumin*, literally "people of the nation") had acquired sufficient maturity or identity. In effect, the Japanese state became a vessel into which was poured the nation, or the nation's people. It was within this context that the *Man'yōshū* became a "classic of the people" (*kokumin no koten*), part of a canon through which the nation achieved its sense of cultural identity.[64]

In the case of *kokubungaku*, the canonization of literary texts on national scales preceded the process of "nationalizing" individual subjectivity. Tomiko Yoda explains the contradictory mechanism that allows national subjectivity to develop well before the stabilization of the political nation-state itself:

> By "national subject," I mean not simply the alleged organic wholeness of a particular national

[64] Shinada Yoshikazu, "Man'yōshū: The Invention of a National Poetry Anthology," trans. Kevin Collins, in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 33.

> community, but an essence that underwrites the national identity, integrating its diverse constituents, or the overarching continuity of the national history, underlying its incessant permutation. The national subject unfolds in time and yet is also primordial to this process, guaranteeing in advance the unity among its special moments. History in this schema is understood as *a process through which the unique interiority of the nation expresses itself, advancing toward its final realization*.[65]

When the project of establishing a national literature merged expression of interiority with the realization of a national identity, it exceeded the bounds of a "historical" project to collect or archive archetypal texts. The (mostly) successful establishment of *kokubungaku* cleared a path for new writers to operate within a fledgling "Japanese literature" that could scale the individual to national subject and the literary text to a growing, global network of nation-states.

By comparison, the postwar debate over establishing a new "National Literature" (国民文学 *kokumin bungaku*) emerged from political and theoretical movements that advocated for a democratic literary culture established by non-elite writers. The debate is generally considered to have begun in 1952 with an exchange of open letters between the public intellectual Takeuchi Yoshimi (竹内好, 1910-1977) and the writer and literary critic Itō Sei (伊藤整, 1905-1969)—with each writer seen as representative of the "opposing" sides of the debate. Takeuchi presents a National Literature that finds its inspiration in the radical politics of postwar national independence movements—especially China after the Revolution of 1949; Itō pushes back against that position, arguing that any proposed national literature will inevitably retain traces of European modernity. As will be demonstrated in the outline of the debate below, the postwar concept of *kokumin bungaku* drew directly from the afterlives of the proletarian literary movement, taking inspiration from and partially reviving the Politics and Literature Debate that directly preceded it in the mid- to late-1940s. Plainly stated, advocates of a new National Literature expected this movement to reignite the political possibilities of earlier proletarian texts

[65] Tomiko Yoda, *Gender and National Literature: Heian Texts in the Constructions of Japanese Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 7. Emphasis mine.

and usher in the ascendency of a new generation of writing that took politics as a central concern of literary production. This would coincide with a material shift in publishing, ensuring the emergence of the "proper" democratic writing subject. Most importantly—and in greatest contrast from the Meiji-era concept of national literature—this new movement would explicitly combat the reproduction of colonialist and imperialist culture in literature. Broadly speaking, advocates of *kokumin bungaku* (and Takeuchi in particular) aligned themselves with internationalist political goals that had come to be embodied in China's successful revolution. And while this abridgement generally restates the arguments proposed by the debate's central interlocutors, it requires an important addendum. Leaving the historical arc of the debate to Takeuchi and Itō alone introduces a fundamental misunderstanding of the debate's literary context. Although often viewed as a struggle within the literary and intellectual elite to advocate for a *future* National Literature—one that most accounts of the debate contend fails to materialize—the debate should also be understood as a *response* to the rapid expansion of print culture and non-capitalist modes of publishing that were dominant in the late-1940s and early-1950s.

An Outline of the Postwar National Literature Debate

The May 14th, 1952 issue of *The Japan Reader's Newspaper* (日本読書新聞 *Nihon dokusho shinbun*) published two open letters between Takeuchi and Itō that had been arranged for release in advance, thus inaugurating a debate on the topic of national literature. Both writers had addressed the topic in detail previously. Itō had published several prominent articles on the topic in 1940 to argue against a radical rightist approach to national literature advocated by

Asano Akira (浅野晃, 1901-1990).[66] Takeuchi had initially engaged with the concept in relation to Lu Xun's writing in his landmark 1944 volume, *Lu Xun*.[67] In the opening letter, Takeuchi suggests that his intention in inaugurating the debate derives from past discussions, rather than a future advocacy. The letter opens:

> I would like to ask you about "national literature." The undercurrent of this topic has been flowing for some time it seems, but the rally cry for a new national literature came to the surface from around 1951. I would like to ask you how this question has been handled, how it can be developed, or even whether it *should* be developed in relation to the contemporary conditions of Japanese literature (and for your opinions of course, please include those as well).[68]

At its core, Takeuchi asserts, the question of national literature cannot be limited exclusively to academics or literary creation but is rather "a problem that addresses how Japanese people might live—their means of living as ethnic nation."[69] Takeuchi selected Itō as his interlocuter because Itō was well positioned to respond to concerns regarding the topic of National Literature (and national literature) through both historical and literary analyses. Itō had an established position in the literary world and his serialized history of the *bundan* was in circulation in the magazine *Gunzō*. If the literary establishment is indeed deserving of a comprehensive historical account, Takeuchi argues, it is precisely because the *bundan* represents a "chronic affliction (if we are to call it that) of Japanese literature."[70]

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[66] See: Itō Sei 伊藤整, "The Thought of National Literature" (「国民文学という考」*Kokumin bungaku to iu kangae*), *Shinchō* (『新潮』) (November, 1940); Itō Sei 伊藤整, "National Literature" (「国民の文学」*Kokumin no bungaku*), *Shinchō* (『新潮』) (December, 1940); Itō Sei 伊藤整, "The Foundation of National Literature" (「国民文学の基礎」*Kokumin bungaku no kiso*), *Bungei* (『文藝』) (December, 1940).

[67] Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, *Lu Xun* (『魯迅』 *Ro Jin*) (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1944).

[68] Originally published in the June 14, 1952 issue of *The Japan Reader's Newspaper* as "A Proposal for National Literature" (「国民文学の提唱」*Kokumin bungaku no teishō*); cited here from the early collection of writings on National Literature: Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, *A Theory of National Literature* (『国民文学論』*Kokumin bungaku ron*) (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1954), 75.

[69] Takeuchi, "A Proposal for National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 76.

[70] Takeuchi, "A Proposal for National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 77. Takeuchi continues, arguing that Itō is concerned with more than a simple historical accounting of the *bundan*. He notes that Itō himself has

Rather than asserting a particular model for this new literature, Takeuchi instead sets out his historical view of the topic—roughly from the early Meiji period to the immediate postwar:

> I think that we might be able to divide the advocacy for national literature into three historical periods:
>
> 1. The beginning of modern literature, from Futabatei Shimei [二葉亭四迷, 1864-1909] to Kitamura Tōkoku [北村透谷, 1868-1894] to Ishikawa Takuboku [石川啄木, 1886-1912].
> 2. The central characteristics of the wartime "Japanese Romantic School" and their use of the words "national literature." Even today this usage smacks of fascism and is something that is completely avoided.
> 3. The current topic: the postwar period.
>
> If I were to give my estimation of the characteristics of this third period, I would say that it is defined by the experience of losing the war and the elements that emerge from a leftist ideology that has been influenced by Asian nationalism. I think that the main current of Japanese proletarian literature has a modernist tendency. Since the postwar period, however, it has shown antimodernist—or even populist—tendencies.[71]

Takeuchi asserts that this third period was defined by "two schools battling over the stipulations of national literature": the modernists—left-leaning liberals such as Nakamura Mitsuo (中村光夫, 1911-1988), Kurahara Korehito (蔵原惟人, 1902-1999), Hirano Ken and others—and anti-modernists. Takeuchi's so-called anti-modernists included some leftist intellectuals such as Sugiura Minpei (杉浦明平, 1913-2001), Nakano Shigeharu, and Odagiri Hideo (小田切秀雄, 1916-2000), as well as thinkers and writers such as Maruyama Masao (丸山眞男, 1914-1996) and Usui Yoshimi (臼井吉見, 1905-1987). In his letter, Takeuchi demonstrates an astute prescience, predicting that the opening of the debate would exert considerable influence on the intellectual world. Even in this opening letter he notes that the topic of national literature represents "one single objective" that marks the return of "many other barren debates: theories of the I-novel; the Second Arts theory; the debate over the literary value of writers like Mori Ōgai, Miyamoto

consistently critiqued the intellectual elite from an inside/outside subjective positionality: "If we are approaching the problem of National Literature from only a position on the subjectivity of creation, shouldn't we have some reservations when solving this problem pragmatically from an internal position? I think this appears in your [Itō's] work *The Novelistic Method*, as well as other writings."

[71] Takeuchi, "A Proposal for National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 77-78.

Yuriko, and Albert Camus; kabuki debates; and many others."[72] With that, Takeuchi closes his initial entry into the debate with relatively little offered in terms of theoretical or political positions, emphasizing how the "presentation of the question and the organization of the methodology" surrounding the question of national literature has generally been incorrect.[73]

In responding to Takeuchi's letter, Itō points to some of the fundamental problems of advocating for any kind of literature through the framework of the nation. In Itō's view, even a new, politically minded literature that remains entangled with the logic of the nation will fundamentally struggle with its own position in relation to modern European thought.

> [To think about national literature] means to simultaneously ask why the current crisis in European-style thought is a problem in and of itself. However, we cannot overlook a reality that has been constructed by ethnicity, where the structural formation of modernism is not itself in contact with the overwhelming number of corporeal essences.[74]

Itō identifies a core contradiction within a national literature that has been ideologically positioned vis-à-vis political resistance (particularly anti-imperial resistance). If that literature takes national identity as its origin—or in Takeuchi's case a broader "Asian" ethnicity expressed in national forms—the literature will likely fail to *inform* the modern structure of nation. Rather, it is more likely to be subsumed within the very framework of race or ethnicity from which it is emerging. He rejects the possibility of a critique through ethnicity, as any position that takes up the "Asian" identity within this logic will be automatically disadvantaged:

> It is necessary to critically analyze the foundational and influential European-style cultural structure that views our position as Eastern thought, a position which exists within modern civilization and is

[72] Takeuchi, "A Proposal for National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 79.

[73] Takeuchi, "A Proposal for National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 79.

[74] Originally published as Itō Sei 伊藤整, "On a New Path Towards a New National Litearture" (「新しき國民文学への道」*Atarashiki kokumin bungaku he*) in the June 14, 1952 issue of *The Japan Reader's Newspaper*; collected in *Collected Conversations with Takeuchi Yoshimi, Volume 1: Traces of the National Literature Debate* (『竹内好談論集１：国民文学論の行方』 *Kokumin bungaku ron no yukue*) (Tokyo: Rankadō, 1985), 9-10.

considered to be without value.[75]

Regardless of how these two "sides" of the debate position their opening salvos, it is essential to note that neither Takeuchi nor Itō open the debate addressing literary production through a formal or aesthetic argument. Rather, the sides of the postwar debate on National Literature will coalesce according to one's position on the political efficacy of literary production in relation to the nation form. Takeuchi sees nationalism as a mode of collective political engagement that offers revolutionary possibilities beyond its specific historical origins within the global system of nation-states. Itō, by contrast, does not recognize the possibility of a nationalist position which could overcome the power relations inherent to the very structural theory of modernity and civilization—or at least, he cannot recognize that possibility *for Japan* as nation.

As Takeuchi and Itō expanded their debate through additional articles, interviews, and roundtable debates, the "literature" component of postwar national literature came into clearer focus. In a roundtable discussion published in August, 1952 featuring Itō, Takeuchi, Usui Yoshimi, and Orikuchi Shinobu (折口信夫, 1887-1953), Itō argues that he cannot consider any of the literature that has thus far emerged to be a "pure national literature." He notes that it retains essential influences from European literary practices. Tellingly, when Itō describes his fundamental qualms with the "national literature" produced at the moment (and the theorists who discuss that literature) he deliberately uses the modern term *kokubungaku*. He states:

> I feel extremely uneasy that the new researchers on 'national literature' (*kokubungaku*) are again embarking on their project based on thought that is built on conclusions that we know to be the weak points of the modern method.[76]

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[75] Takeuchi, *Traces of the National Literature Debate*, 10.

[76] Originally published in the August, 1952 volume of *Gunzō* under the title "The Direction of National Literature" (「国民文学の方向」*Kokumin bungaku no hōkō*), collected in *Collected Conversations with Takeuchi Yoshimi, Volume 1: Traces of the National Literature Debate* (『竹内好談論集１：国民文学論の行方』 *Kokumin bungaku ron no yukue*) (Tokyo: Rankadō, 1985), 16-17.

Itō concedes that while a new Japanese national literature may well be possible, it could not emerge without an entirely new kind of criticism. It is essential that Itō utilizes the earlier term for "national literature" in this portion of his argument, as it further emphasizes Itō's contention that the methods being deployed in the postwar debate do not differ substantially from those that were utilized to conceptualize previous iterations of national literature.

Takeuchi, however, defends the possibility of a radical future for postwar national literature. It is likely because of this impassioned defense that Takeuchi has since come to be seen as the debate's leading figure. Takeuchi published the essay "The Problem of National Literature" in the August 1952 issue of *Kaizō*, writing:

> National literature does not indicate a specific literary mode or genre; rather, it indicates the extant form of literature as an aggregate of the country. Moreover, it is a historical category. It is similar to democracy in that the intended goal of National Literature is its own actualization. However, it is also similar to civil society in the difficult conditions of that actualization. The effort required to turn the day-to-day into the actual topic of literature becomes its ideal attainment. Nothing is served by the established model.[77]
>
> Mass literature and establishment literature share the same roots. It is therefore impossible to establish a national literature that does not dismantle both. To use mass literature as it currently exists as a tool is no different from using the psychology of emperor worship as a tool. Both impede the goal of national liberation.[78]

As the debate continues through 1952, Takeuchi begins to clarify his understanding of national literature as a mode of print production. His central concerns do not stem from the formal or aesthetic features of a given text. Certainly, a fundamental gap exists between Takeuchi's historical critique of literary production and Itō's ideological critique of aesthetic production—a gap unlikely to be bridged. Takeuchi and Itō differ in the way they view the temporality of literary production. Itō sees the proposal for a new National Literature as a historical remainder

[77] Originally published in the August, 1952 volume of *Kaizō* as "The Problem of National Literature" (「国民文学の問題点」*Kokumin bungaku no mondaiten*). Cited here from Takeuchi, *A Theory of National Literature*, 85-86.

[78] Takeuchi, "The Problem of National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 86-87.

of Japanese (and by extension, European) modernity. The connections to previous modes of nationally scaled literary production are inseverable. Takeuchi, however, sees the possibility of a genuine dialectical synthesis in their contemporaneous moment that leads towards the future. Negating modern "national literature" with a revolutionary "National Literature" would give rise to a new and structurally different kind of literary production. That is, Takeuchi is concerned with National Literature as a mode of engaging with literary production in a material sense in the exact moment this debate takes place. Takeuchi and other supporters of postwar National Literature propose radical literary reform in relation to the actual conditions of writing and publishing in Japan's present. Although that present contains remnants of modern national literature, an ideological past that Itō highlights, Takeuchi remains focused on literature's position within postwar revolutionary nationalist movements.

Across the many articles he publishes from this period, Takeuchi focuses his critical analysis of a possible National Literature through the lens of resistance. Literature's previous failures—specifically, the failure of modern "national literature" to establish an anti-colonial cultural front—carry through the postwar period and stunt the possibility of effective literary culture:

> What is independence in literature? To clearly answer this, we should consider the opposite concept, colonialism in literature. I see the current state of Japanese literature as colonized. However, the cause is not a rapid colonization due to the Allied Occupation. Rather, the cause began much earlier with the abandonment of resistance to colonization. If we try to pin down a timeframe, the abandonment of resistance was most pronounced after the establishment of the *Shirakaba* and *Shinkankaku* schools. Based on the emergence of a perfect slave mentality during the war, we can consider the postwar to be a perfect colony. It is said that Japanese literature developed rapidly with the onset of the war, yet this was a result of colonialism. If we investigate as to why this is the case, it is because every anti-colonial struggle was abandoned in the extreme. The colonialism in literature can be measured by the symbol of a world literature that was unmediated by ethnicity. The appearance of a perfectly symbolic shadow, as is today's case, means the present has appeared as a perfect colony. I am not speaking of individual phenomena. Generally speaking, if writers do not follow the I-novelistic method, they will be forced to borrow their images from foreign literatures. This holds for both writers and critics. That is to say, there will be a loss of creativity. Independence in literature must struggle to regain this creativity. Thus, it is self-evident that the basis for that creation exists in the life of the masses as such. The effort to restore that creativity is pragmatically

> aligned with the aim for national liberation in literature.[79]

The final dichotomy offered here, one which suggests that Japanese writers can only exist at one end of two extremes, either working within the I-novel tradition or mimicking foreign literature, should not imply that Takeuchi has totally abandoned the literary production of the postwar moment. In April, 1954—almost two years after the release of the essay "The Problem of National Literature," and just three months after the publication of Takeuchi's volume of collected essays, *A Theory of National Literature*—Takeuchi publishes his longest single essay on National Literature in a contribution to the third volume of the Iwanami lecture series *Literature*: "What is Independence in Literature?" In this essay, Takeuchi clarifies that not all Japanese literature was lost to previous failures of resistance.

> Postwar literature has not disappeared without a trace. We must view Japanese literature as a considerable achievement, one which guides us to the position of consciously problematizing the contemporary world. It does so by creating the opportunity through which we can approach a fundamental opposition to the problems of tradition and creation. Furthermore, we must look for an opportunity to stimulate introspection, exposing the insufficiencies in our resistance to fascism. Postwar literature, based on wartime experience, still today bears the theme of a creative action which fights to restore humanity to our future.[80]

Takeuchi makes certain that readers understand that his position on coloniality and resistance should not be taken as a disavowal of the entirety of postwar literature.

Unlike Itō, who returns his focus to literary endeavors outside the National Literature Debate, Takeuchi remains steadfast in his commitment to theorize and advocate for National Literature. He regularly publishes essays and organizes roundtables on the topic and will eventually collect

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[79] Takeuchi, "The Problem of National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 89-90.

[80] Originally published as Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, "What is Independence in Literature?" (「文学における独立とはなにか」 *Bungaku ni okeru dokuritsu to ha nani ka*), in *Iwanami Lectures: Literature, Volume 3* (『岩波講座 文学　第三巻』 *Iwanami kōza: bungaku daisankan*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1954). Cited here as Takeuchi Yoshimi, "What is Independence in Literature?" (「文学における独立とはなにか」 *Bungaku ni okeru dokuritsu to ha nani ka*), in Takeuchi Yoshimi , *Takeuchi Yoshimi's Collected Works, Volume 7* (『竹内好全集　第七巻』 *Takeuchi Yoshimi zenshū dainanakan*), 75.

his writings and related works into two texts that have become essential reading for researchers invested in this debate: the 1954 volume *A Theory of National Literature*, which collects Takeuchi's essays to that point; and the 1956 volume *National Literature and Language* (国民文学と言語 *Kokumin bungaku to gengo*), an edited volume of essays by Takeuchi, including works by Takami Jun (高見順 1907-1965), Kinoshita Junji (木下順二 1914-2006), and Yanagita Kunio (柳田国男 1875-1962). After Takeuchi's death in 1977, as his works began to be collected and republished in anthologies, a third volume appeared in 1985: *Collected Interviews and Roundtables with Takeuchi Yoshimi, Vol. 1: Traces of the National Literary Debate*. Although this volume revisits the most frequently cited works from previous collected volumes, it closes with a new *taidan* between Odagiri Hideo and Maeda Ai that traces the history of national literature (and the action towards a new National Literature) from the prewar through the postwar.

Takeuchi and Itō were not of course the only active members of this debate. Secondary figures abound and it is difficult to narrow the multi-year arc of the debate to a narrow range of thinkers. As the debate coalesces around Takeuchi between 1952 and 1954, Itō slowly fades into the background and other establishment intellectuals emerge to intervene in various avenues of national literature as a critical framework. Usui Yoshimi, for example, takes a less radical stance in the creation of a new National Literature. As he understands it, there should be a method whereby an intentional coupling of "pure" literary forms and mass literary forms could give rise to a postwar National Literature.[81] Nakano Shigeharu argues that the postwar debates on National Literature replicate the gaps of earlier conceptions of national literature; that is, the way

[81] Taken from the roundtable cited earlier, "The Direction of National Literature," 12.

National Literature was theorized in the postwar methodology "forgets" the existence of the very masses of the nation that it is attempting to imagine.[82] Odagiri Hideo largely follows Takeuchi's conception of national literature, but he recommends that we remain vigilant to the reality that Japan remains in the fundamental position of a periphery (地方 *chihō*) when considered alongside modes of national literature that are produced elsewhere, particularly in the context of European literature.[83] Finally, Hirano Ken understands the very language of the term *kokumin bungaku* to be inextricably linked to the wartime literary project by the same name (the national literature project, coincidentally, that Itō argued against in 1940).[84]

As additional intellectual figures became increasingly active in the debate between 1952 and 1955, interest in the topic of National Literature boomed, as did the number of related publications. In addition to a burst of single-author and edited volumes on the topic—and an innumerable array of essays from all manner of magazines and associations[85]—this period sees

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[82] From a roundtable discussion with Kuwabara Takeo and Takeuchi Yoshimi originally published in the February, 1954 issue of *Kyōdai gakuen shinbun* (『京大学園新聞』). "Regarding the Current Conditions of the Theory of National Literature" (「国民文学論の現状を語る」 *Kokumin bungaku ron no genjō wo kataru*), collected in Takeuchi, *Traces of the National Literary Debate*, 101-102.

[83] Odagiri's use of "region" here is interesting, as he shows a clear interest in regional writing in Japan during the postwar period. He will eventually edit Inuta Shigeru's (犬田卯) 1977 volume *A History of Postwar Farmers' Literature*. This citation is taken from a roundtable discussion with Takeuchi Yoshimi, Hirano Ken, Ino Kenji, Honda Shūgo, Sasaki Kiichi, Hattori Tatsu, and Ara Masahito originally published in the December, 1954 issue of *Kindai bungaku* (『近代文学』). "On National Literature" (「国民文学について」 *Kokumin bungaku nitsuite*), collected in Takeuchi, *Traces of the National Literary Debate*, 109-110.

[84] From a roundtable discussion with Itō Sei, Hotta Yoshie, Takeuchi Yoshimi, and Hanada Kiyoteru originally published in the December, 1953 issue of *Shin Nihon bungaku* (『新日本文学』). "Japanese Modernity and National Literature" (「日本の近代と国民文学」 *Nihon no kindai to kokumin bungaku*), collected in Takeuchi, *Traces of the National Literary Debate*, 65-67.

[85] Of the many important examples of these texts, I would like to highlight one volume in particular. In 1953, just before Takeuchi publishes his own dedicated volume on national literary theory, The arts section of the Association of Democratic Scientists (民主主義科学者協会 *Minshushugi kagakusha kyōkai*) released their own collected volume that grew out of a conference on the topic. Takeuchi himself participated. The title makes clear the connection between the postwar concept of national literature and previous debates on proletarian literature or the state of politics and literature: *A Theory of National Literature: Who Writes Literature From Now On?* (『国民文学論：これからの文学は誰が作りあげるか』 *Kokumin bungaku ron: korekara no bungaku ha dare ga tsukuriageru ka*).

the publication of new anthologized volumes of "canonical" Japanese literature. The major Tokyo publisher *Kawade shobō* (河出書房) begins publishing their new series of Japanese classics under the title *An Anthology of Japanese National Literature* (『日本国民文学全集』 *Nihon kokumin bungaku zenshū*). This collection, published between 1956 and 1959, retains the form of the standardized literary anthology: It contains thirty-five core volumes which trace literary culture from the *Man'yōshū* to 1950s contemporary poetry, as well as eighteen supplementary volumes. Similar new collections abound: *Kadakowa shoten* (角川書店) publishes the thirty-four volume collection *An Anthology of Contemporary National Literature* (『現代国民文学全集』 *Gendai kokumin bungaku zenshū*) from 1957 to 1958—an anthology that only further canonizes the most well-established writers from the early-Meiji period to the early-postwar period. Beginning in 1951, *Fukumura shoten* (福村書店) releases the collection *National Literature for Boys and Girls* (『少年少女のための国民文学』 *Shōnen shōjo no tame no kokumin bungaku*). We are therefore left wondering: How exactly did this debate become defined by and inseparable from Takeuchi? How should we situate this particular concept of National Literature amongst other debates on national literatures—whether they address *kokubungaku* or alternative notions of *kokumin bungaku*? It seems that for historians of Japan's postwar intellectual and literary history, Takeuchi and his close coterie of establishment intellectuals remain at the center of this debate due to their engagement with new postwar subjectivities—contested topics that remain relevant to contemporary political and artistic debates.

Critiques of Postwar Literary History through New Subjectivities: Political, Philosophical, and Literary

English-language scholarship posits the postwar National Literature Debate as largely driven by *bundan* figures navigating the political and literary legacies (and futures) of nationalism, resistance, class politics, and publishing practices. Relatively few of these intellectual histories address the literary texts cited within the debate nor do they analyze contemporaneous literary texts published during the first decade of the postwar period. Japanese-language scholarship, by contrast, tends to use the *bundan*-authored articles on National Literature (especially those cited above) as a roadmap for investigating literary texts themselves. In many cases, these intellectual histories reexamine the citations or analytical readings presented in the debate with the goal of confirming or negating the methodology of both modern national literature and the nascent postwar concept of "National Literature"—highlighted by a particular interest in the Debate's "success" or "failure." Beyond these relatively minor differences in approach, an overarching trend persists across the majority of these intellectual histories: Takeuchi Yoshimi remains the primary figure of the postwar National Literature Debate, causing a broad intellectual conversation to become filtered through (or in opposition to) Takeuchi's theoretical approach. Before integrating local literary histories into our understanding of the 1950s debate over National Literature, it is important to first contextualize how the most salient topic of this debate—new postwar subjectivities—developed out of earlier literary debates. The concern for discovering the "proper" political, philosophical, and literary subject connects the postwar National Literature Debate to earlier struggles, leading most researchers to emphasize this aspect of the debate as a way of demonstrating a degree of continuity within interwar, wartime, postwar, and contemporary literary debates.

To begin with English-language scholarship and the political subject, J. Victor Koschmann—by way of post-Marxist critics Laclau and Mouffe—traces concepts of the political subject in

postwar Japan to a post-Soviet, post-Lenin leftist activism. Japanese leftist thinkers situated their advocacy for a new political subject through the lacunas they observed within orthodox historical materialism and the success of Russia's Soviet revolution. As Koschmann outlines, postwar Japanese leftists believed modern Japan's bourgeois revolution stalled with the militarist government's rise to power and the violent suppression of left-leaning activists in the 1930s. In the postwar moment, therefore, this stalled bourgeois revolution had to be "supplemented" by the direct action of the proletariat class to bring about a genuine revolution in Japanese democratic society. Koschmann describes two "narratives" in Lenin's (and subsequent Japanese) historical critiques:

> [The first narrative] prescribes not only that democratic revolution must precede socialist revolution but also that the true subject of democratic revolution is the bourgeoisie. However, because they confronted a situation in which the bourgeois class was unable to fulfill its role, Lenin and others pragmatically wove a "second narrative" in terms of which, according to the political logic of hegemony, the bourgeoisie's revolutionary role was to be assumed by the working class. This second narrative of hegemony was to be a "supplement" to the first narrative, but could never replace it.[86]

Shifting the proper subject of revolutionary history led to a destabilization of orthodox Marxist thought and a noticeable shift in the theorization of political subjectivity:

> Yet inevitably the ontological security of that "essence" (in the case of Leninism: the first narrative = orthodox historical materialism) is called into question by the second implication of the "supplement," that it is an essential addition to make up for a deficiency or to fill a lacuna. Indeed, it might imply that the first narrative (essence) shares the qualities assumed to be characteristic of the second narrative (supplement), i.e., that it is historically relative and situational, the result not of natural economic necessity but rather of contingent political intervention, and therefore possessed of no special authority…this logic of supplementarity in its various facets pervaded the postwar discourse of subjectivity (*shutaisei*).[87]

It might appear at first that this detailed historical shift in early twentieth century Leninist thought—and its subsequent adoption in Japan's postwar intellectual left—would have little to

[86] J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 24.

[87] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 24-25.

do with the positionality of Japan's rural classes. Koschmann notes, however, that it was specifically the urban laboring classes and the rural agricultural poor that were seen to make up the "proper" supplementary subjects,[88] and that deploying this supplementary critique of revolutionary history brought about a fundamental shift in class consciousness and political action in revolutionary Russia.

> …by virtue of the tautological chain in which the first narrative confers on the proletariat the meta historical destiny of the universal class, and that destiny, in turn, provides the proletariat with the epistemological privilege to know and interpret meta history, the vanguard party was able to claim full priority and centrality, even as it took the place of the ordained historical subject.[89]

Koschmann outlines the fracturing of the intellectual class over the literary and artistic strategies necessary to express and promote this new, Lenin-derived postwar political subjectivity. On one hand, there was the JCP-affiliated view advocated by the intellectuals active in and organized around the magazine *Shin Nihon bungaku* (『新日本文学』).[90] Kurahara Korehito—one of the magazine's founding members and one of the few postwar writers to have never recanted his leftist beliefs during the war—summarized the magazine's position on political and literary subjectivity in a "top down" prescription of literary aesthetics. Building from the JCP party line Kurahara emphasized a narrow understanding of realism that gives direct "expression to the artist's autonomous perspective of the world."[91] This stance intended to represent a continuation of the literary praxis developed during the 1930s proletarian movement

[88] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 27.

[89] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 25.

[90] As a literary group, *Shin Nihon bungaku*'s activities were not limited to Tokyo. Regional branches of the group—including independently printed branch magazines—developed rapidly across rural areas of Japan. In Aomori, for example, the group was led by Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一, or sometimes 沙和宗一), who will figure prominently in this dissertation, particularly Chapter 4.

[91] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 45.

before it was crushed by the militarist government. The intellectual group that formed around the magazine *Kindai bungaku* (『近代文学』) opposed a hardline integration of political subjectivity into literary expression. Led by Honda Shūgo (本多秋五, 1908-2001)—who by contrast recanted previous Marxist-inspired literary activities after his arrest during the war—the *Kindai Bungaku* group focused on expressing their subjective experience *as petit-bourgeois intellectuals*, rather than claiming a mantle for themselves and their magazine as representative of "the people," arguing that "standards of art should be primarily aesthetic."[92]

In Koschmann's view, transforming the proper historical subject of political revolution was also one of the fundamental mechanisms present in the postwar National Literature Debate—thereby directly associating the topics and participants in the Debate with earlier trends in leftist intellectual and literary history. Advocating for a new "proper" subject of history signaled a political shift within social subjectivities, transferring the capability for revolutionary action from Japan's bourgeois class (including the petit-bourgeois intellectual classes writing in postwar Tokyo) to a new postwar subject centered in the laboring classes. Given that the National Literature Debate began to emerge in the closing years of the 1940s and took concrete form early in the 1950s, it comes as no surprise that Takeuchi advocates for a postwar political subject in relation to the revolutionary developments occurring in China. Koschmann notes that "[b]y virtue of the resistance they confronted, Chinese revolutionary forces formed and reformed themselves as an autonomous, historical subject that embodied not only a class but ethnic identity."[93] When Takeuchi set down his fundamental criticism of the development of Japanese

[92] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 48.

[93] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 227.

modern literature, the political subject that formed the backbone of his proposal for a National Literature was thoroughly grounded in the actual praxis of late-1940s and early-1950s Chinese revolutionary tactics: "Required now was a new 'self-assertion' in literature, one that could be attained only by 'salvaging the totality' of the Volk and in the process 'actualizing the whole human being' and making true revolution possible."[94] Although Koschmann is right to emphasize the importance of political subjectivities in postwar debates, it is important to remain attentive to the ways that Takeuchi understands this political subjectivity arising within literary practices through the material conditions of print capital in the 1950s. Specifically, Takeuchi repeatedly critiques the fragmentation of capital-intensive modern print publishing into a *bundan*-governed "pure" literature and a decadent "mass" literature—where both retain the same *material* roots. As noted above, Takeuchi understood National Literature as the literary and publishing practices that would arise from the ashes after *both* "pure" and "mass" modes had been fully dismantled.

Richard Calichman expands on Koschmann's analysis of a new, emergent postwar political subjectivity, arguing that Takeuchi's advocacy of a new postwar National Literature should be understood as a philosophical intervention in debates on subjectivity. Calichman contends that, in Takeuchi's view, the development of the proper revolutionary subject could not be severed from the emergence of a "more originary revolution of the self."[95] Calichman explains:

> The self is revolutionary because structurally discontinuous; there is necessarily always a rupture between the self of the past and that of the future. In this sense, it can be said that the revolution of the self relates above all else to its fundamental passivity vis-à-vis historical time. Before one speaks of "revolution" in an overtly political sense … it must be recognized that the self in its exposure to

[94] Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity*, 229. Koschmann is quoting from Takeuchi's article "The Question of Modernism and the Volk" (「近代主義と民族の問題」 *Kindaishugi to minzoku no mondai*) and retains the use of Koschmann's translation, "Volk," for Takeuchi's Japanese term *minzoku*.

[95] Richard F. Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi: Displacing the West* (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2004), 193.

> the alterity of history is always already overwhelmed by revolution, and that it has no choice but to participate.[96]

Alone, this abstract assertion might appear distant from the concrete aspects of the National Literature Debate laid out by Takeuchi and his interlocutors, but Calichman demonstrates how Takeuchi's philosophical critique of the modern subject interlocks with the practical aspects of new postwar literary production. In proposing a new *kokumin bungaku* that can exist simultaneously as the literary product of a "nation" in the aggregate, Takeuchi challenges the whole-part subjective formation that underpins an imagined sense of community. That is, Calichman contends, Takeuchi draws attention to the gap between the writer as subject and *national subject*, while also highlighting the consequent inconsistencies present in national concepts of community. The act of writing exists as a productive negotiation between the political subject and writing subject.

> The community endows the writer with his essential creativity yet requires that this creativity be expressed, and this expression in turn helps sustain the community. In this way, Takeuchi signals that literary creativity is ultimately not to be attributed to something like the genius of the individual writer. Rather it must be understood on the level of the community, understood here as national community. The increasing professionalization of writers takes place as a misguided departure from this community—which is concretely particular—and concomitant entry within the abstract or artificial universality of "world literature." The result of this is an ever-widening gap in the modern era between universality and the individual. According to Takeuchi, this gap is most properly bridged by what he refers to as the "mediation" of the nation. If, as he writes, "literary coloniality can be measured by its representations of a world literature unmediated by the nation," then "independence in literature" would on the contrary involve not simply a rejection of universality in the form of world literature, but rather (in Hegelian terms) the introduction of a *concrete universality* which embraces the mediation of its self-differentiation in the form of particular determinations. These particular determinations of world literature would be, precisely, the *kokumin bungaku* of all nations.[97]

The "concrete universality" that Calichman theorizes here paradoxically contains within itself the moment of its own creation in the act of differentiating particular from universal; it negates a

[96] Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi*, 192.

[97] Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi*, 58-59. Emphasis in original.

nostalgic view of national writing that asserts uniformity within a particular community. Rather, writing one's modern subjectivity brings with it a "danger," that signals "the death of community."[98] The modern subject cannot salvage the imagined nostalgic community of nation (what we might call the *koku* in *kokubungaku*) wherein "writing is safely brought back to that voiced interiority of the community from which it first emerges" and "expression is followed by complete comprehension…what we have seen to be the subject communing with itself in isolation from the historical world."[99] From a scalar perspective, Calichman is drawing our attention to Takeuchi's disruptive mode of resistance that foregrounds, rather than conceals, the actually problematic tessellations that must occur in order to establish the individual-nation-world relation. Calichman's analysis of Takeuchi's *philosophical* critique of subject formation in relation to nation strikes at the ideological foundation for Takeuchi's advocacy for postwar National Literature. *Kokumin bungaku* represents a critical tactic that reproduces the scalar concept work of spatial subject formation as a critical step in the refutation of the problematic aspects of scaling. Put differently, National Literature notices and then intentionally expands the writing of the individual to the space of nation-in-aggregate to bring about a political and philosophical emancipation.

These political and philosophical undercurrents inform the configuration of new subjectivities within the debate on National Literature in the 1950s—and certainly also shape the historical accounts of that debate's impact and reception—and yet they should not be considered the *principal* aim of the debate. As outlined in the synopsis of the debate above, literary

[98] Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi*, 82.

[99] Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi*, 80-81.

expression and material production *as such* remained the essential object of theorization. The National Literature Debate was not unique in setting theoretical sights on relatively practical concerns. It is safe to say that this stance dovetailed with other theoretical disputes regarding subjectivity and literature in the early postwar period. Thus, while members of the *Kindai bungaku* group, such as Ara Masahito, attempted to shift the literary subjectivity of "the people" away from a purely political class distinction,[100] Nakano Shigeharu, as a representative of the *Shin Nihon bungaku* wing of postwar writers, rejects this tendency, arguing that it represents a reactionary movement that might attempt to depoliticize and fragment the literary subjectivity of the postwar writer from the political stakes of their writing.[101] The editors of *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism* summarize this factional split over literary subjectivity:

> To unravel the complicity of *Kindai bungaku* in politics, we must unpack references to the "human" and "individual" without treating them as mere conceptual categories. In fact, it is directly linked to class, and hence their relationship with *minshū*. *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, from its very founding, sought to define the new subject of literature as "the people," true to orthodox Marxism…Indeed, for the leaders of *Shin Nihon bungaku*, the act of writing signified going "to the people." It is precisely in this context that members of *Kindai bungaku* posit the self or individual.[102]

Richi Sakakibara addresses the inversion of the reader-writer relationship within postwar

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[100] Ara accuses the leftist intelligentsia of participating in an exploitative and patronizing relationship with "the people" that he calls a "pathology of the petit bourgeois." Ara writes in the 1946 *Kindai bungaku* article "Who Are the People?": "How can we grasp the substance of what we call the people?…this question also pertains to the self-cognition of the intelligentsia…I am not talking about elite individuals…only the common and innumerable minor heroes and pseudoheroes who try to go to the people; littérateurs who regard themselves as life's teachers and enlighteners." Ara Masahito (荒正人), "Who Are the People?" trans. David Boyd, annot. Richi Sakakibara and Mariko Takano, in *The Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism, 1945-52,* eds. Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 50-53.

[101] Nakano responds to these general attacks on leftist intellectuals, reserving his harshest criticism for Ara and Hirano Ken: "Literature cannot be cultivated in pomposity; literature is cultivated by combating pompous attitudes. To act pompously and drop suggestive insinuations is to have a teacher-master complex. Ara and Hirano have fallen into such a complex. Those who are so overconfident as to brag at their defense of mankind and their safeguarding of art are nonhuman; they are antihuman. That are vile as humans." Nakano, "The Humanity of Criticism I," *The Politics and Literature Debate*, 108.

[102] *The Politics and Literature Debate*, xxiii.

Japan's "established discursive space"—specifically within *bundan*-controlled magazines.[103] Insofar as this discursive space is *also* system, Sakakibara notes that the production of a "new literature" required urban intellectuals to confront the embedded politics of literary production not only as a publishing forum, but also as a vehicle for semiotic and linguistic critique. Thus while establishment literary journals such as *Shin Nihon bungaku* and *Kindai bungaku* were chiefly concerned with defining "the people" as writer through detached theoretical debates, non-literary magazines like *Shisō no kagaku* (『思想の科学』, literally "The Science of Thought") aimed to "destabilize academic writing by professional scholars" not through critiques of media as forum, but "in terms of linguistic style."[104] One of *Shisō no kagaku*'s principal editors, Tsurumi Shunsuke (鶴見俊輔, 1922-2015), intended the magazine to act as a forum where professional writers and amateur readers could dialogically theorize the semiotic and linguistic nature of "everyday language." Tsurumi struck at the foundations of *how* a piece of literature comes to be found either mature or amateurish in its critical reception.

> …semiotics is very much concerned with the speaking subject, a study that takes into account the context of utterance. It sought to analyze the manner in which utterances empower one, or the power dynamics that shape the context of utterances. Ultimately, such a perception of language precluded the predetermined division between "literary" and "everyday" language, allowing for a perspective in which the "literary" or the "everyday" could be construed relative to the context in which the speaker or writer found him- or herself. Neither *Kindai bungaku* nor *Shin Nihon bungaku* was able to pursue this point.[105]

Rather than confine a text to a variety of predetermined categories—professional/amateur, literary/everyday, mature/immature—through the biographical information available about a

[103] Richi Sakakibara, "Language and the People: The Amateur Writing Subject in *Kindai bungaku*, *Shin Nihon bungaku*, and *Shisō no kagaku*," trans. Atsuko Ueda, in Atsuko Ueda, Michael K. Bourdaghs, Richi Sakakibara, and Hirokazu Toeda, eds., *Literature Among the Ruins, 1945-1955: Postwar Japanese Literary Criticism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 121-133.

[104] Sakakibara, "Language and the People," 129-132.

[105] Sakakibara, "Language and the People," 131.

given writer, non-literary magazines attempted to deconstruct how these categories themselves came to be established through the sociality of language and language's production. *Shisō no kagaku*, revealed the ways in which intellectuals attempted to deploy the politics of class divisions as a stable concept in order to delineate what they already viewed as equivalent to "the people." Through this specific kind of deployment—one which Tsurumi notes was entangled with semiotic contexts that surpassed the narrow confines of a particular literary magazine—establishment intellectuals could finally supplant "the people" as such with an analysis of that same concept filtered through *literary* subjectivities. Although neither Tsurumi's approach nor the theoretical tendencies of the postwar *bundan* marked a wholly "new" literature, and there is certainly no perfect congruence with the idea of a new postwar National Literature, the desire to theorize and grasp new literary subjectivities clearly remained a concern well into the mid-1950s.

Japanese-language scholarship on the National Literature Debate also addresses political and philosophical subjectivities yet moves beyond the most frequently cited critical essays on the topic—roughly speaking, the essays by Takeuchi and his ideological counterparts on the left. In addition to expanding the breadth of primary sources cited when constructing an intellectual history of National Literature, Japanese-language research also incorporates a wide swathe of literary production to illustrate the structure and stakes of the debate from the start of Japan's modernization project through the immediate postwar period and beyond. The most important critical volume that directly addresses the National Literature Debate is Naitō Yoshidata's 2014 monograph *The Strategy of National Literature: Reason and Impasse in Criticism on The Proletarian Literature Movement*.[106] In this volume, Naitō traces the concept of national

[106] Naitō Yoshitada (内藤由直), *The Strategy of National Literature: Reason and Impasse in Criticism on The Proletarian Literature Movement* (『国民文学のストラテジー—プロレタリア文学運動批判の理路と隘路』*Kokumin bungaku no sutoratejī—puroretaria bungaku undō hihan no riro to airo*) (Tokyo: Sōbunsha shuppan, 2014).

literature across three important theoretical high-water marks: the 1890s theory of national literature that emerged alongside Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese war (a reflection of modern literary trends developing around and through the concept of the nation-state), the 1930s theory of national literature that developed in relation to the proletarian movement (a politically revolutionary branch of national literature that was variously suppressed, usurped, or co-opted by pro-militarist imperialists during the war), and finally the postwar theory of National Literature addressed here. In the case of this postwar branch, Naitō posits the titular "strategy" of *kokumin bungaku* in relation to politics:

> The postwar Debate on National Literature presented an introspective critique of a form of national literature which developed during the war and had been swept away by politics. In this sense, it conceived of a National Literature wholly new and differentiated from that of the wartime period…it confronted wartime nationalism and raised a debate that critically re-examined the form of past literature that collaborated with wartime efforts.[107]

As well as subjectivity in a fashion similar to Calichmann:

> The postwar Debate on National Literature aimed to sublimate the opposition between politics and literature as they were present within theories of the primacy of politics. It opened a circuit allowing for the existence of the "other" while simultaneously providing a logical mechanism—in a sense possessing a dual-meaning—through which the "other," when designated as such, might be eliminated.[108]

And although Naitō recognizes that Takeuchi was immediately concerned with constructing the basis for a kind of "public square" wherein the "nation" (or "the people") might form a dual writer/reader subjectivity, he does not explore in detail any contemporaneous, non-*bundan* produced literary texts, nor does this volume expand on Takeuchi's engagement with such democratic literary production.

Instead, the texts that Naitō offers as representative of the contours and context of the debate

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[107] Naito, *The Strategy of National Literature*, 84.

[108] Naito, *The Strategy of National Literature*, 106.

are those that have already been well entrenched in scholarly debate. The text predominantly reconstructs the ways that nation and national literature (or postwar National Literature) as concepts emerged in relation to proletarian literature, and how those interconnected legacies can be traced from the early stages of modern literary production through postwar literary debates. Naitō collates what is perhaps the most comprehensive bibliography of essays on and critiques of national literature: the list spans more than sixty double-columned pages, collecting published texts from 1893 to 2013. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, Naitō's volume only further solidifies the perception that the proper sources for understanding National Literature come from established intellectuals publishing in urban print capital. The texts listed in the bibliography between 1945 and 1960, roughly when the National Literature Debate reached an apex, focuses on professional writers or mass-published texts and generally avoids listing works that don't take on the form of a critical essay, single-author volume, or collected text by a major publisher such as Iwanami.[109] The body text cites generously from critical essays by the central figures in the postwar debate, as well as important prewar writers (Kobayashi Takiji 小林多喜二), wartime rightists (the above mentioned Asano Akira), postwar intellectuals (Maruyama Masao), and contemporary academics (Narita Ryūichi 成田龍一). Two literary texts form the analytical backbone that supports the volume's intellectual history, essentially bookending the timeline of literary production from the early 1930s to the post-Occupation period: Hayashi Fusao (林房雄, 1903-1975)'s short story "Youth" (「青年」 *Seinen*), published in 1932, the year Hayashi

[109] I will return to this problem in relation to the gendered politics of publishing and archivization in Chapter 3, but I should note here that this problem is almost certainly a remainder of the ways the texts have been published, collected, and archivized from the postwar period to the present. In fact, Naitō notes at the start of the bibliography that is not intended to be understood as a complete accounting of the debate. Naitō's contemporary bibliographic sources indicate a concern for otherwise "minor" texts, so long as they address the concept of national literature. On the other hand, this raises the essential question: By what criteria were these texts selected, and why did those criteria shift across historical periods?

undergoes an ideological conversion from proletarian politics to supporting the war effort; and Sata Ineko (佐多稲子)'s 1955 novel *The Green Boulevard* (『みどりの並木路』 *Midori no namikimichi*).

Beyond Naitō's monograph, other considerations of the National Literature Debate have attempted to place it within its historical or critical context, often positioning the Debate as one of many similar or related theoretical struggles intellectuals confronted in the early years of the postwar period. From 1956 to 1957, while the Debate was still active, Hirano Ken, Odagiri Hideo, and Yamamoto Kenkichi (山本健吉, 1907-1988) co-edited *A History of Contemporary Japanese Literary Debates*.[110] The final volume closes with a section called "The Debate on National Literature" (「国民文学論争」*Kokumin bungaku ronsō*) by Iwakami Jun'ichi (岩上順一, 1907-1958). Rather than summarizing the state of the debate at that moment, however, this section re-publishes a selection of essays from 1937 to 1943. These selections might be considered a hyper-condensed synopsis of primary materials for the postwar debate, selecting essays by writers associated with both the postwar debate and the wartime militarist debate on literature that the postwar debate was attempting to dismantle. In 1972, Usui Yoshimi publishes the edited, two-volume reference work *Postwar Literary Debates*.[111] This text collects essays by the main drivers of the debate, followed by a short explanatory essay by Takahashi Haruo (高橋春雄, 1926-). Takahashi argues that the Debate made a direct appeal for a new literature under Occupation by critiquing past iterations of national literature. Within the context of the National

[110] Hirano Ken (平野謙), Odagiri Hideo (小田切秀雄), Yamamoto Kenkichi (山本健吉), eds., *A History of Contemporary Japanese Literary Debates* (『現代日本文学論争史』*Gendai Nihon bungaku ronsōshi*) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1956-1957). In three volumes.

[111] Usui Yoshimi (臼井吉見), ed., *Postwar Literary Debates* (『戦後文学論争』*Sengo bungaku ronsō*) (Tokyo: Banchō shobō, 1972). In two volumes.

Literature Debate, these earlier forms of national literature displayed a "fatalistic character regarding the circumstances surrounding the materialization of modern Japanese literature."[112] By characterizing Japanese national literature as "fatalistic" by nature, and positing a new National Literature as one possible escape from that fatalism, Takahashi is reasserting the fundamentally anti-colonial and resistive possibilities of Takeuchi's original proposal—an essential rhetorical move given the unrest surrounding Japan's post-Occupation security treaties and Takeuchi's strong opposition to the 1960s international order. Despite a small burst of critical essays on the topic in the early 2000s, relatively few studies published in Japan have addressed the National Literature Debate independent of its postwar context. Of those texts, it appears that none have read the debate as a response to the actual conditions of publishing in the opening decade of the postwar period. And while other research addresses adjacent critical debates on the topic—particularly the issue of literary subjectivity and print production in the postwar period—relatively few researchers have attempted to synthesize a historical critique which addresses the material history of print, critiques of literary subjectivity, and non-elite literary production.[113]

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[112] Takahashi Haruo (高橋春雄), "Commentary" (「解説」*Kaisetsu*), in Usui Yoshimi (臼井吉見), ed., *Postwar Literary Debates* (『戦後文学論争』*Sengo bungaku ronsō*) (Tokyo: Banchō shobō, 1972), 184.

[113] Generally speaking, this dissertation cites from and responds to research that addresses these topics. Within the structure of the dissertation, therefore, it might appear as if print history and non-elite literary production are major topics of debate. That is unfortunately not the case, however. For important research on postwar ideas of "the people" and the literary elite that also includes this perspective, however, see: Nakaya Izumi (中谷いずみ), *Who are "The People"? Gender, Class, Identity* (『その「民衆」とは誰なのか：ジェンダー・階級・アイデンティティ』*Sono "minshū" to ha dare na no ka: jendaa, kaikyū, aidentiti*) (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2013); Toba Kōji (鳥羽耕史), "The *Bundan* and Their Outsiders: On Editing 1950's Poetry Circle Magazines and *Kiroku* Collections" (「文壇とその外部：一九五〇年代のサークル詩集、生活記録集の編集をめぐって」*Bundan to sono gaibu: senkyūhyakugojūnenndai no saakuru shishū, seikatsu kirokushū no henshū wo megutte*), *Bungaku* (『文学』) Vol. 17, No. 3 (May, 2016): 198-213; Toba Kōji (鳥羽耕史), *The 1950s: An Era of* Kiroku (『１９５０年代：「記録」の時代』*Senkyūhyakugojūnenndai: "kiroku" no jidai*) (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 2010); Akasawa Shirō (赤澤史郎), Kitagawa Kenzō (北川賢三), and Kurokawa Midori (黒川みどり), eds., *Postwar Intellectuals and Their View of The People* (『戦後知識人と民衆観』*Sengo chishikijin to minshūkan*) (Tokyo: Kageshobō, 2014).

Not all essays addressing the National Literature Debate are penned with the intention of analyzing or critiquing the development and structure of the Debate or its historical context in relation to other famous literary debates. As Naitō outlines in his introduction, a series of later critiques attack the debate precisely because no such "National Literature" appeared to have emerged from the theories being addressed.[114] Likewise, Takahashi Haruo's summary of the Debate in the early 1970s notes that it might have been most valuable not for the literary works it produced, but in the way it organized a wide variety of intellectuals into factions regarding difficult and ambiguous ideas.[115] In more recent years, Shimamura Teru (島村輝, 1957-) highlights one of the harshest critiques of Takeuchi's proposal for National Literature—Fukuda Tsuneari (福田恆存, 1912-1994)—and Fukuda's own position within and objections to the project. When Takeuchi claims to be a kind of outside observer, or transparent organizer of the Debate, asking questions to move the discussion along, Fukuda attacks this position as necessarily political. Shimamura contends that "from Fukuda's position, we can see that Takeuchi's stance is itself a maneuver. It wouldn't be strange to say that this shows us a kind of unforgivable, bogus 'political' camouflage."[116] In 1976, not long after the Debate began to lull and "post-Debate" collections such as the one featuring Takahashi's commentary began to

[114] Naitō, *The Strategy of National Literature*, 12-13. It is important to note that Naitō himself does not fall into this pitfall. Although few studies evaluate the contours of the Debate based exclusively on its "failure" to produce a particular literary category, the notion that the Debate itself was not "productive" has clung to intellectual histories of the postwar period. This stance will be reproduced in relation to postwar "women's literature" and "farmers' literature"—almost always with the fundamental misunderstanding that the goals of these movements were not necessarily tied to replicating or replacing elite forms of cultural production.

[115] Takahashi, "Commentary," 188-189.

[116] Shimamura Teru (島村輝), "The Ebbs and Flows of 'National' and 'Literature': A Critical Lineage of 'The National Literature Debate'" (「浮沈する「国民」と「文学」：「国民文学論争」という問題系」*Fuchinsuru "kokumin" to "bungaku": "kokumin bungaku ronsō" to iu mondaikei*), *Bungaku* (文学) Vol. 5, No.6 (November/December, 2004), 42.

appear, Kan Takayuki (菅孝行, 1939-) declared that the Debate was "no more than a pathetic irony for Takeuchi,"[117] noting:

> Takeuchi's tragedy with regards to the Debate on National Literature was that no matter who joined his cause—whether Itō [Sei], Usui [Yoshimi], or Yamamoto [Kenkichi]—Takeuchi was unable to dive deep into his theory with any of his interlocutors. At best, Takeuchi was able to discover some logical agreement with critics like Ino Kenji or Maruyama Shizuka, but nothing more…For this reason, National Literature came to a conclusion—in Takeuchi's own words—as an extremely ambiguous and imprecise "contrary concept" built on "negating present conditions."[118]

These critics devote considerable effort to unpacking the exact goals and terms of National Literature in order to more harshly evaluate the Debate and its various "failures"—namely, the failure to incite the actual appearance of something that would come to be known as National Literature. In some sense, they all stem from a position that coincides with Fukuda's attack on what he saw as the fundamental fault in Takeuchi's formulation of National Literature: Takeuchi was the central figure of the Debate, and by some deficiency of political praxis or organizational mismanagement Takeuchi must take the fall for National Literature's incompleteness.

In all the cases addressed here, however, there remains an overwhelming emphasis on urban intellectual theorists and literary production tied directly to urban print capital in the way these texts (either critical or literary) have come to be republished, recollected, archived, and re-archived. The overarching concern of the National Literature Debate—establishing a new literary subjectivity that demolishes *both* pure literature and popular literature—existed *in aggregate* beyond urban print capital. The work of archivization (as both the literal labor that develops these threads of intellectual history and the concept-work that archivization performs to stabilize particular archives and lineages of literary thought) rendered this relatively narrow handful of

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[117] Kan Takayuki (菅孝行), *On Takeuchi Yoshimi: A Postscript for Asia* (『竹内好論：亜細亜への反歌』*Takeuchi Yoshimi ron: Ajia he no hanka*) (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1976), 197.

[118] Kan, *On Takeuchi*, 216.

intellectuals and professional writers as the proper object of postwar literary histories, regardless of their stated intentions within the various postwar debates they were participating in at the time. In a sense, both the literal work of archivization and the concept-work of scaling literature and intellectual histories to "nation" has trapped us in a historical loop wherein we have gradually lost sight of the actual, extant literary and print movements that were active in the first decade of the Occupation period. Reading the National Literature Debate in relation to literary production *in the aggregate* fundamentally transforms our understanding of the Debate's contemporaneous moment and stated goals.

Reframing "National Literature" Through Regional Print

Even in the event that we adhere to the conventional interpretation of the postwar National Literature Debate—namely, that it marked a brief exploration of literary nationalism by mainly left-leaning establishment intellectuals, that it was led by Takeuchi Yoshimi, and that it failed to bring about radical changes to literary culture—we must recognize that aspects of this interpretation fail to account for the complexities of print activities across the so-called space of the nation *in the aggregate*. The critics active in the Debate were keenly aware of, or even participants in, the explosion of regional, independent print in the first decade of the postwar. Similar to the way that literary materials printed or eventually archived or republished in Tokyo have gradually become scaled to assume the position of "national" literary production, the essays, edited volumes, monographs, ephemera, and archival collections on the topic of National Literature consist almost entirely of those items written by established intellectuals then published and re-published through urban presses. By contrast, Takeuchi's own advocacy for a

new National Literature demonstrates a much more comprehensive understanding of postwar culture. Takeuchi attends closely to the interplay of non-urban literary subjectivity with commercial trends in publishing and readership. The rapid expansion of independent rural print should be taken as the necessary background for the Debate on National Literature to emerge. Indeed, much of these works were produced with explicit intentions of wholly upending the urban literary establishment. Takeuchi is often seen as advocating for a future National Literature that eventually failed to develop out of the *bundan*'s intellectual posturing towards the "people" or "masses"—roughly speaking, National Literature failed to *replace* the political, philosophical, or literary subjectivities already at stake in the *bundan*'s theorization of postwar cultural production. This position, however, fails to account for the *production* aspect of literary culture. Viewing postwar print culture as a form of participatory material culture suggests that Takeuchi was not advocating for an undefined future National Literature but was in fact *responding* to the emergence of new literary venues that presented non-elite, non-urban writers with a genuine recalibration of possibilities regarding literary spaces and subjectivities.

Resituating the Debate on National Literature in relation to the actual print conditions that developed during the first decade of the postwar period first requires a minor realignment of how we understand Takeuchi's approach to the whole-part relation. In his essays on national literature, Takeuchi regularly refers to the "whole" (全体 *zentai*) of literary production within Japan-as-nation. Richard Calichman translates this phrase as "whole" specifically because of a philosophical relationship between the whole-part that Calichman recognizes in Takeuchi's writing:

> Consistent with the logic of the whole-part relation, the nation is conceptualized by Takeuchi as a whole whose parts include not only its citizens (the *kokumin* of the *kokumin bungaku*, as it were) but also literature itself. Hence the proper reflection of the nation in or through *kokumin bungaku* is in fact a reflection of the whole in its parts. The part derives its identity strictly by virtue of its

> participation in the whole, whose essence it naturally expresses.[119]

Calichman's analysis of Takeuchi's underlying logic regrading the relationship between individuals, the nation, and literary production holds true throughout Takeuchi's engagement with the concept of national literature. I have specifically chosen the term "aggregate," however, to bring attention to the way that a "part" of literary production has been scaled to its "whole." As Calichman states, it is the part that derives identity from the whole—a whole that by definition already possesses a naturally expressed essence. By contrast, the concept of the nation "in the aggregate," requires constant reinvestigations and recalibrations. Whereas a "whole" can assert its own "wholeness" teleologically vis-à-vis its relationship with the "part," an "aggregate" cannot be accounted for without dutiful and continuous observation. The intention here is to acknowledge a more granular range of literary "parts," even when they do not initially appear to derive their identity from the "whole" of the nation.

As a scholar of Chinese literature, Takeuchi was intent on understanding how the relationship between print culture and political action could diverge so significantly when comparing Japan and China's literary modernity. The "aggregate" of modern national literature in China represented more than philosophical implications in the whole-part relation. It signified a clear and definable radical praxis, a material history of democratic literary production that proved essential to China's resistance to imperialism and revolutionary successes. As far as Takeuchi understand this process, the success of Chinese literature could be located in the de-centralization of print capital and the shift of intellectual production beyond a core of urban intellectuals. If Calichman's reading of the "whole" indicates a directionality—a part that reflects the whole—it appears that Takeuchi was more concerned with a *generative*, rather than reflexive relationship.

[119] Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi: Displacing the West*, 65.

Takeuchi focuses on an "aggregate" of national literary production that would *create* the conditions whereby revolutionary cultural production could generate a new and previously unattainable aspect of nation. And in a practical sense, Takeuchi is keenly aware of the scalar relationship between national and regional literature. In a roundtable in 1953, Hanada Kiyoteru (花田清輝, 1909-1974) mentions that he knows one hundred times more about the European intelligentsia than he does about the developments that informed Chinese intellectual culture. He asks Takeuchi if there is a relationship between the existence of "modern" intellectual classes—presumably those that are predisposed to be concerned with the "worlded" nature of Western intellectual history—and the eventual creation of National Literature. Takeuchi responds:

> There is certainly a connection. This was one result of the war. Ethnic migration had a large role in the blending of peoples. However, I don't think that alone is sufficient to explain the connection. Urban culture also has a tendency to permeate rural areas. And it does, to a certain degree, but never quite enough. It cannot fully infiltrate these areas. It is at that moment, then, that a reversal occurs. Rural areas experience land reform. They begin living prosperous lives. People who, until that moment, had been entirely illiterate gain literacy. They develop a desire to read. Literature is born when this level is reached. At first it occurs spontaneously, but it soon becomes organized. Moreover, it begins absorbing elements of tradition. When this culture reaches a higher stage it soon begins exerting a pressure on the cities. In this so-called "Mao Course" rural areas soon envelop the cities. Things that are considered of value are now produced in farming villages, and through that power they are able to absorb the culture of the cities. That, finally, is the moment of nationalization.[120]

Although it seems likely that Takeuchi is oversimplifying the structure and development of Chinese literary culture, essentially parroting the early stages of the CCP's mythologization of the rural classes, this view of National Literature demonstrates a heightened concern for the directionality of national scales, the instant of generative production seen in revolutionary action, and the inseparability of political goals from the material production of culture.

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[120] Cited from the roundtable "Japan's Modernity and National Literature" (「日本の近代と国民文学」 *Nihon no kindai to kokumin bungaku*) featuring Takeuchi, Itō Sei, Hirano Ken, Hotta Yoshie, and Hanada. Originally published in the December, 1953 volume of *Shin Nihon bungaku.* Cited here from *Traces of the National Literature Debate*, 68. Although many roundtables from this volume demonstrate Takeuchi's targeted interest in the radical literature of China's rural revolutionaries, this particular session explores the concept and political positionality of farmer/writers in postwar China in depth.

Takeuchi himself was not publishing regularly in regional journals during the period he most actively advocated for a new National Literature, but there is strong evidence that he was just as aware of the print culture developing in rural Japan as he was of Chinese rural literary practices. Takeuchi's unwavering focus on revolutionary Chinese literary culture was directly inspired by the transformation of the Chinese literary subject from urban intellectual to rural laborer. Takeuchi was sympathetic to both rural laborers and the materiality of their literary production. As Lawrence Olson notes, Takeuchi was particularly fond of the Labor-Farmer Faction (労農派 *Rōnōha*) Marxist leader, Yamakawa Hitoshi (山川均, 1880-1958), "whom he liked for his clear, jargon-free style" and Takeuchi published frequently in limited-run research magazines that closely resembled the democratic publishing trends sweeping regional Japan.[121] On the topic of National Literature specifically, Olson speculates:

> Criticizing the customary division of Japanese fiction into "high" and "low" writing, works of aesthetic excellence by acknowledged stylistic masters such as Tanizaki or Kawabata, and potboilers for the mass market, [Takeuchi] called for a people's literature (*kokumin bungaku*) that would spring from communal sentiment. It is hard to know just what he had in mind; presumably, something analogous to Lu Xun's genre pieces from the Chinese villages, or perhaps Synge's Irish fishermen, or Brecht's Mother Courage. … To Takeuchi, Mao's base in the peasantry was an internal country, a country of the mind as well as a geographical entity, a place where both revolution in social relationships and an overturning of individual values could take place. Only out of such a base could a true people's literature ever come.[122]

Even if we concede that Takeuchi himself was not particularly active in rural publishing during this period,[123] it seems clear that he would have been familiar with the activities of his close

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[121] Lawrence Olson, *Ambivalent Moderns: Portraits in Japanese Cultural Identity* (Savage: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), 48. Although not part of Takeuchi's postwar output, we would be remiss to ignore the publishing format of the research journal Takeuchi helped edit and publish in the mid-1930s, *Chūgoku bungaku geppō* (『中国文学月報』). Olson describes it as a "small, twelve-page mimeographed bulletin." Perhaps Takeuchi recognized his own radical past in the postwar boom of independently organized mimeographed magazines.

[122] Olson, 58-59.

[123] The lone example I have been able to find is Takeuchi's article "The Situation in China and Chinese/Japanese Relations" (「中国の現状と日華関係」 *Chūgoku no genjō to nikka kankei*) in the December, 1952 issue of *Shinano kyōiku* (『信濃教育』), the literary journal of the Nagano Prefectural Board of Education.

friends and interlocutors in the debate. Odagiri Hideo especially was active in regional presses from the beginning of the Occupation-period. He published in Aomori's *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』, which will feature prominently in Chapter 4), Sapporo's *Shijōritu* (『至上律』, a poetry journal that resumed publication after shutting down during the later years of the war, also published under the title *Les Rythmes Souverains*), Odawara's *Kazanha* (『火山派』), and Marugame's *Shikoku bungaku* (『四国文学』), among others. Noma Hiroshi, whom Takeuchi praised for the ability to aptly summarize the National Literature debate, published in rural journals from the position of an established writer guiding the masses. In April, 1948 he published the article "An Outlook on New Literature" (「新しい文学への展望」*Atarashii bungaku he no tenbō*) in the rural journal *Gunsei* (『群星』), published in Aichi Prefecture's Takaoka Village (高岡村), and a two-part essay called "Liberation Literature"(「解放の文学」*Kaihō no bungaku*) in the May and July, 1946 issues of the journal *Minsei* (『民生』) in Suwa (諏訪市), Nagano. Given Takeuchi's own interests and his frequent collaborations, he would have certainly been aware of the activity of other members of the debate—and how those activities tied directly to their advocacy of a new, democratic National Literature.

Of course, this context is not presented with the intent to argue that postwar regional literature was perfectly congruent with Takeuchi's vision for National Literature. In August, 1952, Takeuchi wrote: "National Literature as such does not yet exist, nor has it been sketched out conceptually in a sufficient manner. The original advocates for National Literature have not yet done this, nor has a concept of National Literature been accepted generally."[124] Takeuchi continues, designating the literary establishment as the fundamental impediment to National

[124] Takeuchi, "The Problem of National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 80.

Literature's emergence:

> The deformity of Japanese literature is expressed in the phrase "a lack of National Literature." If we press toward a structural cause for this, we will uncover an anti-modern stance represented by the literary establishment guild. … Our subject is "the aggregate." It is neither the literature of the *bundan*, nor is it democratic literature. Rather, it is the literary life of the Japanese people as such. In this sense there are no intrinsic problems. We must, of course, maintain a literary methodology to the very end (my opinion here does not align with the so-called "Theorists of the Popular Line"). Yet our method differs completely in that we do not assess problems vis-à-vis the literary establishment's consciousness.
>
> In my opinion, the coterie based around *Kindai bungaku* takes only establishment literature as its subject—its object of analysis—or the people that appear in those works, or the consciousness of the authors of those works. Don't they therefore fail to problematize the structural foundation upon which these aspects exist? Even if we are to theorize the literature of the establishment, we must still tackle this subject from the perspective of "the aggregate," the literary life of the Japanese people.[125]

Takeuchi makes clear that the core failure of both the literary establishment and advocates for National Literature have failed to recognize that literary production that exists beyond the world of professional, urban intellectuals. Similar to Takeuchi's stance on the revolutionary literature of China's "Mao Course," the foundation of National Literature must appear in the cultural production of non-elite intellectuals, not from pure literature's national readership or the widespread propagation of popular fiction.

Despite Takeuchi's disavowal of National Literature being extant in the moment of the debate, we can see from his other writings that he recognizes the imminent possibility of its emergence. If a new National Literature is to emerge from the "aggregate," or the literary life of the Japanese people, it will by Takeuchi's definition emerge from the intellectual activities beyond the confines of the *bundan*. In the context of intellectual activity, Takeuchi makes a much clearer assertion:

> Because it is the question of National Literature that we have addressed from the very beginning, we cannot be thrown off track by focusing on a battle for hegemony over the bundan. We must always theorize National Literature from its essence. It is essential that we discuss the topic for the

[125] Takeuchi, "The Problem of National Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 84-85.

> purpose of grasping *the mature thought which exists within the masses*.[126]

As is common with Takeuchi's literary and political advocacy from this period, he identifies a fertile intellectual ground within the lives of ordinary people, one that is already capable of allowing National Literature to take root. There is no urgency that suggests that National Literature's delayed appearance equates to a future failure of literary production. In fact, Takeuchi differs entirely from the standard JCP line at the time which asserted the necessity for an intensely politicized literature to emerge if National Literature were to ensure "liberation." Takeuchi, on the other hand, firmly believes in the "mature thought" of the people, and advocates for literature's full autonomy from the political—especially party politics.

> I value literature's autonomy. I think a literature without autonomy is no literature at all. … Literature cannot take the place of politics, just as politics cannot take the place of literature. My goal is the liberation of all humanity. With regard to this goal, politics and literature must possess some responsibility in their respective positions. On the one hand, to write a novel is a political act, yet the novel's general expression and style are literary acts. True autonomy is based on the execution of responsibilities in each of these functions, and the organic intertwining of the work's goal.[127]

It seems clear that Takeuchi's confidence in both the intellectual life of the people and their ability to produce the works necessary to incite political and literary revolution takes some inspiration from the recency of Mao's success in China and the concomitant appearance—constructed or otherwise—of a rural, revolutionary literary base. As if in an act of self-preservation, the *bundan* gradually absorbed the Debate on National Literature for its own purposes, often to advocate for a particular political trend within establishment works or to support a specific government official with whom the writer had ties. In an essay Takeuchi

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[126] Originally published in the November, 1952 volume of *Gunzō* as "Autonomy and Other Aspects of Literature" (「文学の自律性など」 *Bungaku no jiritsusei nado*). Cited here from Takeuchi, *A Theory of National Literature*, 3. Emphasis mine.

[127] Takeuchi, "Autonomy and Other Aspects of Literature," *A Theory of National Literature*, 6.

published in 1948, "The Political Nature of Chinese Literature," he takes aim at these points in particular and draws a direct comparison to Chinese literature. He opens the essay by addressing the ongoing Politics and Literature Debate, noting that Nakano Shigeharu's literature retains some aspect of narrowness *as Japanese literature*:

> Perhaps this closedness even demonstrates the literary establishment's guild consciousness—or exposes the weakness of their organizational power, their inability to mobilize the masses through their debates. On one extreme, that weakness takes the form of a demand for support from members of the Diet's Upper House. Perhaps the problem is that politics are made objective precisely because their debates do not occur in an open or political forum. It is here, looking at these problems as a researcher of Chinese literature, that I see Japanese distortions appear. Why? Because in Chinese literature it would simply be unthinkable that a problem would exist due to the objectification of politics. In Chinese literature, the nature of literature's existence is originally political. That is to say, it is widely understood that literature is fundamentally open and adheres closely to politics.[128]

Takeuchi continues, outlining how the interrelation of literature and politics in China functions not strictly as a subjective or philosophical transformation of culture, but as a matter of materiality and production.

> There is a difference in political sensibilities [in China and Japan]. Why is this so? Because Chinese literature has been liberated from its "guild." It is not produced in order to be consumed by those within the guild, but rather to be consumed by those in an open and unified society, even if the market is extremely small. The nature of literature's existence is functional, rather than noumenal. Writers are thought of not as artisans, but as thinkers of free, ordinary sensibility.[129]

Here we begin to see the overlap between the successful "nationalization" of Chinese literature and the print culture developing beyond the intellectual center of urban print capital. The success of the "Mao Course" National Literature in China involved not only an aesthetic reorientation, but a literal material transformation, a wholesale decentralization of intellectual production from urban elites to scattered and independent democratic publishers. Likewise in postwar Japan, the

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[128] Although this essay predates the official opening of the Debate in 1952, the topics addressed relate closely to Takeuchi's initial position on National Literature. This essay has since been collected in *The Collected Works of Takeuchi Yoshimi* as the opening essay of the volume on National Literature. Cited here as, Takeuchi Yoshimi (竹内好), "The Political Nature of Chinese Literature" (「中国文学の政治性」 *Chūgokubungaku no seijisei*), in *The Collected Works of Takeuchi Yoshimi, Volume 7* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1981), 4-5.

[129] Takeuchi, "The Political Nature of Chinese Literature," *Collected Works*, 8.

explosion of independent rural print arrived alongside a reformed vision of democratic literary culture that opposed the kinds of commercialization embodied by the *bundan*. Given Takeuchi's attention to the politicization of modern Chinese literature, we can feel confident that he could recognize even as early as 1948 that regional writers themselves were adopting this course of cultural production, re-centering the possibility for democratic reforms in both the activity and materiality of their own writing.

Postwar Ruins, the Mimeograph, and the Regionality of Print Culture

In a material sense, the contours of postwar literary history cannot be decoupled from either the destruction of Allied bombings in the closing months of the war or the rapid effort to rebuild urban Japan in the opening years of the postwar period. Given their location closest to areas targeted by bombing raids, the urban presses were nearly wiped out by August, 1945. Based on the records Fukushima Jūrō was able to examine, 707 printers in Tokyo were affected by bombings, leaving 554 active in the early postwar period. In Osaka, 227 printers were destroyed, leaving 210. The statistics from northern Tōhoku are drastically different. Only thirteen printers were destroyed in Aomori, leaving thirty-nine intact. Six were destroyed in Iwate, leaving forty. And no printers were destroyed in Akita, leaving thirty-seven.[130] This drastic decrease in urban print capacity forced many established writers to publish their novels and essays in regional venues as their only alternative. Dazai Osamu was a particularly famous case. In 1944, he

[130] All numbers cited from Fukushima Jūrō (福島鑄郎), ed., *The Excavation of Postwar Magazines, New Edition: The Psychology of A Scorched-Earth Era* (『新版戦後雑誌発掘：焦土時代の精神』 *Shinpan sengo zasshi hakkutsu: Shōdo jidai no seishin*) (Tokyo: Yōsensha, 1985), 591.

received a convalescent diary from a reader recovering from an illness in Kyoto. Dazai novelized this diary under the title *Voice of the Lark* (『雲雀の声』*Hibari no koe*) and sent the manuscript to the publisher Oyama shoten (小山書店). After their press was destroyed in a bombing raid, Dazai was able to recover his galley proofs and rewrite the work to be published as a serialized novel. This became Dazai's novel *Pandora's Box* (『パンドラの匣』*Pandora no hako*), originally published between October, 1945 and January, 1946 with the Sendai-based regional newspaper publisher *Kahoku shinpōsha* (河北新報社).[131]

Urban printers were severely limited in their ability to publish new works. Not only were many of their presses inoperable, they had to deal with severe shortages of paper and ink. Unable to procure the materials necessary to scale their production up to wartime or prewar levels, professional writers turned to other venues to maintain a steady flow of work. Regional presses—especially those with significant capital holdings, such as *Kahoku shinpōsha* or other major newspapers—rushed to publish new works in their newspapers and prepped an onslaught of general interest magazines to fulfill the intense desire for published materials that had been freed from the oppressive control of the militarist government. This boom, however, would be short-lived. One need only consider the postwar history of the Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes to understand how quickly urban print capital was rebuilt and "national" print culture was re-centralized:

> On 8 February 1945, the 20th Akutagawa Prize was awarded to Shimizu Motoyoshi for his novel *Karitachi* (*The Flight of the Wild Geese*). On 15 June 1949, the 21st award of the prize honored Yuki Shigeko for *Hon no hanashi* (*History of Books*) and Kotani Tsuyoshi for *Kakushō* (*Certainty*). There is no point in emphasizing what for Japan in ruins the four and a half years that separated the two dates meant, but it is certain that the revival of the Akutagawa Prize gave a signal to the media

[131] Sakaki Hiroko (榊弘子), *Sawa Sōichi and Dazai Osamu* (『沙和宗一と太宰治』) (Saitama: Sakitama shuppansha, 2005), 84-85.

> and readers alike: the literary institutions were back in business.[132]

The extent of widespread ruination in the world of urban print closely resembled the experience of publishers immediately after the Great Kanto Earthquake. A temporary retraction seen in the cultural influence and capital accumulation of urban print is seen initially as a literary crisis. Whether or not that crisis was indeed present, the rebuilding efforts of urban print after both bouts of ruination in urban Japan ensured no such decentralization could occur.

The stunning ability of print capitalism to claw its way from the ashes of yet another disaster forms the background for Takeuchi's central concerns with publishing and commercialism. Without question, Japan's wartime experience and process of rebuilding had reshaped the structural possibilities of literary authorship and readership. More people were writing and reading literary works in the late-1940s and early-1950s than at any previous point in Japan's history. Yet there was still no clear progress made towards dismantling the literary establishment itself and replacing that structure with a democratically driven participatory print culture. Instead, the core disruption of the *bundan*'s intellectual position arrives with the swiftly reconstituted urban press catering to postwar reader's desire for new material—any material. Takeuchi writes:

> What is called the literary establishment of Japan is in fact a distinctive guild society. One cannot participate in the establishment without the official recognition of a uniform qualification and the mode of acquiring that privileged status is determined by participation. Thus, this becomes the breeding grounds of the I-novel and its place as uniquely Japanese. This structure has gradually collapsed based on the effects of the war and the expansion of commercialism. Yet the literary elite remain today because the feudal nature of Japanese society has not suddenly disappeared. The form of the establishment, however, has transformed completely when compared to its past. The qualifications for official recognition, as well as the hierarchical status of the inner circle of the literary elite, are now no longer decided by the authority of the literary elite, but rather by the

[132] Anne Bayard-Sakai, "The Literary Institution and the Case of the Akutagawa Prize," in *Japan's Postwar*, edited by Michael Lucken, Anne Bayard-Sakai, and Emmanuel Lozerand, translated by J. A. A. Stockwin (London: Routledge, 2011) 163.

> commercialism of journalism. The pure guild has been dismantled.[133]

To some degree, Takeuchi recognizes the progress that has been made in dismantling the *bundan*'s stranglehold over literary production. Rather than a "pure guild" structure where the literary elite not only controlled the stylistic aspects of literature, but also the access to presses, the postwar world marks the emergence of a fully commercialized print endeavor. Takeuchi notes the unprecedented rate at which novels are being published, yet lambasts those very same works for their inability to make sufficient progress towards democratizing literary culture. A fundamental paradox exists when the rate at which "the masses" are able to read and publish is inextricably tied to the propagation of print capital.

> We might consider the failure of growth in "The New Japanese Literature Association" (新日本文学会 *Shin Nihon bungakukai*). Its aim was the creation a new formation of the literary elite—and it failed to discover any new, effective organizational principle that could resist commercialism. Approval for dismantling the literary elite should come first, followed then by the creation of a path towards cultivating original authors. Under the domination of contemporary literary authority this may be so difficult as to be impossible, yet without this it is unlikely that any new literature will be born.[134]

As Takeuchi points out here, reestablishing print capital only reifies the reach and influence of *print capital*. Success eludes both the authors who participate in that system and those outside of it who intend to participate in a new National Literature.

The postwar process of re-centralizing print culture closely resembles the experience of center/periphery writers and publishers in the 1920s and 30s. Louis Young explains this earlier process as one of *Tokyo-centrism*:

> Intellectuals, the literati in particular, stood at the heart of this process. Literary production in the early twentieth century was concerned, overwhelmingly, with everyday life. Because their depictions of life in the metropolis, in the provincial town, and in the rural village critically shaped urban and rural imaginaries, writers occupied a central role in the production of Tokyo-centrism. Moreover, faith in Tokyo's centrality was most fervently felt in high cultural circles. For writers, artists, and musicians, the metropolitan stage represented a singular pinnacle of achievement. Their

[133] Takeuchi, "What is Independence in Literature," *Collected Works*, 77.

[134] Takeuchi, "What is Independence in Literature," *Collected Works*, 78.

> fixation with Tokyo emerged from the intimate relationship between the literati and institutions of the press and the schools. Built up in the late nineteenth century as instruments of national integration, newspapers and the educational system created networks that connected urban communities, and they provided a conduit that channeled talent and ambition to the capital. In the process, they became important vehicles for the production and dissemination of Tokyo-centrism. More than any other, these two modernizing institutions gave definition to the literati as a social formation and cultural force. They offered a meeting ground and a stage, shaping the ethos of the literati and propelling them to social prominence and influence. Like the institutions that fostered them, the literati became instruments of Tokyo-centrism.[135]

Japan's wider imperial ambitions ensured that this process of centralization would not go to waste. The nationalization of urban literary thought was quickly repurposed for the war effort. This occurred not only in those moments of *tenkō* that so deeply concerned the postwar literary elites, however. The centralization of totalitarian government power opened the door for unprecedented levels of suppression in peripheral areas of the Japanese empire, including the rural poor. Governmental control over print publishing became an explicit extension of Japanese nation building. For independent publishers outside the metropole, this was felt most keenly in the government's effort to stamp out non-state "popular" agrarian sentiment. Self-expression in local newspapers and magazines became an immediate target for suppression, replacing democratic agrarian reform with centralized, codified preconceptions of rural life that would fall in line with national and imperial production. Mariko Tamanoi describes how this project was carried out during the wartime years in rural Nagano:

> The agrarianism I will present here, even though it was advocated by middling farmers in the 1920s and 1930s, was by no means "popular." The state was heavily involved in promoting it. … The state also assaulted vestiges of village autonomy by encouraging farmers to participate in a nationwide movement that was nonetheless called the Local Improvement Movement (*chihō kairyō undō*). Furthermore, facing a rise in tenant disputes, the state attempted to suppress so-called dangerous thought of socialism, communism and anarchism among the village youth, while offering "alternatives" in order to lessen their grievances.[136]

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[135] Louise Young, *Beyond the Metropolis: Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 37.

[136] Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 139.

For rural interwar writers who were exposed to the possibilities of independent print for the first time, the centralization of literary culture in urban Japan meant the simultaneous provincialization of their own output. Hoyt Long has described this as the process of creating a "spatial capital":

> In early 1924, by which time Tokyo's reinstatement as the nation's literary center was no longer a matter for debate, some writers and critics still imagined that shift in spatial structure, or at least a more optimal balance of power, might yet be achieved. … Absent from these later essays [on regional literature] was any sense that the geographical position of the *bundan* was still in flux. No longer a question of how to eliminate or pluralize the center, the concern now lay with how to promote literary activities outside a place whose dominance was once again unassailable. … a field of production in which the material infrastructure for producing text was coterminous with the physical location of most of its producers.[137]

Thus, for postwar writers who were both rediscovering the radical possibilities of independent print *and* witnessing the rapid re-establishment of centralized urban print culture, recognizing one's own ruralness meant acknowledging a disquieting premonition, a vision of one's own provincialization. Identifying a shift in print culture from interwar to postwar Japan must happen here: in the correlation between publishing infrastructure, scaled space and location, and created structures of cultural dominance. Rural writers in the interwar were required to rely on the *bundan* and its access to print capital precisely because it was a precious, yet centralized resource. Writers in the postwar period, however, had access not only to the growing number of small- to medium-sized printers in their local cities, but to an unprecedented number of mimeographs. These small contraptions, paired with a new consciousness of democratic praxis and local space, offered the strongest challenge to Tokyo's spatial capital to date.

The cultural history of the mimeograph's development and popularization in Japan cannot be decoupled from the material history of print in rural Japan. Horii Shinjirō (堀井新次郎, 1856-

[137] Hoyt Long, *On Uneven Ground: Miyazawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 44.

1932) first witnessed the operation of a mimeograph at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. After returning to Japan, he immediately applied for a license to produce the machines, which was granted in March, 1894.[138] By September of that year, Horii was selling licensed mimeograph machines to individuals and regional government offices in Mie, Chiba, Shizuoka, Gunma, Akita, Kanagawa, Kyoto, Fukushima, Shiga, Saitama, and Korea.[139] In each case, the mimeograph was headed to a location that was otherwise unlikely to have access to small-scale printing presses. Horii's licensed mimeograph quickly outpaced sales of other reproduction methods, including the first replicator for Japanese paper and brush developed in Iwate.[140] Mimeographs became essential tools for Japanese wartime bureaucracy and administration during the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. Soldiers returned to their farming villages as "mimeograph soldiers" (謄写版兵 *tōshabanhei*) and quickly began producing mimeographed pamphlets for local consumption.[141] The first wave of mimeograph popularization in late-Meiji spurred a concomitant boom in paper making: both for the mimeograph's stencil paper as well as paper for printing. Mimeograph stencil paper eventually came to be associated with two paper-making areas, Kōchi and Minō, Gifu. This early local dominance would continue on despite the disruptions caused by the war. Minō alone held 75 to 80 percent of the Japanese market share of stencil paper in the postwar period.[142]

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[138] Tamura Norio (田村紀夫) and Shimura Shōko (志村章子), eds., *Cultural History of the Mimeograph: The Story of Handmade Media* (『ガリ版文化史：手づくりメディアの物語』*Gariban bunkashi: tezukuri media no monogatari*) (Tokyo: Shinjuku shobō, 1985), 18.

[139] Tamura and Shimura, *Cultural History*, 21.

[140] Tamura and Shimura, *Cultural History*, 19.

[141] Tamura and Shimura, *Cultural History*, 24.

[142] Shimura Shōko (志村章子), *The Tale of the Mimeograph* (『ガリ版ものがたり』*Gariban no gatari*) (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 2012), 3.

The non-capital intensive reality of producing both mimeograph machines and their printed products proved a boon for regional publishing of all kinds. Shimura Shōko (志村章子, 1939-) notes the role mimeographs played in documenting the lasting environmental destruction of the Ashio Mine Gas Incident (足尾鉱毒事件 *Ashio kōdoku jiken*) from the Meiji period to the 1960s and 70s, the role mimeograph literature played in Miyazawa Kenji's career in both Tokyo and in Iwate, and the establishment of "youth magazines" in the Taishō period—a particularly popular form of independent print that would make up a significant portion of new magazines published in the first decade of the postwar period.[143] During the Showa period, four major developments in the Kansai region could be tied directly to the mimeograph itself: 1. The mimeograph allowed publishers to sell not only print materials published using the device, but—if necessary—publishers could sell the mimeograph itself with ease; 2. The popularization of the mimeograph meant that writers in the Kansai region moved from having access to some tens of printers to some hundreds of printers; 3. Mimeograph printers tended to focus on social leaflets or educational materials, making them less reliant on the established literary market place; 4. Mimeographs were the principal reason coterie literary journal culture could be established in the Kansai region.[144] Mimeographs upended not only the aesthetic or literary components of publishing, but the material process through which literature was produced. Again, Fukushima's analysis of wartime destruction estimated that about half of Kansai printers either evacuated the

[143] Shimura, *The Tale of the Mimeograph*, 56-85 and 104-120. This volume provides numerous additional examples, including a careful investigation of the use and abandonment of the Iwate-designed Yamauchi duplicator that preceded the arrival of the mimeograph. Another volume by Shimura, *Exploring Mimeograph Culture*: *A Hundred Years of Copying* (『ガリ版文化を歩く：謄写版の百年』*Gariban bunka wo aruku: tōshaban no hyakunen*) (Tokyo: Shinjuku shobō, 1995), further expands on these developments, highlighting the role the mimeograph played in developing workplace publishing organizations and the distribution of leftist thought.

[144] Ueda Yutaka (上田裕), *Cultural History of the Mimeograph*, 178-187.

area at the end of the war, had their printing materials destroyed in bombings, or were killed outright. The first mimeograph magazines to appear in the Kansai region in the immediate postwar period are published before 1945 comes to a close. By 1947, and well through 1948, they reach a high-water mark that surpasses the publishing activity that came before—and after. This was the mimeograph's "golden age"—a term confirmed and repeated in Shimura's research, as well. Without question, these features of mimeograph print culture should not be understood as an analysis of Kansai print exclusively. Print culture in northern Japan follows similar trends and Tōhoku enters its own "golden age" of mimeograph publishing in the early postwar period.

In Iwate, about half of all magazines that survive from this early postwar period are mimeographed texts.[145] Printed materials that survive in the Prange Collection from other areas of northern Tōhoku demonstrate similar ratios of mimeograph texts. And yet even using "Iwate" as the spatial criterion for this seemingly straightforward survey of print development presents certain problems. The ratio of mimeograph magazines increases substantially if we look only at those magazines published outside of Morioka, Iwate's largest city. Looking beyond Iwate's urban core, we find that 42 of 51 titles—just over 80 percent—are mimeographed. Not only are magazines published outside of Morioka more likely to be mimeographed, they are more likely to be mimeographed at a much later date than similar magazines published in Morioka. Even short-run *dōjinshi* published in Morioka after 1948 seem to have found a printer for their new volumes—coterie poetry magazines and union literary journals are common examples of this

[145] The Institute of 20th Century Media's searchable database of Prange Collection materials lists 111 titles as being published in Iwate. Of the microforms available in UCLA's holdings, 53 of 104 magazines were published at least partially via duplication. These numbers are not intended to give a final accounting of postwar magazine publishing in Iwate, as a survey of regional libraries and local booksellers has shown a portion of surviving magazines from this period were not collected in the Prange (and certainly many others have not survived or not yet been discovered).

shift. By contrast, the "rural" magazines of Iwate[146] seem conscious, if not proud, of their mimeographed publishing format even through 1955 and later. In Ōtsuchi (大槌) a village on Iwate's coast, a group of writers gathered under the name "The Blue Horse Group" and began publishing their new literary magazine *Blue Horse* (『青い馬』) in December, 1955. The magazine was published via mimeograph in Ishidoriya by the "Modern Mimeograph Company" (近代孔版社 *Kindai kōhansha*). The magazine's editor, Sasaki Chūichi (佐々木忠一, or perhaps Sasaki Tadakazu) writes in the magazine's founding statement:

> In a peaceful town near Hayachine, there in the valley, the *dōjinshi Blue Horse* has taken up the voices of the lonely. … This long path that we will walk is no simple task. We can be tricked to follow any number of paths filled with thorns. From our ideal path we might fall into a path of vulgar desire and opportunism, or perhaps we might even slip and fall. This alone, however, may be enough for us (同人諸君 *dōjin shokun*) to be completely depleted. We must be grounded in our deep sense of humanity, give hope to that which forms the background of our thought and creation, and struggle towards works with a true form.[147]

Sasaki pays particular attention to the *form* of the magazine, the coterie members who will make up both the magazine's core producers and readership, and a kind of writing that will faithfully represent this particular material and organizational mode of publishing. *Blue Horse* makes for a particularly instructive example for three reasons: First, the magazine begins publishing after the wave of Occupation-period mimeographed journals had crested. Reliable printers were already quite active in Kamaishi (釜石), the coastal city just south of Ōtsuchi, by the late-1940s. Instead of soliciting a movable press publisher, however, *Blue Horse* elected to send its copy far from the coast to be reproduced by a publisher in inland Iwate specializing in mimeographed reproductions. Second, the journal takes its name from the coterie journal published by Iwanami

[146] Of course, calling a magazine published outside of Morioka a "rural" Iwate magazine is rife with problematic, often concentric scalar concepts. This designation, although often used within these magazines themselves, tends to further provincialize "the rural of the rural" as a mode of writing—this will be further explored in Chapter 4.

[147] Sasaki Chūichi (佐々木忠一), "Founding Statement" (「創刊の辞」 *Sōkan no ji*), *Blue Horse* (『青い馬』*Aoi uma*) Inaugural Issue (December, 1955), 4.

shoten in Tokyo in the early-1930s, *Blue Horse* (『青い馬』), which was already well-known as the magazine featuring Sakaguchi Ango's debut works.[148] Finally, it appears Sasaki remained active in the world of regional publishing for his entire life. His works can also be found in the March, 1998 and March, 2003 volumes of *Hayachine Culture* (『早池峰文化』*Hayachine bunka*), the literary organ of the Ōtsuchi Board of Education.

Although only one representative of many, *Blue Horse*'s materiality and editorial stance make clear that the magazine intends to re-envision a local democratic print while also participating in the longer history of independent coterie journals, one that stretches back to the beginning of mimeographed print culture and holds close ties to the emergence of the literary elite. Postwar Ōtsuchi's *Blue Horse*, and many of the magazines that will follow in the remainder of this dissertation, will embody this paradox: The print culture of postwar Tōhoku will be become a simulacrum for "regional literature"—a scalar positionality that writers in northern Japan sometimes joyfully reproduce in their own writing—while also participating in a longer, often idealized re-imagining of national literary practices. In his exploration of "Tōhoku" as representation, Morioka Takashi (森岡卓司, 1972-) explains the contradictory relationship between region/nation (or, returning to Takeuchi's approach, the whole/part):

> Even when our perspective starts from research on modern Japanese literary studies, if we try to take up the region of Tōhoku as an example of research on regional literature, we must first recognize a certain presupposition: It is nearly impossible to accurately "regionalize" that which is called "Tōhoku" (and indeed, "Tōhoku literature").[149]

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[148] The specialty publisher Sanninsha (三人社) recently republished the 1930-1932 print run of the Tokyo based *Blue Horse*, including several explanatory essays. See *Blue Horse* (『青い馬』*Aoi uma*) (Kyoto: 三人社 Sanninsha, 2019). In eight volumes. Sanninsha has republished many similar interwar and wartime journals. For details on Sakaguchi's participation in postwar local media specifically, see Ōhara Yūji (大原祐治), "Writers and Occupation-era Local Media: On Sakuguchi Ango" (「占領期におけるローカル・メディアと文学者：坂口安吾を視座として」*Senryōki ni okeru rōkaru media to bungakusha: Sakaguchi Ango wo shiza toshite*), *Chiba University The Journal of Humanities* (『千葉大学人文研究』*Chiba daigaku jinbun kenkyū*) Vol. 41 (2012): 83-115.

[149] Morioka Takashi (森岡卓司), "The Representation of 'Tōhoku' and the Regional Literature Movement in Modern Japanese Literature" (「近代日本文学における「東北」表象と地方文学運動」*Kindai Nihon bungaku ni okeru*

> A certain irony presents itself in the synecdochical expression of a "whole." A "whole" cannot attain without integrating the "part." This leaves us questioning the conclusions of a logic that asserts any presupposition wherein the "whole/part" exists as a comprehensive relation. It seems possible that we might discern this ironical question within the literature or cultural movements of Tōhoku in the 1940s by examining the conditions through which it permeates not just narrative contents, but a deeper level of image and rhetoric.[150]

Tōhoku's (if not regional Japan generally) ironic positionality as a constitutive part of a (somehow) always already "whole" nation inspired a burst of literary production. In the postwar context, however, it also offered an unsettling ease with which rural writers could dismiss their participation in the wartime project and recast their postwar publications as radically democratic despite there being no substantial rupture in the materiality of the texts' production.[151] Takahashi Shūtarō expands on the problematic spatial relationship between war guilt and literary production:

> [During the war] the city and the country were viewed in contradistinction, wherein the rural was emphasized as being particularly superior. This was made possible because it overlapped with a second contradistinction: that between the West and Japan/Asia. This comparison was made in the abstract, making a total reversal quite simple with just a change in conditions. We find this to be the case in the dramatic ideological conversions that took place in postwar Japan.[152]

"Tōhoku" hyōshō to chihō bungaku undō), *Modern Japanese Literary Studies* (『日本近代文学』*Nihon kindai bungaku*) Vol. 96 (May, 2017), 146.

[150] Morioka Takashi (森岡卓司), "Regional Literary Research and the Representation of 'Tōhoku' in Modern Japan" (「地方文学研究と近代日本における〈東北〉表象」*Chihō bungaku kenkyū to kindai Nihon ni okeru "Tōhoku" hyōshō*), in Takahashi Shūtarō (高橋秀太郎) and Morioka Takashi (森岡卓司), eds., *Representing "Tōhoku" in the 1940s: Literature, Cultural Movements, Regional Magazines* (『一九四〇年代の〈東北〉表象：文学・文化運動・地方雑誌』*Sen'yonjū nendai no "Tōhoku" hyōshō: bungaku, bunka undo, chihō zasshi*) (Sendai: *Tōhoku daigaku shuppankai*, 2018), 10.

[151] This connection has been noted by most scholars of wartime regional culture and is explored in depth in Chapter 4. Morioka notes that in the case of northern Japan, it was actually Takamura Kōtaro (高村光太郎) who evacuates to Hanamaki, Iwate and repurposes the wartime network of governmental and media literary groups for a revival of postwar rural print culture. See Morioka, "The Representation of 'Tōhoku'," 149.

[152] Takahashi Shūtarō (高橋秀太郎), "Region in *Bungaku hōkoku* and *Gekkan Tōhoku* / The Rise and Fall of Tōhoku Representations" (「『文学報国』『月刊東北』における地方／東北表象の消長」Bungaku hōkoku Gekkan Tōhoku *ni okeru chihō / Tōhoku no shōchō*), in eds., *Representing "Tōhoku" in the 1940s: Literature, Cultural Movements, Regional Magazines* (『一九四〇年代の〈東北〉表象：文学・文化運動・地方雑誌』*Sen'yonjū nendai no "Tōhoku" hyōshō: bungaku, bunka undo, chihō zasshi*) (Sendai: *Tōhoku daigaku shuppankai*, 2018), 71.

One way that we might dispel the many paradoxes and ironies of regional literary production—particularly when following that particular history from its beginnings in the Meiji period through the social transformations of the postwar period—is to reconsider what exactly we have taken as the object of study when we approach "regional literature." Before the opening, microforming, and digitization of the Prange Collection, researchers intending to investigate rural literary practices were often restricted to a handful of "canonized" texts that had become successfully archived, collected, and re-published through the intellectual labor of *bundan* reception and the literal labor of urban print capital. These two forms of labor worked to filter regional print into those materials considered archivable and those considered immaterial. That is to say, they began the process of codifying scales of literature in a kind of concept-work. Scalar concept-work kickstarted an ideological misapprehension of regional literary production. Rural writers who "broke through" to the mainstream were held up as representative of a print culture that was in fact more disconnected from central print practices than previously assumed. In the current moment, a methodological shift appears to be underway, where literary and historical researchers set aside the most oft-reproduced works found in national collections and instead take up the actual print products of rural writers as their objects of inquiry. This change follows similar methodological realignments in postwar literary studies. As Yoshida Noriaki (吉田則昭, 1965-) notes, histories of postwar media studies have been transformed by recently opened collections and digitized databases. As one example, when the Fukushima Jūrō Collection opened to researchers, media studies scholars quickly recognized that the contents (mostly centered around "low-brow" *kasutori* magazines) had gone uncollected in previous archives—and therefore had generally existed outside of the consideration of postwar media scholars.[153]

[153] Yoshida Noriaki (吉田則昭), "15 Years of Occupation-era Magazine Studies: Media History, Databases, and the

Current trends in rural research appear to be headed in a similar direction. The serious consideration of independent rural print in its "aggregate" is reshaping our perception of postwar literary histories.

Regional Print as Democratic Action

Investigating the "aggregate" of postwar print culture from northern Tōhoku reveals otherwise unseen legacies, whether reframing postwar concepts of "National Literature" or demonstrating the re-emergence of the mimeograph as the premier printing device for a significant portion of the (now writing) population. The variety of materials explored in this dissertation confirms the difficulty of cordoning off any particular "region" or "literature" within the spatial/scalar concept of "nation." Some examples explored hereafter will appear immediately familiar to researchers working in other "regions"—even Tokyo as region. Yet others will appear to upend our conventional perception of literature under censorship, or the gendered aspects of postwar print culture. Reading the literary output of northern Tōhoku—and accepting the objects that remain as necessarily constitutive of any "national" literature which might be theorized in the postwar period—confirms an unexpectedly unified approach to the process and materiality of writing and publishing beyond urban print capital: Regional print culture in the early postwar period unquestionably demonstrates a spatially-oriented engagement with democratic action—and all of the contradictory messiness that comes along with it.

Chronologically speaking, an analysis of postwar regional print should not be exclusively

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Fukushima Collection" (「占領期雑誌研究の１５年：メディア史、データベース、福島コレクション」*Senryōki zasshi kenkyū no jūgonen: mediashi, deetabeesu, Fukushima korekushon*), *Modern Japanese Literary Studies* (『日本近代文学』*Nihon kindai bungaku*) Vol. 96 (May, 2017), 136.

concerned with literary precedents or easily delineated historical connections. The materials explored in this dissertation complicate and contextualize print activities and cultural movements that follow the first decade of the postwar. Although I will only occasionally touch on the legacies of regional print in the chapters that follow, it is important to note that the unprecedented boom of published materials in the opening years of the Occupation period provided a functional base for cultural and historical movements that followed. The 1950s saw the emergence of a strong *kiroku* (記録) movement that blended politically-minded reportage with *avant-garde* literary sensibilities. Toba Kōji (鳥羽耕史, 1968-) recognizes this trend as one of the most important of the decade, and his research reveals how literary representations of resistance to dam projects, military bases, and mining facilities cannot be considered without also including concepts of regionality and the political intentionality of independent print.[154] The interrelation of politics and print become solidified in the "circle" (サークル) movements that grew more numerous in the late-1950s.[155] The field of historical study was also radically transformed during this period, with rural women challenging established historiographical methodologies by becoming both the object and active subjects of historical inquiry. Curtis Anderson Gayle writes:

> It is hardly surprising that local women's history (*chi'iki josei-shi*) in Japan dates back to the early years after World War II, a time when history-writing in general was becoming an open and accessible field of social practice. Through the writing of history, women in local regions of Japan were able, during the years shortly after the war, to engage in what might be called "subject-creation" by raising their voices and putting into practice their own distinct forms of historical representation. These were to have an impact not only in the way people thought about history, but also on the ability of history to fulfill its postwar promise of providing a voice to those who had previously been

[154] Toba, *1950s*, 114-181. For scholars interested in media studies from this period, this volume is one of the most comprehensive examinations of media-mixing that occurs between print, television, and film during this period.

[155] See Unoda Shōya (宇野田尚哉), Kawaguchi Takayuki (川口隆行), Sakaguchi Hiroshi (坂口博), et al, eds., *Reading "The Era of Circles": An Invitation to Postwar Cultural Movement Research* (『「サークル時代」を読む：戦後文化運動研究への招待』 *"Saakuru jidai" wo yomu: sengo bunka undō he no shōtai*) (Tokyo: Kage shobō, 2016).

> excluded from historical space and historical narratives in modern Japan.[156]
>
> [D]uring the 1950s women in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Ehime were convinced that social liberation was "unsolvable by means of a master discourse" (i.e. socialist revolution) that focused primarily upon structural changes in the mode of production. This would have to be replaced by histories which were, in the minds of the three groups, more "authentic." Not only was the historical sequence of events and the story (e.g. the Marxist narrative subject of the revolutionary Japanese *minzoku*) itself subject to interrogation by women, but the relationships between narrative and self/existence also came under scrutiny…On the one hand, Marxist approaches had sought to map internal contradictions within the Japanese ethnic nation (*minzoku*) because they could be coordinated to larger developments within the world systems such as socialism, revolution, and new forms of international cooperation (*kokusaishugi*). Local women's history groups reduced the scale of this construction, on the other hand, by focusing upon specific problems within each *chi'iki*, and eventually linked these within a network of local women's history groups nationwide, without relying upon the integration of meta-narratives in their visions of socio-political change. In hindsight, then, it becomes possible to surmise that where Marxist history could not attain its political objectives during the 1950s, local women's history-writing groups were in fact more successful over the long haul.[157]

"Literary histories" that examine this period tend to divide the objects produced by these independent, democratically-formed cultural movements quite differently. Some mimeographed regional texts, such as *Hanaoka Monogatari* (『花岡ものがたり』), have taken on a significant afterlife, while the self-published historical journals of rural women remain relatively unused as primary source materials. This dissertation shies away from compartmentalizing the "literary" from the "historical." Instead, the focus remains on postwar regional print culture as method itself. In this sense, the materials discussed in the chapters that follow all represent the development of print as an extension of "democratic culture." To borrow Justin Jesty's definition of the term within the context of postwar Japan:

> …I propose the term democratic culture as a way to draw together the politically or publicly oriented subset of participatory culture. This term allows us to delineate the dispersed, diverse, and politically active associational experiments of the early postwar period as related phenomena. … [I]n the way these small groups connected issues of local concern and self-development with the big questions of Japanese public life in the early postwar—particularly peace and democracy but also the rights of the individual, gender roles, and public health—they can be thought of as the grassroots of larger

[156] Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Women's History and Local Community in Postwar Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 1.

[157] Gayle, *Women's History*, 11.

> movements that pushed for change in large-scale patterns of Japanese society.[158]

Given the problematic nature of scaling these movements to the specifically "small," wherein they "fit" within a "larger" (presumably "national") movement, I would only offer one small alteration to Jesty's formulation: Independent print culture was unquestionably an outgrowth of democratic, participatory culture, but rather than aiming for participation *in* "large-scale patterns of Japanese society" they in fact aimed to *de-centralize* those patterns.

Therefore, this dissertation avoids established methodologies for analyzing postwar print, which largely focus on the ideological or political content of the published materials. Instead, I propose that the materiality of postwar print—a materiality that no longer requires any appeal to the "rural" or "regional"—already implicates these texts in a culture of participatory, democratic action. The very act of sacrificing one's time to write, edit, craft, and print these materials was an initiation into a blooming, revolutionary cultural movement that always saw the creation of the printed word as somehow liberating the writers and readers from non-democratic forms of engagement within one's own community. As a practice, enacting democratic revolution required a revolution in print culture—even in cases where these works do not embrace explicitly democratic ideologies. Which is not to say that democratic revolution required "democratic literature"—or "National Literature" for that matter. These stiff and overly-politicized concepts seldom appear on the pages of regional magazines. Rather, writers and publishers felt they *had* to create literary texts to ensure that their engagement with their local communities could be considered meaningful. If Takeuchi saw a new "National Literature" emerging from a shift in consciousness, these developments point to a fundamental subjective transformation, one where literature and politics existed in a unified, rather than causal, relationship. Postwar National

[158] Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 24-25.

Literature is almost always viewed through the lens of its failure, but regional print shows the need to step away from the literary establishment's political monologuing and leftist organizing and turn instead to the urgency amongst regional writers to create a local print culture as a necessary step in establishing democratic revolution.

Chapter 2:

Literature Under Occupation and Censorship in Northern Japan

Abstract

This chapter compares the holdings of the Gordon W. Prange Collection, an archive of Occupation records from the Allied Occupation's Civil Censorship Detachment, against surviving postwar print materials held in library archives in Iwate, Akita, and Aomori. A cross-archival, comparative methodology that deliberately reads local print media in the context of a national censorship apparatus challenges the scale and effectiveness of the Allied Occupation's attempts to censor literary production from 1946 to 1949. Scalar archival methodologies highlight the regionalized nature of a seemingly national censorship bureaucracy. Archives of censored "regional" magazines problematize historical and literary methodologies that privilege "national" scales of Occupation censorship. Stated most directly: Regional archival evidence proves that literary magazines in northern Tōhoku did not face extensive or strict censorship. This chapter proposes a scalar methodology for reading postwar literary archives that prioritizes the reintegration of regional literature into print histories asserted at national scales. Although unexpected distortions accompany the action of tessellating local literary production to the scale of the nation, local materials also exist as powerful tools to reveal acts of scaling inherent to established print or intellectual histories. Regional literary production in northern Tōhoku suggests four significant contributions to our understanding of censorship history and postwar Japanese print culture under Occupation. First, Occupation archival documents are not in fact comprehensive or conclusive. If trends in Tōhoku hold true across other regions of Japan, we likely only possess censorship documentation for approximately half of the surviving magazines held in the Prange collection—and research on local print under Occupation suggests that even this estimation may be too generous. Second, established chronologies of CCD's censorship activities must be reassessed. 1947 has been repeatedly cited as marking a shift in the Occupation's censorship strategy, moving from pre-censorship of print materials to post-censorship. Tōhoku archival evidence suggests that post-censorship was in fact the norm from the beginnings of CCD's operations. Third, post-censorship disapprovals in print materials were often not implemented as ordered by Occupation authorities. Not only was post-censorship seemingly ineffective, but the Occupation's own records present strong evidence to indicate that CCD officials knew this to be true. Finally, the pre- or post-censorship status of a magazine likely had the largest impact on whether censorship violations were removed from materials that were distributed to the public. Unlike previous scholarship that deploys "censorship" as a blanket designation for materials processed by CCD, archival examples from northern Japan emphasize the need to precisely identify and account for print material's pre- or post-censorship status.

Synopsis of Occupation Censorship

Before I explore specific magazines held in the Prange Collection and local archives, I would like to briefly restate the current historical understanding of the censorship apparatus as a bureaucratic structure within the wider Allied Occupation of Japan. Censorship of Japanese media under Allied Occupation is generally considered to cover the period over which the Occupation's Civil Censorship Detachment (hereafter, CCD) was an active division within the Occupation's General Headquarters (GHQ) between September 1, 1945 and October 31, 1949.[1] CCD was a sub-branch of the Occupation's Civil Intelligence Section (CIS) from its inception at the start of the Occupation until the disbanding of CIS on May 3, 1946. CCD was then absorbed into the new Occupation intelligence arm, the Civil Intelligence Division (CID). During both periods, however, CCD operations were subdivided into additional offices that carried out specific modes of censorship. The bulk of this dissertation will deal with materials handled by the Press, Pictorial, and Broadcast Division (PPB), the office tasked with collecting and censoring printed materials (books, newspapers, magazines, flyers, ephemera, etc.) as well as media scripts and productions. A Communications Division of CCD monitored mail and parcels, as well as telephone conversations and telegraphic dispatches. These CCD subdivisions enforced

[1] These dates come from Yamamoto Taketoshi's interpretation of CCD's timeline. See Yamamoto Taketoshi (山本武利), *The Censorship, Intelligence, and Propaganda of GHQ* (『GHQの検閲・諜報・宣伝工作』*GHQ no ken'etsu, chōhō, senden kōsaku*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2013), 4, 35. However, the formation and legacies of Occupation bureaucratic structures suggest expanding the temporal boundaries of censorship beyond CCD's beginning and end. Yamamoto and Takemae Eiji both demonstrate that the origins of censorship emerged years before the end of the war. Takemae notes that censorship in the domestic US had already been established by the US Office of Censorship in 1941 and plans for censorship deployment over occupied Axis Powers began in 1943. See Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 381. After 1949, Takemae tracks CCD through bureaucratic reorganization into the Civil Intelligence Section (CIS) which survives to August 1951, *Inside GHQ*, 167.

censorship codes, which had been in development by Allied authorities from before Japan's unconditional acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and the subsequent arrival of Allied forces. In the case of print materials, PPB was tasked with enforcing the Press Code across Occupied Japan and Korea. The Press Code, GHQ asserted, listed restricted topics and was not intended to function as "restrictions of the Press," but rather "designed to educate the press of the Japanese in the responsibilities and meaning of a free press."[2] In the context of documented PPB censorship of regional magazines in northern Tōhoku, the most frequently cited Press Code violations include publications found to have destructively criticized Allied forces, disturbed public tranquility, provided information regarding Allied troops or their movements, or promoted propaganda.

As was the case with many branches of the Allied Occupation, the censorship apparatus was distributed across complex (and sometimes contradictory) regionalized spatial divisions, yet maintained an administrative nexus in central Tokyo. The first CCD central offices were housed in United States Army Forces in the Pacific (AFPAC) offices in Yokohama beginning on September 1, 1945, before the official signing of Japan's surrender the following day. PPB moved to the office space of Japan's domestic news information agency Dōmei on September 11, 1945 and CCD offices themselves were eventually consolidated under the Civil Intelligence Division (CID) at GHQ headquarters in Tokyo on May 3rd, 1946.[3] Nationally, CCD offices were divided into regional subsections according to which office within CCD was tasked with

[2] General Headquarters, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Civil Censorship Detachment, "Code for Japanese Press," September 21, 1945. An earlier version of this document was produced on September 19 as a memorandum directly to the "Imperial Japanese Government." This "Press Code For Japan" excises any reasoning behind the conditions and simply lists the ten items in the code itself. See RG331, SCAPIN-33, "Press Code For Japan." [FIG. 2.1 & 2.2]

[3] Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 163-164 and 384-385.

processing the censored materials. CCD divided the space of Occupied Japan regionally in a manner similar to other bureaucratic structures established by GHQ, though the borders of those regions differed based on the organizing section. Tōhoku, for example, simultaneously resided in both CCD Region 1 and the 5th Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) District. Both CCD and CIC administrative areas also included the Kantō region and Niigata. However, Tōhoku also constituted independent regional Military Government Region 2—in this case, without Kantō. Trying to establish a "map" of Occupied Tōhoku based on Occupation-designated regions would prove onerous. Even if one were to restrict official spatial subdivisions to those established by the Occupation's intelligence apparatus alone, layering the multiple maps of occupied Tōhoku devolves into convolution. For example, Sendai was the site of a PPB regional office, yet magazine publishers in Tōhoku continued to send their printed materials to Tokyo for examination. Morioka housed a designated "area" office of the 441st CIC Division's 5th District in Sendai. If we step beyond these Occupation-drafted borders and designations, however, we quickly face a paucity of research on rural Japan's postwar experience. Fundamentally speaking, neither researchers in Japan nor those examining Occupation history abroad have presented a clear picture of how these many offices and overlapping bureaucracies impacted print culture. This is true not only in northern Japan, but in other under-explored regions such as western Honshū, Shikoku, or southern Kyūshū. As I explore below, print materials from Tōhoku are noteworthy insofar as they possess an ambiguous and concurrent regional/central relationship with the Occupation censorship apparatus. Given the time to make a serious inquiry into other regional documents, however, one might justifiably expect to find similar ambiguities in other areas of rural Japan.

Although censorship was devised and administered by Allied Occupation officials—and in this case, we might say specifically American officials—the overwhelming majority of censorship office staff were Japanese nationals. GHQ hired and trained a significant number of Japanese citizens to act as censors in the immediate aftermath of the war. In many cases, applicants were unaware of the position they were entering; GHQ had posted ads to hire "typewriter work" at a significant salary, never disclosing the duties of the position until the new censors had entered the position.[4] Occupation authorities sought well-educated Japanese nationals capable of producing English translations of Japanese texts for review by higher-ranking American officials. Etō Jun uncovered the results of this training program in archived tests that ranked the results of newly trained censors.[5] With Waseda's Institute of Intelligence Studies' recent database cataloging Japanese CCD employees, we can begin to match otherwise anonymous names from previous research to specific ranks, positions, work dates, and salaries. We are also discovering a clearer picture now of the anxieties many Japanese citizen censors felt about their new position.[6] Yamamoto Taketoshi estimated 8,132 Japanese citizens working in CCD out of 8,763 total CCD employees in mid-1947.[7] As with any documentation that comes directly from Occupation forces, however, these statistics must be viewed with considerable

[4] Yamamoto, *The Censorship, Intelligence, and Propaganda of GHQ*, 129-130.

[5] Etō Jun (江藤淳), *A Closed Linguistic Space: Occupation Censorship and Postwar Japan* (『閉された言語空間：占領軍の検閲と戦後日本』 *Tozasareta gengo kūkan: senryōgun no ken'etsu to sengo Nihon*) (Tokyo: Bungei shunju, 1989), 196-201.

[6] Yamamoto focuses on this experience in *Censor: Newly Discovered GHQ Registers* (『検閲官：発見されたGHQ名簿』*Ken'etsukan: hakken sareta GHQ meibo*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 2021), 171-218. For a personal record of this period, see Kai Yuzuru (甲斐弦), *GHQ Censor* (『GHQ検閲官』*GHQ ken'etsukan*) (Fukuoka: Ashi shobō, 1995).

[7] Yamamoto, *The Censorship, Intelligence, and Propaganda of GHQ*, 13.

skepticism. Marlene Mayo demonstrated that even these "official" estimates are not definitive: "CCD statistics are misleading and often indicate authorized strength rather than actual employment, such as the frequently used figure of 8,763…A CCD Monthly Report for November 1947 indicates that the actually strength was about 5,500 (4,974 of whom were Japanese nationals)."[8] Mayo's critical eye towards Occupation documents reveals the inherent instability of an Occupation history drafted by the Occupation bureaucracy itself.[9] As I demonstrate below, the contemporaneous primary documents produced by Occupation authorities often distort any simple historical understanding of the Occupation's sprawling censorship apparatus. Scholarship on print censorship *as compiled by Occupation authorities* tends to rely on nation-scale data, or data that has been asserted to represent national scales. This data, in addition to being simplified and misleading, depicts censors as anonymous cogs within the censorship apparatus.

Relying on Occupation reports for primary historical data reifies Occupation-crafted periodization of print censorship, asserting a significant break in mid- to late-1947.[10] Standard accounts break CCD activities into an "early" and "late" period of censorship based on the process by which printed materials were censored by Occupation authorities. In the first period,

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[8] Marlene J. Mayo, "Literary Reorientation in Occupied Japan: Incidents of Civil Censorship," in *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan*, eds. Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1991), 154.

[9] The most frequently cited Occupation-produced and archived documents are held at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, DC. In the case of censored print materials and censorship documentation specifically, archival materials are most frequently found in The Gordon W. Prange Collection held by the University of Maryland Libraries. Government produced histories of wartime and Occupation-era activities include the 55 volume *History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan*, produced by Occupation General Headquarters in 1952 and the 1966 *Reports of General MacArthur* which was prepared by his general staff.

[10] The first indication that we should approach this periodization with caution is the wide range of dates asserted. Our suspicions should be immediately raised when a particular bureaucratic shift cannot be pinned down to a clear timeframe. For a detailed explanation of this problem, see the section on 1947 below.

between the start of the Occupation and late-1947, printed materials were subject to pre-censorship. Materials censored between 1947 and 1949, when CCD was officially disbanded, were largely subject to post-censorship. Although archival materials from Tōhoku challenge this timeline, they do not force us to rewrite the process by which pre- and post-censorship occurred. By official order, all printed materials were to be submitted to CCD censors. The standard censorship procedure was straightforward. For print materials subject to pre-censorship, editors or publishers were required to mail two completed editorial galleys to CCD offices, one for review and one for filing, before those galleys could be sent to press for typesetting. Galley proofs were stamped into the censorship apparatus upon arrival. A date of submission and routing numbers were appended to the cover of submitted materials, which were then distributed to CCD offices based on the format and content of the text—in the case of print materials, they were routed to the secretaries of the print section of PPB offices, whereupon they were distributed to so-called "examiner-translators." Print materials subject to post-censorship followed the same procedure, but rather than submitting galley proofs prior to publishing, editors or publishers submitted two copies of magazines as published and released to the public, one for review and one for filing.

"Examiner-translator" was the Occupation title for native Japanese office workers described above. Often called simply "censors" in literature on Occupation censorship, it is essential to recognize that these "frontline" censors could only offer censorship *recommendations* that must be reviewed and upheld by ranking censors. Examiner-translators were responsible for reading print magazines and newspapers in their entirety. There were several possible results of these first examinations, each of which I examine in depth in this chapter, but they broadly fall under two categories: a magazine could either be passed in its entirety or recommended for further

review. Examiner-translators drafted examination sheets—and censorship violation recommendation sheets when necessary—to accompany the texts they reviewed. These documents make up most of the surviving archival evidence of the censorship process in the Prange Collection. In the event that a magazine was passed in its entirety, it was immediately returned to the PPB section secretary for filing. If a magazine was recommended for additional screening, these frontline Japanese censors would draft excerpts of possible violations for higher-ranking examiner-translators or American censors. Violations were then reviewed by moving up the PPB (and occasionally CCD or G-2) chain of command until a final censorship decision was reached. If portions of a text were disapproved, the offending passages would be circled in colored pencil in the galley proof or published text, then returned to the editors or printers along with an "Informal Memorandum of Violation of Press Codes." Censored galley proofs and the "Memorandum" would be hand-delivered by Occupation military police, an event that Japanese editors found to be quite intimidating.[11] For pre-censored materials, violations outlined in the hand-delivered censorship letter had to be altered before galley proofs went to print. Post-censored materials found in violation of the Press Code, however, required the responsible party to collect copies of the text as distributed, change disapproved passages in new galley proofs, republish the now censored version, and redistribute the altered texts. Unsurprisingly, surviving censorship documentation suggests editors and publishers deviated from these guidelines significantly. Magazines that survive in rural archives show considerable dissimilarities from the

[11] *Occupation-era Regional Magazines: Following the Traces of Censorship in the Prange Collection* (『占領期の地方雑誌―プランゲ文庫で辿る検閲の足跡』*Senryōki no chihō zasshi: Purange bunko de tadayoru ken'etsu no sokuseki*) eds. Editorial Board of *Jitsugyō no Toyama* (「実業之富山」編集部 Jitsugyō no Toyama *henshūbu*)、(Takaoka: Jitsugyō no Toyama sha, 2007), 76-84.

magazines submitted to CCD, supposedly "post-censored," and then collected in the Prange archive.

Interrelatedness of Archivization and Scale within the Censorship Archive

Because this chapter asserts a historical analysis of the Occupation censorship apparatus and its impact on print materials through regional archival materials, it is best to begin by demonstrating how scalar mechanisms are themselves innate to the process of archivization. The creation and codification of an archive necessarily shapes the possible historical interpretations of the archive itself. This chapter grapples with the scalar implications of what Derrida names "archivization," the archive's "private and public procedures, those which are secret or manifest, provisionally or definitely encrypted."[12] I emphasize acts of scaling that develop during the censorship archive's "second recording," when "the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and its relationship to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event."[13] The Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland Library has come to be understood as the definitive archive of Occupation Censorship. Although I will explore the historical and bureaucratic processes of censorship in detail below, we must first recognize that indexes—both physical and digital[14]—produce the technical structures that define the archive in the present. Put

[12] Jacque Derrida, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," Trans. Eric Prenowitz, *Diacritics*, Vol. 25 No. 2 (Summer, 1995), 16-17.

[13] Derrida, "Archive Fever," 16-17.

[14] These indexes and the statistical outline of the Prange Collection will be outlined in the following section.

simply, the *scale* of the Prange Collection is too vast for any single researcher to adequately grasp its contents historically without relying on some organizing structure. Indexes provide just such a filter, but they are not without their own *archivizing* effects.

The very act of collecting and indexing censored texts generates a perception of censorship's all-encompassing, national territory—an "archival scale." Collating magazine and newspaper titles into a single print index suggests that print media experienced a uniform relationship to the Occupation's bureaucratic center. In instances when this index is accessed in a digital format, a single search query returns hundreds of individually processed results across the entire span of CCD's operations. Alongside each entry researchers will find a checkbox: Censorship, Y/N. Of course, making the Prange collection database searchable accelerates postwar literary research in ways that few tools have in the past. Yet this technical structure of archivazation has also flattened the convoluted messiness of postwar censorship. The censorship archive's secondary recording, the technical structure of an *archiving* archive inherent to indexes and search queries, invites methodologies that scale to the entirety of the archive even when there is not truly enough stability to extend critical analyses beyond a particular text, or perhaps narrow groups of texts. I call this the "archival scale": the perception that an example from *within* the archive suggests historical trends *of* the archive. This scalar act extrapolates intricacies of the censorship apparatus at national scales from a particular text that appears to have faced censorship within the archive. Reading the texts and documents present in the Occupation's censorship archive against local archives that exist at regional, prefectural, or individual scales destabilizes the possibility of national interpretations of Occupation data and "archival scale" analyses.

Of course, before we can begin a study of censorship—or in rare cases, non-censorship—we must first establish which archival materials are *valuable* to that study. Any attempt to critique

specific examples of censorship and their relation to print history or the censorship apparatus either locally or nationally must recognize that scalar criteria and the effects of archivization precede even when text has been categorized as "censored." In the case of postwar Japanese print under Allied Occupation, texts become valuable objects for historical inquiry after they enter into the censorship system, exist in collected materials produced by the Occupation bureaucracy, and remain legible enough to be indexed or read. Magazines collected in the Prange are considered impactful to our understanding of the national (or more accurately, transnational) deployment of censorship precisely because they survive within the censorship archive. We might identify several scalar functions here: First, and most obvious, is a generative ideation of something like "value" within archival materials. At present, it appears that texts must have entered into both the censorship process *and* censorship archive to meet this minimum requirement. This operation, however, concurrently creates texts without "value" to censorship studies, leading us to a second scalar function: texts that failed to be incorporated into the Prange archive—or failed to be indexed, as is the case in illegible regional materials—are seldom taken up as valuable indicators of censorship. In a literal sense, they are not "plentiful" enough within the censorship process or archive. Finally, texts tend to be seen as more indicative of the censorship process based on their proximity to centers of intellectual power. Established professional authors are more often to have their "censored" texts considered in studies of censorship than anonymous writers. In practice, however, CCD placed both categories of literary production—mainstream and minor—on equal footing when executing censorship disapprovals. As noted above, the multitude of scalar processes which assign archival relevance for censorship studies has itself been shrunk across the archive to a uniform, checkable data box present in the most commonly used indexes of the Prange archive: Censorship Y/N. Unlike early studies of the Prange Collection that rarely

considered a text's censorship status, today this binary designation has been the most frequent method of estimating the value of archival materials in relation to an archival scale history of Occupation censorship.[15] As I will explore below, however, there is significant confusion surrounding what it means to be "censored" at all.

There are of course other scalar methods of valuing archival materials that will feel familiar, but I will try to avoid them in this chapter because they include a tendency to devalue local or independently produced texts when placed on national scales. The most frequently deployed scales of evaluating the relevance or value of primary source material include: whether a magazine published many or few copies; whether a story was read widely or narrowly; whether an essay is cited frequently or rarely; whether a story, poem, or article was included in collections or textbooks; whether copies of the original printed text exists across multiple archives. Archivization can never exist independent of scaling. When plentiful, archival materials appear to indicate historical trends, or at least constitute compelling evidence for such; when scarce, archival materials—if they even retain the name "archive"—appear as extraordinary cases or exceptions.

The scales of archivization are so durable, it seems, that my own methodology cannot escape them. This chapter could not possibly exist without the *extensive* holdings of the Prange Collection. Rather than attempting to decouple scale from archivization, I instead observe

[15] In the first instance, early analyses of Occupation censorship had no archive from which to gather primary materials. These studies tended to emphasize Occupation policy and its implementation, usually from personal recollection or interviews. See for example, William James Coughlin's *Conquered Press: The MacArthur Era in Japanese Journalism* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1952) or the Occupation-produced history of CCD in General MacArthur's papers (see note 9, above). The release of the Prange indexes—and their simplified Y/N system of identifying censorship—has significantly altered censorship research. I have already witnessed many presentations by literary scholars that assert a particular text "was censored" without examining the censorship documents, galley proofs, or printed text.

deployments of scalar logic on the archive in an attempt to critique archivization's mechanisms. Paradoxically, this critique upends pre-established expectations of what archival materials are or are not capable of representing. Attending to the scales of archivization devalues (in the sense of resisting archival value as outlined above) individual or regional materials. It removes the most common tactic of "local" research: the possibility of propping up a small handful of regional materials as contradictory evidence to a *national* censorship history. Scaling censorship to Tōhoku or Iwate lays bare the internal contradictions present in the censorship apparatus. As a methodology, recognizing contradictions present in the archive moderates the extent to which regional materials might be then stretched back across national spaces of Occupation. Attending to scale tempers the impulse to declare definite conclusions about the historical nature of Occupation censorship broadly.

We cannot tessellate individually produced censorship documentation, or central bureaucratic practices, or regional publishing history to represent national Occupation. Reading Tōhoku magazines within their censorship and print context countervails the technical structures present in censorship's archivization that would lead us to assert local sources as historical evidence of "postwar censorship" broadly defined. Before embarking on intellectual histories or literary analyses of postwar magazine production, we must first account for the distortions that accompany seemingly unproblematic scalar tessellations of censorship practices. We must carefully locate variations present in the censorship of rural journals within the context of national occupation, but not necessarily view them as *representative* of national features of the censorship apparatus. It is true that Prange Collection materials from Iwate are scarce in relation to the archive as a whole. But does this make them *exceptions*? The answer remains unclear. Archival evidence of post-censorship in Iwate magazines is plentiful in comparison to pre-

censored magazines. Does this mark a clear historical trend in Occupation censorship history? Replicating a scalar logic of archivization, which until now has taken specific evidence as congruous with Occupation censorship history, suggests this to be true. But we must be careful not to re-tessellate archival scales of Occupation censorship in ways that cause further distortions.

The archivization of Occupation documents into a single collection has led postwar literary research to reinforce Occupation-created temporal scales of censorship activities. Repeating timelines of censorship based on CCD or Occupation-drafted materials risks simplifying the complexities of the censorship apparatus across a national scale. Occupation-produced history scales CCD's activities perfectly to the space of the postwar Japanese nation, outlining an "early" period defined by pre-censorship of print materials and a "late" period dominated by post-censorship.[16] This causes two major problems. First, regional materials demonstrate a significant rate of post-censorship for the entirety of CCD's existence. Although an "early" or "late" periodization of censorship activities appears inconsequential, post-censorship of print materials appears to have been significantly less effective than previously understood, forcing us to reconsider the censorship apparatus' effect on cultural production spatially—in northern Tōhoku specifically—and temporally—beyond a simplistic "early" or "late" divide. Second, temporalities of Occupation and censorship founded upon official histories consistently elide the entangled genesis of Allied censorship with pre-Occupation Japanese history and the legacies of censorship in post-Occupation Japanese cultural production.[17]

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[16] *Reports of General* MacArthur, 238-239.

[17] For a convincing critique of Occupation censorship in relation to the censorship apparatus as established by Imperial Japan, see Jonathan Abel, *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Likewise, Kirsten Cather amply demonstrates the impactful legacies of Occupation

Furthermore, magazines collected in the Prange archive evidence variations in the postwar Occupation censorship apparatus that have not been sufficiently contextualized in relation to archives of surviving postwar materials available in Japan. Histories of Occupation censorship have tended to take the Prange Collection as the authoritative interpretation of media history in postwar Japan. Reading the Prange archive against under-explored regional archives expands our understanding of the extent and efficacy of censorship in postwar history and literary studies. I want to emphasize here, however, that this is not a *regional* project in the traditional sense. The intention here is not to demonstrate the uniqueness of Tōhoku archival materials, or to argue that they force us to make significant interventions into postwar literary history. Rather, in the course of outlining the importance of regional materials I hope to demonstrate the extensive and persistent concept work that has gone into our conceptualization of the postwar Japanese literary archive as such.[18] Archivization is not only the physical and technological process of centralizing information or making it accessible; it is also an ideological process that outlines the boundaries of what an archive *is capable of representing*. To return briefly to *Archive Fever*, Derrida lays bare the consequences of archivization in the particular case of the psychoanalytic archive: "The principle of the internal division of the Freudian gesture, and thus of the Freudian concept of the archive, is that moment when psychoanalysis formalizes the conditions of archive fever *and of*

censorship on Japanese art and literature in Kirsten Cather, *The Art of Censorship in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

[18] I use "concept work" here as Ann Stoler has defined the term: "Stability is not an a priori attribute of concepts. Concepts are construed as more stable and made more stable than they are—as are the distinguishing feature of the members assigned to them. There is work that goes into securing that stability and into their repeated and assertive performance…If stability is not an intrinsic feature of concepts, then one task must be to examine how their stability is achieved, how unequal things are abstracted into commensurabilities that fuel our confidence in those very concepts that then are relegated to common sense." Ann Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 17-18.

the archive itself, it repeats the very thing it resists or which it makes its object."[19] A congruent process appears in the archivization of the Prange Collection. The Occupation censorship archive has been constituted by (and redeploys) Occupation censorship.

The Prange archive appears, insofar as it has taken a central place in censorship studies, to exert a form of censorship over the scales of its own creation. Simply stated, the apparent stability and reach of the censorship apparatus was created by Occupation forces by constantly suppressing the actual conditions (and failures) of that same censorship apparatus. It is simultaneously a comprehensive archive, yet fails to collect an unknown quantity of materials. Its contents define Occupation censorship activities, yet a majority of relevant documents appear to be missing. It presents a uniform national censorship apparatus, yet possesses considerable variation across regions. The Prange Collection has even become a categorization in and of itself. One significant non-Prange archive of postwar magazines in Japan, Waseda University's Fukushima Jūrō collection, quite literarily measures itself against the Prange. Fukushima's original index, a self-made document outlining the holdings of his personal collection which was posthumously donated to Waseda University, labels each item in relation to the Prange Collection: collected or uncollected.

The Prange Collection exists in contemporary historical research, therefore, by virtue of two significant elisions regarding the collection's archivization. First, the archivization of Occupation censorship into the Prange Collection elided regional, local, and individual archives in Japan. Occupation-led assertions of complete control over print conditions in postwar Japan were later integrated into scholarly approaches to censorship studies—and the Prange Collection is often

[19] Derrida, "Archive Fever," 57. Emphasis mine.

cited as the singular source of archival materials. Second, the archivization of Occupation censorship elided the later technical structures which brought about its legibility as an archive as such. The Prange Collection is considered a valuable first source of primary materials for print history precisely because it has been stored in one location and indexed into a single, searchable database. This chapter, therefore, attempts to track alternative methodologies to reading censorship history in its reified, archivized form by integrating surviving archival materials from northern Tōhoku. While doing so, I hope to keep in mind that the contradictory efforts of this project remain an example of scaling. Research on any "region" of Japan—and this includes Tokyo as a "region" *par excellence*—is likely to redeploy scalar methods in archivization, even if they contextualize and complicate our current understanding of postwar Japanese censorship.

The Prange Collection and the Scales of Occupation Censorship

The Gordon W. Prange Collection, held by the University of Maryland Libraries, is the largest archive of print materials published in postwar Japan between 1945 and 1949. It collects surviving materials accumulated by CCD, including documents produced by the Occupation censorship apparatus. According to Prange Collection records, these materials include approximately 71,000 books (including children's books, textbooks, and other categories of print media that fit within the broad category of "book"), 13,800 magazine titles, 18,000 newspaper titles, and a sizable collection of photographs, maps, posters, and ephemera. Along with these primary Japanese materials, the collection also holds some 600,000 surviving documents produced for internal use within CCD. The majority of surviving documents were produced by Japanese examiner-translators. Other documents include censorship examination reviews

completed by higher-ranking Japanese examiner-translators and American military officials, documents unrelated to specific censorship examinations such as magazine address updates, correspondence records, and a variety of other Occupation paperwork, as well as unspecified notes and scraps.

It is only through extensive and intentional scaling that we are capable of approaching censorship conceptually as that which exists across unstable spaces: a *transnational* Occupation censorship apparatus, a *national* censorship of postwar Japanese literature, a *regional* trend in censorship enforcement, or an *individual* experience within any of these larger, established scales of censorship. A critique of Occupation censorship necessitates constantly reappraising the acts of scaling that have been built into the archivization of censorship's collected material evidence. Historical appraisals of Occupation censorship often assert nation-scale uniformities founded upon a singular "Japanese" space or experience. The archival origins of postwar Japanese censorship studies, however, shifted significantly when access to Prange materials was granted to researchers. Before the Prange archive was opened, it was difficult to even conceptualize what a postwar censorship archive might include. The Prange Collection itself has experienced various degrees of accessibility since Professor Gordon W. Prange shipped the materials to Maryland in 1949. The materials were generally inaccessible until 1978, when they were collected, processed, and made available as a coherent single collection that now bears the name "Gordon W. Prange Collection." Pioneering scholarship on postwar censorship began in the late-1970s and 1980s. A joint effort between the University of Maryland and Japan's National Diet Library began in 1992 to convert the collection to microform, resulting in the Prange's archive of newspapers and magazines availability on microfilm and microfiche. This coincided with the University of Maryland's production of an index of newspaper and magazine titles held in the archive and

available on microform in 2001 across six hardbound reference volumes. Finally, the Institute of Intelligence Studies, Japan at Waseda University organized "The 20th Century Media Information Database, Occupation-era Magazines and Newspapers 1945-1949" (hereafter, The 20th Century Database) in 2005. This project created the searchable online database of newspapers and magazines by author and article that so many researchers utilize today. Currently, portions of the collection are being digitized for online access.

Of these recent developments, the publication of the University of Maryland's print index and the creation of the online and searchable 20th Century Media Database have likely pushed new research trends on Occupation censorship. These tools offer the ability to search nearly all of the newspaper and magazine titles across the archive. As an archival practice, this searchable index makes the Prange Collection available for conceptualization and critical interpretation as a single entity. This is a culmination of multiple long-term projects that have progressively organized the materials recovered from the Occupation-era. One result of the indexing and archivization of censorship materials into the Prange Collection is the bifurcation of archival materials into "censored" and "uncensored" categories. Although postwar Japanese literary research has adopted these two categories as a way of judging the utility or value of primary sources, this binary does not accurately capture the Occupation censorship apparatus' convoluted historical reality. The archivization of postwar literary materials obscures variations in the Occupation's treatment of collected print media. By indexing censorship materials in a single catalog, items that exist in the Prange Collection appear to have had identical relationships with the Occupation censorship apparatus. Unique features of censored magazines and censorship documents that do not fall under the binary of censored/uncensored have gone ignored. One corrective to the effects of archivization is to view censorship as a historical process, one that

must be continually recontextualized based on any materials discovered to have entered into (or been excluded from) the censorship apparatus. This kind of historical recontextualization requires a cross-archival approach by necessity, one that places the Prange Collection in conversation with additional archives not subjected to the same methods of archivization.

To focus on magazine publishing in northern Japan specifically, Prange indexes have organized the 13,799 magazine titles held in the collection according to the prefecture or district in which they were published. However, these geographical designations can be somewhat misleading, as in cases of local magazines that are closely associated with one particular city or town, but were in fact printed elsewhere. Still, the geographical index is useful for understanding the general landscape of regional publishing. Of all titles collected in the Prange, 78 were published in Aomori, 79 in Akita, and 111 in Iwate. Rural prefectures published at rates similar to those found in northern Tōhoku: 59 in Yamagata, 131 in Ishikawa, 128 in Wakayama, 50 in Kōchi, 90 in Miyazaki, and 132 in Kagoshima. Comparing these statistics to other regions of Japan puts the rate of publishing in perspective: 653 magazine titles were published in Hokkaidō, 4,921 were published in Tokyo, 408 in Kyoto, 944 in Osaka, 495 in Hiroshima, and 654 in Fukuoka. While the number of magazines published in northern Tōhoku is dwarfed by titles published in Tokyo, it is also important to note that Tokyo magazine titles only make up about 35% of the total collection.

The Prange indexes—both the physical copy published by the University of Maryland Library and the digital searchable index produced by Waseda's Institute of Intelligence Studies—further divide these magazine titles according to their censorship status: censored/uncensored. This is not to say that magazines submitted for censorship were "uncensored" in a proper sense. Any magazine that was deliberately sent to CCD and entered

into the censorship workflow should be considered a "censored" text. Rather, this binary differentiation refers to the designation of "censored" or "uncensored" as has been defined by the Prange collection indexes. The physical index produced by the University of Maryland, which only indexes the Prange collection by magazine or newspaper title, appears to have labeled a magazine "censored" if any portion of that title had been *recommended* for censorship by the frontline censors. The digital index developed by Waseda's Institute of Intelligence Studies, which further indexes magazines by article, did not have specific criteria for labeling individual articles censored or uncensored, rather that decision was left to the researcher responsible for inputting data into the database.[20] I will explore problems brought on by this categorization below, but first we can consider the general rates of censorship that these indexes indicate. Following the designations available in the indexes, we discover that 20 magazines in both Aomori and Akita experienced some form censorship, a rate of about 25%. In Iwate, 36 titles experienced censorship, a rate of about 32%. Magazines in other regions of Japan can likewise be broken down into simplified rates of censored or non-censored media according to this data. To take one example, eight of the fifty magazine titles published in Kōchi are labeled as having experienced censorship, or 16%. Compared to other rural regions of Occupied Japan, magazines in Tōhoku do not demonstrate an especially high or low rate of censorship as designated by the Prange indexes. Nor am I putting Iwate forward as an exemplary or exceptional case. I choose to focus on northern Japan because regional scales expose complexities within the censorship apparatus and major faults in the way censorship has been conceptualized to date. Extending this

[20] Yamamoto Taketoshi, the head of the Institute of Intelligence Studies and project leader for the digital index, discussed this topic at a meeting of The Institute of 20th Century Media, January 26, 2019. He explained that he had not drafted specific criteria by which researchers should label a magazine or article "censored." The decision to label materials "censored" or "uncensored" in the database were left to the researchers drafting each individual magazine entry.

methodology to Shikoku, western Honshū, or southern Kyūshu would potentially reveal important, but not identical, complexities.

The 20th Century Database, the online searchable database of Prange collection materials maintained by the Institute of Intelligence Studies at Waseda University, has become an essential tool for researchers of Occupation-era literary studies. This database allows searches of nearly all currently available records of magazines and newspapers collected in the Prange archive. It has provided a simple and accessible entrance into an overwhelming quantity of primary source materials by organizing articles according to magazine title, article title, author, publisher, date, publishing location, and magazine genre. However, in creating an unprecedented level of access to an important collection of previously unorganized indexes, the technological process of archivization conceals the full complexity of censorship documents. Within each individual database entry, magazines and articles are clearly marked as having experiencing "censorship" or having gone "uncensored." This categorization suggests that CCD's decision between censoring or not censoring materials possesses a high degree of legibility within surviving documents. "Censored" as a specific categorization of archived materials already suggests a movement in the direction of an "archival scale" framework for historical analysis: an assumption that a particular "censored" text will reveal some vital information about the larger censorship apparatus. "Archival scale" interpretations do not simply offer analyses of individual materials that happen to share a collected space. Rather, the archive is made legible in its entirety, whereby we can begin to ascribe attributes found in individual elements of the archive to the archive itself. This initial tessellation, which seems insignificant, clears a path for other scalar tessellations that function across growing scales. In the case of the Prange Collection, objects found in the archive are rapidly tessellated to national scales of censorship or transnational scales of Occupation. A

particular text labeled as "censored" can be investigated and the logic of that censorship disapproval can appear to demonstrate CCD policy or methodology. Most censorship studies to date function in this way. A single instance of censorship can be unproblematically tessellated to a space of national Occupation. The accessibility of archived data risks flattening historically significant irregularities present in censorship documents. It is from this position that materials from northern Japan help us rethink a binary archival categorization: censored/uncensored.

Categorizing Censorship in Iwate Materials

The inaugural issue of *Iwate Labor* (『岩手労働』*Iwate rōdō*) was published in July 1947 in Morioka, Iwate and the magazine continued to publish monthly volumes until February 1984. It is labeled "censored" in the Prange index and 20th Century Media database. Of the twenty-one volumes published under Occupation that were submitted for censorship, four faced some form of censorship recommendation by PPB's frontline censors. Aside from the July 1947 inaugural issue, however, all of the censorship recommendations were passed upon review by ranking censors. The censorship recommendations that accompany the first volume are confusing. Published on July 1, 1947, this volume was post-censored on July 16, 1947 by the examiner-translator R. Kimishima and eventually filed (likely in CCD's News Department) in November of 1948. [FIG. 2.3] From Occupation documents, we can assume that this censor is the Senior Examiner-Translator Reisaburo Kimishima, who was employed at PPB from at least October of

1945.[21] Kimishimi recommends three possible censorship violations in this magazine. First, Kimishima targets the article "Reading Recommendations" (「読書のすすめ」*Dokusho no susume*), a partial Japanese translation of the pamphlet *Why, How, and What to Read* authored by H. Wynn Cuthbert and published by the National Council of Labor Colleges Publishing Society in London, 1932. Kimishima writes, "This article is an excerpt translation of the above work by the above author," then supplies a brief synopsis of the text.[22] [FIG. 2.4] This censorship recommendation sheet is not titled, but the contents suggest that it corresponds to the "Publications Reported" box on the magazine examination sheet. Unfortunately, Kimishima has managed to check this box *exactly* between the "Yes" and "No" options. Compounding the confusion of the censorship recommendation document, it shows no evidence of being reviewed by a ranking censor or Occupation official. Lacking direct evidence of secondary reviews, we have no way of knowing the final censorship decision.

Next, Kimishima submits a censorship recommendation sheet that reads "SCAP" at the top. On the magazine examination sheet, he also marks down "SCAP" beside the "Possible Information" box. This category of possible violation coincides with "SCAP Check," which was added to later magazine examination sheets by the censorship bureaucracy. In principle, this is a recommendation for ranking American censors to clear any portrayal of SCAP or SCAP activities in a published text. What follows, however, is difficult to understand: [FIG. 2.5]

'The Way a Labor Union Should Be,' Page 12, The Far Eastern Commission after Japanese defeat

[21] Information taken from records indexed by the Institute of Intelligence Studies. Japanese National Censor Registry Search (日本人検閲者名簿検索 *Nihonjin ken'etsu meibo kensaku*): http://www.npointelligence.com/NPO-Intelligence/kenetusya/kensaku.html.

[22] To avoid excessive repetition, I will avoid appending "Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries" to the in-text citations that follow. However, I cannot overstate how essential the Prange Collection has been for this dissertation. Unless otherwise noted, all archival materials discussed in this chapter are cited courtesy of the Prange Collection and the hardworking staff that maintains the archive.

> concluded that democratization of Japan could not be achieved unless there was first an emancipation of farmers and laborers. Basing on this on October 10 1946 Gen. MacArthur demanded the Japanese government to renounce labor controlling and establish law for labor union.[23]

The content of this recommendation appears straightforward, yet the context and result of this recommendation in relation to *Iwate Labor* remains inconclusive. Kimishima indicates in his magazine examination sheet that "The Way a Labor Union Should Be" was in fact an additional pamphlet inserted between the front cover and first page of the inaugural issue of *Iwate Labor*. A copy of this volume of *Iwate Labor* is collected in both the Prange archive and the holdings of the Iwate Prefectural Library. Neither copy contains the additional pamphlet entitled "The Way a Labor Union Should Be." Each volume is eight pages long, rather than the twelve or more pages suggested by Kimishima's document, and neither copy contains the article or passage cited here for a SCAP check. The following August volume is also only eight pages and contains no such article. Similar to the first censorship recommendation submitted by Kimishima, this censorship recommendation document shows no signs of review by a ranking CCD censor. We have no way of determining the final censorship decision. There remains a possibility that one or both of these recommendations could have been enforced as recommended by Kimishima and the documentation of that enforcement or other ancillary evidence simply does not survive. In that sense, it's impossible to say that CCD did not enforce these recommendations. Calling this magazine "censored," while unlikely, would not be incorrect.

[23] This quotation has been taken verbatim from the censorship documents that ranking CCD officials would have consulted when making censorship decisions. Because these documents should also be considered important primary materials, this and all subsequent direct quotations from Occupation-produced documents maintain original spelling, grammar, punctuation, and format. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Two additional Iwate magazines help contextualize the differentiation between censored and uncensored archival materials in the Prange index and database. First is *Iwate Police* (『岩手の警察』 *Iwate no keisatsu*), a magazine edited and published by the education section of the Iwate Police Department. This magazine was originally published as *New Protectors of Iwate* (『新岩手のまも里』*Shin Iwate no mamori*) between August 1946 and January 1948. The title was changed to *Iwate Police* beginning from the combined February/March 1948 volume. This name remained until the magazine ceased publication in January 1981. According to the 20th Century Database, which has divided this magazine into two entries according to each individual title, *New Protectors of Iwate* was subject to censorship while *Iwate Police* was not. A brief passage in the August 1946 volume of *New Protectors* has been marked as "Possible Information" due to the specific mention of General MacArthur and SCAP policies. [FIG. 2.6] This volume as collected in the Prange, however, does not include any accompanying censorship recommendation documents. It appears to have been stamped in and reviewed as normal, so it seems likely that these documents were produced, yet do not survive. As was the case in the censorship recommendations accompanying *Iwate Labor*, we must assume that censorship was a possibility without clear evidence of whether or not this violation was enforced upon review. *Iwate Police*, however, has not been labeled in the Prange index as having experienced censorship. Which is not to say that it doesn't contain censorship violation recommendations. Rather, that it appears that all possible violations were passed by ranking CCD censors according to the documents available in the Prange archive. Only one possible violation, a SCAP check in the combined February/March 1948 issue, does not appear to contain a final censorship decision. Yet it does appear that the entirety of the magazine (including an additional violation recommendation based on published foreign materials) was passed based on the magazine

examination sheet and front cover. By examining the censorship documents that accompany this title, it seems clear that all additional violation recommendations associated with this magazine title were passed by ranking censors upon review. It is very likely that this magazine title is not labeled as "censored" in the index and database precisely because all recommendations appear to have been passed.

A third example from Iwate magazines collected in the Prange archive proves that the censored/uncensored label is not quite so stable. *Home* (『ふるさと』*Furusato*) was published in Tsuchizawa (土沢町, now part of Hanamaki) from May 1947 to April 1948. It is labeled as "censored" according to the 20th Century Database. The first volume contains two censorship recommendations by the censor T. Kitano (likely Kitano Takashi, a Censor Special Examiner).[24] Both recommendations refer to a single passage addressing General MacArthur's stance on inflation and black markets. Kitano recommends a SCAP check for the information contained in the passage, as well as disapproving the passage due to "disturbing public tranquility." Both passages are passed upon review. [FIG. 2.7] Archival records of *Home* in the Prange Collection contain no additional censorship recommendations or violations. If we were to attempt to tease out a uniform logic by which each of these examples came to be labeled "censored," it would stand to reason that *Home* and *Iwate Police* should possess the same designation.

It is precisely because one has come to be labeled "censored" while the other has not that begins to show significant instability in attempts to interpret postwar censorship at the archival scale through our current indexes. This is especially true when working with an archive as vast and valuable as the Prange Collection. The expectation of unproblematic scalar analysis appears

[24] Japanese National Censor Registry Search.

when particular instances of censorship are thought to express attributes present within the national censorship apparatus. It is possible that this expectation is correlated to the ways that archival digitization manifests a semblance of large-scale legibility. The inclination to tessellate any individual analysis to an archival scale becomes more acute as the Prange collection has been made increasingly accessible through digitization. Consequently, the archive of censorship also appears more legible. In either case, it leaves postwar literary research with a major conundrum: forgo applying individual examples to larger scales of historical analysis or undertake a project that deals with the entirety of the archive. Clearly, it would be unrealistic to expect research on postwar archives to investigate the entirety of censorship documents.

To make matters even more complex, the censorship documents produced by CCD are often missing or incomplete. Attempting to measure the Prange Collection's coverage of primary censorship documentation proves difficult without exploring a relatively large quantity of archival materials. I suspect that the regional examination performed here does not come close to the scale of the project required to estimate the archive's completeness. In this context, conceptualizing what primary censorship documents might possibly represent and analyzing the data they provide at an archival scale can feel like an impossible task. Based exclusively on the Prange Collection's holdings of magazines published in northern Tōhoku, I have attempted to draft a tentative classification structure of surviving magazines and their accompanying censorship documents.

1. Stamped and documented magazines. This classification refers to magazines that were processed by CCD and include their censorship documents regardless of whether or not any censorship was implemented. These magazines show evidence of entering the censorship workflow based on stamps or dates on the cover. Furthermore, they are accompanied by some form of documentation, whether CCD-formatted magazine examination sheets, handwritten censorship materials, or other memos that cannot be easily classified within the standard work of the censorship apparatus.

2. Stamped, documented, and "censored" magazines. This is a sub-classification applied to the

magazines that fall under Category 1, but indicates that the censorship documents accompanying the magazine also include some form of censorship recommendation. Generally speaking, these magazines have also been through some form of re-examination for violations. As I use the categorization here, I include any magazine which has a documented censorship violation recommendation *even if those violations were passed*. Although not perfectly aligned with the terminology deployed in the University of Maryland's Prange index, this classification generally matches the current definition of "censored" as used in the 20th Century Media Database, despite the complexities outlined above.

3. Stamped without documents. These are magazines that have indications of being processed, but are not accompanied by their censorship documents. They often include volumes that include stamps or handwritten CCD procedural notes on the cover of the magazine, but do not show indications of also having censorship documents. We currently have no way of determining why these documents are missing, or if they were perhaps never produced at all.

4. "Processed Without Examination." (Also written as PWE in censorship documents) This is an Occupation designated process within the censorship apparatus. These magazines were processed by an intake secretary in PPB, but were then immediately filed without examination. To date, I have not yet found a PWE magazine that is accompanied by censorship documents.

5. "Spot Checked." This is also an Occupation-designated censorship process. "Spot Checked" magazines entered into PPB's censorship workflow as normal, but experienced limited examination by censors. It is not clear if censors followed designated procedures when spot checking magazines. Spot checked magazines can have censorship documents, though this appears rare in the case of magazines from northern Japan.

6. Not processed. These are magazines that show no signs of ever entering into the censorship workflow. Most volumes I have labeled not processed show no markings on the covers or pages. Occasionally, these magazines have brief handwritten notes or stamps on the cover, such as "File," "File copy," "News Dept. File," or similar. It is unclear what these magazines represent in relation to CCD's censorship workflow.

7. Other. The remainder of magazines. The most frequent example in this category would be magazines that have surviving censorship documents collected in the Prange but no original surviving copy of the magazine.

To date, I have been able to examine 640 volumes published across 104 of 111 magazine titles published in Iwate and collected in the Prange. These volumes roughly fall into the above categories at the following rates:

1. Stamped and documented: 357 volumes (55.7%)
2. Stamped, documented, and "censored": 134 volumes (37.5% of "Stamped and documented magazines; 20.9% of total magazines)
3. Stamped without documents: 91 volumes (14.2%)
4. "PWE": 92 volumes (14.4%)
5. "Spot Checked": 35 volumes (5.5%)
6. Not processed: 30 volumes (4.7%)

Categorizing magazines in this manner takes into account not only the primary materials collected in the Prange, but the availability of accompanying censorship documentation. These categories can still support research projects based on a desire to find "censored" materials, while also acknowledging the actual historical instability present in collected documents. Following this schema it appears that we only have a clear understanding of censorship as it was applied to 55.7% of magazines published in Iwate. The remaining materials, especially those without accompanying documents and those without evidence of processing, will not provide an archival basis for historical analysis of Occupation censorship. Which is not to argue that the availability of Occupation-produced censorship documents also solves this problem. The availability of those materials is not directly equivalent to accessing censorship history. As I will demonstrate in the following sections, the apparent analyzability of censorship through official Occupation documents should itself be reconsidered as inherently unstable.

Occupation Censorship and the 1947 Break

The study of postwar Japanese literature and its relation to the censorship apparatus can be analyzed across multiple scales, but I will focus here on two in particular: a temporal scale which periodizes censorship as "early" or "late" and a spatial scale which has taken "central" publishing history as an archetype of censorship experience. Deliberately including Prange archival materials from northern Japan shows that these scales are interconnected and incomplete. Accepting the scales of Occupation as they have become codified in the narrative of postwar Japanese literary history overlooks complexities present in archival materials. The temporal scales of Occupation have come to assert a 1947 divide in the censorship apparatus

whereby cultural production was subject to either pre- or post-censorship. However, placing the temporal periodization of an "early" and "late" form of censorship in the regionalized space of Occupation censorship bears no evidence of this division. Additionally, Japanese postwar history is most often represented through spatial scales that cite the literary censorship of central intellectual magazines in Tokyo as expressing national print experiences. This leads to methodological problems. The tessellation of Tokyo's regional experience should also be acknowledged as an act of scaling, one that distorts the experience of print culture in Japan's so-called "center" to a space that it cannot truly fill, that of the so-called "nation." Thus, establishing a perceived value in the censorship archive's collected materials occured through interconnected temporal and spatial scales of postwar literary history. "Early" and "central" texts—i.e. those that have thought to have been exposed to pre-censorship in Tokyo and consumed nationally—became representative of censorship enforcement. This approach tends to overlook complexities within the censorship apparatus. We can use "regional" or "minor" primary materials in an effort to modify and subsequently redeploy these scales, reevaluating censorship history in the process. Rescaling archival methodologies reveals novel historical insights. Tōhoku materials show no strong break in pre- or post-censorship status across 1947. Furthermore, post-censorship of magazines was both more widespread and less effective than our current understanding suggests.

The periodization of Occupation censorship across a 1947 divide should be our first scalar consideration due to its ubiquity in research on Occupation censorship. In both Japanese and English-language scholarship, nearly every summary of postwar literary history associates pre-1947 censorship with pre-censorship. These summaries go on to note a shift in GHQ policy to post-censorship sometime during 1947. These periods can broadly be understood as "early" and

"late" periods of Occupation censorship. Dating these periods precisely has been difficult, as estimations vary based on which primary documents are cited, usually SCAPINS (SCAP Instructions) or similar bureaucratic paperwork internal to the Occupation structure. What does not change, however, is the identification of a divide in censorship enforcement occurring sometime in 1947. Japanese sources state the following:

> The censorship of books transitioned from pre- to post-censorship on the 15th of October, 1947. Likewise, magazines (aside from 28 titles on the watchlist) transitioned to post-censorship on the 15th of December of that same year.[25]
>
> Magazines, films, and plays were subject to pre-censorship from January 1946 to December 1947. After that time, aside from far-right and far-left examples, they were post-censored.[26]
>
> In reality, print materials published in Japan were subject to pre-censorship beginning on September 10th 1945 with the release of the "Memorandum on Freedom of Speech in Newspapers"…Until general interest magazines moved to post-censorship at the end of 1947, GHQ's CCD received the bulk of galley proofs produced by print media.[27]
>
> For print materials, magazines could either send galley proofs before going to print under pre-censorship, or send published volumes of the magazine after going to print under post-censorship. Although the prior case was in effect in the early part of the Occupation, GHQ/SCAP transitioned to post-censorship once pre-censorship had reached the stage where pre-censorship had permeated all of Japanese media. It was then in the end of 1947 that nearly all magazines moved from pre-censorship to post-censorship.[28]
>
> During what should likely be called the peak of magazine publishing in 1947, GHQ began preparations for newspapers and magazines to begin transitioning from pre-censorship to post-censorship.[29]

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[25] Etō, *A Closed Linguistic Space*, 253.

[26] Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 197.

[27] Fukushima Jūrō (福島鑄郎), *The Excavation of Postwar Magazines, New Edition: The Psychology of A Scorched-Earth Era* (『新版戦後雑誌発掘：焦土時代の精神』 *Shinpan sengo zasshi hakkutsu: Shōdo jidai no seishin*) (Tokyo: Yōsensha, 1985), 123, 131.

[28] Toeda Hirokazu (十重田裕一), "The Home Ministry, GHQ/SCAP Censorship, and Literature: The Entanglement of Expression and Media in 1920-1940s Japanese Media" (「内務省とGHQ／SCAPの検閲と文学――一九二〇-四〇年代日本のメディア規制と表現の葛藤」*Naimushō to GHQ/SCAP no ken'etsu to bungaku: Senkyūhaku nijūnen kara yonjūnendai Nihon no media kisei to hyōgen no kattō*), in *Censorship, Media, Literature: Edo to the Postwar* (『検閲・メディア・文学：江戸から戦後まで』*Ken'etsu, media, bungaku: Edo kara sengo made*), eds. Suzuki Tomi (鈴木登美), Toeda Hirokazu (十重田裕一), Hori Hikari (堀ひかり), and Munakata Kazushige (宗像和重) (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2012), 92.

[29] Kōno Kensuke (紅野謙介), "Some Aspects of Literary Magazines: In the Context of Transitional Censorship," (「文芸雑誌の諸相—検閲転換期のなかで」*Bungei zasshi no shoos: ken'etsu tenkanki no naka de*), in *Sources in*

English-language sources often append this 1947 divide with scalar assertions of CCD's reach, highlighting the range of materials subject to censorship. There is a stronger emphasis on the Allied Occupation's complete control of print media.[30]

> Until late 1947, many publications, including close to seventy major daily newspapers and all books and magazines, were subject to *pre*publication censorship.[31]

> The CCD had to collect and scrutinize *everything* published or performed in Japan...At first, everything was submitted for examination prior to publication, but after June 1947 there was a gradual relaxation of control…on December 15 [1947] all but twenty-eight 'ultra-right' or 'ultra-left' magazines (out of some 930) were placed on post-censorship. By December 1948 the transition to post-censorship was complete.[32]

> From September 1945 to roughly September 1947, the CCD was responsible for the 'pre-censorship' of all printed matter in Japan…As of October 1947, most books and magazines were transferred to 'post-censorship.[33]'

> During the first two years of PPB operations, the bulk of Japanese books and periodicals were precensored, with a shift in September 1947 to postcensorship of books followed by magazines at the end of the year.[34]

In total, the above quotations demonstrate an increasingly reified understanding of the censorship apparatus based on the temporal scale which posits a 1947 break in CCD enforcement policies.

Occupation-era Magazines: Literature, Volume 5 (『占領期雑誌資料大系文学編V第五巻』*Senryōki zasshi shiryō taikei: bungaku hen V dai go kan*), eds. Yamamoto Taketoshi (山本武利), Kawasaki Kenko (川崎賢子), Toeda Hirokazu (十重田裕一), Munakata Kazushige (宗像和重) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), 346.

[30] In the most extreme cases, the 1947 divide and the move to post-censorship are written out of postwar history entirely. Mark McLelland writes, "Between 1945 and 1949 all material to be published in Japan was required to be submitted in galley form for pre-approval to the CCD." Mark McLelland, *Love, Sex, and Democracy in Japan During the American Occupation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 62. Christina Yi writes, "Looming in the shadow of these writers' representational strategies was GHQ/SCAP, which censored all publications in Japan from September 1945 through October 1949." Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 93.

[31] John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: Norton, 1999), 407.

[32] Jay Rubin, "From Wholesomeness to Decadence: The Censorship of Literature under the Allied Occupation," in *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter, 1985), 84-85.

[33] Sharalyn Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 89.

[34] Marlene Mayo, "Literary Reorientation in Occupied Japan: Incidents of Civil Censorship," in Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer ed. *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan* (Washington: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1991), 137.

In instances when the 1947 break is paired with the assertion of CCD's hegemonic reach, this history unintentionally reifies a spatial scale whereby central works that enter into the censorship apparatus—almost exclusively limited to famous magazine titles published in Tokyo—embody the entirety of postwar literary production. Archival records, even documents produced for internal use within CCD itself, problematize both assertions. Evidence from magazines published in northern Tōhoku evidence no clear break in censorship practices during 1947, nor do they indicate that magazines were subject to a uniform relationship with the censorship apparatus through a transition from pre-censorship to post-censorship.

Tōhoku Archival Materials and 1947

Primary source materials from northern Japan held in the Prange Collection, both Japanese-language print media and Occupation-produced censorship documentation, demonstrate the need to consider regional features in the deployment and implementation of Occupation censorship. Of the more than 600 Iwate magazines discussed above, 326 show evidence of post-censorship. These magazines are accompanied by some form of censorship documentation produced by an Occupation censor that states directly that the magazines experienced post-censorship. In comparison, only fifteen Iwate magazines showed evidence of pre-censorship—i.e. a direct statement in censorship documents that state a magazine is under pre-censorship. Furthermore, this low rate of pre-censorship shows no correlation whatsoever to a supposed shift in censorship tactics in 1947. In 1946 alone, fifty-nine volumes published in Iwate show evidence of having been post-censored, whereas only ten volumes show clear evidence of pre-censorship. The earliest magazine with evidence of pre-censorship is the April

issue of the far-right magazine *The Spirit* (『魂』*Tamashii*). Fourteen other magazines published on or before this date, including magazines published in late-1945, were post-censored. An additional twenty volumes were published in 1946 that do not include censorship documentation, though there is strong evidence to suggest that they were likely post-censored.[35] The extent of post-censorship magazines in Iwate experienced cannot be considered exceptional. I was able to view 533 magazine volumes published across 75 titles from Akita that survived and were collected in the Prange. Of those 533 volumes, 310 showed evidence of post-censorship. No volumes published in Akita from 1945 to 1949 are accompanied by censorship documentation that indicates they were subject to pre-censorship—zero! My archival research of magazines published in Aomori is ongoing, but based on the materials I have investigated to date there is strong evidence that Aomori will follow Iwate and Akita in demonstrating a very low rate of pre-censorship. Put plainly, magazines published in northern Japan do not show a strong correlation to a shift in censorship strategy occurring in 1947, nor do they indicate any wide-spread system of pre-censorship. And it bears repeating: these magazines were not "locally" censored; they were submitted to the same Tokyo CCD office, the same censorship workflow, as other magazines published in eastern Japan at this time.

The dating of magazines as they were checked into PPB begins to reveal some of the incongruities present in the censorship apparatus based on region of publishing. We can sometimes infer a magazine's censorship status even without clear evidence of either pre- or post-censorship. This is particularly true of magazines stamped into the censorship apparatus that

[35] These magazines were mailed to PPB, examined, and filed after their original publication date, sometimes months later. There remains a very slim possibility that these magazines experienced *both* pre-censorship and post-censorship and only the post-censored volumes survived. However, the material format of the magazines (usually hand-written and mimeographed texts) renders that speculation exceedingly implausible.

are no longer accompanied by censorship documentation. “PWE” or “Spot Checked” magazines should be considered post-censored, though they possess no censorship documentation, since both methods of censorship were a subset of post-censorship itself. In some cases, the physical format of the volume might suggest a magazine’s censorship status. For example, a magazine submitted to CCD as a galley proof was likely pre-censored. In other cases, however, relevant censorship information present on the cover of the volume hints at the status of a magazine that no longer has censorship documents. Some magazines were mailed in to PPB well beyond their original date of publishing. In the case of Iwate magazines from 1946, the first three volumes of the calligraphy magazine *Heian* (『平安』) were published on October 21st, November 20th, and December 20th. All three of these magazines, however, were mailed in to CCD along with the January, 1947 volume. In total, all four volumes are labeled “Mailed in Feb-11” on the cover. None of them include censorship documents, but we can determine in a practical sense that these issues were all “post-censored” due to the significant lag between the date of their initial publication and the date they first enter the censorship apparatus. Many rural magazines show similar evidence of major lags between the date of publishing and the date of submission, sometimes up to several months late.

If scholarly consensus has in fact codified a nation-scale 1947 divide based on pre- and post-censorship, it has only emerged recently. It seems natural to speculate that increasingly strong assertions of CCD’s hegemony over cultural production have developed alongside archivization of the Prange Collection, which scales a centralized censorship apparatus to the edges of the Japanese nation. However, early examples of scholarship on the Prange collection—those produced before the availability of the Prange indexes—emphasized the uneven deployment of post-censorship both temporally and spatially. Yamamoto Taketoshi’s ground-

breaking 1996 volume *Occupation Media Analysis* (『占領期メディア分析』*Senryōki media bunseki*) indicated the instability in the relationship between pre- and post-censorship. Citing internal Civil Intelligence Section (CIS) statistics, Yamamoto showed that even in 1945 and 1946 Occupation authorities were aware that considerably more magazines were post-censored than pre-censored. For example, 234 magazines were pre-censored in December 1945, while 241 were post-censored. By the end of 1946, these numbers have become more unbalanced, with 1,016 magazines pre-censored in December of 1946, while 1,547 were post-censored.[36] Because Yamamoto's statistics draw directly from Occupation documents, we should be aware that this data itself is not likely to be wholly accurate.[37] It does, however, gesture towards an important truth that has faded from contemporary synopses of postwar history: post-censorship was in broad use for the entirety of CCD's activities. Yamamoto also emphasizes the spatial incongruities within CCD's utilization of post-censorship:

> Media under post-censorship was required to submit materials to the appropriate PPB office immediately following publication. Not even newsletters published by elementary school PTAs or magazines published by youth groups in rural farming villages were exempt. However, rather than every single page of every single published material being subject to censorship, materials were selected at random for inspection. Materials found to be in violation of the Occupation Press Code would result in PPB sending a letter of warning or Memorandum of Violation to the publisher. Furthermore, in the event that publishers neglected implementation of post-censorship or if materials were discovered that were not being submitted for post-censorship, the person or entity responsible for publishing that material would be asked to supply a written explanation.[38]

Although Yamamoto asserts here that post-censorship of rural magazines and newspapers were subject to a decreased rate of censorship examination, it seems worth investigating the extent to which post-censorship was also enforced for print materials published in suburban areas of

[36] Yamamoto, *Occupation Media Analysis*, 295.

[37] See Marlene Mayo's critique of Occupation-produced documentation above.

[38] Yamamoto, *Occupation Media Analysis*, 296.

Japan, as well as media produced in major urban centers up to and including Tokyo. Yamamoto further emphasizes that most magazines moved immediately to post-censorship from the beginning of the Occupation regardless of where they were published.[39] Ariyoshi Teruo also emphasized the unstable nature of post-censorship at the joint symposium on the Prange Collection held by Waseda and Ritsumeikan Universities in 1998 and 1999. He writes:

> PPB began pre-censoring major newspapers and news agencies from 9am on the 8th of October, 1945. This pre-censorship continued until July 15th, 1948. Newspapers, magazine articles, and galley proofs of print materials were submitted for censorship. When necessary, information was suppressed, deleted, or subject to publication holds. Many newspapers and magazines were not subject to pre-censorship, and were post-censored instead. In either case, Japanese newspapers, magazines, print media, and communications were all subject to CCD censorship from October 1945 until the October 24th, 1949, when post-censorship was finally discontinued.[40]

In the Q&A following his presentation, Ariyoshi notes that the disparities in regional deployment of censorship were not limited only to the kinds and extent of censorship faced by rural print media. The administration of and document production within the censorship apparatus itself displays important regional incongruities:

> Ariyoshi: CCD placed jurisdiction responsibility in the Tokyo, Osaka, and Fukuoka district offices. Regional newspapers and magazines that were subject to post-censorship sent their materials to Tokyo. For these minor newspapers and magazines that move over time from pre-censorship to post-censorship, as found in the Prange Collection, we discover that the censorship documentation that would list why and where these publications were required to make deletions are mainly from the Tokyo district office, and materials from Osaka or Fukuoka are rare.[41]

Ariyoshi's intuition regarding the regionalized nature of CCD's mission seems prescient today. A growing body of evidence suggests that a significant portion of print media in postwar

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[39] See Yamamoto, *Occupation Media Analysis*, 303 and Takemae, *Inside GHQ* 65-66.

[40] Ariyoshi Teruo (有山輝雄), "Speech in the Postwar Occupation Period: Freedom and Censorship" (「戦後占領期の言論ー自由と検閲」*Senryōki no genron: jiyū to ken'etsu*), in *Occupation Period Speech in Publishing and Culture: Proceedings of the Symposium on the "Prange Archive" Exhibition* (『占領期の言論・出版と文化ー<プランゲ文庫>展・シンポジウムの記録』*Senryōki no genron, shuppan to bunka: <Purange bunko> ten, shinpojiumu no kiroku*), eds. The Prange Archive Exhibition Proceedings Editorial Committee (プランゲ文庫展記録集編集委員会 *Purange bunko ten kirokushū henshū iinkai*) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku Aizu Yaichi kinen hakubutsukan), 5.

[41] *Occupation Period Speech in Publishing and Culture*, 41.

Japan—particularly in rural Japan—was never submitted to CCD at all. Ariyoshi suggests that regionalized structures of CCD bureaucracy limited the amount of archival materials saved from the Osaka and Fukuoka offices, yet recent research on rural print production proves CCD enforcement faced significant limitations in areas beyond urban centers. Perhaps the paucity of archival materials from the Osaka and Fukuoka offices developed not from the way the Prange collection collected materials, but indicates some degree of regional variation. A study group organized around the long-running magazine *Jitsugyō no Toyama* (『実業之富山』) , which itself began publishing during the period of Occupation censorship, produced a collaborative investigation of print media published in Toyama Prefecture during the Occupation. Toyama's regional experience with censorship reveals the difficult task in enforcing Occupation authority in rural Hokuriku. Occupation authorities conducted interviews with prefectural officials and well-known publishers as part of a field survey performed by Civil Intelligence officers in late-1948. The results likely shocked the agents performing the review:

> A total number of 50 newspaper and magazine publishers were interviewed. It was discovered that 9 newspapers have never submitted copies to PPB for censorship. The Toyama Prefectural Government had received these newspapers but were ignorant as to censorship regulations. The prefectural government and the newspaper publishers were then advised as to proper censorship procedure.[42]

This passage suggests two problems for rural publishers. First, it is possible that the censorship system was perhaps kept *too* secret from communities far removed from centralized bases of Occupation administration. Independent rural publishers without major print industry contacts may have never known of the requirement to submit published materials to PPB. Second, Occupation authorities were likely unclear as to which materials were subject to censorship, as

[42] This passage is taken from an October, 1948 Monthly Operations Report produced in CCD's District 2 Office in Osaka, as cited in *Occupation-era Regional Magazines,* 213.

well as possible penalties for failure to submit published works. In an interview in the same volume, Yamamoto Taketoshi considers the problem of rural publishers and suggests that, in his estimation, "only one-half to one-third of print materials were ever submitted for censorship."[43] Yamamoto's estimation is likely not an exaggeration. Although this dissertation focuses largely on archival materials, either transnational archives like the Prange or local archives in regional libraries, the legacies of regional print culture most frequently survive in private holdings or bookstores. Archival researchers and used book aficionados can easily discover and purchase regional magazines from small secondhand booksellers in Tōhoku. These stores often have stacks of postwar print materials, many of which are unavailable in any major library or archive, including the Prange Collection.

Beyond rural Japan, there is evidence that suggests magazines published in urban areas sometimes managed to avoid censorship. Waseda University holds the Fukushima Jūrō Collection, the largest single collection of postwar magazines outside of the Prange archive. Fukushima was a private collector of postwar magazines and his personal library was donated to Waseda University after his death. The unofficial index, compiled by Fukushima himself, suggests that the collection holds more than 10,000 volumes across about 1,765 magazine titles published between August 1945 and March 1952.[44] Although many of the texts in the collection are from rural Japan, the majority of texts come from Tokyo and other urban centers. Fukushima's index specifically marks magazines in his collection that were published during the period of Occupation censorship but are not present in the Prange collection. Of course, this

[43] *Occupation-era Regional Magazines*, 251.

[44] Fukushima Jūrō (福島鑄郎), *The Catalog of Fukushima Collection Magazines from the Occupation Period* (『福島鑄郎所蔵占領期雑誌目録』 *Fukushima Jūrō shozō senryōki zasshi mokuroku*) (Tokyo: Bunsei shoin, 2005). This collection is currently in processing. Waseda archivists expect the archive to contain between 10,000 and 14,000 volumes.

alone does not indicate that these volumes were never subject to censorship. Occupation-collected volumes and records could have been lost or destroyed before being moved to Maryland. Given circumstances seen in rural Japan, however, it seems reasonable to assume that some of these volumes were published without being submitted to CCD and therefore not subject to censorship.

Exposing censorship archives to scalar investigations upends our understanding of pre- and post-censorship of literature under Occupation. The methodology presented here deliberately regionalizes data that had been considered representative of a national censorship apparatus. Other scalar methodologies should reveal further complexities in postwar literary history. The assumption that *all* literature was subject to censorship, and that it was furthermore subject to *pre*-censorship, does not bear a strong correlation to *regional* archival evidence. Highlighting the scalar limitations of our present methodologies is essential, but tessellating this specific application and analysis in the opposite direction, meaning to larger scales, presents its own dangers. In the same way that squaring national scales of censorship and literary history with regional archival examples proves difficult, we will also find difficulties in scaling regional evidence back to broader scales. For example, major journals published in Tokyo did experience a high rate of pre-censorship in the period between 1945 and 1947. Prange materials also show us that those magazines that remained on pre-censorship due to extreme political tendencies did truly experience oppressive censorship. To say that magazines in Iwate, Akita, and Aomori experienced a comparatively high rate of post-censorship is not, by act of scaling or tessellation, to argue that we will or even should expect to see similar rates in urban areas. Nor is it to argue that we will discover extensive post-censorship in other rural areas of Japan. What can be argued by way of intentional scaling, however, is that our ideological scales of censorship should likely

be re-calibrated in such a way as to become aware of the unevenness and complexities of what have to date appeared to be national Occupation structures.

Self-Censorship in Archival Contexts

Data derived from archival censorship documents demonstrates the first historical claim of this chapter—that post-censorship was more widespread than previously understood. The second claim—that post-censorship was likely less effective than previously understood—is difficult to prove using Occupation archival evidence exclusively. The remainder of this chapter contextualizes the ineffectiveness of the post-censorship system, yet it must be accompanied here with an essential caveat. Post-censorship as a system of bureaucratic control over freedom of thought and expression dovetails with self-censorship as an individual response to the censorship apparatus. Yamamoto described the real effects of post-censorship on news media: "Simply being asked to take on self-responsibility during the period of post-censorship was enough for the editorial staff [at *Jiji Tsūshin*] to exhaust themselves checking the selection and written style of news every day."[45] And as an ideological form of control, Jonathan Abel describes self-censorship as follows:

> The bureaucratic, day-to-day work of actual censors inevitably allowed some items to slip by though they were similar to those that were previously banned, and continually forbade others that by all accounts should have passed unscathed. This irrational, visible, and tangible work of the censor is precisely what accounts for the growth of an internal censor. Self-censorship is the goal of all external censors: to be so thorough that an office of censorship will not be required.[46]

[45] Yamamoto, *Occupation Media Analysis*, 325.

[46] Abel, *Redacted*, 15-16.

To date, circumstantial evidence appears to back the assertion that the response to Occupation post-censorship tended to be self-censorship. Accounts by editors or authors known to have experienced heavy-handed censorship form the backbone of our understanding regarding self-censorship. A research methodology founded on personal experiences proves valuable in each writer's particular circumstances but risks retroactively generalizing censorship history by self-selecting examples of cultural production most impacted by the censorship apparatus. Alternatively, a methodology that draws exclusively on surviving censorship documents will inevitably fall short of integrating archival materials produced by the censorship apparatus with the experiences of cultural producers publishing under threat of censorship.

Reviewing the Prange Collection for Occupation records regarding the deployment of censorship provides limited insight into the editorial implementation of violations in published magazines. Conversely, reading memoirs or interviews from postwar authors and editors fails to elaborate censorship's efficacy as a system of control across wider geographic or demographic scales. This chapter combines Occupation censorship documents with materials held by local libraries that have not previously been analyzed. Adding rural evidence of post-censorship—material often overlooked in favor of a "national" conceptualization of Occupation censorship history—destabilizes our understanding of censorship's immediate efficacy. Scalar approaches resist condensing archival censorship data into universal historical trends. In Iwate, it appears that post-censorship failed to have a meaningful effect on magazines—which is separate from claiming that post-censorship failed to have a meaningful effect on postwar Japanese print media. Far from proving that post-censorship was wholly ineffective, regional materials demonstrate the infeasibility of judging censorship's efficacy at the level of national Occupation. Therefore, our immediate task rests on uncovering structural complexities in post-censorship as

censorship strategy within CCD and how those complexities relate to surviving archives of regional print culture.

Local Archives in the Context of Post-Censorship Studies

Seemingly straightforward historical facts distract us from attending to the complexities of censorship history. If we were to approach a given title as it exists in the Prange Collection and set about the task of simply cataloging the censorship violations present in CCD-held copies of each volume, we would quickly discover that no coherent data set could be gathered from Occupation documents. When comparing censorship violation implementation across the entirety of archival records associated with magazines from northern Tōhoku, we discover no single methodology for examining, recommending, reviewing, or implementing possible violations. We can infer CCD's most commonly utilized workflows based on dates inscribed on censorship documentation, but the variety of censorship categories (as listed above) prevents us from discovering a single pattern of censorship recommendation and enforcement. Broadly speaking, the earliest date associated with a particular volume of a magazine will be the "Mailed In" date labeled on the cover. Magazine examination sheets produced by frontline censors generally exhibit the next earliest date (and the next stage in censorship workflow). If censorship recommendations are reviewed by ranking Occupation censors, those documents generally possess dates after the initial examination. Once final censorship decisions are made, they are typed up and dated, whereupon the magazine receives a final summary on the cover—principally a listing of censorship decisions and a file date. If the magazine contains violations that have been upheld by ranking censors, they are outlined on the cover. Likewise, a magazine that is

"PWE" or "Spot Checked" is labeled as such on the cover and labeled with a filing date. The majority of documents present in the archive follow this workflow. Those that veer from this system, however, demonstrate the danger in projecting common censorship methodologies on to the entirety of the archive. Just as there is no simple dichotomy between "censored" and "uncensored" materials, there is also considerable ambiguity regarding what constitutes a censorship violation.[47]

To give one example, the magazine *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』, sometimes subtitled *La Vivanto*) was published in Morioka from February of 1946 to August of 1947. For *Seikatsusha*, the contradictory information available from CCD records begins from the inaugural issue, published on February 10, 1946. This volume will not experience post-censorship until a full three months after its publication. A PPB censor has written "7 disapprovals" on the cover of this volume, alongside what we would normally assume to represent a final filing date: 5-29-46. [FIG. 2.8] This filing date occurs eighteen days after the initial examination by examiner-translator H. Ichikawa, 5-10-46. However, the censorship documents accompanying this volume of *Seikatsusha* present evidence of re-examination by a ranking censor, HY, and multiple additional disapprovals. [FIG. 2.9] These additional disapprovals, though clearly present in appended re-examination sheets, are not dated and do not appear to be included in the May 29 summary of disapprovals. It is most likely that the "7 disapprovals" as stated on the cover refer to seven individual poems that has been disapproved following H. Ichikawa's original

[47] Archival research methodologies regularly employ exhaustive lists of materials and their various methods of categorization. I choose not to compile such a list for precisely the reason that it would suggest a level of legibility in the documents that does not exist. In the same way that the Prange indexes give rise to national scale interpretations of censorship history, a regionalized list of "uncensored" magazines would work towards archiving the materials such that they become apparently legible as objects of historical analysis, but not properly contextualized.

examination. Although we cannot confirm the timeline of the disapprovals, all told we find one disapproval suppressing seven poems for militarism, one disapproval in part for disturbing public tranquility, one disapproval in part for propaganda. Additionally, two violation recommendations presented in the re-examination by HY show no evidence of receiving a final censorship decision. We cannot say whether or not these recommendations were passed or disapproved. Finally, the magazine copy itself contains unspecified censorship marks throughout, occasionally in locations not marked in the surviving examination sheets. These could be the result of further re-examinations for which examination sheets do not survive, or marks made by H. Ichikawa or HY that were not in the end recommended for deletion.

On the one hand, examining censorship documents appended to *Seikatsusha*'s inaugural issue beyond a censored/uncensored binary framework exposes the practical messiness of executing post-censorship through a large bureaucratic structure. On the other, placing our insight of censorship's complexities in conversation with texts that also happen to survive outside the censorship archive exposes the potential failure of the censorship structure to control rural Japanese print. Comparing the inaugural issue of *Seikatsusha* as it exists in the Prange Collection to the copy held in the Iwate Prefectural Library demonstrates a fundamental disconnect between censorship history and the printed text. Regardless of which potential CCD censorship recommendations we might recognize as truly "censored," the copy of *Seikatsusha* that survives in Iwate shows no evidence of enforcing *any* post-censored disapprovals. And although I have selected this particular magazine to act as an example of post-censorship's non-enforcement for reasons that will become clear later in this chapter, I must note that it is by no means an exception. When I have been able to locate magazines published in Iwate, Akita, or Aomori in local archives or bookstores, *and* those magazines contain verifiable post-censored violations

present in Prange archive documents, *none* have implemented the Occupation-ordered post-censorship violations. Thus, even if we were to devise a nation-scale methodology for identifying CCD-ordered censorship disapprovals, how would we begin to count the number of disapprovals in this text? How do we account for the published copy not sent to Occupation authorities, in which none of those disapprovals were put in effect? As an act of comparison, only one remark could be made with confidence: the magazine as it was originally submitted to CCD for censorship (and subsequently collected in the Prange Collection) is identical to the copy held in the Iwate Prefectural Library.

Again, the existence of magazines that failed to implement post-censored disapprovals in regional libraries does not itself demonstrate post-censorship's failed implementation or ineffectiveness at national scales. They may not even definitively prove the failed implementation of post-censorship on the magazines themselves. One can imagine any number of paths an "uncensored" magazine might follow such that it resurfaces in a library, bookstore, or personal collection. In the case of Iwate Prefectural Library's collection of local magazines, many of the copies in the archive were personally donated by the prolific Iwate author Mori Sōichi (森荘已池, 1907-1999). Looking at the magazines held in Iwate's local archive, it appears that Mori tended to donate copies of journals in which his own work appeared. Some magazines still included delivery slips or personal notes from editors addressed to Mori specifically. In this particular case, it is not hard to imagine that Mori would have received pre-distribution copies of the magazine that were sent to contributors before or around the same time as the printed text was sent to the Tokyo PPB office for post-censorship. If editors or publishers did in fact implement post-censorship in these magazines after they were distributed to the public, they

would have recalled unsold copies from booksellers, but perhaps not have asked authors to forfeit personal copies.

In our own contemporary context, it is conceivable that librarians might have developed policies for acquiring texts that select for "uncensored" materials, either deliberately or unwittingly. In the case that a particular text was known to have been subject to censorship, librarians could have sought out uncensored copies where available. In relation to the post-censorship system, librarians do not necessarily need to know that a text had been subject to censorship in order to develop a policy that would favor collecting uncensored volumes. Targeting first-printing texts, in the case of books, or early printings of magazines would reduce the chances of acquiring a text that had been released and later subject to redistribution in order to implement post-censored disapprovals. At wider regional scales, magazines published in northern Tōhoku may simply not represent the implementation of post-censorship in comparison to areas of rural Japan. Research conducted at other prefectural or local libraries could indicate the extent to which journals in northern Japan exist as an outlier. Even if other regional archives do not show similar rates of post-censorship or censorship non-enforcement, however, we should remember that "minor" prefectures such as Iwate, Akita, and Aomori still provide many hundreds of archival examples. I work from the assumption that northern Japan does in fact indicate some important trends in Occupation censorship history, even if those trends remain limited to northern Tōhoku.

Post-Censorship and Self-Censorship in Iwate Magazines

The example of *Seikatsusha* cannot alone justify the ineffectiveness of post-censorship as a whole. If post-censorship holds self-censorship as its chief objective, we must recognize that it is a strategy constituted over long periods of time. Repeated violations enforced after publication are intended to restrict overall content or tone. In this sense, comparing CCD-held copies of a single magazine to other archival volumes does not fully account for the core aim of post-censorship as a structure of ideological control. One strategy to demonstrate the general ineffectiveness of post-censorship in Iwate magazines involves tracking the amount and categories of censorship recommendations and disapprovals across consecutive volumes or issues of a single title. In the case of magazines facing extensive post-censorship violations, we should be able to compare editorial stances and rhetorical or thematic tendencies across multiple volumes to better understand how magazines responded to Occupation pressure. Luckily, the Prange Collection and the Iwate Prefectural Library both hold relatively complete runs of mainstream commercial journals published in Iwate. A cross-archival, multi-volume examination of consecutive issues subject to post-censorship shows that editors and writers rarely shifted in their critical stances, nor did they implement post-censorship disapprovals.

Tōhoku bunko (『東北文庫』) was published in Morioka, Iwate from January of 1946 to August of 1956.[48] The magazine never once moved from post-censorship to pre-censorship, despite facing censorship disapprovals every single month in 1946, the entirety of its first year in print. The inaugural issue, published in January 1946, contains several articles of rightist propaganda that were recommended for censorship violations and eventually disapproved.

[48] For a bibliography that covers the entirety of the magazine's print run, see Suzuki Yumiko (鈴木裕美子), *Bibliography of Tōhoku Bunko* (『東北文庫』総目次 *Tōhoku bunko sōmokuji*) (Morioka: Suzuki Yumiko, 2001). Held at the Iwate Prefectural Library.

Below are two of the three violations found in the Suzuki Shigeo (鈴木重雄, dates unknown) article "The Emperor System and Democracy" (「天皇制と民主々義」*Tennōsei to minshushugi*) as American censors would have seen them when reviewing the examiner-translator's recommendations:

> The preservation of the state structure is the last line which our race must absolutely defend. Also, in accepting the Potsdam Declaration, the holy decision was made with this as a condition. Then what does preservation of the state structure mean. Unnecessary to say, it means that the people of Japan and of the world shall live happily in the shadow of the Grace of His Majesty.[49]

> Next we consider about the ultra-nationalism. Every country esteems its own state and wishes for its maintenance and prosperity, but if it is radical, it will apply individualism or egoism that attributes much to its own state only. If we consider we will find that the Japanese spirit on the one hand claims rejection of individualism or egoism towards the individuals and on the other hand makes us think this is the supreme order from the standpoint of the state. This is not the true meaning of the Japanese spirit. This comes from the fact that one misunderstands the significance of mythology and does not grasp the true cosmopolitan view of our people. Namely the Japanese mythology starts to explain firstly the creation of the cosmos and clarifies that Amaterasu-Omikami is the supreme God of that cosmos…If one begins to think of the cosmos as the whole, he can understand that not only various countries but also mountains, rivers and plants etc are equally the descendants of Amaterasu-Omikami, and our view will gradually develop more widely and will be able to have the international love of peoples.[50]

These passages advance common strains of rightist propaganda that had been produced to justify Japan's imperial project. Suzuki's article continues on, situating the Japanese Emperor as the proper subject of not only national politics, but as the legitimate political authority across the globe. This stance was antithetical to the Occupation's proclaimed goal of democratization. Censorship documents accompanying this volume of *Tōhoku bunko* in the Prange Collection confirm that these passages were disapproved in part and censored. Or rather, Occupation

[49] Originally from Suzuki Shigeo (鈴木重雄), "The Emperor System and Democracy," (「天皇制と民主々義」*Tennōsei to minshushugi*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 1 (January, 1946), 8. This translation is taken verbatim from the censorship document produced by the examiner-translator S. Ozeki. This quotation was recommended for censorship as "untrue" and "propaganda." The violation was reviewed by a ranking American censor named Klaus. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[50] Suzuki, "The Emperor System and Democracy," 10. This translation has also been taken verbatim from *Tōhoku bunko* censorship documents. It was disapproved as "propaganda." Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

censors would have expected these passages to be censored according to post-censorship procedures. The January, 1946 volume of *Tōhoku bunko* held in the Iwate Prefectural Library contains the article unchanged and published in its entirety. It is possible, if not likely, that editors did not implement post-censorship in this volume of the magazine.

Without dissecting the entirety of *Tōhoku bunko*'s first volume, I would like to briefly locate other examples of rightist propaganda reproduced in print, even if frontline examiner translators did not recommend those instances for censorship violations. Many authors in this volume struggle with the intellectual contradictions surrounding Japan's wartime history, though they tend to do so in a less propagandistic fashion. To give one example, the Iwate historian Mori Kahe'e (森嘉平衛, 1903-1981) writes:

> We were born into history when we were initially forged as human beings. The Japanese people were born into history three thousand years ago irrespective of their personal will. Having inherited that history, we are now left to grasp hold of our responsibility and develop. We possess the freedom whereby we can perfect our character such that we become free people.[51]

Although Mori gestures in the direction of individual liberation, he does so by way of the essential myth of the Japanese imperial project: the history of the Japanese people as race or ethnic group cannot exist independent of the Emperor system. As was the case in major central magazines, Iwate magazines confronted and critiqued the history and psychology upon which the wartime state was founded. Following academic consensus surrounding Occupation goals for censorship enforcement, we should expect self-censorship to develop from post-censorship disapprovals of rightist themes. Editors and authors should be seen falling in line with Occupation pressures and imposing considerable changes to published content through self-

[51] Mori Kahe'e (森嘉兵衛), "Those Standing Amidst Chaos" (「混沌の中に立つ者」 *Konton no naka ni tatsu mono*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 1 (January, 1946), 16. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

restrictions. In the case of *Tōhoku bunko*, therefore, we should expect to see a reduction in rightist historical analysis and a corresponding increase in liberal or left-leaning writing. Initially, *Tōhoku bunko* appears to enact self-censorship in this manner. Later Occupation-era issues of *Tōhoku bunko* do not contain articles with comparable rightist propaganda or tone. Evidence from the archive of censorship documents, however, suggests that it was not in fact post-censorship that played a key role in the magazine's editorial shift away from right-wing topics.

Tōhoku bunko experienced a dramatic shift in editorial tone from the January to February, 1946 volumes. Rightist essays and themes are largely replaced by an influx of liberal and leftist contributors. Four lead essays set the tone in the February volume. Karashima Kichizō (唐島基智三, 1906-1976), Hiroshima-born editor and board member of *Tōkyo shimbun*, contributes an essay in the form of an invented dialogue entitled "Wandering in the Wake of a Whirlwind" (「旋風裡をさ迷ふ」*Senpūri wo sa mayofu*). In the guise of "The Guest" and "The Master," Karashima argues for government reform in "the new crisis of 1945" and outlines the organization of a people's front. Uchiyama Isamu (内山勇, dates unknown) contributes "New Directions in Agricultural Village Organizing" (「農村組織の新方向」*Nōson soshiki no shinhōkō*), an attempt to resituate local politics in regional space after farmers have come to recognize the deception in arguing that the "Japanese Spirit" inherently exists in "rural customs." Awaya Yūzō (淡谷悠蔵, 1897-1995)—a farmer, writer, and socialist politician who will be discussed in Chapter 4—opens the February volume with the essay "Farm Land Reform Laws and the Tōhoku Farmer" (「農地法改正と東北農民」*Nōchihō kaisei to Tōhoku nōmin*). Finally, Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一, 1907-1968)—the head of the Aomori branch of the postwar Democratic Literature Association and another writer addressed in Chapter 4—contributed the essay "The Present Conditions of Social Movements" (「社会運動の現勢」*Shakai undo no gensei*). In this

article, Sawa addresses radical democratic reform of rural communities. He highlights ways rural communities in Aomori were able to push towards political and economic autonomy in the immediate postwar due to the collapse of an oppressive, centralized militaristic government. Compare the right-leaning statements from Suzuki above to Sawa's February article:

> The masses in rural villages are currently exceeding the expectations of those leading these democratic reforms. These farmers who had been intimidated, killed, and deceived now clearly recognize the true character and emotion of their enemy. It is precisely because of this that public talks and discussions are held frequently. And when those public talks and discussions address opposition to preserving the national polity cheers and applause roar up like a tempest.[52]

> Just after the 15th of December, a meeting was held to establish the Farmers' Board in the town of Shimizu in central Tsugaru, Aomori. Tsugawa Takeichi, Tamura Fumio and others had developed a watershed organization for farmers. This was before they had established the Aomori branch of the Communist Party. It was here that we first heard the open cries for the dissolution of the Emperor system in Aomori, and they reverberated mightily. From now on the Farmers' Movement will certainly become more than a union made up exclusively of small-time crop sharers.[53]

Sawa's article, alongside other liberal or leftist articles from the February volume, indicates a dramatic turn in editorial tone. The first quotation directly attacks the modern ideology of the Japanese nation as unified into one polity under the rule of the Emperor. Democratic reforms—in this case radical left democracy, not moderate reforms springing from Occupation-sanctioned liberal capitalism—are seen as diametrically opposed to the ideology promoted by the Japanese Imperial state. By extension, the enemy of rural farmers becomes the figurehead of the national polity. Upon initial inspection, we might assume that the Occupation-ordered censorship deletions applied to the inaugural January issue brought about a conscious editorial shift between the publishing of the January and February volumes.

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[52] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The Present Conditions of Social Movements" (「社会運動の現勢」 *Shakai undo no gensei*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 2 (February, 1946), 11. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[53] Sawa, "Present Conditions."

If we were to consider only the contents of censorship violation recommendations and their final deletion decisions within CCD, archival documents appear to establish a historical narrative whereby censorship spurs *Tōhoku bunko*'s sudden and extreme editorial lurch to the left. However, the documented timeline of *Tōhoku bunko*'s entry into the censorship system does not easily support this interpretation. The minute details of these archival materials—intake and censorship examination dates—betray a more complex timeline. The January 1946 volume, published December 25th, 1945 and distributed January 1st, 1946, was not mailed in to the Tokyo PPB office until March 21st, 1946. It was then examined by the Japanese examiner-translator Ōzeki sometime between that date and April 9th—Ōzeki's handwritten magazine examination slip does not include a date. The American censor Klaus selected the January volume for re-examination on April 9th. Ōzeki's post-censorship violation recommendations were then confirmed, typed-up for filing, and the January issue was finally sent back to PPB's intake secretary where it was filed on April 16th, 1946. We can assume that the "Informal Memorandum" of censorship disapprovals was mailed on or around that date. The February issue of the magazine also arrived at PPB on March 21st, suggesting that these volumes were sent together; the March issue arrived on March 28th. It is possible, of course, that the editors of *Tōhoku bunko* heard from colleagues in the publishing industry about the Occupation's censorship system's reaction to rightest thought. Despite the Occupation's insistence to the contrary, censorship was not an entirely a secret operation. It appears that the editors were not initially submitting the magazine for censorship, though the reason why is unclear. It appears likely that four volumes of the magazine would have been published before GHQ's first censorship letter, regarding the January 1946 issue, would have arrived or its deletions been implemented. The April issue was printed on April 22nd, less than one week after PPB's

designated filing date, and distributed on the 25th of that month. In total, surviving censorship documents confirm that the editors had not sent in the right-leaning January volume for censorship by the time they had published the now left-leaning February issue.

Other methods for determining self-censorship exist beyond comparing changes in editorial tone across multiple volumes of a magazine. For example, cataloging the ideological tendencies of censorship violations over time also introduces some doubt regarding the extent to which *Tōhoku bunko*'s editors and publishers engaged in self-censorship. Research that attempts to account for censorship's efficacy across time tends to rely on single authors, often canonical figures who were well known for their experience with censorship. The most common methodology generates a timeline which follows a single work from draft, through censorship recommendations, to published results. Subjects of research on self-censorship include major literary figures or important texts from the cannon of modern Japanese literature. Recent examples discuss Dazai Osamu, Nagai Kafū, or Sakaguchi Angō.[54] While this methodology helps us trace the impact of censorship on particular texts, sometimes even proving the stifling effect of censorship on an individual writer's career, they fall short of indicating censorship's

[54] On Dazai, see: Takiguchi Akihiro (滝口明祥), "Making *The Complete Works of Dazai Osamu*: Censorship and Original Texts" (「『太宰治全集』の成立ー検閲と本文」Dazai Osamu zenshū *no seiritsu: ken'etsu to honbun*) *Intelligence* (『インテリジェンス』) Volume 8 (April, 2007): 24-34; and Natsume Takeko (夏目武子), "Dazai Osamu and the Press Code: *Sekibetsu*'s Double Experience of Censorship" (「太宰治とプレスコード：『惜別』二つの検閲をくぐって」*Dazai Osamu to puresu kōdo:* Sekibetsu *futatsu no ken'etsu wo kugutte*) *Literature and Education* (『文学と教育』*Bungaku to kyōiku*) Volume 216 (2012): 45-51. On Nagai, see: Yamamoto Taketoshi (山本武利), *GHQ: Censorship, Intelligence, Propaganda* (『GHQの検閲・諜報・宣伝工作』*GHQ no ken'etsu, chōhō, senden kōsaku*) (Tokyo: Iwanami gendai zensho, 2013), 177-193; and Kishikawa Shuntarō (岸川俊太郎), "Nagai Kafū and Occupation-era Censorship: From the Viewpoint of *A Journal of Calamity*" (「永井荷風と占領期＜検閲＞ー『罹災日録』を視座として」*Nagai Kafū to senryōki <ken'etsu>:* Risai nichiroku *wo shiza toshite*) *Modern Japanese Literary Studies* (『日本近代文学』) Volume 80 (May, 2009): 83-98. On Sakaguchi, see: Toeda Hirokazu (十重田裕一), "Sakaguchi Ango and GHQ/SCAP Censorship: Traces of an Engraved Occupation" (「坂口安吾とGHQ・SCAPの検閲ー刻印された占領期の痕跡」*Sakaguchi Ango to GHQ/SCAP no ken'etsu: kokuin sareta senryōki no konseki*) *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* (『国文学：解釈と教材の研究』) Volume 50, Number 13 (December, 2005): 84-90.

systemic impact on print culture. By focusing on the entire print run of a single magazine, we can come closer to understanding the contours of censorship at larger scales, in this study rural or regional. Although this new methodology will also inevitably fail to indicate censorship's effect at a national scale (and it remains unclear how that effect could be understood as anything other than massive, complex, and contradictory), we can at least open pathways that bring print history of a narrow locality into focus.

In the case of *Tōhoku bunko* we can verify that every volume published during 1946—aside from the March volume, which does not have complete censorship documentation—was subject to some kind of censorship violation recommendation. Of the recommendations that were eventually disapproved by ranking American censors, 10 of 13 censorship violations between April and December of 1946 were enacted for criticism of Allied Forces or for propaganda. However, these consistent and repeated disapprovals do not appear to impact editorial tone from month to month, *nor* do we find evidence that these post-censored disapprovals were ever implemented. I will list some of these violations in chronological order here:

> April, 1946: To tell the truth, I thought it necessary not only to overthrow the Fascistic Ideology of Japan and Germany but also to fight with Americans who do not understand the real meaning of liberty and equality. As it is well known, among Americans we find many various ancestries such as Jewish, Italian, Negro and Japanese who invariably are discriminated from real Americans. So long as such prejudice as the racial discrimination exists war is inevitable. If my opinion is not mistaken neither Americans nor American religions will give those discriminated peoples true liberty. (Underlined portion DISAPPROVED; destructive criticism of U.S.)[55]
>
> June, 1946: The officers of the Occupation Troops at AOMORI displayed their utmost disapproval toward the city-authorities of AOMORI, saying, "You are extremely lazy in reconstructing the city as if to give vent to your antipathetic feeling toward us. (Quotation DISAPPROVED - criticism of

[55] Taken verbatim from censorship document produced by the examiner-translator K. Tsuchihashi and re-examined by the American censor Klaus regarding the article translated as "The War Is Not Ended." Kanami Rokurō? (加波六郎), "The War Has Not Ended" (「戦争はまだすんでいない」*Sensō ha mada sundeinai*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 4 (April, 1946): 72-73. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Occup. Forces)[56]

July, 1946: Yoshida's mission is, like that of Shidehara's, to sustain Japanese feudalism and militarism, and to prepare for driving Japan to war again. This is because Yoshida has become bullish by securing the majority in the Diet, and has been encouraged by the fact that, in U.S.A. of late, the opposition between laborers and capitalists having become acute, large scales strikes have taken place successively and the government there has taken the policy to support the capitalists. But the circumstances are fundamentally different in America and Japan. (Above DISAPPROVED – propaganda)[57]

October/November, 1946: According to Soviet Marxism it was considered that mankind should be united in the name of laborers. But recently, some scholars in the Soviet insist that the Slav race is superior to other races. At present a group of countries who had been considered inferior began insisting their own superiority in the name of their victory. Thus mankind is endlessly exposed to the danger of future strifes, and yet not being able to resist the danger they are thrown into the current of history as if predestinated.

The world is still in unrest in this sense. The world has no center or authority. The world is in confusion, disorder and continuous dissension. (Above quotations DISAPPROVED; the former quotation - Critical of Allied Powers & the latter - Disturbs public tranquility)[58]

Unlike methodologies of analyzing censorship that rely on a single author experiencing and responding to censorship violations, these instances cannot prove any particular author deliberately writing against the censorship apparatus. What we can consider, however, is the ways in which publishers and editors navigated post-censorship and self-censorship. Although each passage addresses different aspects of postwar Japanese history, we can tease out the logic by which all of these quotations were disapproved. In each instance, the author of the

[56] Although less famous than other air raids, the firebombing of Aomori City in July, 1945 destroyed approximately 88% of structures in the city. This quotation comes from a printed summary of final censorship decisions, but there is no record of the examiner-translator S. Furuya's original recommendation or its review by higher ranking censors. Yokota Yūto? (横田雄士), "Aomori: Rising Up From Calamity" (「起ちあがる罹災地・青森」*Ochiagaru risaichi: Aomori*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 5 (June, 1946): 7-8. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[57] This censorship document was produced by I. Hara and reviewed by the American censor FPL. Suzuki Tōmin (鈴木東民), "Working Towards Production Control" (「生産管理を働く」 *Seisan kanri wo hataraku*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 6 (July, 1946): 2-4. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[58] This censorship document was produced by E. Sugiura and checked by R. Kiriguchi. Miyazaki Takayuki? (宮崎孝之), "On the Question of Mixed-Race Children" (「混血問題をめぐって」 *Konketsu mondai wo megutte*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Number 9 (October, 1946): 7-8. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

disapproved article argues against the moral authority of Occupation forces, or their direct "allies" in the case of the Soviet Union before the Reverse Course. The authors point to internal contradictions that undercut the power of the Occupation to credibly dictate economic, military, or social reforms.

How might we read the experience of *Tōhoku bunko*'s first year of publication within the context of Occupation censorship? The above passages are accompanied by Occupation censorship documents that outline the reasoning for their disapprovals. Additionally, the entire 1946 print run of the magazine is held at the Iwate Prefectural Library, allowing us to directly compare censorship violations with copies of the magazine available to the public. Arguing for the possibility of self-censorship from the beginning of *Tōhoku bunko*'s print run would be problematic, because *Tōhoku bunko* submitted copies of volumes published in the first months of 1946 to CCD long after they had been distributed to the public. The editor would likely not have received any censorship deletion orders until late-April 1946 and would not have received multiple *consecutive* censorship memoranda until mid-1946. Nor would the editors have been granted access to the reasoning behind the ordered deletions.

Fortunately, censorship documents held in the Prange Collection occasionally contain notes that reveal the thinking of censorship officials. In the case of the July issue of *Tōhoku bunko*, we know precisely why the above quotation was disapproved. The American censor FPL reviews the censorship recommendation from July, 1946 cited above and writes the following note: [FIG. 2.10]

> This passage is taken from an article by Suzuki Tōmin who was until recently the chief editor of the 'Yomiuri.' He is known for his pro-communist tendencies and the above article would be alright, if he didn't: 1. Attack the govt. of the U.S.A. by calling it 'partial.' 2. Go so far as to say that Yoshida

is preparing for war. Y. has after all been O.K.d by SCAP. FPL[59]

Beyond this note's relevance to postwar Japanese party politics, it shows the sensitivity of Occupation censors to even relatively minor (and accurate) criticism. *Tōhoku bunko* would not have known the detailed logic behind the disapproval, but they would have received official word that the passage, like the others censored during 1946, was disapproved for propaganda against Occupation-sanctioned policies. Likewise, because the precise content and subject of the criticism differs from article to article, it is difficult to argue definitively that *Tōhoku bunko*'s editors would have found them objectionable and worthy of self-censorship based on previous post-censorship warnings from the PPB. What we do know, however, is that surviving copies of *Tōhoku bunko* in Japanese archives show no indication that any of the post-censored passages were deleted. I have not yet been able to find a copy of any 1946 volume that has been altered as required by Occupation authorities. This leaves the impression that the publishers and editors of *Tōhoku bunko* may not have followed post-censorship regulations (in so far as they were required to collect issues from the public for corrections), nor did they work to spike questionable ideological content before it went to print. We know that post-censorship brought about modes of self-censorship; that fact is documented and incontrovertible. Yet the discourse of post-censorship as self-censorship can at times become so monolithic as to flatten other readings of archival materials that demonstrate heterogeneous responses to the censorship apparatus broadly and post-censorship specifically.

Impact of Post- to Pre-Censorship Enforcement in Iwate Magazines

[59] Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

The archival evidence explored thus far relates to the post-censorship system exclusively. Regional archival materials suggest that the gap between pre- and post-censorship experience is significant enough that post-censorship examples cannot accurately portray complexities in the pre-censorship system, and vice versa. Broadly speaking, post-censorship's reach and efficacy should be analyzed separately from similar trends or statistics that we might discover by examining examples of pre-censorship. Thus, there is a risk in tessellating the statistics from specific, regional post-censored examples in an effort to inflate their capability to analyze censorship at archival scale. At a minimum, however, this small glimpse at censorship's operation in Iwate suggests additional avenues through which future analysis might dissect complexities in the censorship apparatus. Because magazines from northern Japan were mostly (as in the case of Iwate) or entirely (as in the case of Akita) subject to post-censorship, there exists relatively few opportunities to critically analyze the pre-censorship system through archival documents. Luckily, the few examples of pre-censorship from Iwate that survive in the Prange are accompanied by relatively complete and illuminating censorship documentation. In the rare case that pre-censored magazines are also available in a local archive, we find that transitioning to pre-censorship coincides precisely with implementations of Occupation-ordered censorship.

The most valuable archival materials from Iwate magazines under Occupation censorship are held with the published volumes and accompanying censorship documents for the relatively short-lived coterie magazine *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』), discussed briefly above. *Seikatsusha* was published from February, 1946 to August, 1947 in Morioka, by the editor Miura Sōtarō (三浦宗太

郎, dates unknown) under a new independent publisher called "Seikatsusha" (生活社).[60] Although the print run for this magazine was relatively small—the magazine opened at a print run of 5,000 copies, eventually reducing its run to 3,000 copies—it was strongly backed across Tōhoku and national organizations.[61] It regularly published new essays and fiction by established figures from the Tōhoku literary scene: the editor Miura, who was also active in *Tōhoku bunko* and *Shin Iwate Fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) which I will explore in Chapter 3; social critic and organizer Ōmachi Yoneko (大町米子, dates unknown); Iwate historian Nakaya Hiroko (中屋弘子, 1916-?); Sawa Sōichi, addressed in Chapter 4; art critic Moriguchi Tari (森口多里, 1892-1984); poet Ichinohe Kenzō (一戸謙三, 1899-1979). Unlike other examples of Iwate journals, especially *Tōhoku bunko* which has been the focus of this chapter so far, *Seikatsusha* moved from post-censorship to pre-censorship and back again. It is the only Iwate magazine to have been cataloged in Occupation government documents as a magazine requiring pre-censorship as CCD began to move away from that system.[62] Most importantly, the Occupation censorship documentation that accompanies Seikatsusha in the Prange Collection chronicles the magazine's transition between pre- and post-censorship.

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[60] Miura went on to write a literary and social history of postwar Iwate in the form of a combined history/autobiography: Miura Sōtarō (三浦宗太郎), *Iwate's Popular Movements in a Time of Transformation* (『岩手における転形期の群像』*Iwate ni okeru tenkeiki no gunzō*) (Morioka: Tsutsumisha, 1962). This volume also contains valuable information on postwar Tōhoku publishing history and appears to be a largely forgotten, though valuable text.

[61] Miura describes having financial backing of 13 major unions in Iwate, new material to print from established writers across Tōhoku, and support from literary groups like the New Japanese Literature Group and the Democratic Literature Group, as well as central JCP figures like Hirano Yoshitarō (平野義太郎). Miura, *Iwate's Popular Movements*, 62-63.

[62] Yamamoto, *Occupation Media Analysis*, 308-310.

Seikatsusha's early print history exhibits a publishing and censorship submission timeline similar to early issues of *Tōhoku bunko*. The magazine began publishing in February 1946, but the first three volumes were not submitted to PPB for censorship examination until May of that year. The February, March, and April issues have similar examination dates, suggesting that the magazine was publishing for several months before submitting copies to Occupation authorities. Unfortunately, Miura does not write about the process of submitting the magazine for censorship in his autobiography. We are left to surmise *Seikatsusha*'s early timeline through CCD records of when the magazine was mailed in for censorship and when it was subsequently examined. The February issue was published on February 3rd, 1946 and released to the public on February 10th. It was likely submitted for censorship in early May, but a "mailed-in date" was either never specified on the cover of the magazine or it has since faded. Dated censorship documents indicate that the magazine was first censored by H. Ichikawa on the 10th of May, re-examined by censor HY sometime after that date, then eventually filed with PPB on May 29th, 1946. For comparison, the March issue is clearly labeled as mailed-in on the 2nd of May, censored by the examiner-translator Ōhta on May 10th, then filed on May 23rd, 1946. The April volume shows the same May 2nd mailed-in date, an undated magazine examination sheet by the examiner-translator Miura, and a file date on May 2X (the date has been stamped over), 1946.

This information appears inconsequential at first, but it tells us two essential facts about *Seikatsusha*'s early censorship history. First, the magazine's initial three volumes were without question post-censored (and are labeled as such in censorship documents). Miura would not have received an Informal Memoranda regarding the violations present in these volumes, which were serious enough to force the magazine to transfer to pre-censorship, until early June. Second, these documents show that even when multiple magazines were submitted simultaneously, they

were not examined by the same censor, nor were they *re-examined* by the same higher-ranking censors. *Seikatsusha* will go on to cause confusion within the censorship apparatus, which could have been easily avoided by a censorship process that considered magazines as belonging to a coherent and continuous publishing record. CCD instead worked piecemeal, censoring submitted items as discrete objects independent of their publishing context.

To return our attention to the inaugural February volume, this particular issue of the magazine likely caused a shift onto pre-censorship not exclusively because of the content of the violations, but because it was subject to re-examination which uncovered additional and previously unreported violations. H. Ichikawa's initial censorship recommendations were reviewed by a ranking re-examiner, HY, who inspected the entirety of this issue, not only those portions identified for review by Ichikawa. HY apparently found the initial examination lacking, writing a note on Ichikawa's censorship form, "Quite a few violations were missed by the examiner. Following are the translation of them." [FIG. 2.11] After HY's re-examination and additional disapprovals, we find the following, separate note attached to the documents: "To be put on precensor. Letter already sent to editor to come to this office. JF" [FIG. 2.12] This note is likely produced by a high-ranking American Occupation official, though I can only speculate based on the initials who exactly had the authority to move magazines from post-censorship to pre-censorship. March and April volumes, which had been submitted at or around the same time as the February issue, were not subject to re-examination, nor were they singled out for a move to pre-censorship. Similar to other post-censored magazines that survive from the period in local archives, the copy of this issue held by the Iwate Prefectural Library does not show any evidence of censorship disapprovals being implemented despite multiple serious violations.

The following five issues—the March to July issues—were also post-censored. Although every issue contained censorship violations, none of those disapprovals appear to have been implemented in the issues held in the Iwate Prefectural Library. The documentation available in the Prange Collection does not state why the February, March, and April issues were not subject to the same re-examination process even though they were submitted together. Each of these early volumes were censored by different examiner-translators—Ichikawa, Ohta, and Miura. It appears that *Seikatsusha*'s move to pre-censorship was not widely known by PPB censors. We can confirm this through the simultaneous post-censorship of the March and April issues, and because the next three volumes submitted to PPB were also post-censored. The May volume was post-censored in July. The June volume was post-censored in August, as was the July volume. Censorship documents provide a timeline regarding the pre-/post-censorship confusion. The American censor FPL writes the following note in the censorship documents produced for the May, 1946 issue: "This magazine contains numerous censorship violations (at least 2 articles think ought to be disapproved). As this publication is, according to our files, on pre-censorship since June '46, I think it is unnecessary to do anything about this issue." To which another, unnamed censor replies in writing: "Right – already on precensor." [FIG. 2.13]

This exchange reveals how a seemingly simple process—assigning pre-censorship to a magazine that had previously been post-censored—was lost in the flow of censorship bureaucracy. Notes appended to magazine examination sheets state that the PPB office believed *Seikatsusha* to have been placed on pre-censorship from the June, 1946. The documents for the June issue, however, state clearly that the issue is post-censored. The June issue is examined in August by censor T. Torii (a frontline examiner-translator who will go on to become a higher-ranking censor responsible for re-examinations). Torii's original censorship recommendations

are in fact reviewed by JF, the censor who originally places *Seikatusha* on pre-censorship. JF *passes* all of Torii's recommended disapprovals. His justification for passing these violations is simple: "Post C.[ensorship]." That is, the recommendations are in fact violations, but not serious enough to enforce in the post-censorship system. Furthermore, the combined archival documents show a significant lag between the expected transition to pre-censorship and when that transition actually occurred. The censor FPL writes the above note regarding *Seikatsusha*'s move to pre-censorship on the first of July, 1946. Because this transition is expected to occur in June, it is unsurprising to discover that the June issue was also post-censored. What *is* surprising, however, is that the July issue—which was published on July 20th and mailed in to PPB on August 1st—was also post-censored. This volume was also re-examined by both FPL and JF, but the July volume held in the Iwate Prefectural Library shows no evidence of the required censorship disapprovals being implemented.

The lag within the PPB office between pre-censorship being ordered and pre-censorship being executed suggests that there was likely some miscommunication regarding the censorship status of this title. If, for instance, *Seikatsusha* had in fact been placed on pre-censorship from June (as indicated in the documents produced by higher-ranking censors), we would expect to see accompanying pre-censorship documents and galley proofs beginning from the June issue. Because those documents are missing, we must assume they were either never produced (meaning the magazine was not placed on pre-censorship in June as one would expect from Occupation documents), or they were lost. Unlike most magazine titles, the Prange's *Seikatsusha* holdings contain more than the most commonly collected materials: copies of magazines, magazine examination slips, censorship recommendations, and printed summaries of censorship disapprovals. The Prange also holds ancillary documents produced by PPB. One piece of scrap

paper produced by a censor accompanies the August issue, the first volume to be pre-censored. This slip reads: “1. April 1946 2. May [1946] 3 June [1946] 4 July (Vl #6) [1946] 5 Aug (#7) [1946]”. Perhaps a censor produced this note as they reviewed back issues. But for what reason? To confirm *Seikatsusha*’s pre-/post-censorship status? This seems plausible, if speculative. Regardless, because we do not find evidence of pre-censorship in earlier issues (February to July), it seems reasonable to tentatively argue that *Seikatsusha* was not placed under pre-censorship until August, 1946.

It is only after the August issue of *Seikatsusha* undergoes pre-censorship that we find evidence of violations outlined in CCD documents held by the Prange Collection *and* the implementation of those same disapprovals in the published magazine as collected in the Iwate Prefectural Library. Current scholarly consensus surrounding Occupation censorship does not delineate between a magazine’s pre- or post-censorship status. From this position, a transition from post-censorship to pre-censorship should prove immaterial to the implementation of censorship in published and distributed volumes. Archival materials from northern Japan, however, demonstrate the need for critical consideration of a magazine’s pre- or post-censorship status when discussing its publishing history. The August 1946 article “Small, Weak Nations,” was suppressed in its entirety for criticism of Koreans. *Seikatsusha* does in fact implement this censorship, the first instance of the magazine enforcing violations in available archival materials. We can assume that this deletion was implemented by *Seikatsusha*’s editor, Miura Sōtarō, though the method of implementation itself likely caused problems when it was reviewed by Occupation censors. Rather than rearranging the magazine in order to maintain the original pagination, the offending article was physically removed from the printed magazine and a piece of paper was pasted over the title and author as listed in the table of contents. Both of these

modes of implementing censorship were expressly forbidden by CCD policies. CCD asserted that no evidence or mention of censorship would be permitted. *Seikatsusha* continued to implement censorship in problematic ways. In the combined September/October issue, censorship disapprovals are not changed to hide traces of censorship, rather they are again physically removed from the printed volume. The examiner-translator I. Hara states in his post-censorship sheet "The first two sheets—from page 1 to page 4—are cut off." This leads us to wonder if fully uncensored issues were sent to the public, given that the August and September/October issues appear to have been published before the pre-censored violations could be enforced.

Archival evidence complicates the publication history of the September/October volume of *Seikatsusha*. It appears that this volume was both pre-censored and post-censored. The post-censored issue collected in the Prange archive does not contain missing sheets as specified by Hara. However, the issue collected in the Iwate Prefectural Library *does* include those pages. To confuse the issue further: Although the Iwate archival copy contains the pages that have been physically removed from the PPB copy censored by Hara, this volume *also* implemented the deletions ordered in pre-censorship as seen in the Prange documents. The Iwate-held September/October volume appears to have implemented all the required pre-censorship deletions and done so in the manner required by GHQ. Deleted portions have either been rewritten with new text or the type has been reset to hide evidence of censorship deletions. Only one instance of censorship has been blacked out by ink, rather than having been rewritten. These two blacked out characters appear in both the CCD post-censored copy and the Iwate Prefectural Library copy. Thus, the September/October issue of *Seikatsusha* has at least three archival versions: the CCD's pre-censored galley proof, the CCD's post-censored copy with missing

pages and some censorship implemented, and the Iwate archival copy which implements all disapprovals but contains pages not sent to the PPB office for post-censorship. It is unclear which, if any, of these versions of the magazine experienced wide circulation.

Seikatsusha's editor, Miura Sōtarō, wrote about the magazine briefly in his 1962 book *Iwate's Popular Movements in a Time of Transformation*, but his references to the censorship process and his method for enforcing censorship deletions are oblique. Miura recalls his experience with the censorship apparatus when outlining the formation and editorial goals of the magazine in early 1946:

> At that time the United States Occupation administrators required newspapers and magazines to send magazine galley proofs to the civil administration division of GHQ. Magazines could not publish without first passing censorship, and unlike before the war, when censorship was administered by Japan, editors could not simply replace censored portions of texts with omissions, i.e. XXX. The American military did not allow any evidence of censorship to remain. It became an exceedingly clever operation, wherein changes to the text had to occur, and in some cases the situation called for changes in editing.[63]

Because Miura's core purpose is to highlight the cultural impact of *Seikatsusha* in the immediate postwar, he lists examples of impactful articles which were also subject to censorship. With access to the Prange Collection and the published volumes in the Iwate archive, we can independently verify Miura's autobiographical experience. Many examples Miura cites match up with censorship documentation, yet there are also curious complications. In his list of censored works, Miura includes an article entitled "The New Constitution and Working Women," published in the May 1946 volume by Hattori Mugio (服部麥生, 1905-1949).[64] Surviving Prange

[63] Miura, *Iwate's Popular Movements*, 69-70.

[64] Hattori was a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee. Although born in Tokyo, Hattori was a member of the Communist Party's Osaka Regional Office for five years before being arrested and imprisoned for eight years during the war. Hattori published regularly after his release from prison. In Iwate journals, he also contributed the article "The Path to Democratic Revolution" (「民主主義革命への道」*Minshushugi kakumei he no michi*) in the June, 1946 volume of *Tōhoku bunko*.

materials, however, indicate that no portion of this article was disapproved. Beyond the simplest explanation for Miura's assertion of censorship in this article—that he simply misremembered which articles had been subject to censorship—we might think of two possible reasons for this confusion, both relevant to critically reconsidering the impact of censorship on Tōhoku journals. First, it is possible that some censorship documents are missing from the Prange archives. It seems curious that Miura cites this article as censored when it was published in the same month that *Seikatsusha* was first submitted to censors. Perhaps an undocumented censorship incident spurred Miura to submit the first three volumes together in early May. Second, this could be a case of self-censorship. Perhaps Miura requested Hattori exact changes in the copy before submitting the material to PPB. In that case, Miura might have considered that experience as one specifically defined by the concept "censorship" even if no Occupation documents indicate violations or enforcement. Available censorship documents from the Prange collection add confusion to Miura's portrayal of the magazine's application of censorship. The first four issues of *Seikatsusha* were likely published and distributed well before submission to authorities. The earliest censorship disapprovals would have arrived via hand-delivered memoranda in late-May or early-June. Censorship disapprovals Miura himself likely enacted were obvious to readers in the August issue and these occurred only after the move to pre-censorship. Why is it that Miura emphasizes censorship's extensive roll in publishing *Seikatsusha*? To venture an answer, we might return to the ideological scale of Occupation censorship and how regional archival materials shape our perceptions of censorship's reach and efficacy.

In its bureaucratic directive and execution, the censorship apparatus attempted to position itself as ever-present. Given the extent to which historical scholarship regarding the censorship system has repeated and reinforced this image, it seems clear that censorship's authority over

Japanese publishing history achieved an *ideological* scale essentially congruent with its stated mission. Like the "Supreme" scale of SCAP's authority, which itself has been rendered largely invisible by virtue of acronymization, Occupation censorship intended to appear as an all-powerful force. Miura's personal recollection of publishing under censorship exposes publishers' susceptibility to the carefully crafted image of censorship's reach and impact in the postwar moment. Occupation-produced documents work in concert with individual accounts to legitimize ideological representations of censorship at scales that it likely did not reach. Probing regional extremities of a national-scale censorship system begins to unearth evidence that Occupation censorship was considerably more complex and contradictory than previously considered. Research on postwar Japanese literature to date does not fully express the deviations that exist between censorship as it was bureaucratically documented—or subjectively experienced by editors and authors—and the material remnants of postwar literature in the aggregate.

Occupation Acknowledgement of Post-censorship's Deficiencies

Two significant archival discoveries present in censorship documentation accompanying regional magazines suggest that Occupation authorities understood post-censorship's limited efficacy: First, CCD censors regularly passed violations specifically because they were post-censored; Second, a GHQ review of censorship operations acknowledges the impossibility of enacting widespread censorship. Tōhoku materials effectively frame this first discovery. The Aomori literary journal *Gekkan Tōō* began publishing in September, 1945 under post-censorship and remained so for the entirety of its print run. In the post-censorship documents created in June, 1946 for the April, 1946 issue, the censor FPL states that keylog violations related to the

term “Greater East Asian War” (the imperialist euphemism for what came to be known as the “Pacific War”) was simply “Not enough to justify a letter,” to which another re-examiner writes, “Ditto.” Statements of this kind abound from ranking American censors. The “letter” American censors refer to in these comments is the “Informal Memorandum of Violation of Press Codes” that was hand-delivered by GIs to editors of magazines that ran afoul of the post-censorship system. American censors demonstrate the ambiguous enforceability of the press code through post-censorship when they respond to violation recommendations from examiner-translators: “Not enough to justify letter,” “Too harmless to justify letter,” “I guess it is not worth sending a letter for such triffles,” “Yes [this is a violation], but in post c.[ensorship] we’ll leave it,” or the more vague, oft-repeated “OK Post[-censorship],” or “Post C.[ensorship].” These documents show that print violations were subject to a separate criteria of enforcement once a magazine was on post-censorship. On rare occasions, American censors acknowledge their powerlessness within the post-censorship system. In the documents accompanying the combined November/December, 1946 issue of *Gekkan Tōō*, the American censor reviewing violations writes, “This mag. is certainly loaded with nationalistic + militaristic propaganda. Can something be done about it? This is the Vol. 8, No. 10 mag.” The censor had re-examined this issue on or around February 24th, 1947, nearly three months after the volume had been released. Very few occupation documents so succinctly summarize the overwhelming mission faced by the censorship apparatus. We can imagine this censor expressing two sentiments: The rhetorical question, “Can something be done about *this magazine as it has already been published?”* and the bureaucratic interrogative, “Can something be done about *this magazine in the future?”*

The second discovery—the acknowledgement of post-censorship’s shortcomings at the level of GHQ—comes from two staff reports sent to SCAP’s Deputy Chief of Staff, authored by

CID's leader Charles Willoughby. The first report, "Draft of Study 'Civil Censorship in Occupied Areas'" was produced on May 31, 1947. In response to "essential principles outlined for Censorship Operations," the document describes "Point 1" as follows:

> (1) The essential principles of relaxation of censorship over Press, Pictorial and Broadcast media is understood by G-2 to transfer to a post-censorship basis all the Japanese press, including book magazine publishers, newspapers and news agencies (except the ultra-rightist and leftist press); all Japanese radio stations, current production Japanese motion pictures, imported motion pictures of all nations, and all theatrical productions (except the ultra-rightist and leftist producers).
>
> Compliance with directives for post-censored material is successful only when violations are corrected by punitive action. It is the belief of G-2 that, at this stage of the occupation, punitive measures adequate to correct post-censorship violations would be impossible to effect without public protest both in Japan and abroad. Therefore, CCD, CIS, G-2 points out that no staff section should be held responsible for dissemination of specific material inimical to the occupation and its objectives by media on a post-censorship basis.[65]

Willoughby outlines two responses to GHQ's move towards post-censorship in 1947: First, post-censorship is unenforceable without irresponsibly draconian measures. Second, the censorship apparatus should not be held responsible for their inability to enforce post-censorship. On June 11, 1947 Willoughby authors another memo to GHQ entitled "Staff Study on Censorship Requirements in Japan and Korea" which further outlines fundamental problems faced by CCD, particularly because GHQ never provided the censorship office with adequate resources:

> 3. CCD, CIS, G-2 has never been brought to authorized strength. As a result, many missions have been retarded and responsibilities neglected. Examples:
>
> …
>
> c. The number of Press, Pictorial and Broadcast media that were pre-censored has always been maintained at a dangerous level. Lack of personnel in CCD has necessitated post-censorship of many media that should have been treated on pre-censorship basis. In addition, the lack of personnel has necessitated the post-censoring of only 1 out of every 5 of post-censored publications.
>
> …
>
> f. Proposed modifications to Press, Pictorial and Broadcast censorship involve a transfer of a portion of the Japanese press, including books, magazines, newspapers, and news agencies to a post-censored basis…However, while on the surface the proposed changes in PPB activities would appear to provide the opportunity for reduction in functions and personnel, a close survey of the situation reveals exactly the opposite condition because:
>
> …
>
> (5) The present post-censorship structure is saturated with workload, as only one out of every

[65] RG554 000.73: General Headquarters G-2, Far East Command, Jan - Dec 1947. Underlined portion from original text. Willoughby is replying to "essential principles" of censorship as laid out by previous GHQ documents.

five items are spot-checked.[66]

Not only has Willoughby rejected the possibility of enforcing post-censorship, he now outlines the extent to which CCD's assigned tasks have overwhelmed the censorship apparatus as a whole. Taken together, Willoughby's appraisal of CCD's execution of censorship suggests that post-censorship made up the overwhelming majority of CCD's operations. Post-censored materials were examined or spot-checked at extremely low rates, and post-censored disapprovals could not be enforced. We must be careful, however, in understanding that these documents are not in and of themselves evidence of post-censorship's failures. Just as we have found fundamental flaws in the documentation of censorship across temporal and spatial scales, we should take these statements only as possible avenues of inquiry. They do not, in fact, accurately depict regional or specific experiences of post-censorship, just as local materials will inevitably fail to reveal structural features of the censorship apparatus at national scales.

Based on the archival evidence explored above, a temptation exists whereby we as researchers of postwar Japanese literary history may begin to feel warranted in fundamentally challenging the efficacy of Occupation censorship. And yet there is a danger in tessellating the particular experience of a given magazine, issue, author, editor, or article—even if those experiences appear to share important characteristics across an entire locality or region—to the scale of censorship broadly. Including Occupation-produced documents in this analysis amplifies problems of tessellating regional historical analysis to a national scale. As this chapter demonstrates, the archivization of Occupation-produced documents requires contextualization and destabilization. Documents that seem to confirm the existence and execution of censorship in

[66] RG554 000.73: General Headquarters G-2, Far East Command, Jan - Dec 1947.

specific cases cannot be taken as undeniable evidence of that censorship, even when clearly ordered by Occupation authorities. The necessity for destabilization is doubly true of documents produced at the highest levels of the Occupation government that appear to summarize structural features or shifts in censorship policy across Japan as a whole. With these methodological caveats in mind, a critical, scalar examination of Occupation censorship opens several paths forward to postwar literary studies moving forward.

Conclusion

Archived regional magazines and their accompanying censorship documents unearth trends that indicate inconsistencies within the censorship process itself. At present, I will only assert these propositions in a regional context. First, a significant proportion of Tōhoku magazines held in the Prange Collection are not accompanied by censorship documentation that should, by all indications, exist. It is as yet unclear whether these documents were lost, destroyed, or simply never produced. Second, surviving documents prove that magazines in rural northern Japan were post-censored earlier and more often than Occupation-produced records assert. Third, regional magazines subjected to post-censorship demonstrate a significant lag between their initial date of publication, the date on which they are processed by CCD, their date of initial examination, and the earliest possible date they could be subject to censorship disapprovals. Fourth, beyond magazines that were clearly pre- or post-censored, there also exist a portion of archived magazines that fail to show signs of entering into the censorship workflow at all. Fifth, local archives in northern Japan do not show evidence of post-censored violations being implemented in magazines. And finally, archival documents produced by high-ranking American censors

suggest that Occupation officials were themselves doubtful of censorship's enforceability, especially post-censorship.

While acknowledging the danger in performing scalar tessellations on archival materials, Tōhoku magazines indicate certain trends that are worth investigating. Can we also expect a higher rate of post-censorship materials in other areas of Japan? Are these complex relationships between print and censorship common in rural or regional literatures? Do these inconsistencies also apply to newspapers? Do major journals published in central Tokyo show similar rates of post-censorship? Are they also frequently unchanged from their original version? I suspect that additional scalar studies of postwar literature will help clarify the answers to these questions, while also uncovering new materials and generating additional challenges to our current understanding of literature under Occupation.

Chapter 3:

Nation, Gender, Environment: Critical Reading Practices and Postwar Women's Writing in Northern Tōhoku

Abstract

This chapter explores the intersections of gender with three elements of postwar literary history: First, I explore the way that gender has shaped archival and canonization practices from the beginning of Japanese modernization to the period of Allied Occupation. As print capital and intellectual labor centralized around an urban literary elite, critical reading practices emerged to emphasize author-biographical critiques of central writers, as well as a repetitious re-canonization of establishment texts. Centralization, archivization, and canonization converged into an urban system of reading literature that doubly marginalized rural women as writers. Second, women who were active in (or tangentially connected to) the central literary elite often recognized the scaling of intellectual or literary space to urban Tokyo and the capital-intensive modes of print that were connected to the *bundan*. Some of these women—Hayashi Fumiko, Washio Yoshiko, and Takeuchi Teruyo in this chapter—injected their writing with ambivalence and resistance to literature on a national scale. Finally, this chapter introduces selections from the important postwar magazine *Shin Iwate fujin* as a way to show how scalar methodologies have foreclosed the possibility of integrating rural women's literature with central archivization and canonization projects. I read the essays, poetry, and fiction published in *Shin Iwate fujin* through local scales, methodologies drawn from gender studies, and environmental humanities in an effort to recover the important critiques presented in these largely forgotten texts. In summary, this chapter exposes the historical, scalar concept work that has undergirded our current conception of postwar literature. It therefore challenges the artificiality of those scales through a concentrated engagement with rural women's writing.

Gendered Scales of National Literature and Women's Literature through Archivization

This chapter applies the scalar critiques of print history established in earlier chapters to women's writing and publishing in northern Japan during the early postwar period. Postwar literary history has come to coincide with concepts such as nation or region through extensive scalar concept-work. Critiquing these acts of scaling reveals complex and often contradictory intersections between postwar Japanese literature and gendered histories of national literature, canonization, and critical reading practices. Modern Japanese women writers active from the

early-Meiji period through Japan's wartime struggled against modes of literary critique and systems of cultural valuation that were founded upon discriminatory standards established by male-centered, intellectual elites. By contrast, the immediate postwar period witnessed a wellspring of radical reorientations regarding publishing, writing, and reading practices that were built on participatory democratization of artistic practices. This shift allowed marginalized women in northern Tōhoku a greater degree of access to print culture, either in regional centers of print capital or through independent local publishers. Stretching scalar critiques of postwar literature beyond the boundaries of Tokyo—where almost all the women who have by now been inducted into the Japanese literary canon first established themselves as "major" literary figures—exposes how the spaces and classes of rural Japan were omitted from reading practices established by a hegemonic, male literary elite. This chapter will show how archivization and canonization projects intended to re-establish national literature (here meaning *kokubungaku*) in the postwar period repeatedly excise regional publishing history in order to highlight Tokyo-centered literary production. In doing so, archivization and canonization reaffirms an author-biographical mode of critical reading centered around Tokyo as intellectual space, simplifying or concealing the historical complexities of a postwar print history that would include the development of rural print and women writers beyond urban centers. Major women writers who have since become established figures in national literary history, such as Hayashi Fumiko, struggled to resituate and complicate a national literary history that tended to centralize and flatten literature produced outside of Tokyo and the *bundan*. Writers who were active in both central presses and regional presses worked to contextualize the unbalanced nature present in these two spaces within their own literary production. Gendered narratives and spaces of bundan-centered literary history, however, have since overshadowed the literary production of regional

writers. Important literary texts, such as the Iwate-based *New Iwate Women* (『新岩手婦人』*Shin Iwate fujin*) explored later in this chapter, demonstrate how central reading practices developed alongside canonization and archivization projects at the imagined scale of "national" literature. The concept work and intellectual labor involved in re-centralizing postwar literary history brushed aside the possibility of serious critical engagement with independently published rural women's writing. This chapter will explore how recently developed modes of literary critique—environmental criticism and gender studies—might break free from author-biographical reading practices that re-marginalize minor or anonymous writers.

This chapter takes northern Japan as its object of study in order to critique the historical conditions in print culture that helped shape our conception of postwar Japanese literature in the contemporary moment. Literary and historical practices that inform our current understanding of postwar Japanese literature require a survey of the print materials that survive from rural Japan. Rural literary production and print history constitute a major component of the actual conditions of postwar cultural production yet are generally excised from literary histories and reference volumes that assume a national-scale accounting of postwar literature. Our present understanding of postwar literary history emerged from archivization methodologies that continually re-canonized what had come to be understood as "major" while simultaneously re-marginalizing that which had come to be understood as "minor"—in a spatial sense, a cleaving of the "regional" from the "national." An archival and historical critique of postwar women's writing begins with a simple question: How did rural literature produced in the immediate postwar period become marginalized? To which we might add a corollary question: How do surviving archival materials from rural Tōhoku upend the print histories and critical discourses that have become entrenched within national-scale literary reception?

Methodologically, scalar considerations of postwar literature do not require a focus on "women writers" specifically. Deploying "woman" as a discrete category within a larger and equally unstable category defined as "writer" reinforces gendered presuppositions of the role of women in the family and society, while also obscuring the historical complexities from which those categories emerged during Japan's modernization project. People living in rural Japan and women across geographic boundaries have both experienced erasure from histories of cultural production at the scale of nation. Exploring the literary production of "rural" "women" writers—particularly writers who boldly wrote under that mantle with critical intentionality—exposes the work required to centralize national histories of literature such that they come to privilege male and urban space as intellectual space. Some of the most exciting and productive writers of the postwar period have slipped beyond the boundaries of national literary history due to intersections of gender, region, and class. Here I do not mean the "National Literature" project proposed and theorized by Takeuchi Yoshimi and others as explored in Chapter 1—though the writers discussed in this chapter would have likely been considered active members of that movement—rather, I refer to the discourse of literature as *kokubungaku.* This discourse—or perhaps we might call it a mode of reading—found its genesis in the earliest stages of modernization; it scales literature to the newly established boundaries of the nation-state. By the postwar period, the discourse of a national literature that traced the borders of Japan as nation—and was expected to act as the representative cultural production of Japanese citizens located within those borders—had already become the dominant mode of accounting for literary production in relation to space. Even as ideologies of the nation-state came under varying degrees of pressure from elements within and beyond the postwar literary sphere, our strategies of critically reading postwar literature are still inextricably bound to modes of print culture

closely associated with male, elite intellectuals in the Tokyo-centered *bundan*. Reading widely across a variety of women's journals and women writers in rural Japan helps us understand the historical conditions of those reading practices, their shortcomings, and how we might reassess our understanding of postwar print culture to account for a wider variety of actually surviving archival materials.

Joan Ericson outlines the literary and historical stakes of research on gender and print culture in modern Japan:

> Why women have remained marginal within the modern Japanese canon cannot be explained without serious consideration of the institutional practices and social processes that determine who gets published, who constitutes the readership, and how a work is received—in addition to how the literary aesthetic is conveyed.[1]

Ericson's attention to the interconnectedness of publishing, readership, reception, and critique is as relevant to postwar women writers in northern Japan as it is to women's writing in Tokyo at the start of Japan's modernization project. Despite important literary critiques of women writing in the immediate postwar moment by Sharalyn Orbaugh and Douglas Slaymaker,[2] a comprehensive examination of publishing by women in the postwar period has not yet appeared in English. In Japanese, two important edited volumes address women's writing during the Occupation period—*Under Occupation: Women and Magazines* and *A Cultural History of Magazine Media.*[3] All of the chapters contained in these two volumes, however, address women publishing within a cultural milieu largely centered around Tokyo. By focusing on literature

[1] Joan Ericson, *Be A Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 5.

[2] Sharalyn Orbaugh, *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and Douglas Slaymaker, *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2012).

[3] *Under Occupation: Women and Magazines* (『占領下　女性と雑誌』*Senryōka: josei to zasshi*), Modern Women's Cultural History Research Group (近代女性文化史研究会 *Kindai josei bunkashi kenkyūkai*), eds., (Tokyo: Domesu shuppan, 2010) and Yoshida Noriaki (吉田則昭) and Okada Akiko (岡田章子), eds., *A Cultural History of Magazine Media: The Transformative Postwar Paradigm* (『雑誌メディアの文化史：変貌する戦後パラダイム』*Zasshi media no bunkashi: henbō suru sengo paradaimu*) (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2012).

emerging from urban print capital, these critical studies have necessarily been restricted to texts most likely to be admitted into the "modern Japanese canon"—that is, the canon developed largely by urban, male, intellectual elites and published through print capital that developed contemporaneous to the emergence of the *bundan*. Gendering modern literary production inevitably impacted active women writers located in or near this center—a topic often addressed in recent scholarship—but the scaling of archives, criticism, collections, and canons to urban space also marginalized regional print culture. Intersections between gender and rural space within archivization and canonization methodologies conceal women writers in regional peripheries. The establishment of postwar literary history required a small subset of previously published texts to be continuously archived and re-archived, collected and re-collected, canonized and re-canonized. Through the very process of centralizing these uneven and expansive archives, collections, histories, and canons, postwar literature became the object of critical reading practices developed and deployed by intellectuals most closely associated with the print capital tasked with executing these very projects. Central—or rather, urban—reading practices are founded on comprehensive collecting of an individual author's published works and personal papers, developing a biographical critique intended to strengthen apparent connections between historical space and literary production.

Untold hours of both intellectual and physical labor have been invested in researching and editing national histories, anthologized collections, multi-volume reference sets, and other products of urban print capital. In many cases, these materials retread well-worn paths through *bundan* cultural production. Literary histories are constantly re-read, re-written. Anthologies are re-edited, re-issued. Throughout this cycle—itself inseparable from urban print capital—these many texts are purchased for libraries and archives, often precisely because of a new text's

connection to volumes that preceded it. In this sense, we might understand rural literature as any published work that fails to be re-archived, re-collected, re-anthologized, re-collated, and re-canonized. In a scalar relationship between the urban and the rural, Tokyo's position as the regional literary history *par excellence* becomes ever more solidified. Two contradictory scalar processes occur simultaneously within acts of canonization and archivization. First, an always too-large, too-amorphous print history in aggregate becomes compressed down to a subset of texts. The act of compression itself imbues these texts with the possibilities of artistic representation. Second, at the moment the too-many texts are compressed to a selection, they are re-expanded in such a way that they might come close to occupying the preceding amorphous space, though that space has become no more clearly defined. These works become the foundation for a national literary history that is thought to fall roughly in line with both the borders of and an intellectual lineage of the nation-state. This national literature usurps the non-uniform and problematic spaces, genres, and authors that continue to exist even after the processes of canonization and archivization are completed. Here, in this non-uniform and problematic space, rural women's writing waits as a remainder of the gendered process of national literature.

Critical Reading Practices Established through Gendered, Urban Print Capital

As literary history was scaled to cultural products that emerged alongside the development of urban print capital—usually with some editorial guidance from the intellectual elite—critical reading practices emphasized comprehensive investigations of a single author's oeuvre and biographical readings of text and space. Japan's literary modernity developed

alongside processes that consolidate archival material and canonized texts around major figures, generally those writers active in urban Japan and publishing regularly in major presses. It was only later that the concentration of these authors and texts—those that would become the "major" figures of Japanese literary modernity—were identified specifically with a particular mode of literary aesthetics. Tomi Suzuki critiques the retroactive genre-ization of the I-novel, arguing that it was in fact later reading practices the theorized the I-novel form within "pure literature."

> The I-novel is best described as a mode of reading that assumes that the I-novel is a single-voiced, "direct" expression of the author's "self"…The I-novel, instead of being a particular literary form or genre, was a literary and ideological paradigm by which a vast majority of literary works were judged and described…the so-called characteristics of the I-novel often reveal more about the particular ideology and epistemological paradigm that dominated the period from the 1920s to the 1960s than about the intrinsic nature of these particular texts…I-novel critical discourse retroactively created a corpus or canon of I-novels.[4]

Although a canon of I-novels was only developed retroactively, these texts were interconnected with publishing and advertising methods within print capital from the start. As Edward Mack notes, the theorization of pure literature as a stylistic approach cannot be decoupled from the contemporaneous creation of its counterpart, popular literature.[5] A clear separation between both genres was fortified through editorial decisions of mainstream magazine editors, as well as the simultaneous development of the Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes.[6] Furthermore, Maeda Ai demonstrated how the cleaving of popular literature from pure literature occurred as a development in print culture, one that was explicitly gendered. He writes how important figures in the literary world worked "in unison—focused on the phenomenon of the popularization of

[4] Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 6.

[5] Edward Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 139-179.

[6] Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 181-222.

literature. It is not mere coincidence that they each referred to the increase in women amongst magazine's readership as the primary factor controlling the trend in the Taishō *bundan*, for these were men who sought to introduce into their literary criticism a so-called outsider perspective."[7] Taishō literary critics struggled to compress the multitudinous forms of publishing and literary production during this moment into a uniform concept that might be called "pure literature." Efforts to align pure literature with a particular genre, or mode of reading as Suzuki notes, transformed the I-novel into a site of ideological reaction to popular literature and the print capital developing around it. Seiji Lippit describes this development within major *bundan* figures:

> [Kume Masao] linked the concept of the I-novel to contemporary conditions of literary production, in which changes in the dynamics of the publishing industry (most notably the increasing prominence of certain popular narrative forms in mass-circulation newspapers and magazines) were threatening the established writers of the older "marketplace" that was the *bundan*…[Tayama Katai] identifies the main characteristic of discourse on the I-novel as a reaction against the threat posed by the new *technics* of a burgeoning mass culture, a defensive maneuver based on the consolidation of a native (and "pure") literary form.[8]

In turn, Sarah Frederick explains how these commercial considerations were likely more driven by gender than previously thought:

> The developing consciousness of a split between mass and elite readerships, between popular and pure literature, has been discussed at length…but the factor of gender has been understated…the "second-rate interests of women"…was an overdetermined category representing a broader discomfort with mass culture and 1920s capitalism. The efforts by writers to dissociate their artistic novels and confessional novels from the presumed inferior desires of this audience was thus just as complicated in its relationship to gender. In fact, the attempt to divorce artistic writing from popular writing for women was an attempt to separate art from the commercial. This is the suppressed side of the various debates among authors in the late 1920s and 1930s over the relationship between literature and politics, and it all too often remains hidden in both modernist and proletarian critiques of mass culture.[9]

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[7] Ai Maeda, *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, ed. James Fujii (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 165-166.

[8] Seiji M. Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 27.

[9] Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 120-121.

As pure literature became increasingly associated with I-novel-esque fiction and literature published in women's magazines became increasingly associated with popular literature, women struggled to accommodate mainstream literary expectations while also representing their own unique aesthetic and political tendencies. Proletarian literature emerged in the 1920s to challenge not only the pure/popular binary within mainstream literary trends, but also the print capital that developed to support the bifurcation of literature into discrete modes of consumption. Women publishing fiction and essays advocating radical political or social change tended to publish in short lived feminist or avant-garde journals.[10] These newly emerging proletarian magazines were often divorced from centralized printers or the urban intellectuals that acted as the literary realm's editor-gatekeepers, especially in rural Japan.[11] These journals were largely published independently through small owner-operated local printers, or more commonly hand printed by the journal members themselves on mimeographs. It was nearly impossible for women to enter into the *bundan* as professional writers until major urban publishing companies reacted to the rapid expansion of women readers as part of the consumer culture surrounding print media. Politically-radical feminist magazines attempted to deliberately split from the modes of print capital that would eventually craft a male-centered, national literary history. Indeed, the women writers from the Taishō and early Shōwa period who can now be found among the ranks of the national literary elite tend to be those whose published within early networks of urban print capital. In other words, they are writers who were subsequently re-archived, re-anthologized, and re-canonized. Having entered into the process of archivization, intellectual labor expands upon each of these canonized women writers, reestablishing centrality, and increasing the likelihood of

[10] Ericson, *Be A Woman*, 41.

[11] Louise Young, *Beyond the Metropolis: Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 37-82 and 223.

further canonization within future volumes of literary histories, anthologies, dictionaries, reprintings, or reproductions.

Although Maeda's analysis—that the schism between pure and popular literature developed from women's magazines and new readership—likely holds true for commercial presses in Tokyo, we must be aware that our understanding of modern print in relation to gender is almost entirely confined to studies based on urban and suburban spaces. As urban women discovered expanded educational opportunities and new artistic outlets during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, representations of gender began to collide with representations of national development. Frederick and Maeda both address this phenomenon:

> Change in women's lives is connected symbolically with the transformation of the nation on multiple levels. Images of the new woman and later the modern girl were—and remain—the most salient images of Japan's modernity in the 1910s and 1920s; this alternative discussion of the modern Japanese woman, then, works to put forth other less-shocking forms of altered womanhood to represent the nation.[12]

> This New Age Woman-cum-*modan gāru* was, needless to say, a different being from the "new woman" who had emerged from the pages of *Seitō* in the late Meiji period and was then dubbed the New Woman [*atarashii onna*]. If *Madame Pearl* was the conduit for introducing the New Woman to the world of the popular novel, *Flowers of Suffering* was the work that heralded the *modan gāru*. The main axis for the development of the modern novel in the later Taishō era was expressed in this evolution from New Woman to *modan gāru*.[13]

These statements are likely true to the extent that Japan's national modernizing project expanded concepts of the urban beyond the actual boundaries of industrial urbanization. There is no basis, however, to project the gendered imaginations (and anxieties) of urban intellectual elites wholesale upon the print production or ideological contours of rural Japan.

Although recent research on women's magazines from the Occupation-era has demonstrated how the legacies of print capital and cultural production resonated with postwar

[12] Frederick, *Turning Pages*, 44.

[13] Maeda, *Text and the City*, 199-200.

writers and readers, research on the gendered nature of print culture in rural areas has not yet been completed. Nakao Kaori, for example, continues to see industrialization, urbanization, and consumer spending habits in the immediate postwar period as the driving force behind shifts towards democratic representations of gender and domestic space in *Fujin kōron* and *Kurashi no techō*, two of the largest women's magazines in Japan at the time.[14] Beyond the material conditions of print capital at this time, Occupation authorities zeroed in on women's magazines as possible ideological weapons. Yamaguchi Kuniko notes that the Occupation's Civil Information and Education Division (CIE) "considered women in rural farming villages and in the middle-class to have been core supporters of militarism, making them targets for democratization and ideological conversion. At its peak, *Shufu no tomo* was releasing 1.6 million issues to its overwhelmingly middle-class audience, all in-line with CIE educational policies for democratization."[15] These studies often establish historical facts of print consumption in the postwar moment that are drawn from previous research on publishing practices in the late-Meiji and Taishō period studies. In certain cases, the applicability of these assumptions can also apply to studies of postwar developments in rural print culture—for example, the expansion of women readers will likely be proportional to the number of women receiving increased access to elementary education. Other assumptions, however, are less likely to be confirmed in rural Japan, especially when historical trends are established by linking postwar women's magazine culture to mainstream, high-volume publications from Tokyo between the 1920s and early-

[14] Nakao Kaori (中尾香), "On the Shifting Paradigm of the 'Housewife: *Fujin kōron* and *Kurashi no techō*'" (「「主婦」を巡るパラダイム転換：『婦人公論』と『暮しの手帖』」 *Shufu wo meguru paradaimu tankan:* Fujin kōron *to* Kurashi no techō), in *A Cultural History of Magazine Media*, 102-103.

[15] Yamaguchi Kuniko (山口邦子), "Occupation Policy as seen Through Women's Magazines in the Immediate Postwar" (「敗戦直後の女性雑誌にみる占領政策」 *Haisen chokugo no josei zasshi ni miru senryō seisaku*), in *Under Occupation: Women and Magazines*, 93.

1940s. For example, the readership in postwar Tōhoku was less likely to be employed in middle-class careers related to industrial development than the urban readership of a magazine like *Fujin no tomo* in the 1930s. From the perspective of print, there is a much lower chance that *bundan* figures will appear as editors or contributors to rural postwar magazines than their mainstream Tokyo counterparts, making these journals less likely to be considered valuable objects of study—or worthy of saving from the dustbin. When mainstream authors or intellectual elites do edit or contribute to regional magazines, they often do so specifically through a Tokyo-centered positionality.[16]

Our current understanding of the interconnectedness between modern capital development, print culture, emerging readerships, and gender is likely accurate only within the cultural sphere of literary elites writing in connection with urban print capital. Cultural histories of women's magazines and literary production in urban spaces reveal how critical reading practices developed in tandem with gendered modes of print culture. However, the reading practices that developed from Tokyo-centered literary or cultural histories breakdown when applied to postwar magazines and rural print culture. In the most basic sense, researchers of women's writing in rural Japan still cannot account for most texts published during the postwar period. Despite the image that the Occupation collected "all" of the print production of Japan in the early years of the postwar period, there are in fact very few complete holdings of magazines

[16] For an example of this, see Yoshizawa Chieko (吉沢千恵子), "Postwar Movements and Women's Magazines: The Case of the Postwar Women's Magazine *Fujin Bunko*" (「戦後の動きと女性雑誌：占領期の女性雑誌『婦人文庫』の場合」*Sengo no ugoki to josei zasshi: senryōki no josei zasshi* Fujin bunko *no baai*), in *Under Occupation: Women and Magazines*. *Fujin bunko* (『婦人文庫』) was a literary magazine that was initially founded by a group of Kamakura writers. Early editors and contributors to this ostensibly "women's" magazine include Kawabata Yasunari, Yokomitsu Riichi, Ishikawa Tatsuzō, Kikuchi Kan, and other *bundan* figures. Insofar as the magazine was an off-shoot of *Kamakura bunko* (『鎌倉文庫』) it could be considered a "regional" woman's magazine, yet the controlling editorial and capital interests continued to reside in Tokyo. Beyond the category of "women's magazines," Iwate's *Kita no bungaku* (『北の文学』) represents a similar advisory structure: Established Tokyo writers "guide" a rural magazine with the intention of bringing the emerging rural writer into the urban intellectual space.

published in rural northern Tōhoku. Even "major" magazines from the area were left with incomplete records and unknown circulation figures or readership data. Rural magazine titles held within Occupation and local archives are commonly single volumes featuring editors and writers who remain generally anonymous. Magazines that focused on printing women's writing are even less likely to be collected, preserved, or noted in reference materials. The material history of modern, urban print culture cannot easily be scaled across women's literary production in the postwar period. Rather, postwar print is best understood in relation to the rapid proliferation of small-scale print capital and independent print through labor intensive mimeographing. Women writing in magazines beyond the Tokyo cultural sphere—even when those magazines did not conform to the "women's magazine" format—must be intentionally sought out in these minor, often ephemeral texts. Rudimentary printing presses and mimeographed handwritten manuscripts are the norm. Regional presses and local mimeograph machines experienced little wartime damage, leading to a rapid and deliberate decentralization of an intellectual center that had been mobilized to support the fascist project.[17] When engaging with the rural writers addressed in this chapter, therefore, we should remember their historical moment as one that was intent on overthrowing the modes of cultural representation most closely associated with centralized, urban print capital.

Canons and Archives of Women's Writing at National and Regional Scales

[17] See Kitagawa Kenzō (北川賢三), *The Start of the Postwar: Cultural Movements, Youth Groups, and War Widows* (『戦後の出発：文化運動・青年団・戦争未亡人』*Sengo no shuppatsu: bunka undō, seinen dan, sensō mibōjin*) (Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 2000), 24-33. Kitagawa also expands on the postwar publishing culture in northern Japan more broadly in Kitagawa Kenzō (北川賢三), *The Kiroku Movement in Postwar History: Youth and Women in Tōhoku Farm Villages* (『戦後史の中の生活記録運動：東北農村の青年・女性たち』*Sengoshi no naka no seikatsu kiroku undō: Tōhoku nōson no seinen, josei tachi*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014).

Critiquing the ways texts or authors have come to be marginalized can sometimes appear straightforward, especially when viewed exclusively through the prism of print history and archivization. The specific mechanisms that codify a canon of "major" works, however, also develop along aesthetic lines. While the scaling of print culture to the nation through archivization helps reify canons of national literature, we must also examine the modes of expression and development of genres that undergird the development of literature in relation to print capital—especially when we seek to understand how those mechanisms intersect with gendered discourses. As a mechanism of codifying a national literary history, the assertion of any set of texts as "major" or "central" will always be accompanied by a dismissal of the "minor" or "peripheral." Women writers active in urban intellectual circles faced a gendered double standard applied to their writing as "women's literature." Those that broke through to regularly publish in mainstream literary magazines and publishing houses did so precisely within the mechanisms that developed around national literature. The consequence of canonizing a small selection of women as major writers was the further excising of print histories that existed beyond urban spaces—including extensive literary production by rural women.

Rebecca Copeland's research identifies the problematic methodology of inducting a writer or text into the national literary tradition, an undertaking that disproportionately rejects writing by women on the basis of gendered aesthetic critiques:

> Since her debut in the modern era, the woman writer had been expected to adhere to an almost impossible standard: be bold enough to rise to the challenge of achieving her own creative voice while at the same time remain true to her innate feminine nature and "womanliness." In sum, the woman writer was not to let her imagination soar beyond the parameters of her narrow base of knowledge but should turn what were believed to be her uniquely acute observatory skills upon what she new best—namely, herself, her family, and in particular her children. Writing of this sort, while of course never comparing to a male writer's more robust intellectualism and social breadth, would offer an important counterweight by providing readers what men could not…Most offensive, therefore, was the woman writer who refused to recognize her inherent difference and attempted to "copy" men.[18]

[18] Rebecca Copeland, *Woman Critiqued: Translated Essays on Japanese Women's Writing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 23.

The reification of literary practices based around a largely male, urban intellectual elite harmed the conceptualization of what writing by women could possibly represent. Joan Ericson outlines the stakes in her critique of a genre called "women's literature":

> If we understand that the connotations and impact of [the concept of "women's literature"] are not fixed or frozen but historically determined and subject to change, then we must approach the issue of gender as a heuristic problem to be investigated. The objective cannot be to collate and codify what women have written: rather, it must be to reconsider the work of both men and women in light of a new set of questions and priorities. Such an approach must be historical, but it also requires greater attention to the institutional factors and the broader patterns and pace of social change that shape the context in which a work is created and received. To suggest that women constitute a separate and unbroken tradition grossly distorts their work and its relation to their times. But it would be equally a distortion to neglect the significance of gender in shaping the content and quality of what is written and read.[19]

Modern literary sensibilities developed historically from gendered origins. For women writing in late Meiji to early Shōwa periods, the possibilities of representation in literature—and the possibility that those representations could be accepted within elite structures that establish a text's literary reception—were specifically bounded and defined through the process of gendered genre-ization. Establishing a genre of "women's literature" independent of mainstream intellectual currents deployed a contradictory scalar act similar to the process used to codify modern national literary history. "Writing by women"—an inherently unstable category—is compressed to a handful of representative texts, which are then immediately rescaled to the entirety of a narrow definition of "woman" now in possession of a self-asserted universality. To date, critiques addressing the problematic nature of codifying something like "women's literature" tend to focus on the early formations of that term alongside the emergence of "woman" as a coded symbol of emergent, middle-class, urban, economic citizen subjects.[20] Rural

[19] Joan Ericson, "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature'", in Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker, eds., *The Woman's Hand: Gender Theory in Japanese Women's Writing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 104-105.

[20] See Mariko Tamanoi's *Under the Shadow of Nationalism* for a particularly effective integration of rural space in concepts of class, economics, politics, and subjecthood—as well as the possibility of representing those intersections

women writing in self-published or independently published literary magazines seldom appear as valid objects of inquiry when unpacking the gendered, historical structures of "women's writing."

Postwar literary history tends to redeploy scalar methodologies from the prewar period that compressed "women's literature" to a select few "major" writers. The most frequently cited or canonized women writers from the Meiji or Taisho periods tend to be those that had direct involvement in male-centered intellectual circles and access to urban print capital. In the case of Higuchi Ichiyō, for example, the extent to which her literary genius as a fiction writer was recognized in her contemporary moment largely coincided with her connections to elite literary figures and the magazines publishing her work. Once she began actively associating with Nakarai Tōsui and publishing in the journal *Musashino* her fiction was reviewed in the *Asahi shinbun* and the magazine *Jogakusei*. This led to further recognition by the burgeoning coterie journal *Bungakukai*—including its editorial board, made up of central figures such as Kitamura Tōkoku, Shimazaki Tōson, Hirata Tokuboku, and Tayama Katai—which would serialize her most famous fiction works.[21] Even repugnantly misogynistic critics of her day were willing to defend her place in the literary elite. Oguri Fūyō, Yanagawa Shun'yō and others, for example, penned a 1908 essay for the journal *Shinchō,* writing:

> …when it comes to art, a woman simply does not possess the power necessary for careful preparation. Given the state of things today, she'd be better off closing up shop. So long as Japan has its representative in Higuchi Ichiyō, that's enough. If a woman has time to write, she ought to invest her energies in fixing her husband a tasty morsel to snack on.[22]

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in literary production. Mariko Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

[21] These details taken from Robert Danly, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyō, A Woman of Letters in Meiji Japan* (New York: Norton, 1992).

[22] Copeland, *Woman Critiqued*, 38.

Higuchi could certainly be considered the first modern woman writer to break through the literary mainstream and establish herself as a canonical writer, yet she is far from a unique example. Writing women often gained access to *bundan*-affiliated publishers and literary outlets through their fathers, or their male artistic patrons. The edited volume *The Father-Daughter Plot* highlights the problematic reliance on gendered intellectual sponsorship in the works of Hayashi Fumiko, Enchi Fumiko, Kurahashi Yumiko, and others—all writers who will come to be cited and re-cited, collected and re-collected in postwar literary histories.[23]

Although the most overtly vicious sexist attacks on women's writers had largely subsided, the postwar period also exhibited two broad tendencies to scale writing produced by women. First, a small handful of women writers could possibly be considered "representative" of all other women who might also be writing within Japan-as-nation. Second, those representative women were necessarily connected to central intellectual production, often in ways that are deeply problematic for the consideration of possibilities in gendered representation within literature. The postwar canonization practices that further reinforced these tendencies maintain some durability in the preset day. They are most noticeable in nation-scale histories of Japanese literature, as we can see from this entry in the *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*:

> …only 10 percent of the literary works published between 1945 and 1952 were by women authors. Not only was the percentage of Occupation period publication by women small, but also the number of women writing was very limited: three women—Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-72), Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51), and Sata Ineko (1904-98)—accounted for fully one third of all female literary publications, and more than half of all publications by women were produced by just six female authors.[24]

This interpretation of women's writing reaffirms the scalar processes that were foundational to acts of archivization and canonization in the postwar period. In citing Hirabayashi, Hayashi, and

[23] Rebecca Copeland and Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, eds., *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

[24] Sharalyn Orbaugh, "Women's Fiction in the Postwar Era," in Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 740.

Sata specifically, postwar Japanese women's writing is simultaneously compressed into commercially productive authors active in Tokyo, whereupon it immediately expands the literary output of those writers as representative of tendencies present in the general output of women writing at the scale of the nation. Not coincidentally, these are writers who are particularly active in, or are affiliated with, journals and publishers closely tied to the literary and intellectual elite in Tokyo. It is precisely these writers who are also most likely to have been included in reference works that assert a national scale of postwar Japanese literature. Furthermore, they tend to be cited as particularly influential or major when described within literary histories, or representative of gendered aspects of postwar literary production, as we see in this example.

Multiple layers of re-collecting, re-archiving, and re-canonizing must exist to craft the foundational data that allows us to assert the nation-scale dominance of only six authors. Examining the sources cited to support the *Cambridge History*'s argument uncovers the extensive scalar concept work necessary to maintain this narrow-yet-national history of postwar print history.

> Figures for all publishing data derived from Yoshida Sei'ichi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku nenpyō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1958); Muramatsu Sadataka and Watanabe Sumiko, *Gendai josei bungaku jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1990); and Odagiri Susumu, *Nihon kindai bungaku nenpyō* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1993); calculations by the author.[25]

Thus, *Cambridge History's* stance on postwar women's writing does not breakdown due to historical approach, but rather because the effects of archivization and canonization have already predetermined the data available at the scale of national literary history. After asserting this scale, reference works can assume relatively few possible forms and include relatively limited

[25] *Cambridge History*, 741. The original Japanese sources cited to establish this data include: Yoshida Seiichi (吉田精一) ed., *A Chronology of Contemporary Japanese Literature* (『現代日本文学年表』*Gendai Nihon bungaku nenpyō*) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1958); Odagiri Susumu (小田切進) ed., *A Chronology of Japanese Modern Literature* (『日本近代文学年表』*Nihon kindai bungaku nenpyō*) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1993); and Muramatsu Sadataka (村松定孝) and Watanabe Sumiko (渡辺澄子), eds., *A Dictionary of Contemporary Women's Literature* (『現代女性文学辞典』*Gendai josei bungaku jiten*) (Tokyo: Tokyodō shuppan, 1990).

(already centralized) content. Examining and comparing the form and content of these sources reveals a narrow, repetitive reach.

A Chronology of Contemporary Japanese Literature (『現代日本文学年表』, *Gendai Nihon bungaku nenpyō*) recycles the form of the *nenpyō*, or chronology, commonly used as a reference appendix for texts on established writers. It is principally a long table that advances along linear time, broken down by month and year. It cites important texts or events across three categories: fiction, non-fiction, and historical events. The core mission of the text appears to be collating and highlighting major works published by authors who had already been canonized by 1958. In the context of rural publishing, the chronology only includes texts from recognized leaders of the farmers' literature movement or authors who were marginal members of the *bundan*. Itō Einosuke and Wada Den are regularly cited, but the volume does not include any writer who published mostly or exclusively in rural presses. Active, professional authors discussed elsewhere in this dissertation—Sawa Sōichi or Mori Sōichi, for example—do not appear, despite their extensive publishing history and tangential connections to the literary center. Unsurprisingly, the few rural writers cited in this reference volume are exclusively male. We see a doubly-strict barrier of entry into literary history for rural writing women. When this volume was published in 1958, women writers who had been publishing in independent or minor regional journals for more than a decade after the end of the war were no closer to entering the now re-energized (and re-restricted) *bundan* ranks than they had been at the start of the rural publishing boom in 1946. Meanwhile, the gears of literary history were already churning to elevate the emergent "third generation" of postwar writers, cementing their centrality within the volume's contemporaneous literary elite. Mishima Yukio's short stories, for example, are highlighted from as early as 1942—when Mishima was only 17—with citations from self-

published journals well outside the powerhouse publishers that form the majority of works cited in this volume. 1993's *A Chronology of Modern Japanese Literature* (『日本近代文学年表』, *Nihon kindai bungaku nenpyō*) provides essentially identical information and formatting as the 1958 *nenpyō*. It takes the form of a long table subdivided across months and years, and cites influential texts across fiction, essays, and poetry. Having been published nearly forty years after the 1958 volume, it has been updated to include more recent entries and concludes at 1989, the final year of the Shōwa period, as a way to distinguish the periodization of "modern" literary production from the "contemporary" 1990s.

Because *A Dictionary of Contemporary Women's Literature* (『現代女性文学辞典』, *Gendai josei bungaku jiten*) principally takes the form of a biographical dictionary, the included *nenpyō* appears comparatively limited. Like the *Contemporary Yearbook* and *Modern Yearbook* above, the main goal of the chronology appears to be highlighting the works of those women who had already been recognized as representative women writers. In this sense, the chronology generally reproduces the publishing information present in the biographical entries that precede it, though with a narrower focus on the most central writers, including the "six" cited in the *Cambridge History*. Although Hirabayashi, Hayashi, and Sata are the only names given, we can extrapolate some of the most likely candidates to fill out these ranks: Enchi Fumiko, Uno Chiyo, Ōba Minako, Kōda Aya, perhaps. Even in the case of the "six," however, the dictionary exclusively selects works from these writers that had been published in central literary journals or books published by large publishing houses. If we limit our examination of entries in this chronology to the oft-cited postwar writer Hayashi Fumiko—whose personal history and literary texts I will explore in depth in the following sections—we find that the *Dictionary of Contemporary Women's Literature* skips over the majority of her postwar publication history.

Her texts are cited when published in establishment literary journals, such as *Kaizō* (『改造』), yet works published in both minor postwar journals, such as *Konjō* (『紺青』), and extremely "popular" magazines, such as *Ōru yomimono* (『オール讀物』), do not appear. Editing out entries that might be viewed as excessively "minor" or "commercial" texts reflects the intense double-bind of genre and style that Rebecca Copeland identifies in the critiques of cultural production by writing women. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that women writing fiction for rural journals make no appearance in either the chronology or in the core biographical dictionary entries themselves. Some popular essayists and poets active in rural publishing appear in the dictionary. One is prolific poet Takeuchi Teruyo, who is discussed later in this chapter is one example, perhaps a testament to the widespread dissemination of essays and poetry across the literal space of the nation. Among fiction authors detailed in the contents of the dictionary portion of the magazine, however, no entries exist for women publishing in Iwate's largest women's literary magazine, *Shin Iwate fujin*.

Literary histories or reference texts addressing regional cultural production specifically are often explicitly labeled as something marginal to national literary history. For women's writing, reference volumes like *A Dictionary of Occupation-period Women's Magazines* (『占領期女性雑誌事典』 *Senryōki josei zasshi jiten*)[26] have begun the work of accounting for postwar print production without geographical boundaries. This set of dictionaries, currently in production and planned for 14 total volumes, assembles the table of contents for magazine's produced by or for women between 1945 and 1952; the editors anticipate the complete set to include publishing information for about 180 magazines. While much needed and valuable, this dictionary set is

[26] Yoshida Kenji (吉田健二) ed., *A Dictionary of Occupation-period Women's Magazines: An Annotated Bibliography and General Index* (『占領期女性雑誌事典：解題目次総索引』*Senryōki josei zasshi jiten: kaidai mokuji sōsakuin*) (Kanazawa: Kanazawa bumpo kaku, 2003-).

itself not a complete accounting of literary production by women during Occupation. By deploying the label "women's magazine" in a fashion similar to the way "women's literature" was conceptualized in the early 20th century, the dictionary does not collect the significant number of women writers publishing in the general regional press. In the case of Iwate, the dictionary collects *Shin Iwate fujin*, but does not collect *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』). We can't fault the editors for this decision, given the immense network of women's magazines from the postwar period. Yet local literary magazines often published fiction written by women at rates that exceed the estimated 10% cited in the *Cambridge History* for mainstream magazines from Tokyo. Approximately 28% of short stories published in *Tōhoku bunko* between 1946 and 1954 were by women, a publication rate that would increase substantially if we were to also include non-fiction essays and poetry. *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』), a general interest literary magazine from Aomori's *Tōō nippō* (『東奥日報』) newspaper, published women's fiction at a rate of about 18%; the magazine tended to published long-form serialized fiction by already-established Aomori-based male authors, while formal essays, *zuihitsu*, and poetry all see a greater number of women writers. *Gekkan sakigake* (『月刊さきがけ』), a similar general interest literary magazine published in Akita by the newspaper company *Akita sakigake shimpō* (『秋田魁新報』), published considerably fewer fiction works by women—less than 10%—but published few fiction authors generally. Like *Gekkan tōō*, these were usually male writers who had already extensively published, often in *bundan* journals, such as Itō Einosuke. Sawa Sōichi alone published three serialized novels across the first three years the magazine was in print.

Considerable archival work is now being undertaken to explore regional print culture beyond genres emphasized in previous research—women's literature, farm literature, proletarian

literature, or otherwise.[27] Due to the decentralized nature of regional postwar archives, reference works and literary histories that attempt to present postwar print culture at a national scale have relied heavily on the bibliographic information collected in the Prange Collection and its indexes. Relying on the Prange Collection for large scale reference volumes carries several risks, however: First, the Occupation censorship apparatus did not succeed in their stated mission of collecting all print materials in Japan. As was the case of censored literature, only a portion of rural texts were submitted to CCD for examination, and we currently have no way of knowing what percentage of regional literature eluded CCD's reach. Second, not all regional texts collected by CCD and present in the Prange archive have been indexed. Limited-run, hand-printed or mimeographed texts which have faded or been damaged since the Prange Collection's arrival in Maryland are most likely to have escaped the indexing process. Rural magazines, therefore, which often rely on low-quality printing processes or materials, are most likely to have gone un-indexed even when physically present in the Prange Collection (and will not likely be indexed in the future). Finally, it is likely the case that women's writing (or the kinds of magazines that tend to include more women writers, like poetry circle publications) is more likely to have gone uncollected by CCD. This is not only because some magazines that publish women's writing were limited in their publication runs, but because women's writing from rural Japan is doubly marginalized in the context of nation-scale archival projects. I can say with certainty that this is the case in Iwate.

I have discovered two significant magazines to date that have not yet been collected in any of the holdings of the Prange Collection, the National Diet Library, major university libraries, or

[27] One example that breaks from this methodology is the in-progress volume *A Dictionary of Occupation-period Regional Literary Journals* (『占領期地方総合文芸雑誌事典』*Senryōki chihō sōgō bungei zasshi jiten*), which is scheduled to be published in 2021 from Kanazawa bumpo kaku. It is as yet unclear what the precise contents will include, but it is likely that this reference volume will expand beyond what exists in the Prange archive.

local libraries in Iwate. The first example is the third volume of the poetry circle magazine *Gathering* (『つどひ』*Tsudoi*). This volume was published as part of a literary club organized in Anetai-mura (姉体村), now part of Ōshū City, Iwate, in February of 1946. This volume is labeled "Volume Three," suggesting multiple previous issues exist, likely stretching back to late 1945. Given that most Iwate magazines began publishing in early 1946 and increased their production through 1947, it seems reasonable to assume that later volumes of this magazine may also exist. While it appears that many of the poets collected in this volume are men, the opening poem—the longest in this volume—is called "Life" (「生命」*Seimei*) by a woman named Hidaka Mie (日高美江, dates unknown). The second, and more relevant volume to the history of women's writing in postwar Tōhoku, is *Hokubō* (『北邙』). This title is the official club magazine of the Morioka Women's Health and Insurance Center, in association with Morioka School of Obstetrician Nurses. It is unclear when exactly this volume was published; the back cover and publishing information of the magazine is missing. The front cover labels this issue Volume 1, and the contents include a report of two meetings held in May and June of 1946. We might estimate that it was likely published in the summer of that year. This journal follows the layout structure and editorial stance of other organizational magazines of the period: the magazine contains training information, personal recollections, essays on the experience of being a midwife, and poetry. The volume opens with a four verse poem by Odajima Koshū (小田島孤舟, 1884-1955), one of the most active poets in Iwate publishing at the time. He published widely in Tōhoku magazines, regularly contributing poetry or guest editing poetry columns in *Tōhoku bunko*, *Seikatsusha*, and *Shin Iwate fujin. Hokubō*, it appears, had at least tangential connections to the active postwar literary community in Iwate, yet the magazine does not appear in the holdings of any library.

Hayashi Fumiko as "Major" Writer and Central Critical Reading Practices

Continued scaling of postwar literary history on a national scale have introduced two barriers when analyzing literature published by rural women. First, a select handful of postwar women writers have emerged as representative figures of postwar women's writing due to their consistent re-canonization and re-archivization in the field of literary studies. Second, critical reading practices have developed based on single-author, biographical critiques, a mode of literary analysis deployed by and applied to establishment intellectual figures. This pair of barriers manifest in an interwoven schema, as each tends to develop from the other, and both require constant concept work to maintain their legitimacy. Despite the efforts to democratize publishing opportunities for women in postwar rural Japan, the structure and processes that allowed postwar Tokyo to become re-established as intellectual and literary center maintained a strong grasp on the (relatively small) number of women writers publishing in urban presses. Among these "major" postwar women writers, Hayashi Fumiko offers a clear example of how women writers are integrated into a nation-scale literary history through the dual processes of archivization and biographical critique. In teleological sense, the critique of Hayashi's works outlined here exists in the mode of biographical critique precisely because the work to archive and analyze Hayashi's life and texts has been undertaken during the process of her canonization.

Hayashi Fumiko was born in 1903 in Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi, on the far western tip of Honshū. Although she lived a relatively short life, passing away at the age of 47 in 1951, her literary output was substantial. Her oeuvre includes long novels, short fiction, poetry, essays, and reporting. Hayashi began publishing literature at a young age, submitting poetry to Hiroshima-

based newspapers at the age of 18.[28] Central publishing companies, *bundan* figures, and literary critics took notice of Hayashi's literary output after she began publishing *Diary of a Vagabond* (『放浪記』*Hōrōki*) in the magazine *Women's Arts* (『女人芸術』*Nyonin geijutsu*) in 1928.[29] Her texts remain frequently cited, collected, researched, and analyzed by literary critics and featured in collections by mainstream commercial presses. While it might seem excessive to emphasize a rudimentary truth, it is precisely through extensive acts of collecting Hayashi's literary output that allows us to state two points: We generally know what literary texts Hayashi produced and we generally know where those texts can be located.[30] Multiple reprintings and reproductions of her texts are available across most of Japan, and readers outside Japan can engage with her literature through multiple translations. We also have an understanding of her lived everyday, and how her personal experiences influenced her literary production. We know these details precisely because of extensive single-author and biographical studies. Collections of Hayashi's work often include timelines of her published work within the context of her personal life and travels. Correlating Hayashi's literary production with her location and experiences replicates a formula similar to the *nenpyō* discussed above; literary texts deemed significantly important are

[28] Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 48.

[29] It is important to note that the first installment opens with a poem by Ishikawa Takuboku, an Iwate poet well known for his depictions of harsh rural life in northern Tōhoku and Hokkaidō. Like Hayashi, he also established his literary career after moving to Tokyo, despite publishing regularly in regional newspapers and magazines.

[30] I mean "located" in a biographical-historical sense and an archival sense. The printed texts are easily discovered in libraries, archives, and book sellers. Hayashi's texts have also been subject to extensive reconstructive historical criticism attentive to space. Examples include: *Hayashi Fumiko: A Woman Who Lived in Shinjuku* (『林芙美子：新宿に生きた女』*Hayashi Fumiko: Shinjuku ni ikita onna*), ed. Shinjuku Historical Museum (新宿歴史博物館 *Shinjuku rekishi hakubutsukan*) (Tokyo: Shinjuku Board of Education, 1991); "Onomichi and Hayashi Fumiko" (「尾道と林芙美子」*Onomichi to Hayashi Fumiko*), in *Onomichi and Hayashi Fumiko: A Record of the Hometown of a Women's Literature Writer* (『尾道と林芙美子：ある女流作家の故郷の記録』*Onomichi to Hayashi Fumiko: aru joryū sakka no kokyō no kiroku*) (Onomichi: Onomichi dokushokai, 1974); and *Hayashi Fumiko: Northern Travels* (『林芙美子：北方への旅』*Hayashi Fumiko: Hoppō he no tabi*) ed. Hokkaido Museum of Literature (北海道文学館 *Hokkaido bungakukan*) (Sapporo: Hokkaido Museum of Literature, 2003). All of these volumes are released by "local" literary groups or museums, adding to the already significant industry of "localizing" major literary figures or works.

placed in context by associating their publication with historical events. And being *able* to contextualize the work in space only re-imbues a biographical reading with an air of authenticity. Yet elements of Hayashi's fiction have gone unnoticed precisely because they are inspired by or associated with aspects of postwar literary history that have not been reified within the methods of archiving and collecting postwar history based on central print capital and biographical research.

Among her most well-known works is the long postwar novel *Ukigumo* (『浮雲』), a work of serial fiction that began publishing in the November 1949 volume of the magazine *Fūsetsu* (『風雪』). The later portion of the novel was serialized in *Bungakukai* (『文学界』) until April of 1951, just months before Hayashi's death. The novel focuses on the turbulent love affair between Tomioka, a colonial government forestry official, and Yukiko, a typist stationed with the Japanese colonial forces. After meeting in Vietnam, the two fall in love and return to Japan at war's end. There, they struggle to survive the harsh economic conditions returnees faced in bombed out Tokyo. The pair separate over infidelity and economic conditions, only to reunite in the end and travel to Yakushima island, south of Kagoshima, hoping to rekindle what they felt in Southeast Asia.

Understanding the context of postwar print culture helps us better understand some aspects of this text that have gone uncritiqued. Tomioka decides to significantly transform his life in the later half of the novel, and in that moment begins writing long-form serialized essays for an unnamed agricultural magazine. Hayashi writes:

> First, Tomioka would have to get out of this room. He would also have to get rid of his wife and parents. If possible, he would try to change his name. He wanted to quit his job and find new work…Tomioka had spent the last few days plugging away on a manuscript recalling his memories of living in Southeast Asia. He planned to send this essay to an agricultural magazine published by a newspaper company. Even if he were only able to write a hundred pages, he felt like he should try to send the manuscript to the magazine and earn some money.
>
> Before writing on his experience in the logging industry, Tomioka decided on a whim to write up a thirty-page column about his memories of fruits from the south and send it to the magazine. It

> was right around the same time as the incident. The magazine accepted the article for publication and paid him ten thousand yen. With this unexpected turn Tomioka suddenly realized that he might have a knack for writing and grew more confident.[31]

From this moment, Tomioka begins regularly publishing longer articles to support himself, eventually covering broader topics, like the culture of lacquerware. Yukiko sees an advertisement in a newspaper for his new publications and immediately goes out to purchase a copy of this agricultural magazine, which is readily available at the local bookstore.[32] Given that Tomioka is producing long form cultural essays, we can gather that this (perhaps fictional[33]) magazine mirrors the editorial format of similar titles held in archives in northern Japan. *Aomori nōgyō* (『青森農業』), *Iwate nōgyō* (『岩手農業』), or *Shinrin bunka* (『森林文化』) make good comparisons. Unlike the image one might have of a farmers' magazine, essays published in these magazines tended to emphasize cultural and literary critique rather than technical analysis. Examples include: Awaya Yūzō's six-part "Notes on Farming Villages" (「農村随想」*Nōson zuisō*), published between August, 1951 and June, 1952 in *Aomori nōgyō*, which touched on a range of topics including the beauty of weeds, the intelligence of farmers, and cherry blossom viewing on the farm. Gifu Seiichi (儀府成一, 1909-2001) provides a slightly more literary example in "Land is the Seed of Struggle" (「土地は争いの種」*Tochi ha arasoi no tane*) in the October, 1948 volume of *Shin Iwate nogyō*.[34] Here, Gifu analyzes land reform struggles of Iwate

[31] Hayashi Fumiko, *Ukigumo* (Tokyo: Shinchō bunko, 1953), 303-304.

[32] Hayashi, *Ukigumo*, 340-341.

[33] The editor's office is in Marunouchi, so it is likely one of (or based on): *Nōgyō Asahi* (『農業朝日』), published by *Asahi Shinbun* between 1946 and 1951 as a cultural magazine, also publishing regional offshoots; *Nōgyō Mainichi* (『農業毎日』), a similar cultural journal published by the *Mainichi Shinbun*; *Nihon nōgyō* (『日本農業』), which was published by a group of newspaper labor unions; or *Nōgyō kaikaku* (『農業改革』), which was based in Marunouchi but not published by a newspaper company.

[34] This magazine was also published by Shin Iwatesha and was a sister magazine to the general literary interest magazine *Tōhoku bunko*. Only one volume—the magazine's second issue—was collected and preserved in the Prange Collection. This selection comes from the fourth volume, which is uncollected in the Prange or other local libraries. Unfortunately, this magazine's complete print history remains unclear.

dairy farmers in relation to the conditions of peasants in the global north and south, all while setting his critique within the context of Balzac's 1855 novel *The Peasants*. Hayashi is certainly aware of the importance and ubiquity of these magazines within postwar cultural production, and we might expect the same was true of her readers. In citing an agricultural journal specifically, Hayashi depicts Tomioka as something more than a bureaucrat or technical advisor, deliberately invoking the literary and intellectual significance of print beyond the most famous literary journals published by central publishers in Tokyo.

Just as Hayashi's familiarity with postwar print culture stretches beyond the bounds of the literary elite, a biographical-historical critique of her texts exposes the contradictory status she holds as a central *bundan* figure and as a regional writer. Her literary output regularly critiques the very process of centralization of cultural capital, resisting the act of canonization through the multiple processes of archivization and canonization that occur alongside the ascendancy of print capital in Tokyo. Biographically and stylistically, Hayashi emphasizes non-canonical readings of rural, poor women. As Janice Brown asserts,

> As a female, as an impoverished member of the lower classes, as an illegitimate child, as a provincial from a distant part of the country, Fumiko has no claim to [male establishment] connections, literary or otherwise. Doubly, even quadruply marginalized, Fumiko is nonetheless determined to insinuate herself into literary discourse. Skillfully appropriating the rebellious stance of her anarcho-dadist male mentors, Fumiko seeks recognition and acceptance even as she undertakes to surpass their irreverence with her own, playfully chiding them for their avoidance of the human, the experiential, the female.[35]

Likewise, Ericson believes Hayashi's critics have misjudged the fundamental character of her work:

> Hayashi's notelike observations about her personal life did not share the sentimental pessimism of the I-novel…the originality and power of her work are rooted not so much in the mixture of literary allusions as in the clarity and immediacy with which she was able to convey the humanity of those occupying the underside of the Japanese society. She captured the resilience of people who existed

[35] Janice Brown, "De-siring the Center: Hayashi Fumiko's Hungry Heroines and the Male Literary Canon," in *The Father-Daughter Plot*, 150.

> on the margin and the ever-resurgent tenacity of those for whom modernity was an unrelenting catastrophe. This contribution merits recognition in Japanese literary history, and its place is obscured by categorizing the work as "women's literature."[36]

Situating Hayashi's literary output squarely within the context of her *bundan* peers appears to generate several new critical approaches, yet central reading practices become problematic when placed in dialogue with other aspects of her texts. On the one hand, Hayashi writes from her positionality as a doubly marginalized figure—a rural, poor woman. Her artistic approaches cannot be severed from these historical and social realities. That is to say, the single-author biographical mode of critical reading does not preclude a reading of her works that remains critical of the male-dominated central intelligentsia. And yet, critical histories of postwar literature treat Hayashi as a major figure *because of* her successful induction into—or insinuation, to borrow Brown's phrase—the center she criticizes. If we were to modify the biographical methodology common to *bundan* critiques, Hayashi-as-method suggests the need for a re-evaluation of similarly marginalized writers and the gendered legacies and reception of their literary production. Yet the canonization of Hayashi as one of the few women of the *bundan* instead works to obscure the possibility of that methodology fully developing.

By the late 1940s, the publishers Shinchōsha, Chuō kōron, Kaizōsha, and Jitsugyō no Nihonsha had already republished Hayashi's work in multi-volume collected sets, and the Japanese Pen Club, Shunyōdō, Kawade shobō, and Kōbunsha, among others, had selected Hayashi's literature for collection in sets highlighting the best of modern and contemporary Japanese literature. Archivization and critical reading practices surrounding establishment writers became the mechanisms through which Hayashi's fiction was understood to be autobiographical and literary. Joan Ericson explains how mechanisms of central intellectual

[36] Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 58.

groups and magazines attempted to simplify "women's writing" as if it were in and of itself a literary style:

> "Women's literature" does not constitute a literary school in the same sense as the Kenyūsha (1885-1903) with their journal *Garakuta bunko* (Rubbish heap library), the Romantic writers (1889-1904) with their journal *Bungakkai* (The world of literature), or the White Birch Society (1910-1920), who published *Shirakaba* (White birch)…Women writers grouped by critics shared no unifying tradition, no school, and no journal. Consequently the term did not do justice to the diversity of perspectives and approaches of those labeled. To call someone a "woman writer" said nothing about the author's relation with other literary, intellectual, social, and political trends. And the seeming simplicity of the term facilitated conflating the author's sex with her style. The label "woman writer" connoted an inevitable destiny when, as a critical assessment, it should have been only a contingent association.[37]

The fact that Hayashi understands the context of regional postwar print and places one of her main characters within the world of agricultural cultural production suggests that she understands her own contradictory position as a central writer associated with regional space. Critical evaluations of Hayashi's texts, or other major women writers who have been subject to similar archival practices, emerge historically from reading practices established by the central elite. Critics analyze Hayashi's early fiction in relation to *shishōsetsu*, for example, because the author's experiences have been framed through literary techniques that have come to be associated with that genre. Again, Ericson underscores how criticism vis-a-vis biography was established through extensive concept-work on the part of intellectual elites, rather than a careful examination of Hayashi's literary texts:

> Such an approach can only help only to relate the entries [in *Diary of a Vagabond*] to incidents in her own life and shows little interest in the works themselves…Biographies of Hayashi…share a relative disregard for an analytic appraisal of her work. The emphasis has been on organizing a coherent chronology of her life, with some discussion of her motivations and influences, and on comparison with other writers. Her biographers have tended to accept what she has written in *Diary of a Vagabond* and its sequels…as unreconstructed autobiography…Much of the critical, as well as popular interest in Hayashi has derived from a fascination with her as a sort of celebrity. She was a forceful and sometimes outrageous personality and went some distance to purvey sensational, if not salacious, intimacies to her reading public…Hayashi was somewhat reckless in her personal life, but much of what went into print was cut from whole cloth…Hayashi's legacy is largely as a "woman writer," the very categorization she sought, in her life, to transcend, even though she continued to exploit this identity for commercial success.[38]

[37] Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 27.

[38] Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 96.

Knowing this about Hayashi—quite literally a consequence of the biographical-historical mode of literary critique that has revealed the information to us—we might imagine that she found some charm in the postwar boom in independent publishing, especially by the rural poor.

The mechanisms of archivization, those built on the accessibility of texts and biographical information, cannot be applied to many—perhaps most—of the women active in regional print during the same period Hayashi producing fiction for central literary magazines. We do not know what exists, or where. When texts do survive (assuming they remain undamaged and legible), we seldom know the author's biographical background or context. Most regional writers, especially women writing in local magazines, exist completely outside the archival and critical practices that forged the postwar canon. The most commonly deployed biographical critical reading practices that developed alongside archivization also fall short. There is little possibility of discovering the extent to which these writers were writing from their personal experiences, or in a particular style associated with literary trends in the center. In certain cases, biographical literary critiques can be salvaged due to an author's marginal fame in rural Japan. However, impactful critiques of most literature that survives in local journals must come through alternative methods.

Women Writers Navigating Between Center and Periphery

Unfortunately, the continued appeal of Tokyo-focused literary studies has concealed two important features of rural literary production. First, rural cultural producers did not exist in a unidirectional relationship with Tokyo print culture. In both movement and publications, there were many regional writers who remained in their rural hometowns or cities, even while

publishing with Tokyo presses. Likewise, there were a surprising number of established *bundan* members who continued to publish in regional presses throughout the postwar period. Although nation-scale literary histories tend to memorialize rural or regional writers who moved to the center in order to break into mainstream publishing,[39] scalar comparative work does more than expose simplistic flows of cultural production whereby the local writer yearns for recognition in the literary center. Postwar print culture saw many central writers publishing in rural texts for a variety of reasons, some practical, some artistic. Dazai Osamu (太宰治, 1909-1948) published the 1946 novel *Pandora's Box* with Sendai-based publisher Kahoku shinpōsha (河北新報社) because his publisher in Osaka had been bombed out in the war.[40] Both Niwa Fumio (丹羽文雄, 1904-2005) and Ibuse Masuji (井伏鱒二, 1898-1993) published original fiction in the Iwate magazine *Iwate Police* (『岩手の警察』*Iwate no keisatsu*). *Shin Iwatesha*, the publisher of *Tōhoku bunko* and *Shin Iwate nōgyō* released a new literary journal in 1955, *Northern Literature* (『北の文学』*Kita no bungaku*). This journal included an editorial steering committee that included Niwa Fumio and Ibuse Masuji, as well as Kawabata Yasunari (川端康成, 1899-1968), Ozaki Shirō (尾崎士郎, 1898-1964), and Iwate-based Suzuki Hikojirō (鈴木彦次郎, 1898-1975). Even when primarily active within and associated with elite Tokyo intellectual circles, many mainstream writers continued to publish in regional magazines and newspapers, or work with rural publishers. Despite the sustained concept work that goes into compressing the intellectual center

[39] This tendency has been challenged by the academic research I highlight in this dissertation, but mainstream print media continues to emphasize this kind of unidirectional movement of "major" writers. One recent example of this in major commercial presses is Okazaki Takeshi (岡崎武志), *Literature Towards Tokyo: From Haruki to Soseki* (『上京する文学：春樹から漱石まで』*Jōkyō suru bungaku: Haruki kara Sōseki made*) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2019). In addition to describing Hayashi Fumiko's move to Tokyo through her fiction and memoirs, this volume highlights members of the *bundan* associated with northern Japan: Dazai Osamu, Miyazawa Kenji, Ishikawa Takuboku, Terayama Shūji, and Inoue Hisashi.

[40] Sakaki Hiroko (榊弘子), *Sawa Sōichi and Dazai Osamu* (『沙和宋一と太宰治』) (Saitama: Sakitama shuppankai, 2005).

to the boundaries of Tokyo and its print culture, regional literature in the immediate postwar was undeniably meaningful to writers and readers across the nation. For researchers of active *bundan* figures during this period, it would not be surprising to discover new works or criticism well beyond the center, likely in texts that have not yet been cataloged or indexed in libraries or archives.

Second, regional literary production was not confined to bipolar cultural exchanges wherein Tokyo was always seen as one pole of literary flows. While rural/Tokyo and Tokyo/rural modes of exchange were plentiful—indeed, far more plentiful and complex than has previously been understood—writers based in Tōhoku had significantly more exchange with their peers across their region than they experienced with Tokyo. Nor did Tokyo necessarily exist as a central access point to something like a "national" audience, or to more distant regions of Japan. Postwar regional archives suggest a wide and robust network of regional exchange. Unfortunately, due to the multiply marginalized nature of rural women as cultural producers, the exact contours of these networks remain unexplored. A limited subset of historical and critical resources has explored the gendered aspect of literary production and print culture between 1900 and 1945.[41] Far fewer studies touch on literary trends in women's print culture during the immediate postwar period. Unfortunately, none of these resources contain a sustained investigation of rural print cultures developed by and for women. Within academic research,[42]

[41] In addition to the sources quoted earlier in this chapter, see the 30 volume collection Iwami Teruyo (岩見照代) ed., *The Image of Women in Taishō and Shōwa as Created by Women's Magazines* (『「婦人雑誌」がつくる大正・昭和の女性像』) (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 2014). Despite the size of this very comprehensive collection, it also tends to prioritize works taken from major women's journals published in Tokyo: *Fujin kōron, Fujin kurabu*, *Shufu no tomo, Fujin gahō*, etc.

[42] Unsurprisingly, a wealth of historical and literary research exists on rural print cultures in regional publications and research journals published by local history circles. In Iwate's case, the magazine *Morioka Studies* (『盛岡学』 *Moriokagaku*) published its inaugural issue on women's history, including an article on Ichijō Fumi that recalls the publishing efforts of farming women as a mode of postwar resistance: Kuroda Daisuke (黒田大介), "One Who Resists: Ichijō Fumi" (「抵抗の人：一条ふみ」 *Teikō no hito: Ichijō Fumi*), in *Morioka Studies: Special Volume on*

Kitagawa Kenzō's examination of rural print in the immediate postwar marks one exception to this trend, focusing on *kiroku* publications by working mothers in Iwate. He notes that women farmers who began writing during the Occupation period had a far larger network of literary exchange than expected, and that many of the regional women's publications were in fact remnants of wartime cultural support networks that were repurposed for radical democratic reforms after 1945.

> Many regional organizations emerged after Japan's defeat through the breakup of the single monolithic wartime cultural organization. At the same time, new organizations were created in rapid succession. It would appear at first to indicate a general explosion of organizational activities, but in reality these were largely cultural groups. Of course, there were also cultural movements during the war, ones that were constantly active, yet they were restricted to a framework of wartime support activities. On January, 1944, regional culture groups numbered approximately 407 (this includes organizations organized prefecturally, as well as municipally). These organizations were most concentrated in Tōhoku, with Fukushima and Aomori standing out for their extensive organization.[43]
>
> The Iwate Women's Association was established in January, 1946, taking over the prewar Great Japan Women's Association. They competed with the Women's Welfare Association, a branch of the old Women's Patriotism Association with a membership around 7,000, to organize the leading regional women's association.[44]

Kitagawa alerts us to important histories that became entangled in postwar women's literary production. Postwar women's literature has multiple origins beyond the development and dissemination of print capital into Japan as various areas of the country urbanized and modernized. While it is true that rural texts emerge alongside new forms of print capital, they cannot be separated from conflicting efforts by the central government to propagandize rural literature for militaristic and imperial purposes, nor can they be separated from the efforts of 1920s and 30s proletarian writers to push rural literary production as the vanguard of cultural

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Women's Morioka (『盛岡学　特集・女たちの盛岡』*Moriokagaku: tokushū, onnatachi no Morioka*) Volume 1 (2005).

[43] Kitagawa, *The Start of the Postwar*, 15.

[44] Kitagawa, *The Kiroku Movement in Postwar History*, 63.

revolution.[45] To demonstrate some of the ways postwar Tōhoku archives demonstrate these complexities, I will focus on two important figures that exist between Tokyo as a cultural center and the networks of rural print that were developing around Tōhoku during and immediately following the Occupation, Washio Yoshiko and Takeuchi Teruyo.

Washio Yoshiko and *Akita* as National and Global Cultural Representative

Washio Yoshiko (鷲尾よし子, 1895-1979) was a widely-published writer from Akita who had published war correspondence and travelogues from Manchuria as part of her effort to support war efforts on the continent.[46] Although she continued to publish throughout her life, her most important literary efforts during the Occupation period come from the magazine *Akita* (『秋田』, later *Akitajin*『秋田人』), where she served as the editor-in-chief. Washio's editorial leadership at *Akita* marks a rare example of a general interest magazine—not a so-called "woman's magazine"—to be led by a woman throughout its print run. The publishing group *Akitasha* began publishing this magazine as *Akita* in January, 1950, running under that title until April, 1951. From May, 1951, *Akita* converged with the magazine *Akita kenjin* (『秋田県人』) and took on the new magazine title *Akitajin* under a new conglomerated publishing company, *Akitajinsha*. This new magazine ran until at least late-1953, whereupon *Akita* was reinstated

[45] In English, Louise Young explores the efforts of leftist writers in Hokkaidō to create a new cultural politics through independently published rural journals in *Beyond the Metropolis*. In Japanese, Miura Sōtarō gives a history of the cultural organizing efforts by members of the leftist movement in Iwate, including *Shin Iwatesha*'s short-lived effort to publish a magazine similar to their postwar *Tōhoku bunko* in the mid-1930s, only to be immediately stamped out by the fascist elements of the Japanese government. See Miura Sōtarō (三浦宗太郎), *Iwate's Popular Movements in a Time of Transformation* (『岩手における転形期の群像』*Iwate ni okeru tenkeiki no gunzō*) (Morioka: Tsutsumisha, 1962).

[46] Her most famous work is likely *Inviting Peace: A Manchurian Travelogue* (『和平来来：満支紀行』*Wahei rai rai: manshi kikō*) (Tokyo: Maki shobō, 1941), a long collection of war reportage and travelogues published during her time in northern China under Japanese occupation.

under the original publisher's name and ran until 1979. Washio led the postwar *Akita* as a revival of an earlier *Akita*, which was published from 1933 to 1943 under the same publisher. Records are unclear regarding the extent to which the wartime and postwar Akitasha shared editorial board members, but Washio actively published in the journal from the first volume. It should come as no surprise that Washio, insofar as she was also an active participant in the print culture that developed in rural Japan based around wartime support efforts, would revive a wartime publication. Similarly, it comes as no surprise that *Akita* takes a strong anti-left editorial stance, as Washio asserts that *Akita* and *Akitajin* would emphasize the "center" positionality of the magazine.

Examining Washio's editorial statements regarding the goals of the magazine and analyzing the content authored by the editorial team reveals that *Akita* was intended to exist in the "center" in two ways: as a magazine that sits politically in the "center" and as a magazine that will be read and circulated in the intellectual "center" as a representative of Akita's contributions to national literary culture. Washio closes the first two volumes of the magazine explaining her editorial intent and the place of *Akita* in the larger cultural discourses taking place in the early 1950s.

> We will try all we can to prevent either the outbreak of, or our entanglement in, another war. In the current moment we will put all of our efforts towards Akita's UNESCO applications…This magazine has no political party affiliations, nor does it sympathize with the left or the right. It will instead introduce the most deserving works produced in Akita in order to bring attention to our cultural production both within Akita and beyond.[47]

> Spring has finally arrived and thanks to your [the readers'] contributions we have managed to produce a successful magazine. It might seem as if this magazine is moving in all directions at once, but in truth we are working towards a successful democratic culture. In this I feel we have acted correctly and without fear.[48]

[47] Washio Yoshiko (鷲尾よし子), "Editorial Notes" (「編集後記」*Henshū kōki*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 13, Issue 1 (January, 1950), 32. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

[48] Washio Yoshiko (鷲尾よし子), "Editorial Notes" (「編集後記」*Henshū kōki*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 13, Issue 2 (February, 1950), 32. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

Washio's assertion that *Akita* would forgo participation in left/right political debates in favor of promoting local cultural development bears some resemblance to other regional magazines that focused on Japan's rebirth as a "cultural nation" in the wake of its collapsing imperial project. There are scalar differences in Washio's stance when compared to these magazines, however. First, major essays and editorials featured in the magazine emphasize Akita's local features or culture in relation to UNESCO certification. The magazine advertises Akita's culture as an ideological, universal representative of rural Japan not only within the boundaries of Japan as a nation, but within global Cold War realignments of international governance. While UNESCO recognition is occasionally promoted in individual essays published in similar magazines from northern Tōhoku, the organizing push for a locality to be enshrined as a cultural representative nationally or globally is seldom recognized as an explicit editorial goal. Second, whereas the concept of "democratic culture" in earlier regional magazines was explicitly local—meaning governance and social reforms would be based in the rural spaces within which the magazine participants lived—Washio organizes the magazine to participate in cultural production that remains focused on and derivative of Tokyo's central elite. In this sense, comparing the political stances of similar magazines—which were nearly all left-leaning, if not directly associated with one of the leftist parties active in the immediate postwar period—*Akita* sits to the right of nearly every other local general interest cultural magazine published in northern Tōhoku in immediate postwar. Only magazines that were openly and explicitly rightist, for example Iwate's *Tōhoku kōron* or *Tamashii,* appear to exist to the right of *Akita*'s "center."

Despite Washio's assertion otherwise, this "non-political" magazine engages in right-leaning politics in ways that set it apart from other regional literary or cultural magazines of the same period. To celebrate the re-founding of the magazine in 1950 (after a 7 year hiatus), the

opening page is decorated with Japanese flags, a sight almost entirely unseen in similar rural postwar literary magazines. The design of the flags, with each one angled and overlapping, set at different distances from each other, visually suggests compulsory wartime rallies, rather than a flag flown over a government building.[49] The image of national flags reappears throughout the magazine's print run, almost always on the opening page that includes a guest editorial by a famous Akita writer, educator, government official, or bureaucrat. Beyond layout and design, these opening editorials tend to cater to the concept of an explicitly divided political "local" and "center." This division gestures towards democratization movements, yet wistfully reminisces on wartime culture. Here is one example from Yoshida Keisuke, president of Akita Prefecture's Board of Education:

> There was recently an open call for a new Prefectural Song and I was particularly fond of the songs being sung at schools and class reunions, that is to say, those songs that had militaristic compositions. Unfortunately, those were all prewar songs that were drafted during a time when one could simply not sing of democracy. This was fine during their own time, but I have now come to wonder if it is even acceptable to justify them in this way.
>
> For this open call, I think we might look for slightly more democratic songs, those that could be sung by anyone, those that could be sung out as we dance in celebration of Akita. I think we should look for a happy and bright song that was composed in an open way. We should look for a composer from the prefecture to set down the songs, and a dancer from the prefecture to set about making a dance. With this, the new prefectural song would be one that all people could sing and dance.[50]

Meanwhile, Akita's Governor, Hasuike Kōsaku (蓮池公咲, 1902-1968),[51] attempts to reset Akita's cultural products at a newly localized center of the international sphere, urging the new

[49] It is important to note that the image of waving flags at these militaristic rallies was commonly deployed by regional leftist writers to demonstrate the degree to which Japan's fascist government had stamped out political dissent. See Sawa Sōichi's short story "War Song" discussed in Chapter 4.

[50] Yoshida Keisuke (吉田慶介), "Akita's Song in Cursive Style" (「行書の県民歌を」 *Gyōsho no kenmin uta wo*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 13, Issue 5 (May, 1950), 1. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

[51] Hasuike was Akita's first democratically elected governor. Hasuike, however, had worked in the government's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry during the war and had also been previously selected as Akita's governor before the first postwar democratic elections were held.

youth of the postwar period to rediscover their "home" in the face of internationalization. This opening editorial is adorned by the same flag motif as the magazine's founding volume:

> The first thing that we must acknowledge is that all people are invested with some degree of individuality. It is these individuals that give a magazine like *Akita* its special flavor. I wonder if there are some depressing words that might express the feelings and intentions of these people. They will give a local flavor, like Akita's unique pickles boiled up with tea over the hearth fire.
>
> In this sense, every volume of *Akita* is overflowing with an atmosphere built upon the deep-seated feelings of the writers who search for simple kindness. This is the life and true individuality that is captured by the Akita-born writers and editors of *Akita*.
>
> As the saying goes, "We are our neighbors, across the street and next-door." Local is that which is close. What we think of as good and friendly in our locality is determined by our position. However, the warmth we hold for our neighbors has gone out in the hearts of many since the end of the war. People turn their backs on each other and raise their voices in anger. The youth move away from the nation in hopes of becoming internationalized and they come to forget the spirit of their homeland as they mistakenly turn away in hopes of success.[52]

Hasuike's editorial recycles central tenets of wartime propaganda that inundated rural Japan as the imperial effort overseas increasingly sent soldiers from Tōhoku abroad. Hasuike emphasizes the shared cultural identity of those who exist nearest to the reader—in this case Akita-born writers and the readership of *Akita*. A similar concept pervaded propaganda of the wartime period—including the longing for a distant and universal "homeland"—when cultural production of the colonies, *gaichi* (「外地」), was set in contrast to "homeland," *naichi* (「内地」). Haseike repurposes the term for continental Asia—*daichi* (「大地」), a term often used as a metonym denoting mainland China—to take the place of the "central" Japanese landmass, within which Akita can take a privileged, if peripheral, place. Akita as representation exists through spatial closeness and an imagined shared cultural experience. The irony of this rhetorical argument rests in the fact that Haseike himself was born and raised in Niigata, completed schooling in Miyagi, and eventually moved to Tokyo before finally arriving in Akita and ascending to his political position. When placed in the context of other editorials and essays published in *Akita*, these opening editorials reflect the magazine's efforts to promote Akita as a universal homeland, one

[52] Hasuike Kōsaku (蓮池公咲), "The Soul's Home" (「魂のふるさと」 *Tamashii no furusato*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 14, Issue 1 (January, 1951), 1. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

that can be ideologically scaled not only to local readers and writers, but nationally and internationally through the recognition of Akita's efforts to establish Japan as a "cultural nation."

Akita's effort to exist in the political center coincides with a persistent dedication to insert Akita-born writers into the cultural center. Akita becomes a conceptual space that can embody a sense of locality (郷土 *kyōdo*), the magazine described itself from the start as a "local magazine" (郷土誌 *kyōdoshi*). *Kyōdo* as a designation of rural authenticity often exists dialogically with a presumed urban center that has somehow lost those local attributes over the course of modernization. Although postwar Marxists attempted to recuperate this phrase in a push for democratized regional and local history and literary circles, the usage deployed here retains connections to wartime ideologies of rural culture.[53] Local writers and cultural production are assessed by way of their relationship with the Tokyo literary elite. *Akita* and *Akitajin* include monthly summaries of "major" cultural producers' activities either in or beyond Akita. This recurring column highlights the many ways that Akita writers have been adopted within mainstream print culture. Most of the writers featured at the beginning of this series are already well-established writers in or adjacent to the *bundan*. The first entry in the first volume notes that Ishikawa Tatsuzō (石川達三, 1905-1985) has published in *Bungei yomimono, Bungakukai, Hōmu, Shufu no tomo,* and *Kaizō bungei*, all major Tokyo magazines. The next entry explains that Itō Einosuke (伊藤永之介, 1903-1959) has "moved to the center" in order to publish with Shinchō and continue his writing career.[54] The following month's entries review the recent publications

[53] For an expanded investigation of postwar history and literary circles organized by rural leftists—especially women—see Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Women's History and Local Community in Postwar Japan* (Florence: Routledge, 2013), 17-39.

[54] "News from the World of Arts and Culture" (「芸能文化界消息」 *Geinō bunka kai shōsoku*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 13, Issue 1 (January, 1950), 27. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

of Aono Suekichi (青野季吉, 1890-1961), who was born in Niigata and lived much of his life in Tokyo but continued to publish in regional journals throughout his life, Ishikawa Tatsuzō, and Itō Einosuke, all professional writers who had been publishing in Tokyo literary journals, newspapers, and commercial presses for several years.[55] In each subsequent entry in this column, local authors—including contributors to *Akita* itself—who publish in "local" venues are listed only after "major" authors and their newest works in central journals or major presses have been highlighted.

Washio's efforts to set *Akita* within a "center" politically and ideologically eventually transforms the closing section of the magazine into a long-running series on Akita residents who had been released from prison after being accused of war crimes. Washio organized a local radio program to interview accused war criminals and call for their reintegration in local life. She refers to this program when she pens her first article on the topic, "To Akita War Criminals," in the June, 1952 volume of the magazine announcing her participation in a local association intended to support the release and recuperation of accused war criminals. In September of 1952 Washio publishes an open letter organized by Akita political figures—including the Governor, many mayors, members of the prefectural government, and Akita's UNESCO cultural heritage site organizing committee. The letter, co-signed by Washio, was sent to Allied nations calling for the release all war criminals from Akita. After acknowledging the legal reasoning for the prisoners to be imprisoned, the letter drafts a plea set in Akita's local context. It reads in part:

> …and while it is true that all these men were sentenced to prison for war crimes, they did so at the orders of their superiors in the unnatural chaos of the battlefield. When these men were at home in their local Akita, they were model citizens and model family men. The families that these men left behind spent the many years of war assaulted in their own way. They looked forward to the return of these men when the war came to an end. Yet, they have had to endure another seven years of emptiness. It is said in Japan that the depths of winter are preceded by the winds of autumn. In our

[55] "News from the World of Arts and Culture" (「芸能文化界消息」*Geinō bunka kai shōsoku*), *Akita* (『秋田』) Volume 13, Issue 2 (February, 1950), 28. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

> home prefecture of Akita, which finds itself buried by the snow that piles up during Tōhoku's harsh winter, we are now preparing for the painful snows of winter. As we bear these horrid natural conditions, the state of the families of these men over the last seven years has taken their psychological punishment and physical suffering to its very limit…[56]

Washio's conception of a political and cultural center is laid bare in this strong statement in support of local war criminals. I drop the word "accused" here based on the confessions drafted by the war criminals themselves. A soldier named Kawai states in blunt terms: "The orders sent down to me by my superiors were crimes. The two superiors who gave me those commands were those who took the stand and told of my crimes…I was sentenced to thirty years."[57] Washio's series continued for months with long articles and closing editorials such as "Compassion for War Criminals," "With War Criminals," "My War Criminal Notebook," and "Letters to the Editor in Thanks for War Criminal Series." Thus, although Washio's open letter names Akita as its proposed setting, it does so by concealing the colonial spaces and associated violence required for the origination of criminal orders from central military figures. War crimes occurred literally beyond the boundaries of Akita and are thus considered outside the norm. Their "home," by contrast, appears pure and without spatial or temporal end.

Takeuchi Teruyo and Cultural Production in the Context of Northern Japan

Takeuchi Teruyo (竹内てるよ, 1904-2001) was born in Hokkaidō, where she lived much of her life. Abandoned by her parents, she was raised by her grandparents under severe poverty and harsh labor conditions. She was forced to abandon her education after contracting

[56] Washio Yoshiko (鷲尾よし子), "In Support of Releasing War Criminals" (「戦犯釈放に御協力を」*Senpan shakuhō ni gokyōryoku wo*), *Akitajin* (『秋田人』) Volume 15, Issue 7 (September, 1952), 30. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

[57] Washio Yoshiko (鷲尾よし子), "With War Criminals" (「戦犯と共に」*Senpan to tomo ni*), *Akitajin* (『秋田人』) Volume 15, Issue 6 (July/August, 1952), 47. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

tuberculosis. Takeuchi soon turned to full-time writing to support herself and was married off to alleviate some of the family's debt. Takeuchi's husband divorced her at 25 when she developed Pott's Disease from her tuberculosis. From that time on, Takeuchi raised her daughter on her own, taking the experience as a reason to write poetry about single motherhood, as well as children's literature, essays, and fiction. Unlike Washio Yoshiko, Takeuchi was an early and active member of rural anarchist journals during the 1920s and 1930s. Like many regional writers at the time, it appears that she maintained a consistent publishing schedule throughout the war, deliberately avoiding controversial or subversive topics. With the ousting of the militarist government in 1945, Takeuchi promptly returned to prolific, politically focused publishing habits. Although her publishing activities during the first years of the Occupation extend to central journals,[58] a substantial portion of her new poetry, fiction, and essays were published in journals beyond Tokyo.[59] In addition to many well-known regional magazines published in Sapporo, *Northern Scenes* (『北方風物』*Hoppō fūbutsu*), and Sendai, *Tōhoku Literature* (『東北文

[58] The magazines publishing Takeuchi's works are too numerous to list, but it is worth highlighting at least the women's magazines publishing her work: *Fujin* (『婦人』), *Fujin bunko* (『婦人文庫』), *Fujin kurabu* (『婦人倶楽部』), *Fujin no hikari* (『婦人の光』), *Fujin no kuni* (『婦人の国』), *Fujin shunjū* (『婦人春秋』), *Fujin to seiji* (『婦人と政治』), *Ie no hikari* (『家の光』), *Jiyū fujin* (『自由婦人』), *Josei kurabu* (『女性クラブ』), *Josei Life* (『女性ライフ』), *Josei sen* (『女性線』), *Konjō* (『紺青』, also noted above as a magazine publishing Hayashi Fumiko's works not included in reference texts), *Kyōiku josei* (『教育女性』), *Nyonin geijutsu* (『女人芸術』), *Reijokai* (『令女界』), *Shinjoen* (『新女苑』), *Shin josei* (『新女性』), and others. Research on her work specifically is nearly nonexistent, but her poetry and essays are often featured in collected works. Her poems have been anthologized in *Collected Japanese Contemporary Poetry* (『日本現代詩大系』*Nihon gendaishi taikei*) (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1975); *An Anthology of Japanese Poets* (『日本詩人全集』*Nihon shijin zenshū*) (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1953); and *The Hokkaidō Literature Anthology* (『北海道文学全集』*Hokkaidō bungaku zenshū*) (Tokyo: Rippū shobō, 1981). She has also been cited in essays by more established writers, for example, Takeuchi's poetry collection *A Quiet Love* (『静かなる愛』*Shizukanaru ai*) is taken up by Miyamoto Yuriko (宮本百合子) in her 1941 essay collection *Paths of Literature* (『文学の進路』*Bungaku no shinrō*) (Tokyo: Takayama shobō, 1941).

[59] The Institute of 20th Century Media's Prange Collection index lists just over 500 entries by Takeuchi, of which about 340 are listed as having been published in Tokyo. It is hard to estimate the true extent of her postwar publishing activities collected in the Prange because some entries include multiple authors. Additionally, it seems likely that Takeuchi was publishing in rural journals in northern Japan that were not submitted for censorship and therefore not included in the indexed materials.

学』*Tōhoku bungaku*), Takeuchi published a featured essay in Iwate's new women's literary journal, *Shin Iwate fujin*.

Unlike Washio's contributions to *Akita*, wherein she maintained an editorial stance directly embedded in Akita as a unique rural space from which she drew literary inspiration, Takeuchi did not have strong or long-term personal connections to Iwate. Instead, she wrote her February 1947 essay, "Fruit of the Red Tree," from Tokyo. The work addresses Iwate readers as members of a harsh, common everyday that rural women faced in northern Japan. Specifically, Takeuchi addresses the many ways in which domestic labor had gone unrecognized and under-appreciated. This labor exists within a historical/spatial continuum of rural women past and present:

> My young friends!
>
> Maybe you think that all the hope we have invested in your young lives is simply us talking about days past. But that which we call yesterday is not the yesterday that you in your youth will experience. For you, you should hold on to today and, even more importantly, hold on to tomorrow. What we call yesterday is in fact your mothers, your grandmothers, and the many people from the past.
>
> I find a certain magnificence in the fact that the lives that will be lived by women today would be unimaginable for the women in the past—women who lived their lives buried under snow. Snow fell for a period of time in the past and we had to endure the harshness of this gray world. Yet all people enjoyed the beauty of that which fell to the ground. Snow soaked into the soil and became the savior of the crops—the nourishment for our literature. If that system, or even a single life that has similarities, were to disappear and never be seen again, I hope that I never forget that those of you born today were born from those women of yesterday. And that those women themselves were born of women of yesterday.
>
> Those women mutely gave birth and raised children as men took up weapons and went to fight. And when those women were told that the men had the intellect to set the world in motion, they mutely tilled the soil. Every day before dawn they woke up before anyone else and lit the hearth fire. When everyone began to wake, they silently pulled down the storm shutters. They made sure everyone wore new clothes, even while they were always dressed in rags. They made sure everyone had comfortable shoes, even while they pulled on ragged straw sandals.
>
> Even on days when their children were taken from them, and on days when their children were given away, they assiduously carried on in rags and fixed their gaze as tears welled up in their eyes. And out of the lives of those women who lived yesterday comes beauty: a new era and ample new reasons to live.
>
> My young friends!
>
> You cannot hesitate in your new life. You must become women that live your lives fully possessed of this new era. At the same time, you must bear in mind the existence of that which preceded you. Your true today will take on significance once you reexamine those experiences.[60]

[60] Takeuchi Teruyo (竹内てるよ), "Fruit from the Red Tree" (「赤い木の実」*Akai ki no mi*), *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 2, Issue 1 (January, 1947), 4-5. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Despite a drastic difference in political intentions, the gendered, rural labor that Takeuchi recognizes in the wartime and postwar periods does not drastically differ from the struggles that Washio highlights by publishing her co-signed letter in support of war criminals. Takeuchi offers a more nuanced and critical reading of these historical and social circumstances, however, when she associates women's domestic labor with winter as both a literal season and a literary aesthetic. Takeuchi both acknowledges the truth that natural, seasonal depictions have generated familiar semiotic meanings for aspects of everyday life most familiar to rural women, as well as the contradictory and problematic cultural afterlives of those meanings in instances when they have been deployed to prolong unjust social practices.

In this selection, which opens Takeuchi's essay, winter is the crushing natural and social power that disproportionately presses down on women in their domestic lives. Under that power, women demonstrate their capacity for perseverance and strength. Washio Yoshiko would have likely identified a familiar sentiment in this passage. Takeuchi, however, shifts away from the political goals that Washio might uphold when she explains what occurs at the passing of winter. It is not the rehabilitation of war criminals—particularly men who would then be capable of returning to their rightful place as the head of a traditional household—but the wholesale revival of democratic life that emerges from women's strength under the harshness of winter. Snow can be both oppressive and generative, it can mark the outline of the past and open to a new future. Takeuchi witnesses a contingent transformation of social space in natural developments, allowing for the contradictions that overlap when these two spheres come in contact. Takeuchi will redeploy these complex images across other natural images—the dying leaf, the fruit of the tree—alternatively building and resolving rhetorical tension in the literary images she highlights at the opening of the essay. Literary images are proposed for Takeuchi to make sense of

gendered natural and social life, only to fill and burst with tension as a marker for the convoluted work of cultural production.

Takeuchi critiques the central aesthetic contradictions in two literary images that open and close the essay as framing themes, that of the tree and snow. Takeuchi opens the essay by contemplating some commonly reproduced uses of these images, while questioning their relevance to her own life experiences. In tree as literary metaphor, Takeuchi homes in on its falling autumn leaves, its revival in spring, its ripening fruit, and its stretching roots. In snow, Takeuchi sees the power that presses down on the rural north, that which covers and conceals landscapes, and the danger of being frozen, or in stasis. In the case of the tree shedding its foliage in autumn, Takeuchi wonders at the interrelationship of the tree's yearly death and renewal and her own consciousness and ill-health.

> Fallen leaves are a curious thing, aren't they? I have been ill for some twenty years now, and each time autumn arrived I thought to myself, "Maybe I won't be able to see these autumn changes again next year."
>
> It is because of this that my feelings towards autumn are renewed every year. I can't help but look upon nature's aura these days. My greatest joy is watching the falling leaves.
>
> Falling leaves. At first, only a single leaf—or maybe two—appears as if they are about to fall. In time they do, intermittently. In this moment the trees appear to be an infant holding back tears. After a bit they can no longer endure, and the tears stream down. Soon the dam bursts and the leaves fall relentlessly. In a moment all the trees have gone bare.[61]

Takeuchi thus opens with an overwhelming contradiction. How can these leaves possibly summarize her own personal experience, tortured from her illness and impoverished domestic situation? They constantly threaten an end, nor do they offer a possibility of recovery. To the extent that the leaves are markers of temporality, Takeuchi sets aside cyclicality and instead emphasizes a shockingly rapid onset of change. By the end of the essay, Takeuchi suggests modifying the cultural valences of falling leaves. Rather than reading them as a hope for future renewal—which would symbolize the return of precisely that which once disappeared—

[61] Takeuchi, "Fruit from the Red Tree," 2.

Takeuchi opts to read them as a revolutionary change that can almost instantly transform a recognizable ecological (or social) system. The common association of fall and spring leaves with literary or spiritual rebirth might therefore be replaced by social and historical revolutions that occur as swiftly as leaves are shed. Through hardship comes the final transformation that closes out the essay; the tree sprouts not only new leaves, but also new forms of growth and natural space that surpass what came before.

> My young friends!
> …
> A new light will shine and how beautifully will the fruit of the red tree shimmer. Can't you see it gleaming?
> You women are the red tree's fruit. Revive and replenish yourselves. Exert your freedom in whatever way moves your development.
> When the snow melts, all will be yours, even the sunlight and the wind.
> However, for you to become the fruit of that red tree you must also understand the blooming flower, the flower shedding its blossoms, the many trees with their fruit lashed down, and the workings of the roots of all of them.[62]

The naturalistic image of revival shifts from dead leaves to fresh blossoms and fruit, as well as the buried strength of roots that allow the tree to survive harsh winters. What emerges from the tree in spring is not the leaves which had fallen off the previous season, rather it is all the various forms of life and beauty the tree maintains within or keeps hidden underground. Takeuchi proposes a new way of looking at women's history of struggle: not as that moment when winter's oppression kills off all the leaves at once, but when a new social life inevitably emerges, feminine and red.

Takeuchi further complicates natural literary imagery in the opening of her essay when she mixes a string of metaphors on the topic of snow. As we saw in the excerpts above, snow was the harsh result of an oppressive winter, the weight under which women had to labor for their families. Takeuchi first introduces this idea in relation to the strength of women's spirit.

[62] Takeuchi, "Fruit from the Red Tree," 6.

While snow is that which crushes rural women in northern Japan, there also exists a particular feminine beauty in the pure snow and the efforts required to survive it.

> I write this letter to you women now to discuss the form of women's spirit and the appearance of nature in winter.
>
> My young friends!
>
> I have frequently written on and theorized the conditions of women's perseverance. It emerges from the attack of a harsh winter that seems to crush all things under its power. From a gray sky that has gone so dark and so lonely, snow emerges to blanket the world in white. What a wonder of nature.
>
> It is like a woman's smile, which can bring light to the world in an instant. This snow, like the down of a crane, blankets a dark, gray world in pure white.
>
> There is something within these women that resembles the snow that falls from these gray skies. It is that which emerges from the lifelong conditions of women who have been buried alive in the north.[63]

Takeuchi's essay critiques the complex origins of the literary images that have come to represent gendered rural life—that is, from canonized sources that are not produced by contemporary rural women themselves, or their lived everyday—and addresses the need to reclaim the poetics of natural images in order to progress the democratic and emancipative goals of postwar women's movements.

> It is unlikely that the snow that falls in the north will cease for the rest of eternity, but there are many splendors that will come from those women in the north who will certainly be revived, bringing about a new era from the experiences of the women who came before them.
>
> To quote the Manyōshū's Ōtomo no Yakamochi:
>
> > Let us go before this snow melts,
> > To see the mountain mandarin fruit shine
>
> My young friends!
>
> The snow piles and piles up, but eventually it will melt in beauty.
>
> A new light will shine and how beautifully will the fruit of the red tree shimmer. Can't you see it gleaming?[64]

This passage arrives at the end of the essay as Takeuchi resolves the representative possibilities of natural life in its connection to gendered experience. She offers the reader a reassessment of the poetic image of snow, the tree, and fruit, rather than a reproduction of the meaning precisely

[63] Takeuchi, "Fruit from the Red Tree," 3.

[64] Takeuchi, "Fruit from the Red Tree," 5-6.

as it has existed before. That is to say, the essay shifts from the beginning to end from falling leaves to red fruit, crossing the literary space of representation just as the tree passes the beginning and end of winter. Her political intentions are stated plainly and are intended to traverse northern Japan as region, deliberately taking back the poetic language of winter for socially and artistically active women in rural Japan. Although this essay is printed in an Iwate magazine, Takeuchi is suggesting methods of producing cultural works that will be read beyond their specific locality, and perhaps offer a new emancipated future that embraces the possible critiques of contradictory natural images and temporalities.

***Shin Iwate fujin*: Editorial Tendencies of a Postwar Iwate Women's Magazine**

Shin Iwate fujin (『新岩手婦人』) was likely published between December 1945 and March of 1948. This timeline remains an estimate based on two archival collections of the magazine: volumes collected in the Prange archive, and those collected in the Iwate Prefectural Library. The Prange Collection materials are slightly more numerous, accounting for six volumes, whereas the Iwate Library holdings only include four volumes.[65] Although the magazine's title remained the same, the publishing organization changed between the third and fourth volumes, moving from Iwate Prefecture's Kenmin Club (県民倶楽部) to the Iwate Prefecture Women's Association (岩手県婦人会 *Iwate-ken fujin kai*). As mentioned above,

[65] The publishing dates of *Shin Iwate fujin* listed here are provisional and based on these holdings. Neither collection includes the first two volumes. Iwate's holdings begin with the third issue, from March, 1946, and the Prange Collection begins with the fourth, from May 1946. The Prange Collection holds the "final" volume, from March 1948. The editorial comments in that volume suggest more issues were forth coming, but no later volumes are collected, nor are they available elsewhere. Because the Prange Collection's holdings of this magazine are incomplete, it seems likely that *Shin Iwate fujin* published beyond this date. Without clear evidence, however, this study ends with the last available volume.

Kitagawa Kenzō documented the Iwate Prefecture Women's Association reliance on a membership base that had already been cultivated during the wartime for cultural propaganda organizing. Despite the radical political stances of some active members during the postwar that will be explored below, we must be careful not to entirely sever the Association's organization and output from a wartime legacy. Both publishing organizations—the Kenmin Club and the Women's Association—were housed in the same prefectural office in central Morioka, suggesting both organizations received public funding. The magazine maintained a large editorial team, headed throughout its surviving print run by Kon Yumio (昆弓雄, 1914-1974) and Nagaoka Ai (長岡愛, dates unknown). Names of additional editors change regularly, usually based on leadership roles in the Women's Association, but women always make up the majority. Kon was an extremely active public intellectual in Iwate, publishing regularly in most postwar Iwate magazines that enjoyed any kind of substantial print run.[66] In addition to editorial notes, Kon utilized *Shin Iwate fujin* to publish a long-form serialized novel, *In the Extremes of Our Youth* (「いとせめて若き日は」), from May 1946 to the final archived issue. Nagaoka Ai does not appear to have published widely beyond *Shin Iwate fujin*, but she tends to write the editorial afterwards for the archived volumes. Unlike other postwar magazines that morphed from wartime cultural support groups into (ostensibly) democratic flag bearers—as in the case of Washio's *Akita* earlier—*Shin Iwate fujin* does not appear to have an organizational connection to fascist-organized publishing groups from Iwate's wartime literary past.

[66] These include *Tōhoku bunko*, *Iwate bungaku*, *Seikatsusha*, all collected in the Prange Collection and discussed in this dissertation. After his death, his work was collected in a short volume that included essays by other Iwate intellectuals, including Yokota Chie, discussed below.

Shin Iwate fujin takes up a strong democratic editorial stance, often advocating left socialist politics that were popular in Iwate during the early postwar years. Because the first volume of the magazine does not seem to have been collected in any Occupation or Japanese archives, the magazines opening editorial manifesto—if one was in fact published—does not survive. Even so, the editorial statements in the available volumes give a strong indication of the cultural and political mission that the magazine appears to have taken on:

> In March, we transferred editorial responsibilities to the offices within the Women's Association. We began holding courses on political economics, culture, and homemaking in April, and are currently planning other lectures on topics such as physical education and music. Since we began publishing this magazine, we have finally started down the course we had initially hoped for, weaving together threads within the published work from the social cultural movement and the efforts to create a community for new women.[67]

Nagaoka Ai opens the editorial postscript of the May 1946 issue with this statement. In some sense, this statement acts in lieu of a new founding statement of the magazine as it shifts editorial auspices to the Iwate Women's Association. Like other magazines from northern Japan during this period, *Shin Iwate fujin* positions its artistic positionality as inseparable from its political and social positionality. This brings the editorial goals of the magazine in line with similar association or union literary organs—and it was clearly thought of principally as a literary and cultural magazine. *Shin Iwate fujin*'s editorial team affirms the reality that the literature of the writing woman cannot be independent of the political and social position of women broadly. This is especially true of the working woman, whose active literary life in regional magazines can hardly be decoupled from the social and political space of Iwate in the postwar moment. One could compare this editorial stance to the majority of women's, labor, farming, fishing, and

[67] Nagaoka Ai (長岡愛), "The Editor's Office" (「編輯室」*Henshū shitsu*) *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 1, Issue 4 (May, 1946), 61. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

forestry magazines of northern Japan from the same period and find a literary mission in strong solidarity with the intersection of labor and space in democratic politics.

Shin Iwate fujin's social and political sympathies are made clear in an unattributed statement from the January, 1947 issue entitled "Stand up women! It's a new year for building! Towards a Democratic Iwate Women's Association!":

> In this New Year, we as women should become more and more involved in politics and economics. Whether this comes from our position in the home, or in neighborhood associations, or in our farming villages, or in our schools, or in our women's associations, we must observe the direction the political economic winds are blowing regarding our country and our local government. We should properly declare the reform needed in politics, economic conditions, and inflation alongside the cooperation of those men who understand our position. Let us use our group activities to train for redress in these matters. If women are to find happiness in their lives, they must increasingly operate in organized ways. In the last year 70 women's organizations were formed, and yet standing opposite our extremely active women's associations are the apathetic leaders[68] that have forced all of our organizations into a standstill. The apathy of the leaders feeds into the apathy of the members, and the apathy of the members is precisely what the leaders and advisors[69] are hoping for. A democratic path for management of these women's associations would come from a bottom-up council system[70] built upon the cooperation of the old and young alike. In the past, women's associations operated according to the orders of metropolitan and prefectural federations, so we think that this year the organizations should operate based on the many declarations of the rank-and-file members. We can improve the women's associations if each and every member possesses sincerity and enthusiasm, while also bettering the social position of women. We welcome the cooperation of men who understand this point. If the women who run women's associations truly follow these ideals, they will surely be managed in such a way that proves useful for the lives of the people.[71]

Compared to other editorial statements and postscripts published in the magazine, this is more substantial and impassioned than others. Although unsigned, it directly precedes a

[68] Who is being targeted here is unclear, but it's likely that this is meant to criticize the upper echelons of women's organizations themselves, given that many of these associations were extensions of national or local government offices. This would make the statement a clear call for the daily members to take on the work of those leaders who have failed to provide social critiques in a democratic manner within the organizations.

[69] This term further suggests that the "leaders" being attacked here are not active participants in the organizations, but members put in place due to their rank in politics.

[70] The term here could be translated as a "council system" (「合議制」*gōgisei*), but the context suggests a management system controlled by soviets.

[71] "Stand up women! It's a new year for building! Towards a Democratic Iwate Women's Association!" (「新しい建設の年だ　婦人よ立ち上ろう　民主的岩手県婦人会へ！！」*Atarashii kensetsu no toshi da fujin yo tachiagarō minshuteki Iwate-ken fujinkai he*), *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 2, Issue 1 (January, 1947), 48. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

comprehensive list of members of women's organizations in rural villages throughout Iwate. Though this declaration was certainly made by members of the Iwate Women's Association, it is unclear who drafted the original copy. The rural women participating in smaller organizational branches act as signatories, but placing the statement as a full page copy directly preceding the editorial postscript suggests the sentiments expressed have also been endorsed by *Shin Iwate fujin*'s editors who were themselves active within the organization.

Yokota Chie on the Cultural Production of Working Women

Shin Iwate fujin regularly published essays, articles, and fiction that reinforced the necessity for rural women to write as a mode of enacting their own democratic political convictions. Yokota Chie (横田チエ, 1901-1979), born Onodera Chie in Ichinohe, Iwate, was a prominent leftist social activist.[72] After graduating from Iwate Women's Normal School in 1920, she became a primary school teacher. Active in the proletarian movement in Iwate from the start, she soon married the Iwate political activist Yokota Tadao, himself active in the national Laborer- Farmers' Party, Iwate's Proletarian Party, and the Social Masses Party. Yokota Tadao became the top vote-getter in the 1933 Morioka City Council election, only for his political party to be crushed by the national fascist government. Tadao committed suicide in 1940 after being removed from political life, leaving Yokota Chie with her two children as "traitors of the country." With the establishment of women's franchise in the postwar period, Yokota began an impressive political career. She became the first woman to be elected as a member of the Morioka City Council in 1947, then later the first woman to serve in the Iwate Prefectural

[72] These details and those that follow are taken from the excellent archival and biographical work undertaken by the Morioka Memorial Museum of Great Predecessors (盛岡市先人記念館 *Morioka-shi senjin kinenkan*).

Assembly in 1959. She also established important social programs, one for war widows in 1948 and another for unemployed women working in textiles and homespun cloth in 1958. Her June 1947 essay in *Shin Iwate fujin*, "My Hopes for the Working Woman, What I Want Women to Become," was a long form political tract published in the midst of her political campaign for city council as a prominent member of Iwate's Socialist Party.

Yokota opens her essay by laying out the stakes for women in a moment of immense social upheaval. The first section of the essay, "Good Political Sense," argues that the appropriate and necessary actions of women as democratic citizens rested in their ability to hold and publicly assert their own opinions:

> To be enticed is no different than to be without opinion. The emergence of an individual's criticism, good sense, and improvement is impossible if one is incapable of having an opinion. Until now, the average woman who was placed under the feudal system was in no position to hold opinions. Now, even after the establishment of democracy, women are without a clear future. We face a grave situation considering our position is fixed within a moment of transition.[73]
>
> …
>
> Women will not simply be dragged along. We will possess our own opinions through a proper self-awareness. The working woman will bear the responsibility of using good sense in exercising her franchise, and in doing so become a citizen.[74]

Yokota is careful to establish freedom of thought and expression as the culmination of democratic political subjectivity. She will go on to outline how working women can utilize speech and literature to overturn elements of postwar society intent on maintaining their strict, gendered status as "woman" bound to remnants of a feudal social system.[75] Although the body of

[73] That is to say, they remain within the gendered position of "woman" even as other social categories are being radically redefined in the postwar moment.

[74] Yokota Chie (横田チエ), "My Hopes for the Working Woman" (「勤労婦人に望む・こんな女性になってほしい」 *Kinrō fujin ni nozomo, konna josei ni natte hoshii*) *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 2, Issue 3 (June, 1947), 10. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library. This comes very close to describing the political conditions of the postwar subject—i.e. the political, citizen subject—that Victor Koschmann describes in *Postwar Japan and Subjectivity*.

[75] Yokota is writing against the family system here, a common topic of *Shin Iwate fujin* writers. Other important examples from this magazine include Ema Shōko (江間章子) "A Critique of the Family System" (「家族制度の批判」 *Kazoku seido no hihan*) in the March 1946 volume, and a confrontational interview with Iwate's first governor,

the essay touches on economics, working conditions, social justice, and the political platform of Iwate's Socialist Party, the central thesis asserts the necessity for working women to publicly disseminate thought. As we can see from her own non-fiction output, Yokota believed writing and publishing must be at the core of the new democratic movement for gendered equality and social reform.

Yokota argues that a new literature by working women will play an essential role in women's efforts to overturn the feudal family system, extinguish discrimination in the workplace, and overpower social structures founded on wealth inequality. The hypothetical rival of her imagined laboring/writing woman is not, as one might expect, a lecherous husband or oppressive factory manager, but a wealthy and aloof lady. Yokota carefully constructs the section "Cultural Sensibilities" to introduce this "lady of the leisured class" as if she were a fictional character invading the space of the political activist. I will emulate the original formatting of the published work here, as Yokota uses the form of the essay as a tool for her aesthetic and political argument:

> It's being proclaimed that Japan has now discarded their weapons and begun constructing a cultural nation. It goes without saying that this transformation maintained through the materialization of a peaceful and democratic nation.
> In other words, the cultural sphere—as well as all other spheres, namely religion, morals, art, literature, everyday culture etc.—must be popularized for common use.
> All of those spheres to now, in the same manner as politics, were monopolized by a subsection of people. They were beyond the reach of working women. We could say that all these spheres were egotistical, epicurean, aristocratic.
> Allow me to give one example: When a working woman who is wholly oppressed under capitalism talks of marriage, the first thing that floats into her mind is how her and her partner's lives will change. This way of thinking is entirely a product of the tyranny present in that moment. Today, when we are liberating ourselves from that oppression, a mass culture will naturally arise from exactly those working people who were previously outside the cultural sphere.
>
> What kind of beauty will these young women—who lack fine garments and crepe sashes—show us as it bursts forth from within them in a flash of intellectual inspiration and bountiful sentiment?[76] It will become the make-up that these working women must apply to their bodies as

Kokubun Kenkichi (国分謙吉) by Kikuchi Shinoko (菊池篠子), head of the Iwate Women's Organization's Cultural Section, in the June 1947 issue.

[76] This paragraph is indented as if a quote and contains multiple—and subtle—literary allusions. In form, it mirrors the section that directly follows it, which opens with a direct quotation from Christ.

> they comb streaks into their hair and charge forward as pioneers.
> The working woman eventually becomes a wife. Then, when she experiences the essence of motherhood, she begins to rationalize her life. She gains some financial freedom and develops some creativity. She begins to enjoy studying, reading, music, and flower arranging.
> In this way, she comes to deliberate on those cultural objects that were, until that moment, so distant and overly difficult. She begins problematizing things that seemed to exist under such simple conditions. She begins debating over the adoption of the Roman alphabet and things of that nature.[77]

Yokota packs this brief passage with sharp wit and a playful style. Two interrelated halves balance across a central fulcrum. The middle section asserts the proper location of cultural production: a mass culture that arises naturally from the writing actually produced by working women. Directly preceding this central appeal to mass culture is one side of the argument: The simultaneous domination of cultural spheres and political power by wealthy bourgeoisie. The opening refers to the past cultural practices of Japan as a nation that persist through feudalistic remnants. If the premise of postwar Japan is the creation of an imagined future, where Japan as a nation is both peaceful and cultural, than those cultural and political practices must pass through the working woman as a defamiliarizing filter to reach the second half of Yokota's argument. The closing paragraphs of the passage present examples of how bourgeois women had become active in the culture sphere until that moment. Proposing that the working woman might take up these wealthy pastimes after entering into a "proper" marriage appears contradictory given Yokota's previous glorification of a gendered, mass culture established by women laborers. However, Yokota uses this stereotype to construct an idealized image of cultural activities of the past, visually setting them apart from the new cultural activities Yokota hopes will develop from the literature of working women.

The single indentation in this section highlights the moment when central literary culture injects itself into Yokota's writing *as process*. Until this paragraph, Yokota had utilized

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[77] Yokota, "My Hopes," 11-12.

unindented paragraphs with very plain diction and a straightforward, declarative style. The moment that a new culture might emerge through the efforts of local working women, establishment literary references break into the passage, pushing the formatting of the essay off kilter. The first reference, "fine garments and crepe sashes," stands out immediately as an unexpected shift in diction. It's difficult to say with certainty whether Yokota is using the phrase with literary allusions in mind, or as a general description of class-based, gendered fashion. In any case, the phrase also appears in Hasegawa Shigure's 1936 book "The Life of Modern Beauties" outlining the expectations of cultured beauty women faced during the wartime period. Associating this section with Hasegawa's works on gendered practices related to beauty alludes to past efforts women have made to break into literary culture—especially in the production of literary magazines—under the feudal practices outlined at the beginning of the passage.[78] Soon after, Yokota describes the "comb streaks" that run through the hair of these newly cultured women. This exact phrase appears in Natsume Sōseki's *Kusamakura*, making it more likely to be a direct and deliberate literary reference. In the passage, Sōseki compares the shabby nature of the first-person protagonist's clothing and appearance in comparison to the fine garments and neatly kept hair of O-Nami, his lover. Of course, in each case, the working women of Iwate—who were principally farmers, charcoal makers, fishery workers, textile factory hands, and forestry laborers—would have no reasonable chance to either attain these literary heights, nor could they expect access to these kinds of cultural spheres in their new mass culture; or rather, they could expect to significantly transform those spheres through their participation. Rather than setting out her concept of the literary or social desires of the Iwate working woman, Yokota

[78] Hasegawa was a founder and editor of the magazine *Women's Arts* (『女人芸術』*Nyonin geijutsu*) which was published between 1938 and 1932 and acted as an inspiration for many of the general interest women's magazines published in the early postwar period. "The Life of Modern Beauties" was itself one text in a series, including "The Life of Japanese Beauties" (1911), and "The Life of Beauties" (1918).

instead produces a toungue-in-cheek send up of class-based cultural practices. She emphasizes the defamiliarizing nature of each cultural activity in her syntax, repeating the "rising" actions these middle-class married women undertake: 「上にも・・・上にも・・・上にも」. Yokota displaces central literary practices in the exact moment that she theorizes a new possibility for literary, political, and social activism led by regional working women. The following sections call for the working woman to hold her head high in the face of wealthy elites, especially women, who fall into this false image of central bourgeois culture.

The "lady" that Yokota develops in this passage emerges as if a literary character. She is not named, but the text takes on a style and diction that did not exist previous to the literary quotations cited above. She describes a woman's cultural development here as if a revelation, but she undercuts the image of the urban, middle-class intellectual woman who settles into the established trends that exist as holdovers from Japan's nationalistic and feudal past. This cultured, married woman applies culture to her body as she might powder herself with foundation, finding her cultural worth as wife and mother before adopting the "traditional" arts of Japanese aristocratic culture. If we had questions about how Yokota felt about this cultured woman in this passage, the next section makes her politics clear:

> We need not go so far as to borrow Christ's words when he said "All are equal before god" to see equality for all humans. The wealthy young lady, the working woman, the farm woman, and such are likely not discriminated against for personal reasons, even if they experience discrimination in the workplace. The young working girl is a beauty but she embraces a feeling of subservience to the decked out, wealthy young lady or the woman of the leisured class. And in all cases we find an admission that humans are under the control of money.
>
> Money is that which humans created based on personal exchange for daily necessities. And at some point a group of people decided to start accumulating cash. If we consider that capital as an idea was developed by humanity, we can see how it has become justified as a wholly human object. Thus, the working woman need not feel subservient to the young lady. It is improper for her to fret over bowing her head just because the other woman has money. It is precisely because she as a woman who puts in honest work that she can receive an honest pay. The working woman lives with a view of life founded on this kind of justice.[79]

[79] Yokota, "My Hopes," 12.

Yokota has outlined the fundamental fiction whereby cultural attitudes alienate women from solidarity and a shared sense of justice. Insofar as cultural activities are human and historical, so too is the development of capital and the accumulation of wealth. To understand one's class-based subjectivity is to recognize the need to disperse with each of these formations simultaneously. In the event that working women were to participate in the "studying, reading, music, and flower arranging" that upper-class ladies discover as their basis for cultural production, those forms would themselves be changed through class-consciousness. Along with a new form of literary production, Yokota asserts a possible world peace founded on the working woman's recognition of social contradictions. She sets out her demands for society to meet the needs of working women in Iwate and across the globe. Knowing the extent of print activities in Iwate, we should understand that Yokota is not simply fantasizing, but describing the conditions she sees developing in Iwate in 1947.

It cannot be overemphasized that Yokota deliberately *wrote* and *published* this essay, which could just have easily been given as a stump speech for her political campaign. Furthermore, it is important that the forum she selected for this essay was a rural, democratically run women's magazine, rather than a newspaper column or political leaflet. Examples abound of women empowering their own liberation through writing and publishing their own texts. Some of these examples exist outside of extant archives, including the Prange Collection. Asano Akie (浅野秋恵, dates unknown) published the poem "After Supper" in the November, 1946 volume of the coterie poetry magazine *Hoarfrost*. No records remain of this magazine or author, but the importance of writing and print are unmistakable in her poetry:

> …
> Under the light of the lamp, after the conversation has died down,
> Sipping warm tea

I crack open the pages on the new issue of my magazine.[80]

Asano's final stanza emphasizes the importance of print to rural women, rather than highlighting domestic work, food or family. The poem does not state outright that she is reading the very coterie journal where she has submitted her poem, but the physicality of the text—only 12 pages of mimeographed poetry on budget paper—suggest the intellectual value with which the members of this journal held the works that they and their colleagues had produced. These were not journals intended to infiltrate national readership or to elevate poets to stardom. They were participatory and valuable within the local context of postwar regional print.

Shin Iwate fujin as Postwar National Literature: Working Women's Mass Culture and LGBTQ+ History

Before Takeuchi Yoshimi ever publishes his essays on a new postwar National Literature (meaning here *kokumin bungaku)*, elements of his vision are already present in *Shin Iwate fujin*'s editorial mission. Given the extensive network of postwar regional literary journals, it seems clear that Takeuchi was not describing a future fantasy for democratic literature, but an outgrowth and further development of the print movements already taking place across Japan. The non-fiction texts published in *Shin Iwate fujin* show that democratic social practices cannot be decoupled from the democratic cultural practices put into action by producing and publishing the magazine itself. If Takeuchi's concrete goal includes dismantling *both* pure literature and mass literature, *Shin Iwate fujin* and similar magazines from the immediate postwar indicate how democratic movements actualized that goal in practice. This becomes most apparent in the social context of the Iwate Women's Association, whose constituent members reject centralized

[80] Asano Akie (浅野秋恵), "After Supper" (「夕餉ののち」 *Yūge no nochi*) *Hoarfrost* (『樹氷』*Juhyō*) (November, 1946), 2.

supervision over their organizing efforts by ranking, elite members. The form and content of the magazine, however, indicate that the participants in social organizing do so not strictly from a political or ideological position. Rather, the local chapters of the Iwate Women's Association, enact democratic politics through the actual print conditions emerging in the immediate postwar period.

If Takeuchi's vision for a new postwar National Literature can be considered a failure, we should locate this failure at least partially in the decline of independent or regional publishing, as well as the reduced importance those works held for archivization and canonization projects that attempted to make sense of postwar literary publishing trends. The failure of National Literature might not be in the lack of emergence of that literature, but in an unrecognized retraction in widespread print cultures that were willing to transform democratic practice into literary production. Unlike the proletarian literature movements that preceded this period—and the *kiroku* movement that followed—literature under Occupation demonstrates a dramatic increase in decentralized print culture, regional histories that are largely forgotten in wider communities or in national literature as it exists today. National Literature's "failure" as literary project also rests in the inability of central literary critique to seriously treat anonymity in marginalized literary production. Yokota points to this tendency specifically when she "names" Sōseki and Hasegawa through the literary practice of citation. By contrast, Yokota never directly "names" or obliquely alludes to a particular working woman as representative of the mass culture she envisions replacing bourgeois literary culture. Yokota's mass culture spearheaded by working women proposes a new method of literary practice that rejects the assumed centrality—or at least the assumption of universal relevance—of the most important central authors. Yokota makes clear that canonization in modern Japanese literature develops from cultural spheres

generally limited to the urban middle-class. Even if she were to cite the fiction writers publishing in *Shin Iwate fujin*, whom are explored in detail below, those citations *as practice* would fall flat when read through the lens of critical reading practices built upon biographical readings or *bundan* connections.

Nor does this mean, however, that *Shin Iwate fujin* can be summarized as exclusively leftist or without remnants of the fascist project that preceded it. Like other regional journals of the period, such as the case of *Akita* and *Akitajin* cited above, elements of Japan's wartime propaganda stubbornly persist. In the May, 1946 volume of *Shin Iwate fujin*, Murakami Shigeko (村上茂子, dates unknown), head of the Iwate branch of the Japan Christian Women's Association and member of the Iwate Women's Association, penned the essay "Eternal World Peace." The opening paragraph suggests a solution to global war through the dissolution of borders and nation states:

> In the 14th century, it was thought that the earth was at the center of space and celestial bodies were in motion. Even astrologers during this period held this belief. Moving into the 15th century, it was discovered that the earth was similar to other planets in that it travelled through space around the sun, leading to the heliocentric theory. Global thought was suddenly forced to make a 180-degree reversal from geocentrism to heliocentrism. In the present moment, the nations of the globe face a similar 180-degree reversal as the moment when geocentrism transitioned to heliocentrism. It was thought that our own nation was the central unit around which neighboring nations revolved. In fact, we have now discovered that our nation is also in motion on this earth, and that the truth is that all surrounding nations are also moving alongside us in unison. All manner of nations around the globe came into competition in order to establish their own independence, they struggled in order to support that independence, and conditions became such that to anticipate the abolishment of wars was impossible.[81]

Murakami's final analysis, however, proposes an eternal abolishment of all war through the strict re-entrenchment of ethno-nation states. After surveying the international political situation, she closes the essay: "If we are to recognize our proper place in the world, and establish the life that

[81] Murakami Shigeko (村上茂子), "Eternal World Peace" (「世界永遠の平和」*Sekai eien no heiwa*), *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 1, Issue 4 (May, 1946), 14-15. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

we seek, there are four absolute conditions we must meet. What are these? 1. Absolute honesty; 2. Absolute pure-bloodedness; 3. Absolute love; 4. Absolute selflessness."[82] While Murakami was certainly not the only democratically-minded writer to believe in racial theories—nor would she be unique among leftists in the 1940s—the decision to equate "absolute pure-bloodedness" with "absolute love" or "absolute selflessness" bears a strong resemblance to *kokutai* theories of dedication to the state.[83]

Shin Iwate fujin is also not strictly a local Iwate magazine. Many of the essays, poems, and fiction come from writers beyond Iwate, or utilize settings in urban areas, including Tokyo. Takeda Yūko's (武田優子, dates unknown) short fiction work, "Fallen Star," struggles with gender, politics, and literature in urban space during the war. The first-person narrator falls in love with a political activist before he is arrested, drafted, and sent to war. The story opens:

> I was in love with a student at Tokyo University of Commerce. I had not a clue as to why this boy studied economics or what his philosophies were, but I simply came to love him for his academic abilities. His character forced him to be meticulous in all manner of things, so he approached romance in a deeply sincere and intense way. Even still, he was wholly incapable of telling even me that he was a Marxist.
>
> In October of his second year in school, two police officers raided his home by force, confiscated half of his books, and arrested him. Not knowing what had happened, I called on him as normal and found that his study room had been ruthlessly torn apart from bookshelf to bookshelf and most of his books were missing. As I stood there vacantly, his elderly mother came up to me in tears telling me that her son had been taken away by the police.[84]

The narrator soon discovers the reason for her lover's arrest:

> He said that he had been arrested with another man he knew named Ikeda who was four years his senior. Ikeda hadn't come back yet. Not only that, but four of their friends were in prison, too. And the reason that all of this had happened was because he had been too careless.
>
> Everything started when he went to a bookstore to order a banned book that he couldn't keep himself from buying. He had written down the title and his address. It seems that the bookstore had

[82] Murakami, "Eternal World Peace," 15.

[83] Noriko Horiguchi has provided a salient historical critique that exposes the intersections of theories of "pure-blood" with imperialism, eugenics, and gender. Noriko Horiguchi, *Women Adrift: The Literature of Japan's Imperial Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 1-18.

[84] Takeda Yūko (武田優子), "Fallen Star" (「落ちた星」*Ochita hoshi*) *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 1, Issue 7 (December, 1946), 31. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

> been searched in secret and his name had been discovered. And with that the police staked out his home just around that time that he and his friends had been self-publishing a magazine. The police discovered the magazine and went on to arrest his friends and chained them all up in a line.[85]

The narrator shelters from Tokyo bombing raids in the suburbs and begins working in a factory. She eventually meets with her lover's co-conspirators and comes to live with Ikeda and other political organizers after their release from prison. The narrator and Ikeda fall in love, although the narrator knows that her original lover may still be alive in the Philippines. The ending of this story is worth considering on its own, and I will do so in detail below, but for now it is important to recognize that the women writing their charged political fiction in the immediate postwar, as Takeda is doing here, do so in dialogue with prewar and wartime suppression of print culture and the urban environments that helped bring that culture to life. Takeda forces us to recognize the inherent problem of scaling Tokyo to Iwate; we have no way to confirm her biographical details to determine whether this short story would be a kind of I-novel. But there is also an inherent problem in scaling this "local" literary production back to the space of national literature. Just as problematic imbalances appear when Tokyo authors write rural Japan for consumption in central journals, part of our ability to read regional journals centers on our ability to see the imbalances of rural writers and readers consuming "Tokyo" in print texts far outside of that spatial context.

Even if Takeda's text appears to confound the kinds of author-biographical critiques most commonly applied to literature from this period, it still provides us with an important and aesthetically complex depiction of male-male love in leftist circles under Japan's totalitarian government. At the closing of the story Ikeda embraces the narrator for the final time:

> He pressed me to his chest and didn't let go. After we embraced in this way for a long while, he whispered in my ear, "Wherever, whenever it is that I die, I will be resting there beside you." My old lover's words rang out haltingly. My lips felt dry.
>
> I finally stumbled to my feet and returned to my room.[86]

[85] Takeda, "Fallen Star," 32.

[86] Takeda, "Fallen Star," 37.

The words that Ikeda whispers into the narrator's ears are a nearly exact copy of the words that the narrator's original lover whispered to her before he was sent to the Philippines. On initial reading, this appears to be a melodramatic callback, a literary trick to bring the narrator's past lover—who may still in fact be alive—back to her memory after becoming physically intimate with Ikeda. The structure of the story, however, suggests a second, more plausible reading: Ikeda and the narrator's original lover where in fact in love with each other and expressed these same words to each other at their own parting. The text suggests this at several levels. After the narrator's first lover was released from jail, his concern was not for his own safety, or the concerns of the narrator or the man's mother, rather he worries most intensely about Ikeda as he remains imprisoned even after he has been released. As the narrator leaves for the front, he sends a final letter which reads in parts: "…I will remain faithful to whatever Ikeda gives me to my very death. I think that he and his wife will become very important friends in your life…the books that I gathered…I collected them all for Ikeda…"[87] When the narrator finally joins Ikeda, it is not only he that acts as stand-in for her first lover, but she also acts as stand-in for Ikeda's own affection for him.

In this reading, Takeda has established a familiar narrative within Japanese modern literature, what Keith Vincent has identified as the male-male homosocial love triangle. Within "love triangles in which two men compete over a single woman," Vincent writes:

> Although the woman at the apex of the triangle is the ostensible object of desire for the men at its base, it is the rivalrous relationship she mediates between them that takes center stage. Not only that, but the men's very desire for the woman is often initiated and always intensified by the currents of jealousy and identification that flow between the men…Homosocial narratives like this are so common that virtually the entire edifice of modern literature in Japan could be said to rest on a foundation in the shape of the homosocial triangle comprising two male rivals and a woman…While overtly homoerotic texts seem to offer an alternative to entrenched norms of sex and gender, the obliquely homosocial works not only repress the possibility of love between men but also tend to

[87] Takeda, "Fallen Star," 34.

reduce women to nothing more than the mediators of that desire.[88]

And while "Fallen Star" depicts the subtle balance between the three parties within this triangle, it is important to note that the narrator does not use these whispered words to "out" her partners, nor does the text indicate a desire to single the two men out as abnormal for their close relationship. In this sense, Takeda constructs a text that holds closer to Vincent's ideal homosocial narrative, one which does not fall into "uncritical…tropes of visibility and knowability" regarding a "'repressive hypothesis,' which falsely posits that sexuality is a prediscursive 'thing' that is either 'in' or 'out,' 'hidden' or 'known.'"[89] The narrator does not partake in an investigation into the men's sexuality, leaving the full complexity of their relationship—as well as her own relationship with these two men that she herself has come to care for—open for the reader to explore and empathize with. This imbues the text with a doubled sense of oppression, not only the oppression that leftist intellectuals and writers faced at the hands of the military government, but also the largely unspoken oppression of men incapable of following their feelings. The narrator's lover chooses a path leading to a violent death in service of the state over an equally violent death he (and others he cared for) might have faced at the hands of the state.

Nor is Takeda's "Fallen Star" the only story in the magazine that writes the history of same-sex love. Kowata Mie (小綿みゑ, dates unknown) published "Love," a very short story of just about two pages, in the June, 1947 volume of *Shin Iwate fujin*. Motoko (素子, literally an alternate reading of the characters for a "component" or "element" of a larger structure) is a young writer who works at a pharmacy. The story opens with a man apologizing to her for

[88] Keith Vincent, *Two-Timing Modernity: Homosocial Narrative in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 7-8.

[89] Vincent, *Two-Timing Modernity*, 11.

arriving just at closing time as she shutters the curtain of her pharmacy window. Of the few events that occur in the story, the majority involve Motoko considering possible marriage partners or fending of desperate male suitors. She consults with Michiko, a co-worker who compares her to the heroine from a Chekhov novel, about possible matches, including Mishima, the first man in her life "she could not forget."[90] As Motoko recalls her possible options to settle into a standard love marriage, Michiko reminds her of Hinako, the political activist love in her past. As Motoko reminisces on Hinako, Kowata writes: "It was through Michiko's help that Motoko veered toward the love she held for Hinako in that moment. It was as if she had been made to remember a fresh fruit she had once had. She felt reinvigorated."[91] With this new determination and burst of energy, Kowata closes the story with a long citation of Motoko's free verse:

> October morning
> Creeping in from the crack in the curtain
> Blue sky, white pavement
> X-rays from the autumn sun
> In the braided hair of the Slavic girl
> A single ray of glittering light
> Seasonal sensations
> On this October morning, and I
> Discover the source of my spirit[92]

This poem involves several intra- and inter-textual allusions. First, the October morning suggests a moment of revolution, though in this case the revolutionary act occurs within Motoko's self-perceived sexuality. We might consider that "October" ties loosely to Russian history, much as Chekhov likely stood in for "Russian Writer," although his works were not themselves about or a

[90] Kowata Mie (小綿みゑ), "Love" (「愛」*Ai*) *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 2, Issue 3 (June, 1947), 29. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

[91] Kowata, "Love," 30.

[92] Kowata, "Love," 30.

direct inspiration for the Red October. Second, the "slavic girl" who is illuminated in light likely refers to Motoko herself—a call back to the moment that Michiko recognizes her as the lead in a Chekhov novel. And of course the wellspring of love and inspiration is none other than Hinako herself (literally日名子, the "Girl Named Sun"), shining down on Motoko.

Like "Fallen Star," Kowata's text participates in several important modernist literary movements that revolve around same-sex love. In "Love," the age of the girls suggests that Motoko and Hinako originally met when they were younger, likely while they were school children together. As Michiko Suzuki has noted, women's same-sex love existed in an ambivalent and contradictory binary pathologization based on early concepts of sexology:

> Schoolgirls captured the cultural imagination as potential partners in romantic (heterosexual) love. From the 1910s to 1930s, however, they were also seen as practitioners of same-sex love…same-sex love was construed through what might be called a dualistic continuum: on the one hand, there was the adolescent romantic friendship, pure and platonic; on the other, there was the sexual deviancy practiced by degenerates and so-called "inverts"…whose desire was for members of the same sex. This continuum [was] based on a binary of "normal" and "abnormal."[93]

Put differently, there was a certain natural and playful character in texts that depicted the early flights of fancy among schoolgirls. When those romantic feelings stretched beyond adolescence, however, they became pathologized as "abnormal" and destructive to the women involved and society at large. Kowata's story reflects Yoshiya Nobuko's later works (which, it is important to remember, where independently published outside of the mainstream popular presses she had previously worked for), when she writes older characters that no longer experience a return to the "normality" of a "male-female" relationship connected through marriage and the family system. Instead, Yoshiya's later characters deliberately embrace their sexuality in the precise moment when they are expected to enter into marriage with a man. The timing of Motoko's transformation—the moment when she is coming closest to choosing a marriage partner—and

[93] Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 23-24.

the method by which she rekindles her love for Hanako—a personal confession engendered by her close relationship with another woman—suggest that Kowata is writing within the tradition that fully embraces the emancipatory possibilities of confirming one's own alternative sexuality and permanently disavowing the traditional marriage and family system.

Although these elements of *Shin Iwate fujin* sit tangential to my central argument, they are nonetheless essential to grasping the range of cultural production in northern Japan and the possible pitfalls we might encounter when critiquing intermingled political and regional concepts present in these texts. While these works assert transformative possibilities through writing locality, labor, and gender politics in postwar literature, they can also easily fall into the trap of re-fetishizing those traits as something minor, exceptional. If these texts remain within their regional context, especially if that context does not stretch beyond the editorial confines of *Shin Iwate fujin*, we might ask why that happens? Certainly part of the regionality of the texts are innate to the contents and publishing history, yet they are also confined to their locality because wider literary histories have not yet engaged with their output in a way that would fully integrate them into national literary histories as they have come to become codified today. In the sense that these works are in fact "regional" or "minor," they are only so in relation to national literary canon, histories, and critical reading practices.

Reading Environment in Poetry, Labor Practice, and Cultural Production: Yamada Aiko's "The Ridge"

Knowing that certain methodologies common to literary analysis will invariably breakdown when approaching regional women's literary production, the writers and texts we discover in *Shin Iwate fujin* help us understand the connections between cultural production and

postwar space. Analyses based on new critical approaches prove the necessity of engaging with the print history and literary valences present in regional texts. Here, I will read environment and labor through the lens of recent environmental critiques of capital. I should also note, however, that this is not intended to argue for the primary relevance of environmental humanities as a critical approach, but rather to show how regional texts might become legible to literary histories beyond their specific locality when we intentionally step beyond biographical reading practices. Environmental critiques necessarily problematize local, regional, national, or global scales. As Jason Moore writes:

> Capitalism is not an economic system; it is not a social system; it is *a way of organizing nature*.[94]
>
> If humans are a part of nature, historical change—including the present as history—must be understood through dialectical movements of humans making environments, and environments making humans. The two acting units—humanity/environments—are not independent but interpenetrated at every level, from the body to the biosphere. Perhaps most of all, it means that relations that seemingly occur purely between humans—say, culture, or political power—are already "natural" relations, and they are always *bundled* with the rest of nature, flowing inside, outside, and through human bodies and histories.[95]

Whereas literary analysis that emerges alongside conceptions of national literature is innately concerned with scaling down the entirety of creative works to representative texts (which are then immediately rescaled back up to the space of the nation), an environmental approach to cultural production recognizes the inescapable binding of literary texts to environment through cultural practice. This approach places even the most obscure, anonymous texts in a frame of reference that no longer relies on unstable boundaries that enclose the locality, region, or nation. Through an environmental critique, the literature of *Shin Iwate fujin* need not be restricted to Iwate, nor even to women writers. As we will find below, the texts in this magazine attend

[94] Jason Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London: Verso, 2015), 2. Emphasis in original.

[95] Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life*, 2-3.

carefully to the complex and destructive interplay of capital and nature through the local particularity of gendered industrial labor in rural Iwate.

Yamada Aiko (山田愛子, dates unknown), published and edited poetry in *Shin Iwate fujin* and likely published in other regional literary magazines published in northern Japan, such as *Tōhoku kajin* (『東北歌人』) in Tōno, Iwate and *Himatsu* (『飛沫』) in Hamanaka, Hokkaidō. Being that both Yamada and Aiko are common names, we can only guess that the Yamada Aiko listed as author in these later cases, all poetry, is the same person writing in *Shin Iwate fujin*. As with other authors discussed here, we should also expect Yamada to have published in other venues that have not yet been indexed, collected, or archived. The poem discussed here, "The Ridge, A Poem in 30 Parts," was published in the March 1946 volume of the magazine. The thirty poems are written from a single perspective, all dealing with rural life after escaping a local city for the mountains. The poems describe the hard labor the narrator—if that is how we decide to think of the poetic voice active in these poems—undertakes to support the family. This person has been personally injured in the war and sets about harvesting barley from the family's fields and gathering chestnuts that drop from the trees. The narrator ponders the suffering and simple joys in a destitute rural life.

> The valley stream murmurs as it hastens to crest the feudal retainer's mountain, now distressed as it falls into darkness.
> The ridge, all in shadow now, presses in. Is the valley we must pass in these mountain recesses shadowed by the western sky?
> We climbed these winding paths any number of times to our hamlet, a dim line of flickering lights.
> I turn towards the overlapping mountains. I can no longer see the stars, now concealed by the evening clouds.
> I linger for a moment under a large tree in the evening darkness and ponder the forked road before me.
> Light spills out from the fire in the kitchen, lighting up the fog, falling on the crevices in the field.
> Twilight reaches the chestnut mountain's valley. I rush home to hold the drying pole covered in chestnuts up to the hearth.
> I roasted the barley until it was safe to eat, then set the pots on the cook fire one after another.
> Families living in this valley are poor, and my children also stay up late into the night gathered beside me.
> Even having slept in the countryside from the day they were born, the children endlessly toss and turn through the night.

A sense of unease falls upon the depths of the mountain, but when morning comes flowers appear in numbers equal to the grasses.
After passing through waves, the tall trees look as if in a painting. The valley is covered in fallen leaves and clumps of flowers bloom in numbers equal to the grasses.
A patch of fog is lit up in a rainbow and reflects onto the field of chestnut trees.
I walk the ridge in an early morning shower, but as time passes the valley is washed over by green leaves and the red and yellow leaves of summer.
I live in the city now, destitute, so I leave the children with their grandmother and leave for the chestnut mountain.
I drag my war-wounded leg behind me. I sow barley seeds for sustenance. I hesitate before saying "I'm poor."
I didn't even know when the season had come to plant seeds, but when spring came, I decided to rent out a field.
All the family went out into the field, leaving the baby behind to sleep in the cavernous house.
I came to know the many hardships of mountain life. Grandmother seemed to be struggling with raising the children since I arrived.
But I can't say that mountain life means being too poor for all things. I can recommend adzuki beans and rice as a way to cheer up.
Oh, yes how the world has changed! Mermaids pour into the ports unaware of the deep mountains.
The valley in these mountains echoes with sounds of rushing water pouring into the papermaker's shop.
There is not enough paper to even change the soot-stained shoji, so the girls in our house decide to make paper.
Oh, you girls born and raised on this ridge! You strip the bark from the elm tree and set to work.
You poor, lovely flowers that I saw blooming in the fields like grasses among the fallen leaves. You, too, are now made into paper.
The hot air, filled with the scent of paper, wafts in from the entrance of the drying room.
My clothes take on a smell like one from long ago as they suck up the steam coming from the paper we set out to dry.
A low cloud of smoke forms in the eaves. When I look up, large drops of moisture drip down.
I left knowing that I wouldn't be able to return before the afternoon, so I had to bear the early morning shower for a long while.
The present world continues on, but the rural way is to wait out the showers with a hot cup of tea.[96]

These are densely rich poems. They suggest that they should be read beyond their local spaces and in ways that challenge gendered assumptions regarding participation in and legacies of the wartime imperial project. The narrator makes clear that, even when "returning home," they are in some way alienated from the rural lifestyle and environment. The narrator comes from the city, though which city is unclear, and struggles to understand and adapt to the pace of the fields they are forced to work. There is certainly a single narratorial voice, which would tend to be associated with Yamada as author and the figure of the mother in the poem. The poem rejects either of those readings as particularly stable, however. The narrator describes working the

[96] Yamada Aiko (山田愛子), "The Ridge, A Poem in 30 Parts" (「峰　連作卅首」*Mine: rennsaku sanjūshu*) *Shin Iwate Fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 1, Issue 3 (March, 1946), 56-57. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

fields, leaving the grandmother to watch after the children. Combining this description with the narrator describing "my war-injured leg" opens the possibilities that Yamada is challenging the domestic and wartime labor that women, especially mothers, were expected to perform—emphasizing instead the actual circumstances that the narrator faces: she is mother who both labors in the fields and has been physically wounded by wartime violence. Or is Yamada suggesting that this is not indeed the mother of the children writing at all? Perhaps it is a man, wounded and returning from the front? Without access to biographical information about Yamada, and without access to any amount of collected or edited works, we cannot accurately address this poem in relation to her own lived experiences. Time and precise locations have been written out of the poems—a feature that we will find reflected in the fiction by Mori Tamie discussed below. Broadly speaking, we are not able to grasp stability in any of those historical features that most commonly anchor literary criticism: biography, space, or time.

For now, we can address the ways that these poems imagine domestic labor and rural space as environment—or perhaps, domestic labor as environment, environment as domestic labor. This poem forces the reader to recognize the ingress of wartime labor practices into the formerly closed domestic space of the home. The mother (or rather, the narrator whom we as readers presume to be the mother) leaves the home to enter the rain to begin her work in the fields and gather chestnuts, mirroring the children who remain at home and enter the dripping steam of the drying room where they are producing paper. Through this mirroring, and the mother's movement between each space, the children simultaneously become the blooming wildflowers in the fields under rain and the moist paper they are forced to produce and set out to dry at home. While elements of the agricultural labor undertaken by the mother continue to be

familiar to contemporary audiences, papermaking as labor needs to be contextualized in rural space and in the postwar moment.

Capital intensive logging practices swept through northern Tōhoku as the Japanese imperial project gets underway in Hokkaidō, Taiwan, and continental East Asia.[97] In Iwate, industrial logging and commercial paper mills displaced cottage industry paper makers.[98] As we saw in Hayashi Fumiko's novel *Ukigumo* earlier, industrial logging tied to Japan's colonial ambitions expanded commensurate with the borders of its imperial possessions. That process did not halt in northern Japan, but rather it tapped the labor forces of non-military citizens that remained in rural Japan. Women entered the forestry and paper making industry as the labor supply evaporated with northern farmers and loggers increasingly conscripted for military duty in Japan's imperial possessions. The fall of imperial Japan brought with it a major upheaval in industrial logging and papermaking. Overseas resource extraction evaporated and local logging, like many industries in both rural and urban Japan, lagged in the final months and immediate aftermath of the war. By war's end, industrial logging firms and paper mills increasingly relied on local women laborers—as well as overseas laborers forced into work. Paper supplies ran short and were eventually rationed by Occupation forces. The lasting cultural impact of establishing industrial capital in northern Japan had already been ensconced in everyday consumption, however. A cratered forestry and paper making industry could not sufficiently meet local demand. As we see in Yamada's poem, the contraction of imperial production stalls industrial

[97] This trend generally replicates the proliferation of imperial forestry procedures in Asia that had been theorized by European powers. See Raymond Bryant, "Romancing Colonial Forestry: The Discourse of 'Forestry as Progress' in British Burma," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 162 No. 2 (July, 1996), 169-178.

[98] Further details can be found in Iwate Prefecture, ed. (岩手県編), *A History of Iwate Forestry* (『岩手県林業史』*Iwate-ken ringyōshi*) (Morioka: Iwate Prefecture, 1982); and Mori Kahe'e (森嘉兵衛), *A History of Agricultural Development in Early-Meiji Period Iwate* (『明治前期岩手県農業発達史』*Meiji zenki Iwate-ken nōgyō hattatsushi*) (Tokyo: Nōrinshō nōgyō sōgō kenkyūsho, 1953).

production and the system reverts to the domestic space. When the narrator's clothes "take on a smell from one long ago," readers in Iwate's postwar moment likely understood the extent to which industrial labor had infiltrated their daily lives. In a metafictional turn, the survival of paper making and printing in regional Japan is one reason that independent magazines and smaller mimeographed coterie journals were capable of publishing. In addition to Occupation rations on paper, the majority of presses in urban Tokyo and Osaka were bombed out by the end of the war. Shimura Shōko's research on the cultural history of the mimeograph shows how closely the material history of print postwar print hewed to rural, domestic labor:

> Japan's defeat was followed by a growing demand for printed goods of all kinds, and by extension an explosive demand for paper.
>
> Tosa and Minō, long home to Japanese-style paper making, saw a fall in demand for traditional Japanese papered goods like umbrellas and *shoji*. Taking on the growing work of producing mimeograph stencil paper allowed them to cover for changing business conditions.
>
> The younger generations who came from paper-making family businesses fully invested their lives to making mimeograph stencil paper and likely saw it as the arrival of a new era.[99]

The domestic sphere of Yamada's poem literally becomes the material producer of literary practice, even as the remnants of capital labor practices persist beyond the collapse of the imperial project.

As an act of literary representation, the final third of the poem explores the interrelationship of capital/labor/environment/cultural production through an extended metaphor based around water cycles. The final lines open with excess water flowing down from the mountain above, giving life to crops, trees, and flowers alike, before finally feeding directly into the paper making process. As the water enters the home, it is rendered the tool through which pulp is transformed into paper through the toil of the children—binding the blooming flowers from earlier in the poem directly to the trees in the valley through the necessity of domestic

[99] Shimura Shōko (志村章子), *The Tale of the Mimeograph* (『ガリ版ものがたり』*Gariban no gatari*) (Tokyo: 大修館書店 Taishūkan shoten, 2012), 12.

labor. The steam from the drying paper rises into the space of the home, condensing on the eaves above, and falling back down in precisely the same manner as the moisture that escapes the natural river below, only to fall back onto the mountains (and the mother) above. Yamada makes no clear distinction between the dripping eaves and the morning shower. In both instances space, nature, and environment are locked in exchange through labor practices. The repetition of these poetic images resembles the repetitious nature of the labor practices undertaken by the characters of the poem. Through repetition those practices expand from the "natural" space of the mountain peaks and valleys, flowing into the local and domestic spaces that these characters inhabit. Being that those labor practices persist due to the influx of industrial capital in Tōhoku's logging and paper making industries, we can begin to understand why Yamada responds to capital's organization of nature with a final lament—the children are themselves turned to paper! Nature, capital, domestic space, labor, and the everyday are simultaneously implicated within this mode of organization. The tragic interconnectedness has not escaped Yamada.

Legacies of Industrial Capital Production in Fiction, Local Spaces, and Domestic Labor: Mori Tamie's "Sewing Thread"

Mori Tamie (森タミエ) only wrote one short-story among the volumes of *Shin Iwate fujin* that survive in either the Prange Collection or in local libraries in Iwate. A wider search of the Prange Collection database fails to reveal any additional published works between 1945 and 1949, nor do similar works appear in the holdings of libraries in northern Tōhoku. The university journal of Kyōritsu Women's University lists several entries for a Mori Tamie in the 1950s and 60s. Most helpful, perhaps, are three texts on fabric—the same theme as the short story analyzed

below. One of these texts is the 2003 volume *Kabuki Research Based on Costuming*.[100] If we accept that the Mori Tamie who published in *Shin Iwate fujin* is in fact the same person, she was born in Toyama Prefecture in 1921, graduated from Kyōritsu Women's University in 1941 and moved to Fukushima to become a teacher. Although her work is largely uncollected, it seems likely that Mori published additional fiction and essays between the time that "Sewing Thread" was published in *Shin Iwate fujin* in January, 1947 and the volume on Kabuki history was published in the beginning of the new century. Although these biographical details are suggestive, they likely provide little context for the content of the story published in 1947. For the moment, I will set aside the question of authorship and engage with Mori's fiction through the lens of environmental criticism. In "Sewing Thread," Mori is deeply concerned with how different modes of producing clothing impact local communities—especially communities of rural women. Like Yamada's concern with papermaking, the story reveals the destructive legacies that the industrialization and capitalization of textile production have reaped on wartime and postwar rural life.

"Sewing Thread" opens as a local farmer comes to ask Mikiko, the main character, to make a pair of ridding pants for her husband. Mikiko, we later find out, has just moved to this unnamed mountain village from a nearby city to live with her children in a relative's home. They have left the father behind to work, and Mikiko prepares herself to start working in the fields to feed her evacuated family. Somehow, word gets out that Mikiko is in possession of a sewing machine and the skill needed to tailor and mend clothes. Once Mikiko arrives, the local farming women in the village begin bartering for new clothes in exchange for food grown from their

[100] Mori Tamie (森タミエ), *A Study of Kabuki Through Costume: The Evolution of Kabuki Costumes in Relation to Commoner's Clothing and Accessories* (『衣裳による歌舞伎の研究：歌舞伎衣裳の形成と庶民服飾との関わり』*Ishō ni yoru kabuki no kenkyū: kabiku ishō no keisei to shomin fukushoku to no kakawari*) (Tokyo: Genryūsha, 2003).

fields. It seems no other family in the village has the ability to make or repair clothes on their own. Mikiko continually agrees to produce clothes for the locals, eventually taking on more work (and food) than she can handle. Eventually, she becomes caught up in the middle of a family dispute over the use of what little cloth the family has available, forcing her to give up tailoring clothes for good. The story opens with the following scene:

> "Excuse me miss? You think you could make me up some riding pants?"
>
> There was a woman who looked to be a farmer standing outside the kitchen veranda. She was scratching away at her head with her fingers thrust in her hair while a baby was strapped to her back in a padded kimono, even though July had just arrived. The day was still young and the sewing machine was still wrapped up from the move. Mikiko and her children had just evacuated here, about eight kilometers outside of town. The sewing machine was set all the way at the end of the veranda with other large boxes resting on top of it.
>
> "Did you bring thread?" Mikiko asked.
>
> The woman reached into a piece of cloth that she had tied up into a sack and pulled out some navy cotton and a roll of #30 black cotton thread that she had likely received as rations.[101]

In just a few sentences, Mori has established the major themes of the story: The lack of thread, materials for clothing, and the ability to produce those clothes becomes the major source of tension for Mikiko and the local women alike. Thread rationing occurred throughout Japan near the end of the war, when evacuations to rural Japan were most common, as well as early in the postwar, when this short story was originally published. Like Yamada's poem above, Mori leaves unnamed not only the specific location of this story, but also the diegetic timeline. The one mention of time occurs at the end of the story: "From that time until just recently" and "they hadn't been able to buy any thread for three years."[102] This suggests that the story occurs during the final years of the war, with a narrator (who is not necessarily Mori herself) penning the story at a later time—though perhaps not in the exact postwar moment Mori was writing. Also like Yamada, Mori is crafting a story that exists outside of a specific historical time, suggesting that

[101] Mori Tamie (森タミエ), "Sewing Thread" (「縫糸」 *Nui ito*), *Shin Iwate fujin* (『新岩手婦人』) Volume 2, Issue 1 (January, 1947), 7. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[102] Mori, "Sewing Thread," 10.

the wartime experience of rural farmers did not change so significantly between the mid-1940s and 1947. With regards to temporality, readers are left with a single referent, "July." This marking of time occurs less to indicate the historical moment than as a way of commenting on the material culture of the town, their lack of appropriate clothing for the season, and the now missing opportunity to produce clothes within the family.

When the farmer woman comes back to Mikiko's home to collect her clothing, the first bartering scene unfolds:

> Mikiko had the old sewing machine so that she could make clothes for her children, or dress shirts for her husband. She had never taken up a pair of riding pants or the like. Yet it was better to take on that work than to be out pulling weeds. She would be able to struggle through and make them somehow.
>
> "How much'll that all run?"
>
> Mikiko hadn't taken up the work making the riding pants because she wanted money, but because she wanted to be able to feed her five children. So that woman had filled a four-liter pot with barley and brought it to the house. The woman's husband was a day laborer, so whenever he came by the homes in this village to work he was wearing the pants that Mikiko had made. As if it were some kind of advertisement, Mikiko soon came to be thought of as the local tailor. Her tailoring fees were paid in food from the fields or pickles from the barns, rather than money. The local wives found this an easier way to pay and they soon arrived cheerfully at Mikiko's small kitchen with barley, potatoes, and vegetables.[103]

What initially appears to be a blessing—an abundance of food in a period of prolonged struggle and want—ends up a kind of curse. Not only does Mikiko find herself responsible for more and more local clothing orders, but she eventually is overwhelmed with the amount of food she accumulates. She frets over her ability to fulfill clothing orders while leaving enough time to prepare food for the family before her returns begin to spoil. The overabundance of food occurs alongside Mikiko's own quickly dwindling supply of sewing thread. She feels that she must abandon making clothing for her children and relatives in order to fulfill the orders that are now feeding her family. The tension within Mikiko's disrupted domestic space intensifies when the father of the house where she has sheltered asks for his own set of riding pants without offering

[103] Mori, "Sewing Thread," 7-8.

to sacrifice his cloth and thread ration. She commiserates with her young neighbor, who has been forced into the fields by her own father-in-law. The neighbor has begun splitting the farm work needed to barter with Mikiko for new clothes:

> Every morning before breakfast, the young wife would collect hay for the horses, carrying a mountain's worth on her back, piling it so high one had to crane one's head back to see it all. And every morning, when she arrived at the fence near her house, her old father-in-law would begin screaming at her. She would go back two or three more times to collect hay before he fell silent. As Mikiko was savoring the deliciousness of her navy beans and soy dressing, a luxury for someone living in this village, she wondered if the old man might stop yelling at his daughter-in-law if his wife decided to put her thread to use in her own home.[104]

Thus, the working woman in Mori's story exists in all the possible positions one might labor on a rural farm: as homemaker, as producer of material goods for the town, and in the fields. Of course, this depiction of unbalanced divisions of gendered labor at home and in agricultural production does not come as a shock. What *is* novel in Mori's fiction, however, is the depiction of gendered rural labor in the context of industrial capital, nature, and domestic space.

Just as the domestic availability of paper dramatically decreased with the collapse of Japan's overseas empire and the end of the war, thread and textiles used for clothing also came under severe rationing. And like paper production, textile factories arrived in northern Japan along with the expansion of colonial ambitions. As with other rural areas of Japan, textile and clothing factories in Iwate were frequently staffed by women laborers.[105] There is no clear indication in "Sewing Thread" that Mikiko was a factory worker—just as there was no clear indication that the narrator of Yamada's poems worked in paper production—but we should note that no other women in the village seem to have the ability, machinery, or material available to

[104] Mori, "Sewing Thread," 8.

[105] For a general analysis of the integration of rural women in industrial labor—especially textile production—see Janet Hunter, *Women and the Labor Market in Japan's Industrializing Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 9-30 and 50-88; and Mikiso Hane *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan, Second Edition* (Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 78-101 and 172-205.

produce their own clothing. The local farming women discover that extracting increasingly more goods from nature becomes a seemingly acceptable replacement for cash exchange, as well as a replacement for the kinds of domestic production commonly associated with the rural mother or housewife. In the end, the laboring women of the story—especially Mikiko and her young neighbor—become overwhelmed by their everyday needs. Mikiko discovers that the amount of grain and produce that she receives outpaces her ability to prepare meals before that food spoils. What began as a mode of consumption, production, and exchange necessary to maintain the family's life quickly spirals into familiar modes of commodification and accumulation that accompany the influx of industrial textile production.

Mikiko's breaking point occurs when she takes on a request from a wealthy landowning family living on their own "island" in the village. The young daughter of the family—a woman who has just returned from a well-off family due to divorce—requests that Mikiko make her mother a "modern" jacket: precisely the kind of fashionable item that we might expect the main character of urban, middle-class wealth to wear in the fiction popular with new women readers associated with women's magazines. Unfortunately, another woman from the same family, this daughter's sister-in-law, has already requested that Mikiko produce the family clothes. The divorced daughter brushes off her sister-in-law's request and collects the family's limited supply of thread, giving it to Mikiko along with another request for a "modern" jacket. The brazenness of this additional request forces Mikiko to abandon her work.

> Mikiko's head tonight felt heavier than usual, perhaps because she hadn't been getting enough sleep. Mikiko's young daughter, Yoshiko, had gone with her older siblings to play in the small, shallow river nearby. Just when she thought she might lie down for a moment, the divorced daughter of The Island came by with some local silk that had been dyed black. Her mother wanted a modern coat made.
>
> "But that thread," she said, "that's actually mine and my mother's. So don't use it when you are sewing up what my sister-in-law ordered."
>
> "Good grief, this is about thread too," Mikiko thought to herself. She started to feel a bit annoyed but said, "Oh, is that so?"
>
> She was shocked that someone so young, not even thirty, could say something like that so

> casually. Two or three days later, Mikiko took her five children to the apple orchard owned by The Island. The sister-in-law of The Island picked clackers[106] from a tree and gave them to the five children. Then she reached up and picked some *naruko* apples for the children. Finally, she turned to Mikiko and said, "Here eat up." She dipped a sweet looking apple in red miso and passed it to Mikiko. Mikiko put her hands together innocently and, taking the apple, turned to her children and told them to say thank you. That's when she remembered she should ask the woman about the thread. Mikiko explained that she was sewing up the clothes the woman had brought. She noted how the thread that this woman's younger sister-in-law had brought would be perfect, but the sister-in-law had asked Mikiko that she not use it for those clothes. Mikiko mentioned that she thought it would probably be fine to use anyway. Just then the older sister-in-law said with a cheerless smile, "Oh how cheap is she!" Then she added with a nod, "Yes, please use that thread."[107]

The fundamental problem here is not strictly restricted to family drama, but in the tension—present even in this mountain village—between necessary and unnecessary modes of consumption associated with modern culture under industrial capitalism. Wartime has brought about extreme shortages of food and clothing, but that does not equate with a diminished demand for fashionable goods. The final item of clothing requested, that which forces Mikiko to swear off all tailoring work despite her ability to feed her family, is precisely the "modern" fashionable item that had become fetishized through a culture organized through industrial capital. The neighbor tried to barter her farm's food for a fashion item that she can no longer purchase due to war (which itself brought industrial textile production into the rural north), nor can she produce the product herself.

Mori writes postwar rural space to highlight how production practices most often associated with the rural home—and then projected onto the rural housewife—have been displaced by consumption based on industrial production. As a work of fiction, Mori's characters, and the modes of exchange within which those characters exist, could just as easily occur in an urban setting by an established writer. In this sense, "Sewing Thread" crafts familiarity as a kind of postwar I-novel that we might recognize from other women writers such

[106] Wooden noise makers that were hung in trees to try to prevent crows and other birds from eating the apples before harvest.

[107] Mori, "Sewing Thread," 9-10.

as Hayashi Fumiko, Hirabayashi Taiko, or Enchi Fumiko. However, Mori inverts a common postwar literary and historical trope. Mainstream fiction and news reports from the immediate postwar period regularly featured wealthy urbanites traveling into the countryside to exchange their fine silks for buckets of grain or produce. Here, farmers bring their own cloth and thread, as well as food for payment, to the middle-class evacuee. Beyond highlighting the simple act of bartering, as we find in the beginning of the story, Mori builds a multi-layered depiction of the labor involved in both ends of this exchange. Mori's mountain setting contextualizes a common theme from the postwar period within rural space, demonstrating the persistent impact of textile production on the women most directly impacted by its establishment in Iwate (or perhaps Fukushima, or another rural prefecture). Labor practices become reversed in the fields of "Sewing Thread." The women of the story are continually depicted as the laborers of the family. Men hardly appear, other than to complain or nag. Mori explores gendered domestic spaces in such a way as to undercut common urban tropes of exchange and consumption—either those of the middle-class consumer housewife, or the depiction of rural life in fiction written by urban elite who travel into the country searching for food.

Despite these fruitful methods of reading works like Yamada's "The Ridge" and Mori's "Sewing Thread," an unfortunate and unavoidable lacuna persists when placing regional women's writing within the context of postwar literary history. In the case of an established writer describing their local environment, such as Hayashi Fumiko writing her travels across southeast Asia and Japan, there is an expectation of familiarity with the author's personal history to pinpoint the times and locations of events. This is doubly true of major writers penning fiction in urban spaces. The author-biographical mode of critique becomes the most common method for placing a text within its "historical context," often connecting a literary work with a specific

event. The ability to "place" a text also generates a possibility to discover literary citations or influences. Our ability to historically "situate" a text by an obscure or unknown other becomes impossible in the case that these times, spaces, or influences are not stated outright, as they are in "The Ridge" and "Sewing Thread." Japanese literary studies has long been indebted to detailed author studies to help established a shared critical language through which we can begin to identify and connect aesthetic practices. "The Ridge," for example, appears no different from a collection of poetry that *should* be identifiable in time and space given resources standard to the academic Japanese literary researcher. For the moment, however, Yamada as author has been lost to time. With Yamada's biographical vanishing, so to goes the chance for us to reinscribe the text with the actually present, yet concealed facts that would solidify the text in critical literary discourses. Through the impossible nature of this process, we discover how reading strategies that require some kind of biographical-focused author study are likely to contextualize texts not in relation to space per se, but in relation to canonized literary practices. By comparison, the texts produced in *Shin Iwate fujin* appear to fall into anonymity. At the very least, they come to be seen as anomalous within the context of national literary history. As anomalies, central critical reading practices fail to recognize the artistic use of local space and labor practices that the readers of postwar Tōhoku would be most likely to recognize. More importantly, anonymity means these texts have been excised from the print history of national literature as postwar democratic project—the very contemporaneous historical critique of print practices developed to uncover a new literary value present within these very texts.

Chapter 4:

Writing the Farm: Postwar Concepts of Democratic Space, Regional Print Culture, and the (Agri)cultural Journal

Abstract

Rural Japan holds a contradictory position in postwar Japanese history. On the one hand, rural land reforms are often touted as one of the most dramatic successes in the Occupation's efforts to "democratize" postwar Japan. On the other hand, the people living (and writing) in those "democratized" areas are just as often viewed as backwards reactionaries impeding radical democratic progress. These interpretations emerge from Occupation-produced primary documents and the voluminous output of urban print capital. Reading widely from northern Japan's regional print culture challenges this interpretation, suggesting that Occupation land reforms fell short of more radical proposals for property redistribution advocated for by the people in northern Tōhoku. Furthermore, the people producing regional magazines understood their participation in rural print culture as a direct expression of democratic reform. Regional writers rejected the tendency to consolidate rural print into a simple "Farmers' Literature" (農民文学 *nōmin bungaku*)—a genre often viewed as a "failure" by urban intellectuals. Rather, postwar writers transformed technical and agricultural trade journals into cultural journals that emphasized the intertwined nature of rural space, participatory democratic action, agricultural labor, and cultural production. Postwar Tōhoku (agri)cultural journals demonstrate the complexity and fervor of rural writers in their effort to re-write postwar democracy in their local space.

The Farm as a Democratic National Space

Just as histories of postwar Japan have come to map certain experiences or images over urban space (ruins, occupation forces, black markets, etc.), the space of rural Japan in the immediate postwar has often been proposed as the site of the Occupation's most successful democratic reforms. Postwar Japanese intellectuals and high-ranking members of the Allied Occupation both viewed rural land reform was as the most effective undertaking to reform economic and social practices established under Japan's imperialist project and instead institute democratic practices across Japan as a nation. As Takemae Eiji notes, the history of land reform in the early stages of Japan's postwar reforms coincides with cooperation across centralized

policy makers: Occupation officials tasked with reforms, advisory panels of the Allied Council of Japan, and ranking ministerial-level counterparts in the Japanese government.[1] Among the most cited sources for understanding land reform are SCAPINs 257, 411, and 1855. The earlier two SCAPINs, 257 and 411, were ordered before land reform laws were implemented and enforced. They state, in part:

> SCAPIN 257 (9 November 1945): 2. The Imperial Japanese Government will submit, on or before 31 December 1945, a report on its long range program for agriculture in Japan Proper. Those plans will include information on the following items … b. Proposed plans in regard to agricultural associations and other farmer organizations. c. Proposed plans for dealing with such agrarian problems as farm tenancy, farm indebtedness, farm credit, interest rates on farm loans, rental charges on tenant operated lands, farm taxes, and costs of farm supplies.[2]

> SCAPIN 411 (9 December 1945): 1. In order that the Imperial Japanese Government shall remove economic obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies, establish respect for the dignity of man, and destroy the economic bondage which has enslaved the Japanese farmer to centuries of feudal oppression, the Japanese Imperial Government is directed to take measures to insure that those who till the soil of Japan shall have a more equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labor. 2. The purpose of this order is to exterminate those pernicious ills which have long blighted the agrarian structure of a land where almost half of the total population is engaged in husbandry. The more malevolent of these ills include: a. Intensive overcrowding of land … b. Widespread tenancy under conditions highly unfavorable to tenants … c. A heavy burden of farm indebtedness combined with high rates of interest on farm loans … d. Government fiscal policies which discriminate against agriculture in favor of industry and trade … e. Authoritative government control over farmers and farm organizations without regard for farmer interests … Emancipation of the Japanese farmer cannot begin until such basic farm evil are uprooted and destroyed. 3. The Japanese Imperial Government is therefore ordered to submit to this Headquarters on or before 15 March 1946 a program of rural land reform. This program shall contain plans for: a. Transfer of land ownership from absentee land owners to land operators. b. Provisions for purchase of farm lands from non-operating owners at equitable rates. c. Provisions for tenant purchase of land at annual installments commensurate with tenant income. d. Provisions for reasonable protection of former tenants against reversion to tenancy status.[3]

After considerable negotiations between agricultural and labor specialists in the Allied forces, as well as a fair amount of obstruction by conservative elements in the Japanese government, two land reform laws came into effect in late 1946: the Agricultural Land Adjustment Law and the Owner-Farmer Establishment and Special Measures Law. Takemae notes that by 1949 these

[1] Takemae Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 339-346.

[2] RG331, SCAPIN-257, "Agricultural Program 1945/11/09."

[3] RG311, SCAPIN-411, "Rural Land Reform 1945/12/09." Emphasis in original.

laws had "reallocated 2 million hectares of arable land, or about 80 percent of all tenanted holdings…90 percent of all land under crops was being cultivated by independent growers."[4] Douglas MacArthur observed swift and significant successes in land reform implementation from his position as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), declaring of Japan's rural, landed farmers: "There can be no firmer foundation for a sound and moderate democracy and no firmer bulwark against the pressure of any extreme philosophy."[5] Although the strong anti-left echoes in MacArthur's words ring clear in this public statement, GHQ's post-land reform SCAPIN indicates a lingering suspicion of wealthy landlords and their political supporters.

> SCAPIN 1855 (4 February 1948): 2. The Owner-Farmer Establishment and Special Measures Law and the Agricultural Land Adjustment Law were enacted in accordance with the reference memorandum, in order to eliminate the feudal system of land tenure and remove economic obstacles to the re-distribution of the land on an equitable and democratic basis. Since the enactment of these land reform laws, however, efforts have been made by certain adversely affected interests to obstruct the accomplishment of the rural land reform program. 3. The firm implementation of the Land Reform Program is essential to the creation in Japan of a society which is truly free and democratic and, as a consequence, it has become one of the foremost objectives of the Japanese people as well as of the Allied occupation. Therefore, the strict, vigorous and fearless enforcement of the above-mentioned laws is both imperative and indispensable.[6]

If we take the view that land reform was principally developed and implemented by the Occupation forces—and to a lesser degree the Japanese ministers and lawmakers responsible for passing the land reform laws—as an overwhelming success story of top-down democratic reform, it seems natural that we would come to the same conclusion as Takemae does regarding the final results: "the program defused rural radicalism and kept the countryside conservative."[7] Here, however, we can begin to see the undercurrent that runs through GHQ's political concerns.

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[4] Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 344.

[5] Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 344.

[6] RG331, SCAPIN-1855, "Rural Land Reform 1948/02/04."

[7] Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, 345.

Land reform needed to stamp out feudalism, but never at the expense of anti-communist policies. Both SCAPIN 1855 and Takemae's observation, however, suggest a wider view of political activity that was bubbling up in rural Japan. Although history has come to paint northern Japan as one of the most important bases of postwar reactionary conservatism, the chief impediment to radical democratic reforms was rarely rural farmers themselves.

In the first two years of Japan's postwar political reorganization, northern Japan was not a conservative backwater in need of democratic enlightenment—it was often the site of successful leftist political campaigns that had to be quelled by Occupation authorities or members of conservative governmental coalitions. James Babb has argued convincingly against the oft-repeated postwar historical narrative wherein land reforms themselves shifted rural Japanese farmers away from radical left politics and towards conservatism. He notes, "land reform was more extensive because it was backed by the Allied Occupation, and the bulk of it was carried out while the Socialist Party was in government (1947-1948)…Japanese Socialists were among the most enthusiastic supporters of the reform and were actively engaged in the land reform process on the side of the tenants and poor farmers."[8] Therefore, "the success and political consequences of Japanese land reform were not due to any inherent conservatism of Japanese farmers or simple impact of land reform. The conservative political tendencies of Japanese farmers were a result of political competition and institution building through which the conservatives achieved dominance after, and in spite of, land reform."[9] Babb goes on to demonstrate how absolute political gains by the Socialist Party in the 1947 general election was driven by rural farmers who had already spent considerable effort organizing with local leftist

[8] James Babb, "Making Farmers Conservative: Japanese Farmers, Land Reform and Socialism," *Social Science Japan Journal*, Volume 8, Number 2 (October, 2005), 175.

[9] Babb, "Making Farmers Conservative," 176.

parties and farmer unions to ensure that land reform remained a political priority.[10] Given that rural farmers were quite literary at the forefront of democratic practices in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Japanese empire, it should come as no surprise that they were simultaneously at the forefront of theorizing land reform policies in print.

Reintegrating Rural Print into Historical Narratives of Land Reform

From the very earliest stages of the Occupation, mainstream Japanese magazines and newspapers had already overlaid—or perhaps imbued—the imagined space of rural Japan with expectations for democratic political and cultural reconstruction that would impact Japan as nation. In December 1945, the nationally distributed magazine *The Japan Weekly* (『日本週報』*Nihon shūhō*) released its inaugural issue. The cover feature was a long interview with the first postwar Agricultural Minister, Matsumura Kenzō (松村謙三, 1883-1971). Matsumura summarizes the "national" stance—meaning both the political tendency exhibited by the postwar Japanese government and the widespread attention of postwar Japanese readership—towards agricultural reform: "We must re-establish our national economy following the end of the war, but that can only occur by promoting farming villages and agricultural production. … The lack of rural land reform has been the source of Japan's continued feudal remnants. Today, we must move forward with land reform to develop peaceful production and rebuild the Japanese national economy."[11] By early 1946, rural publishing had already begun a meteoric rise to the forefront of cultural consciousness outside of Japan's urban centers. Land reform became the center of debate

[10] Babb, "Making Farmers Conservative," 182-183.

[11] "Reforming the Agricultural Land System" (「農地制度の改革」*Nōchi seido no kaikaku*), *The Japanese Weekly* (『日本週報』*Nihon shūhō*) Volume 1 (December 9, 1945), 3.

and intellectual activity across northern Japan, both in general interest literary magazines and in specialist journals for laborers of the land.[12] Unlike Occupation reformers, government officials, Tokyo based reporters, and public intellectuals, the writers active in rural journals published across Aomori, Akita, and Iwate were themselves often active in land reform negotiations and subject to the new laws being discussed and developed far from their own homes.

Unsurprisingly, the plight of northern agricultural life was the focus of Tōhoku farmer-intellectuals from the very opening of the Occupation. *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』), the Aomori-based monthly magazine of the popular newspaper *Tōō nippō* (『東奥日報』), was one of the very first magazines to publish in northern Japan after the end of the war. The first postwar volume of the magazine was published on September 1, 1945. The cover of the slim, 16-page volume was splashed with text:

Tilling the Ground of New Life

> Land is cramped and overpopulated. Under these terrible conditions, Japan's new life heads toward a distressing path. We face a need to cut a path forward in order for the people of the nation to make a living, including the cultivation necessary for 1.5 million *chōbu* [about 15,000 km^2] across mainland Japan and Hokkaidō. However, in Tōhoku, and especially in our prefecture of Aomori, this relies on comparatively undeveloped land. …
>
> We face numerous, important questions: The utilization of tillage for intensive farming, the establishment of understanding the actual conditions of the land through scientific methods, the planning required to manage crop diversification appropriate to each plot, etc. To put the matter succinctly, we require a permeation of scientific techniques suited to cool-climate, high-altitude agriculture. At the base of this, however, is a deep-rooted traditional spirit to the bitter end.[13]

Awaya Yūzō (淡谷悠蔵, 1897-1995), a farmer/writer/politician from Aomori Prefecture, echoes

[12] I should note that the category "general interest literary magazine" (総合文芸雑誌 *sōgō bungei zasshi*) should not be understood as equivalent to *commercially published* general interest magazines. The majority of magazines published in rural Japan were independently organized, mimeographed magazines, often in the form of copies of hand-written manuscripts. Many of these magazines were also not coterie magazines (同人誌 *dōjinshi*), but sold around the community with the express purpose of democratizing local print and intellectual production. It would be impossible to list the full extent of the variety of these magazines here—either in this chapter or through footnotes—and more are likely to be discovered as researchers re-investigate local libraries, booksellers, and private collections.

[13] "Tilling the Ground of New Life" (「新生の土を耕す」 *Shinsei no tsuchi wo tagayasu*) *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) Volume 7, Issue 7 (August/September, 1945), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

this sentiment just a month later in *Gekkan tōō*'s October, 1945 issue:

> Tilling the land brings aches to every joint. Making fertilizer is filthy work. Hands grow rough pulling weeds. And yet we want white rice to fill our empty stomachs and to eat fresh vegetables to our heart's content. If you imagine a farmer arriving to see his apple trees bowed with fruit, and fields filled with round cabbages, dreaming happily on the sweet taste of autumn, contented, and saying to himself, "Farming sure is great," we farmers call that "harvest farming." And if farming laws forget what it takes to cultivate roots and focus only on the ripe crops, we will call them "The Farm Pillaging Laws."
>
> You don't give farmers fertilizer; you don't give them agrochemicals. You give us a dearth of [illegible], [illegible], fertilizer tubs, and pipe covers. All we have available to us to increase production is throwing ourselves at the problem through labor. We mobilize all our options and focus single-mindedly on increasing our yield. Our production, however, doesn't budge a bit. If farming laws are drafted with a feverish obsession with yields, we will call them "The Farm Pillaging Laws."[14]

And soon thereafter, in February 1946, Awaya penned the lead article for the Iwate literary magazine *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』). Here, Awaya refines his argument regarding the fundamental disconnect present between the drafters of new farm laws and the actual lived experience of farmers:

> Let's consider the reforms found in the farming land laws based on transformations to the conventional economic or social position of the tenant farmer. This position exalted the desire for production. Even beyond simply encouraging the feeling of personal attachment to the land, farmers clung to the earth instinctually like worms digging through the soil. Farmers were prevented from separating themselves from the act of cultivation no matter the conditions at hand. These laws provide the opportunity for farmers to take one step forward from these concepts. Perhaps they will suggest how farmers might take ten, or even a hundred steps forward.
>
> But what happens when the farmers are given the desire for private ownership of land? In this desire for future private ownership of land we find the [illegible] of both landlords and tenants. Based on the desire of the landlord to acquire more and more land, the tenant comes to desire the unearned income that comes from owning land. This is not a love of the land itself, nor is it the even more basic feeling of personal attachment to the land the farmer felt as a tenant. Moreover, the influence of modern capitalism brings with it numerous opportunities to transform the soil, bringing a relationship with the land itself into one of profit-making. It is the modern personal attachment to land as commodity to be exploited.[15]

In Awaya's earlier critique, likely written before draft details of the farming laws had become public knowledge, he focused on attacking the misconceptions lawmakers might hold when

[14] Awaya Yūzō (淡谷悠蔵), "Words on Overcoming Starvation" (「飢餓克服の弁」*Kiga kokufuku no ben*) *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) Volume 7, Issue 8 (October, 1945), 5. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[15] Awaya Yūzō (淡谷悠蔵), "Agricultural Law Reform and the Tōhoku Farmer" (「農地法改正と東北農民」*Nōchihō kaisei to Tōhoku nōmin*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (February, 1946), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

drafting land reform bills. Here, however, he specifically ties the content and results of the new bills directly to modern capitalism, noting that these reforms do nothing whatsoever to revolutionize the logic of private land ownership or the relationship between laborer and product.

Unlike central reformers who generally saw "farmland" as a uniform unit easily divided and redistributed to tenant farmers, writers considering rural land reform in northern Japan focused on farming practices, capital-intensive transnational farm economies, industrialization and modernization of rural farm machinery, and cultural reform. Land reform was far more than whatever bureaucratic steps were necessary to enforce a redistribution of cartographic parcels. In Iwate, for example, land reform was an all-encompassing ideological project that focused on reforming modern farming practices. Old—often called feudal—farm organization conformed to the state-focused imperial project. Postwar writers sought to re-establish the primacy of region-specific agricultural methods. The April 1948 issue of *New Iwate Farming* (『新岩手農業』*Shin Iwate nōgyō*) featured the essay "The Final Goals of Iwate Farm Reform" by Takada Michinobu (高田道信, dates unknown). Takada writes:

> Although Iwate has a considerable land area, it is not a prefecture capable of producing enough food for itself. We must enact farming reform after viewing the need for increased production from a variety of angles. Beyond this, when compared to the farmers of other prefectures, the Iwate farmer is considerably poorer and culturally backward. …
>
> Rice is a tropical crop well suited to southern paddies and susceptible to cold weather. From the perspective of proper land for proper crops, Iwate—like Hokkaidō or the eastern half of Aomori—is subject to the cold currents of the Pacific, making it unsuitable for rice production. No matter the preparation, one in every three crops will likely fail…it goes without saying that we need to convert our fields to other crops. …
>
> Although we need to seriously study the question of which crops we should be planting, we should at least avoid planting a large quantity of wheat. As is already well known, the fully mechanized industrial farms of America and other countries are wheat producers. …
>
> The obsession of Iwate farmers for growing rice is not grounded in commercial profits but comes from subsistence farming. Although the farmer has some attachment to growing the rice that they will consume, rather than growing more to sell to others, it seems clear that if they were to expand their arable land enough to sell some of their yield, then they could manage the land in such a way to turn a profit. And yet no matter the situation, the tillage of the Iwate farmer is always too meagre. …
>
> …Even though land reform has currently reached the stage of redistributing the land of landlords to tenant farmers, this alone is meaningless. We must now construct a core of reform

precisely because of the focus on tillage for consolidation and cooperative farming.[16]

This passage consolidates several of the key trends in postwar land reform and democratic thought running through mainstream cultural consciousness with the historical reality of farming in rural Iwate. First, like other Iwate historians of the postwar moment,[17] Takeda echoes the sentiment that rice itself is not fundamentally suited to northern Japan. While other critiques correctly tie the phenomenon of rice cultivation in Iwate to the modernization of Japan as imperial nation-state, Takeda emphasizes the class conflict inherent to Iwate's rural poor: they were often forced to produce rice in order to pay their rents while simultaneously growing enough to survive—always on insufficient plots. The democratization of farm land must be combined with a rejection of this agricultural history and a clear recognition of transnational market forces driven by the influx of capital-intensive mechanized farming.[18] Although Takeda does not address his critique to Occupation land reform policies directly—calling them instead "meaningless"—it is clear from the construction of his essay that he does not consider the land reforms to be the miracle solution to rural Japan's problems that many in Tokyo (whether Occupation "reformers" or Japanese government officials) expected.

The sometimes contradictory, sometimes ambivalent response to Occupation land and farming law reforms extended well beyond non-fiction essays or critiques, becoming a central topic of literary fiction and poetry. Takehana Yūkichi (武花祐吉, 1889-1964) served as mayor of

[16] Takada Michinobu (高田道信), "The Final Goals of Iwate Farm Reform" (「岩手農業改革の最終の目標」*Iwate nōgyō kaikaku no saishū no mokuhyō*) *Shin Iwate nōgyō* (『新岩手農業』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (April, 1948), 2. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library

[17] Tōhoku historians have offered several historical critiques of rice cultivation in northern Japan and the connection between colonization and forced rice agriculture. See Nathan Hopson, *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast: Tōhoku as Postwar Thought*, 1945-2011 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017), 81-90.

[18] This tendency is particularly strong in Iwate agricultural print culture. The specialist magazine *Iwate Farming Machine and Agriculture* (『岩手農機と農業』*Iwate nōki to nōgyō*) focused on mechanization methods specifically—while also publishing serialized novels, essays, and poetry.

Akita City from April 1951 to April 1959. Before he became the "writer mayor" of Akita, however, he was known as Takehana Sanzan (武塙三山), a leading figure in Akita's local literary scene after being born to a wealthy farming family in the village of Ikawa (井川村). Takehana graduated from Waseda University and returned to Akita to work for (and eventually become president of) Akita's premier newspaper, *Akita sakigake shinpō* (秋田魁新報). Beginning in January 1949, he published the serialized novel *Six Months Back on the Farm, Continued* (『続帰農半歳記』*Zoku kinō hansai ki*) in the Akita literary magazine *Garden of Grasses* (『草園』*Sōen*), a sequel to a popular novel he had self-published in 1948. In this sequel, Takehana struggles with his contradictory feelings as a successful expatriate of a wealthy, land-owning farming family. The following passage from the novel's third installment lays out Takehana's feelings most clearly:

> The tempest of global revolution is blowing even in this mountain town. The land reforms have completely remade the village. Here, unlike what you might find in other hamlets, there were no massive landowners, the kind that would control hundreds of thousands of acres of tillage and command several thousand tenants. The largest landlord only holds about three or four thousand acres and has a few dozen tenants.
>
> And yet, to be separated from the land in a farming village means falling into ruin, both influentially and societally. Therefore, successive governments would never consider establishing independent farming no matter the enthusiasm for the change. Even when they should have been happy to accept the request, they completely ignored it. It was like trying to dry out the river to make salt. And then, overnight, every farmer was made independent all at once. …
>
> Still, rather than now being able to do whatever they please with the rice they grow themselves, farmers have been systematically obliged to deliver their rice to the national government. Yields need to be increased and transportation relies directly on the rivers and roads that are, of course, prefecture- and government-owned. These need upgrades, and yet the government covers their ears when they hear about damage needing repair. The voices that take up the cause simply never reach the listener. Meanwhile the zeal for rice remains. In the end, the day of reform will never arrive.[19]

Insofar as land reform has come to be understood as a large-scale, top-down operation impressed *on* Japan *as nation*, it demonstrates another example of how seemingly unproblematic tessellations become conceptualized and codified across fundamentally unstable scales. In a

[19] Takehana Sanzan (武塙三山), *Six Months Back on the Farm, Continued* (『続帰農半歳記』*Zoku kinō hansai ki*), *Sōen* (『草園』) Volume 30 (March, 1949), 20. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

sense, rural land reform is one of the most *nationalized* historical narratives to emerge from the Occupation period. Our familiarity with the development and deployment of land reform policies often emerges from one of two locations: either the highest echelons of the Occupation government, or the contemporaneous reporting by national newspapers or magazines printed in Tokyo. In an act of scalar concept work similar to our historical understanding of censorship implementation or women's magazine publishing, our current familiarity with postwar transformations of rural space—and the literary representations of those transformations in print media—rests on primary sources and archival materials initially produced by or eventually integrated within urban print capital. Reintegrating both the intellectual currents and the material history of rural print culture into our understanding of postwar democratization and land reform exposes how the debate has been scaled to the nation in such a way that the "national" Occupation history obscures the complexities and contradictions within the experiences of those most effected by democratic reform itself: farmers. Farmers as such, and farmers as writing subjects.

Inseparability of Culture and Labor: Democratic Land Reform Requires Democratic Literary Reform

Comparing the centralized, nation-scale debates over rural land reform with the specific responses and critiques of Tōhoku writers reveals more than disputes over particular policies. Where Occupation officials and urban intellectuals often viewed land reform as the catalyst for a new democratic culture broadly speaking, rural writers—farmer or otherwise—argued that democratic reform in farming villages could not occur without a commensurate transformation of cultural production. And while many magazines in the immediate postwar period were

continuations of wartime or prewar publications, the overwhelming majority of rural magazines were wholly new ventures. New editors and authors clearly laid down an argument for democratic print culture in the opening statements, declarative manifestos, or editorial postscripts during this new wave of rural print. This alone does not mark a significant departure from similar founding statements or editorial declarations from urban magazines, but what does in fact separate rural magazine culture in northern Japan from major urban magazines is the urgent need to re-situate—that is, re-scale—the origin of democratic culture not in the actions of the nation, but in the space of the village. To publish an agricultural journal was not only a necessity to support the advancement of rural labor, it was a form of democratic praxis that integrated rural politics with rural cultural production. Writers, editors, and publishers in northern Japan were producing *agricultural* magazines for *cultural* consumption: (agri)cultural journals.

The inaugural issue of Akita's *Farming Village* (『農村』*Nōson*) was published in November, 1946. Although it was edited by the Akita Farming Village Culture Association in Akita City, it was physically printed in Ōmagari (大曲市). This was an unusual reversal of positionality of editorial/print duties. Rural magazines were often edited and authored in small villages only to be sent to printers in larger cities to be physically published. This was especially true for magazines that were published on printing presses and took the form of a mainstream journal: thicker stock for the cover, design embellishments such as borders between or within articles, cut images at the opening of articles, longer articles or overall page counts, and clear *katsuji*-style type; *Nōson* is an example of such a journal. *Nōson* also demonstrates the degree to which established writers from across Japan participated in regional publishing: Tsuruta Tomoya (鶴田智也, 1902-1988), the Fukuoka-born novelist and winner of the 3rd Akutagawa Prize, joined the magazine as editor—likely due to his friendship with Akita writer Itō Einosuke (伊藤永之介,

1903-1959). The first volume emphasizes the need for local, regional, and transnational critiques. The featured article is "On Farming in Hokkaidō," with additional articles "Akita Folk Arts" and "Farming in Denmark." The magazine as a whole intends to emphasize the political and social role of the individual farmer within the space of the nation, while simultaneously satisfying the local desire to both produce and consume original literary texts. Tsuruta pens the opening statement of the first volume:

> The land reforms that occurred during the Meiji Revolution were certainly a wise decision, but they committed a fatal error. That is, it inaugurated the small-scale farming system which became the base for Japan's half-feudal societal structure, as well as the morass from which militaristic tribalism was born. The roots which brought about today's ill-fated condition are in fact twisted up with this structure. We cannot forget this failure as we now embark on a new democratic revolution.
>
> Land reform, cash payments for—or reductions in—farm tenants' rent, these are essential, of course. In the end, however, there are other things needed to establish a foundational base for the democratization of Japanese farming. From now on, we need to set our sights, what should be named our revolutionary sights, upon the abolition of Japan's cancerous small-scale farming system.
>
> But who can do such a thing?
>
> It can only be the farmers themselves, through the political power which originates in farmers and their collective force. That is exactly why I believe we must emphasize the farmers' movement in Japan today.[20]

Tsuruta's editorial postscript for this issue clarifies the role of literary writing in relation to the goals of the journal:

> As the title of this magazine states, we are pleased to accept submissions from our readers. For anyone considering publishing their writing, please contact our editorial department and consult with them.
>
> We had intended to publish some literary texts in this volume but were unable to meet the deadline. We understand that many of our readers have considerable interest in that kind of writing, so please do not hesitate to send your manuscripts. Depending on the contents of the issue, we will accept texts up to twenty pages in length.[21]

In this sense, *Nōson* hardly makes for a unique case. Many other (agri)cultural journals followed a similar pattern, espousing their intent to critique the intersections of farm, land, democracy, and literature in their founding manifestos or editorial postscripts. In Akita alone we find the

[20] Tsuruta Tomoya (鶴田智也), "The Importance of the Farmers' Movement" (「農民運動の重点」*Nōmin undo no jūten*) Nōson (『農村』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (November, 1946), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[21] Tsuruta Tomoya (鶴田智也), "Editor's Note" (「編輯ノート」*Henshū nōto*) *Nōson* (『農村』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (November, 1946), 60. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

following examples:

> We accept manuscripts from [illegible] readers, but we are not a so-called "competitive" magazine. We expect our readers to submit works that express themselves, that provides them an opportunity to further explore themselves. We are not looking for works trapped in conventional thought, or imitations of old literature. We would like to publish genuine, free, and moreover [illegible] true works. We want to hear the true voices of the many people in farming villages who resigned themselves to silence when they were subject to threats regarding the important role they would be expected to play in increasing food yields. What are the masses, who are [illegible] facing this problem, considering? We would like to hear about this [illegible]—and without reservation. We offer up every page of this magazine to our readers.[22]

> We are the only ones capable of saving ourselves. At present, the Japanese people are ungrounded, and arguing in circles with themselves. Now is the perfect time to completely wash away this seductive dream that some other person will emerge as some great leader and save us. 'You are responsible for cultivating your own destiny.' When we are able to utter this strong conviction, only then will a path through hardship open for us. There is no other path possible for the reconstruction of our country. Furthermore, the basis of this reconstruction will be the farming village. Precisely when the young people in farming villages awaken will we find the driving force towards reconstructing the country. At this, we have decided to publish this short journal and send it to the young people in the farming villages.[23]

> …it seems that all the people that will rebuild Japan and remake history—the farmers, the fishers, the miners, the factory workers, and all other laborers—have not yet awakened to this fact. With that, I want to call out to them, have a heart-to-heart, hold their hand, and show them that I hope that they will someday soon rebuild this a peaceful Japan and give their all to support all people in the world. That is why we have founded *Sōken*. And along with all the young men and women who feel the same way, we have founded this magazine to send out and tell of a new Japan coming soon—and the improved farming villages that will be its foundation.[24]

> Standards: -*Akita bunka* works towards the general advancement of Akita. -*Akita bunka* will evaluate, critique, and observe from the position of freedom-loving democracy. -*Akita bunka* offers the opportunity for any person to publish, whether they are famous or anonymous, based on their own enthusiasm. -*Akita bunka* will remain in contact with a variety of cultural organizations, expanding broad-scale, variegated activities. -*Akita bunka* will never forget that it is, to the very end, a magazine for the masses in the prefecture.[25]

Left-leaning farming journals are not the exclusive advocates for the essential position of

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[22] Fukuoka Takeo (福岡武雄), "Editorial Postscript" (「編輯後期」*Henshū kōki*) *Sōmatō* (『走馬燈』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (July, 1946), 25. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[23] Edagawa Yoshimasa (枝川慶政), "Founding Statement" (「創刊のことば」*Sōkan no kotoba*) *Sōken* (『創建』) Volume 1 (March, 1948), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[24] Terada Junjirō (寺田潤次郎), "Editorial Postscript" (「編輯後期」*Henshū kōki*) *Sōken* (『創建』) Volume 1 (March, 1948), 12. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[25] "Standards" (「旗」*Hata*) *Akita bunka* (『秋田文化』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (January, 1953), 31. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

democratic print culture within a newly developing postwar political and economic democratic revolution. Most moderate to right-leaning—and sometimes outwardly conservative—magazines proposed wholesale reforms to the political structure of rural Japan and advanced concomitant reforms to print culture as a natural outcome of postwar reconstruction. In August of 1947, the labor union active in the Akita branch office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries began publishing its own literary journal, *Deep Mountains* (『深山』*Miyama*). Given the union's close relationship with the Agricultural Ministry, this magazine was considerably more conservative in its overall editorial slant. *Miyama* borders on propaganda when compared to similar labor union magazines published by tenant farmers or other regional laborers. In fact, the inaugural issue of the magazine does not open with the standard founding statement on the cultural or literary aims of the magazine, but instead published a long pro-Showa Emperor (and by extension, pro-Emperor System) tract that feels somewhat out of place when read alongside other Tōhoku magazines. A strong pro-Imperial and pro-central government stance ran against the norm of regional publishing. Even given this strong conservative editorial stance, however, the head of the union's cultural office still maintains a declaration of literary purpose that exhibits considerable ideological overlap with other journals from Akita:

> It has now been exactly two years since the Second World War came to an end, an event which should be named the greatest tragedy in human history. Fortunately, generous US Occupation policies have allowed the Japanese people to escape ruin. And yet doesn't the future of our country now hang on a variety of destinies. …
>
> We certainly fell into a temporary state of spiritual emptiness immediately after the end of the war. While we existed in this zone of spiritual emptiness, we were washed away in a torrent of all manner of things, trapped in a vortex. …
>
> On the one hand, independent of that state, we steadily rid ourselves of our feudal shackles, something we had craved for so long, and we were given freedom and rights. In the end, however, is this really true? Regrettably—as ever—we have not yet reached the heights that would allow us to completely exercise our freedom and rights. …
>
> It must be said that the cultural obligations that have been imposed on us are exceedingly important. This is because we can only expect Japan's recovery to be successful through true cultural development. If that is the case, what exactly is culture? If we borrow the words of some scholars, we might think of it as "the latent energy that is produced spontaneously by a single country or society." And yet the culture—or perhaps "latent energy"—present in our country from ancient times is precisely that which supports feudalistic slavery. We can find nothing there that shows us

> any sort of pure, equal, or universal respect or love for humanity. The culture of our country has obstinacy and a fundamental fragility. In the future, we must develop our culture to a global standard. If are to contribute to the progress of global culture, we must first stamp out cultural feudalism. Then we must put our efforts towards developing a universal and pure culture through democracy. This is what will allow the result of all our efforts as a country as a whole—or rather the elevation of the cultural level of the country as a whole—to first reach our goals. This is the reason that we have formed the Akita branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries. Or rather, we believe it is for a variety of reasons that move beyond this final goal. And in order to realize our union's goals, this magazine was born from the demands of the members.[26]

Of course, the democratic print revolution was not wholly localized in Akita. Similar farmer-published journals across Tōhoku and other parts of northern Japan echo the manifestos and literary critiques of farmers' literature cited above. In Iwate, the two most influential agricultural journals published editorial statements on regional democratic revolution and cultural production. *New Iwate Farming* (『新岩手農業』*Shin Iwate nōgyō*) was first published in March, 1948 by the Iwate Agricultural Research Association (岩手農業研究会 *Iwate nōgyō kenkyūkai*). Although the publisher was ostensibly a research organization, the design, contents, and materiality of the magazine all suggest that it was published as a commercial venture.[27] The magazine's chief editor, Chiba Kan (千葉完, dates unknown) describes the magazine's goals in relation to land reform:

> Farming land reform is the starting point of farming reform. This must be met with an absolute determination to develop agricultural unions performing work in parallel. It's not necessarily the case that Iwate farming villages, in their present condition, recognize this fact, whether they are walking down the path towards farming reforms. Historically, Iwate has experienced remarkable political and economic stagnation compared to other prefectures. However, it appears as if autonomous trends regarding farmland reform and the farming union movement are going unrecognized and Iwate is floundering as ever.
>
> The question of publishing *Shin Iwate nōgyō* was first brought up last October and plans began in earnest based around the Iwate Agricultural Research Association. Unfortunately, publishing was delayed until now due to the difficulty acquiring paper and scheduling contributors. Our intention in publishing this magazine is to help set the underdeveloped farming villages of Iwate on a trajectory towards developing farming reforms.[28]

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[26] Sawada Hidekuni (澤田秀邦), "Founding Statement" (「創刊の辞」 *Sōkan no kotoba*) *Miyama* (『深山』) Volume 1 (August, 1947), 2-3. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[27] Many rural farming magazines from this period display a degree of uniformity across design elements and printed content. The material and design elements of regional print history are explored at the end of this chapter.

[28] Chiba Kan (千葉完) and Hirano Tadashi (平野直), "Editorial Postscript" (「編輯後期」 *Henshū kōki*) *Shin Iwate nōgyō* (『新岩手農業』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (March, 1948), 32. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University

The journal's poetry and literature editor was Hirano Tadashi (平野直, 1902-1986), a widely published Iwate writer. Or more specifically, Hirano was listed as a "Farmer/Writer" in the pages of *Shin Iwate nōgyō*—likely a self-appointed title, given his editorial responsibilities. Hirano expands on Chiba's comments to specifically include the role of farmers in postwar literary production:

> The editorial focus of *Shin Iwate nōgyō* is based on the plain treatment of high-level theory, regardless of where that leads. I also hope to welcome articles on the scientific and [illegible] nature of agriculture.
>
> Due to a lack of paper, we reduced and combined the creative works published for this issue, but we have plans to publish farming novels that were written by actual farmers in the following issues. The key to this magazine is not the dogmatism of the editors. Rather, because we intend this magazine to be a guide for all farmers themselves, we intend to relentlessly follow the demands of our readers.[29]

Although very few volumes of *Shin Iwate nōgyō* survive,[30] it appears that the editors committed to their stated goals, publishing critical and historical essays, new fiction, and reader-submitted poetry alongside practical articles on farming techniques and technology. The first volume included an open call for reader submissions for poetry prizes; categories included tanka, haiku, modern poetry, and *minyō* (民謡, poetic folk songs) to be judged by established Iwate poets.

Forestry Culture (『森林文化』*Shinrin bunka*) was also an influential Iwate agricultural journal that implemented a combined democractic/literary editorial mission focused on producing local print media for local consumption. The magazine published its first issue in January 1947, continuing until at least November 1948.[31] It was published by the Iwate Forestry

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of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[29] Chiba and Hirano, "Editorial Postscript," 32.

[30] The Prange Collection only holds the first volume of the magazine, while the Iwate Prefectural Library only holds volumes one and two. I was able to find and purchase a copy of the third volume. It seems clear from the quality of printing and large number of advertisements that the magazine likely had a print run that exceeds these few volumes. Like many regional magazines from this period, it would not be surprising if a large collection of previously undiscovered issues of *Shin Iwate nōgyō* surfaced suddenly in a used bookstore or village library.

[31] The Prange Collection holdings stop at the August 1948 volume, but the Iwate Prefectural Library holdings have volumes through November. As with most magazines published in the early Occupation period—especially rural

Club's Literary Section and, like *Shin Iwate nōgyō* or *Aomori nōgyō,*[32] was organized according to a general interest literary magazine layout. Literary and historical essays, serialized fiction, *zuihitsu*, and poetry were sprinkled throughout technical articles specific to logging or forestry. This amalgamation of literary culture and practical forestry management was born out by the magazine's opening statement. Rather than being penned by the magazine's general editor, Nakaichi Hajime (中市一, dates unknown), the magazine's manifesto was written by Yamanouchi Shizuo (山内倭文夫, dates unknown), a widely published wartime and postwar arboriculturist best known for co-authoring the 1940 volume *An Outline of Forestry in North China*. He writes:

> Forestry culture is one aspect of national culture, and we have a responsibility to cultural services rendered by arboriculturists.
>
> Within forestry culture there is a creativity and appreciation for art which takes the forest as its object. It also introduces through culture a way to live with forests themselves. In the first case, we find poetry that sings of mountains and hills, streams and forests, or *zuihitsu*, paintings, sculptures, movies. In the latter case, we find cultural facilities that address the culture of forests: public installations for viewing forest scenery, schools built in the woods, or forestry museums.
>
> The forest literature of our country stretches back beyond Nara period, opens with the *Manyōshū* and *Kokinshū*, and continues through the Kamakura period with the birth of the superb works by *Nan-ga* and landscape painters. Entering the Tokugawa period, we find masterpieces of literary arts left behind—Matsuo Bashō's haiku and Rai San'yō's Chinese poetry for example—that are possessed by the forests. …
>
> However, the cultural level of the people working in the forests themselves, those that have the forest as their workplace, is not necessarily very great. The life of those in mountain villages, those people we imagine living in humble huts in the mountains since the medieval period, have not been blessed in any extraordinary way. Even at present, there are certainly few people in the position of describing forestry work who are living an enjoyable life worthy of our envy. People working in the forests often pass by those elements of the forest that inspire the literary arts of high culture as they are of no use to so-called reality. This is a regrettable situation. Shouldn't the new Japanese arboriculturist be contemplative of the many cultural uses of the forest?[33]

Nakaichi expands on this view in his editorial postscript, drawing a harder left approach when

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agricultural magazines—there is a strong possibility that the magazine continued publishing but copies are not held by local libraries or larger archives.

[32] *Aomori nōgyō* is explored in detail later in the chapter due to a significant shift in editorial tone, material design, and layout as it moved from technical journal to literary magazine.

[33] Yamanouchi Shizuo (山内倭文夫), "Celebrating *Shinrin bunka*'s Inaugural Issue" (「発刊を礼して」*Hakkan wo rei shite*), *Shinrin bunka* (『森林文化』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (January, 1947), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

compared to Yamauchi's conservative reading of Japanese national culture and history. Within the larger framework of *Shinrin bunka* as a whole, Nakaichi's cultural mission more closely represents the contents of the magazine:

> As can be seen in the articles in this volume, we hope to publish a more comprehensive view of the many aspects of the forestry world. This includes the hopes and opinions of our readers, accounts of personal experiences, original *zuihitsu* and literary works. We hope that readers will be able to submit their manuscripts with confidence that we are a magazine of allies. Based on our current expenses, and the support of our donors, we hope to pay some fee for submitted manuscripts—even if it might be difficult to call the amount "enough." …
>
> Furthermore, I believe it would be significant if we could introduce some regional aspects that are not generally known. This might include the homes of those people living in the mountains, or their clothing, the tools they use in their forestry work, they way educate their children, or the economic conditions that form the foundation for those aspects of forest life. These are all connected to future forestry problems, and we hope to take up as many of these topics are there are trees in the forest. We will be touching on these issues in the coming issue and issues we publish thereafter.[34]

Moving beyond these type-set print commercial magazines, independently edited, mimeographed journals were published throughout Iwate at a rate similar to Akita. These generally follow a mission statement similar to the examples we saw above: enacting democratic reform or revolution in rural farming communities by recognizing the essentially intertwined nature of agriculture production and cultural production. To give one example, the journal *Dawn* (『曙』*Akebono*) began publishing in Iwate's northernmost coastal village, Taneichi (種市村), in January of 1947 under the editorial team called The Saturday Group (土曜日会). This handwritten and mimeographed journal was usually about ten pages, and mixed original literary works with critical essays. Unfortunately, the poor quality of paper and printing techniques leaves the surviving copies in the Prange Collection in a severely deteriorated state. Of the portions that are legible, the inaugural issue of *Akebono* opens with an unattributed manifesto, "An Exciting First Step—On the Founding of *Akebono*":

> It is proper to move quickly towards the democratization, or popularization, of literature. During

[34] Nakaichi Hajime (中市一), "News From the Culture Division" (「文化部たより」 *Bunkabu tayori*), *Shinrin bunka* (『森林文化』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (January, 1947), 43. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

> the war, our insistence towards that goal waned at all times and all [illegible]. That was a retreat. Now more than ever, we need to return our literature to a proper form. …
>
> We must discard the unnatural. We must aim for the educated and noble—the sophisticated—a refined literature, in other words, a deep investigation into the human, or social. We must [illegible] the popularization of rural literature and rational development. In this way we venture to publish *Akebono*.[35]

And although the tone of this manifesto broadly reflects the literary goals of many similar magazines that were published by and for small regional communities, *Akebono* emphasized a direct and clear critique of the concept of "farmers' literature," as well as the proper subject of political and cultural reforms in farming communities. The author replaces the "farmer" (農民 *nōmin*) with the "farming village" (農村 *nōson*), displacing the individual in favor of rural conditions generally—a modification that emphasizes the spatial nature of rural literary practices. The April 1947 issue opens with an article by editor and publisher Horioka Takeo (堀岡竹男, dates unknown) entitled "Establishing a Structure for Farming Village Literature":

> Establishing a Structure for Farming Village Literature
>
> Farming country as this is, there is no shortage of Farming Village Literature texts. When compared to other works, I find that they are in no way inferior in their style.
>
> The Progress of Civilization
>
> A revolution in Farm Village Literature was inevitable in our time, given that farming administration and expansionist literary practices, among other things, were trapped by the backdrop of war. A cultural struggle accompanies the present moment. It emerges from the consciousness that life comes from the soil. The progress of the present, of this place, demonstrates the massive change in Farm Village Literature that was brought about by the loss of the war.
>
> In this way, these texts are made by and through the farming village itself. They must emerge from the farming village's horizon. They breathe alongside the life of the village. And they shatter and tear down the tendencies of the urbanite.
>
> Farming is the preservation of the life of the people and the nation. We can think of it as that which forms the root of continued productivity. Especially in this moment, with the accelerated concentration of agrarian culture through farmers everywhere, I look with hope towards establishing a structure for Farming Village Literature.[36]

Akebono's structure and contents indicates that the editors and contributors were determined to actualize their theoretical proposals for a farming village literature. About half of the April

[35] "An Exciting First Step" (「もりあがる第一歩」*Moriagaru dai ippo*), *Akeobono* (『曙』) (January, 1947), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[36] Horioka Takeo (堀岡竹男), "Establishing a Structure for Farming Village Literature" (「農村文学体制の確立」*Nōson bungaku taisei no kakuritsu*), *Akeobono* (『曙』) (April, 1947), 2-3. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

volume's twelve pages are dedicated to intersections of farming and literature, including a free form poem "My Dream: A Dairy Country" (「私の夢『酪農国』」*Watashi no yume "rakunōkoku"*), and essays "Farmers and Superstition" (「農民と迷信」*Nōmin to meishin*) and "The Principle of Farmers' Arts" (「農民芸術の主義」*Nōmin geijutsu no shugi*).

Advocacy for local literary and cultural production remains *Akebono*'s central aim throughout the print run that survives in the Prange Collection. The May 1947 issue features another Horioka article: "On the Fools Guiding Democratic Revolution." As with the previous essay, Horioka lashes out at unnamed intellectuals over their concept of revolution and the role of literary production.

> Look to the approach of progressive development in farming villages!
> Is it not true that the development of farming villages was nothing more than a [illegible] development built upon a foundation of feudal relations in productivity, economics, and sociality? Is it not also true today that farming villages are simultaneously enacting a revolution in farming practices—the revolution in farming land—and exterminating various feudal relations after the loss of the war? [illegible] farming villages are searching out a foothold through the individuality of the farmer's life. In so doing, centripetal thought centrifugally illuminates a spiritual opening that might guide the direction of the wider world.
> To you intellectuals who reign over farm culture, dare to stand up now against the return to a culture of feudal exchange and abandon the conventional farmers' culture movement. In order to reform farm life, more is needed than deep reasoning and heavy critique. Bring revolutionary reform to economics, governance, every opportunity, every location. Then you can truly narrate genuine progress for farming village culture and a deeper investigation of life. You fools who guide the establishment of democracy in farming villages through literature [illegible] declare the value of true literature [illegible].[37]

This shift towards attacking unnamed intellectual elites echoes many of the strongest critiques published in (agri)cultural magazines in Tōhoku during this period. Unfortunately, the magazine does not clearly indicate the target of the attack. It seems possible that the subject of the author's critique was a local intellectual stirring up reactionary concepts of land and literary reform. Equally as likely, however, is the idea that the author is in fact intending to attack urban

[37] Horioka Takeo (堀岡竹男), "On the Fools Guiding Democratic Revolution" (「民主々義を指導客たれ」 *Minshushugi wo shidō kaku tare*) *Akeobono* (『曙』) (May, 1947), 2. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

intellectuals who were themselves trying to theorize rural democratic revolution and farmers' literature without ever setting foot on the farm itself—even if it was almost certain they would never read this particular essay.

I would like to step beyond Tōhoku's northern oceanic border for a moment, both to compare these writings to the literary journals organizing around farmers and farmer unions in Hokkaidō and to reposition these kinds of trends in literary critique within a scaler framework more aligned with some that might be called nation. *Hokkaidō Farmers' Union Literature* (『北農文学』 *Hokunō bungaku*) was published monthly from April 1946 to October 1946 in Sapporō by the Culture Section of the Hokkaidō Farming Association's Employee Union. Azuma Hiroshi (東弘, dates unknown), head of the editorial board, explains the magazine's editorial vision:

> The consummation of a beautiful individuality, this is the absolute demand of democracy. It is precisely through a cultural effort founded in this kind of awareness that provides the fundamental conditions for a true realization of democracy. We cannot forget this. The Cultural Section of the Hokkaidō Farmers Association Union was born from this kind of historical criticism and pure awareness.[38]

For the editors of *Hokunō bungaku*, the attainment of democracy cannot be decoupled from cultural production. As with most modernist interpretations of what it means to produce literature, the editors identify the moment of cultural production as being an expression of the individual. Thus, the literary work will always already experience a scalar tessellation in the moment it is read through its sociality. The conceptualization of literature is scaled when it moves from an individually crafted object to a socially (and therefore politically) interpreted object. The *Hokunō bungaku* editors—essentially members of the union's cultural division—set out the scales of literary representation in the commemoration of publishing the first volume of the magazine:

[38] Azuma Hiroshi (東弘), "Founding Statement" (「創刊の辞」 *Sōkan no kotoba*) *Hokunō bungaku* (『北農文学』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (April, 1946), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

> *Hokunō bungaku* is born. It is the literature of the Hokkaidō Farmers' Union, while at the same time being literature for the liberation of the farmer. The feudalistic and reactionary feeling that permeates farming villages today is founded on the social organization of those villages. Therefore, if there is no resolution to the land ownership problems that form the basis for that social organization, there also cannot be a democratization of agricultural sphere, nor can there be a liberation of the farmer...
>
> …It could be said that *Hokunō bungaku* was born of a fatalistic inheritance for the democratization of the agricultural sphere, the liberation of the farmer, and a resolution of the land ownership problem.[39]

As befits a large agricultural union publication, the production and control of literary production is now brought into dialogue with the production and control of agricultural land. The political possibility of the individual farmer becomes socially enacted when they participate in the regional union, just as the literature of the individual becomes socially enacted when published and read. In both of these mechanisms, we discover that the act of scaling is necessary for some kind of synthesis. Scaling the individual, subjective text generates political or literary possibility. Because the end points of this scale—the individual and the union via the farm, and the individual and society via literature—are so familiar, we hardly recognize the act of scaling at work.

Even in Solidarity: Re-scaling Centers and Debating the Regional Farm

Even if arranging these many manifestos or critiques in succession illuminates the editorial goals of regional magazines, these declarations alone do not do justice to the instability and non-uniformity in the way rural print viewed its own position in relation to concepts of "center." On the one hand, the democratic revolution of publishing proposed by the editors of these journals was not disingenuous—they did in fact publish submitted works by local farmers. These essays,

[39] "Inaugurating the Hokkaidō Farming Association's Employee Union Cultural Section" (「北農職員組合文化部の発足」*Hokunō shokuin kumiai bunkabu no hossoku*), *Hokunō bungaku* (『北農文学』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (April, 1946), 0. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

fictional texts, and poems often fully embrace the political potency of print culture, sometimes to such a degree that they begin to resemble polemics or political hit jobs. This does not mean that local print was always friendly to other members that share the same regional space. Magazines from Tōhoku expose not only how the rural population sees itself in relation to the center, but also how it views itself in relation to itself.

Postwar writers in Tōhoku turned their attention towards their own local spaces—shifting away from wartime "East Asian" scales that had previously understood farming to form the framework for Japan's successful colonization of Asia at large. In so doing, they began to view nation-scale efforts for solidarity with growing suspicion. In addition to the strong critiques of an Occupation-led reformation of land ownership and farming laws that understood white rice as the agricultural base in northern Japan, farmers began to clash with farming associations that were not themselves based in Tōhoku. This regional-national tension boiled over onto the pages of *Sound Arguments* (『正論』*Seiron*), a mimeographed journal published by Akita's Kitaura Village Youth Association (北浦青年新生会). This slim volume of about 10 pages featured critiques of farming policies and local politics by semi-anonymous association members. The opening article of the inaugural issue in August, 1946 was authored by a certain "T.I." and titled "A Critique of the Farmers' Support Association":

> I am merely a delighted observer of the successful formation of the Farmers' Support Association. Why do I say this? Because there had not been any true solidarity between farming families until now. This is not a rejection of the many farming unions that were in fact active before, however. I simply hope that the Farmers' Support Association will truly bring together tenant farmers in an effective way, something that binds together otherwise naive farmers. And why is this? It is not only because the land revolution that has come to our country in recent days has made rapid progress towards the realization of democracy, but it is because this could stifle the feudalistic thought that exists in rural areas. …
>
> But I cannot say that the current Farmers' Support Association is functioning under just conditions. They need to focus their goals and actions on a broader standpoint—I want them to become a union that attains true solidarity among farmers. If we take the problem of rice quotas as one example, even when there was an improper implementation of temporary quotas, it didn't seem to be an issue that cultivators of around one *chō* [about 100 acres] were forced to meet quotas of twenty-three sacks of rice.
>
> In this present moment that we call democracy, how is the vain focus on nothing other than

> "rights" (with a complete contempt for responsibility) anything other than self-serving?
>
> This kind of egocentrism is the gravest enemy of our civil society. I would like the members of the Farmers' Support Association to recognize this clearly. From hereafter, I hope that the name Farmers' Support Association means a just, fair foundation in the farmer and a group of people working to improve the life of all farming families in Kitaura.[40]

As with many local magazines published for a limited readership, this passage requires some unpacking. First, it seems likely that the "Farmers' Support Association" in the passage is in fact that Japan Farmers' Support Association (日本農友会), founded in 1918 in Kumamoto by Matsuda Ki'ichi (松田喜一, 1887-1968).[41] This group worked closely with the Japanese government to support the agricultural strategies of imperialism during the war and maintained a strong connection with both the central government and the emperor system in the postwar period[42]—two relatively unpopular institutions among rural tenant farmers in northern Japan. Unfortunately, the exact circumstances for the split between local farmers in Kitaura and the Farmers' Support Association are unclear. It seems likely that the Association was helping to guide central government policies on rice production quotas in order to reduce the famine that spread across Japan in the immediate postwar period. Based on the figures quoted in the article, it appears that small-scale farmers (those who had recently been granted their own lands and were no longer forced into tenancy) were still required to provide exorbitant quotas of rice to the

[40] T.I. (T・I生), "A Critique of the Farmers' Support Association" (「農友会批判」*Nōyūkai hihan*), *Seiron* (『正論』*Seiron*) Volume 1 (August, 1946), 2. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[41] Because the articles cited here only include the name "Farmers' Support Association," and not the complete name of the organization being criticized, this remains only a speculation. It is possible that a smaller local organization also used the name *nōyūkai* (農友会) without connection to the national organization. It should be noted that the Kumamoto-based Association was active in postwar print culture, self-publishing the journal *Nōyū* (『農友』) in Kumamoto from 1946 under the publishing pseudonym "Greater Japan Farmers' Support Association Publishing" (大日本農友会出版部 *Dainihon nōyūkai shuppanbu*). Based on journal titles and publishing information, it seems likely that branch organizations of the Association were active in other prefectures across Japan, including with other magazines published under the title *Nōyū* (『農友』) in Fukushima and Yamaguchi Prefectures.

[42] Matsuda wrote a book on the "Spirit of the Farmer" in 1948. The Showa Emperor embarked on a nationwide tour of rural Japan in the late 1940s—a trip which took him to Tōhoku in 1947. Matsuda acted as the Emperor's guide in Kumamoto in 1949.

nation—essentially, an extension of their previous financial oppression. An article signed to "H.U."—almost certainly the magazine's editor Umezu Higumi (梅津一二三, dates unknown)—expands on the topic in the essay "What Did the Farmers' Support Association Do?" from *Seiron*'s September 1946 issue:

> The early harvest rice of 1946 has arrived and yet we don't get a single sack from the fields of the members of the Farmers' Support Association. Are they all crying in the depths of their storehouses? …
>
> In the July meeting of the committee on surmounting the food crisis, there was a strong-willed group that attempted to invoke tough legal measures to meet these quotas. When this happened, the members of the committee and town officials who were part of the Farmers' Support Association rejected the proposal. It goes without saying that I was truly stunned when this information leaked out. …
>
> We must invoke every legal right to resolve this situation. Even if these strong legal measures are stopped, these people will supply at most twenty or thirty sacks of rice. The people in this town won't be swindled so easily. If the Farmers' Support Association hadn't been established, we would already have seventy to eighty percent of our rice already. …
>
> To the leaders of the Farmers' Support Association: Who is going to take responsibility for throwing our town into chaos for no reason?! Who will take responsibility for stopping the rice quotas?! Who will take responsibility for trampling our rights over nothing?![43]

If the chief complaint in Kitaura during July was the high rice quotas that farmers of all status would face, we can begin to see the uneven implementation of these policies when the early rice harvest begins in August. The split between the old landlord class and newly-landed tenant farmers has clear political foundations. It seems clear that the controlling members of the local governmental farming policy authority are those farmers most capable of producing the large quotas required to assuage the postwar rice shortage—and also members of the Farmers' Support Association. The fact that this debate stretches across multiple volumes of *Seiron* suggests that the authors (if they are indeed different people) understood publishing as a possible political tactic and saw the magazine as an opportunity to convince local readership of their case against the Association. It is easy to see nation-scale agricultural unions or associations as uniformly impacting regional Japan and garnering some degree of universal membership. Local

[43] Umezu Hifumi (梅津一二三), "What Did the Farmers' Support Association Do?" (「農友会は何をしたか」 *Nōyūkai ha nani wo shita ka*), *Seiron* (『正論』*Seiron*) (August, 1946), 3-4. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

media, especially hand-written and mimeographed magazines that survive from smaller farming villages, indicates that almost all aspects of rural life were contested in the immediate postwar period. Rather than participating in a national agricultural revolution, farming and land reform policies were scaled to local space by the actual farmers in those communities. And those acts of scaling were almost always played out on the pages of whatever local magazine—or often, magazines—happened to be publishing at the time.

Despite being portrayed as the ideal site for radical upheaval of postwar economic and political structures in the national press, rural Japan was a deeply contested and ambivalent space. It became not only the object of Occupation reform policy, but the focus of national expectations and local activism. The layers of contradictions were clearly expressed in Tōhoku's dual role in postwar intellectual debates: Northern Japan came to be seen as the first region of Japan to be colonized and the first to resist feudal or imperialist structures:

> In the 1950s, in the writings of historians like Takahashi Tomio, Tōhoku emerged as a Noble Savage. War and surrender forced people at all levels of Japanese society to rethink the nation's values and path, including attitudes toward the Emishi heritage of resistance to Japanese (ancient) imperialism…
>
> This was Tōhoku's new heritage and identity: a virtuous victim and marginal repository of values and traditions opposed, suppressed, and ignored by mainstream Japan. In this way, the most important group of academics working on the Northeast reimagined their work as a powerful critique of Japanese history and culture.[44]

Parallel to this academic critique, however, Tōhoku was increasingly posited as the area of Japan most susceptible to harboring remnants from Japan's feudal and imperialist past. Perhaps surprisingly, mainstream literary magazines published in Iwate itself embraced both the academic historical critique while amplifying nation-scale cultural attacks on the most rural parts of postwar Japan. Throughout the Occupation and post-Occupation period, we find a contradictory urge to situate Tōhoku as both Japan's earliest colonial resistor and yet also the

[44] Hopson, *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast*, 8.

nation's most backwards and feudal remnant. In urban media, Tōhoku represented Japan's feudal, underdeveloped "Tibet" on a "national scale." Writers in Tōhoku were only too eager to replicate this act of concentric scaling through a kind of nesting doll of feudal accusations. If Tōhoku were Japan's Tibet, Iwate became the "Tibet" of Tōhoku, and Iwate's mountainous, coastal northeast became the "Tibet" of Iwate.

In August 1947, the *Iwate Farm Dispatch* (『岩手農地通報』*Iwate nōchi tsūhō*)—published by the prefectural government's farming division—first declared the Shimohei region (下閉伊郡) Iwate's own internal "Tibet" in the article "Iwate's Tibet!! Farming Reforms in Shimohei." The article intended to inform the prefectural readership about Iwate's most underdeveloped region. It highlighted the how the region was mountainous from coast to central highlands, how it largely lacked electricity and means of transportation, and was often at the mercy of local landlords.[45] The August, 1949 volume of *Tōhoku bunko* reaffirmed this perception of the Shimohei region in that issue's lead article, a borderline exploitative "expose" presented as travel reportage. The article dishes on "village bosses" and claims to reveal the unchanged nature of social life despite postwar democratization, stating: "Below you will find an on-the-scene report that offers a sample of the feudal terra incognita, Tanohata (田野畑村)."[46] *Tōhoku bunko* expanded on this perception by publishing a travelogue signed only to the editorial committee regarding a visit to the Shimohei region to screen educational films in the July 1950 issue: "A Record of Traversing the Tibet of Iwate." The article's introduction sets the tone, as if on safari:

> Having never seen anything other than a magic lantern or silent film, many of the people in this

[45] Konno Gorō (金野梧郎), "Iwate's Tibet!! Farming Reforms in Shimohei" (「岩手チベット！！下閉伊の農地改革」*Iwate chibetto!! Shimohei no nōchi kaikaku*), *Iwate Farm Dispatch* (『岩手農地通報』) Volume 1, Issue 6 (August, 1947), 2-3. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[46] Takahashi (byline: 高橋記者), "On Location Report: Uncovering a Feudal Terra Incognita" (「現地報告：封建の秘境をあばく」*Genchi hōkoku: hōken no hikyō wo abaku*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 4, Issue 6 (August, 1949), 1. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

> mountain valley were enthralled by the "moving action" or "speaking action." There were old women who wanted to dash out of the room at the sound of a whistle or the movement of a steam engine, while others beamed and cackled at the sound of a cow mooing. What could they possibly be thinking, these people who had been abandoned by culture? How did they live their lives? We will explore this as we screen a National Company film in our article, "A Record of Traversing the Tibet of Iwate"…[47]

The Tibet narrative reproduced globalized constructions of feudalism in such a way that the multiple layers of the national and regional publishing industry could envision Iwate, or even regional swaths of Iwate, as simultaneously noble resistor and backwards savage. In Iwate and outside it, the Tibet narrative became so popular that attempting to make a comprehensive list of instances when Tōhoku or Iwate were described as the "Tibet of Japan" would be a foolish project. Even some writers in Iwaizumi—a small town set directly in the center of this regional "Tibet"—began to embrace the moniker, even if only half ironically. A representative of the town's public health insurance office published an article in the magazine *Midwives' Journal* (『助産婦雑誌』*Josanfu zasshi*) on childbirth practices under the title "Iwate's Tibet."[48] As the *kiroku* genre boomed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, women in Iwaizumi began publishing the hand-written and mimeographed magazine *Working Mother* (『働く母』*Hataraku haha*), which later became *Women* (『おんな』*Onna*). After attracting the attention of Tokyo intellectuals and radio stations in Kanto, the collected volume *Records of Buried Mothers* (『埋もれた母の記録』*Uzumoreta haha no kiroku*) was released in 1965 to national attention. The book's subtitle? *Living in the Kitakami Mountains, Japan's Tibet* (日本のチベット・北上山地に生きる *Nihon no chibetto: Kitakami sanchi ni ikiru*).[49]

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[47] "A Record of Traversing the Tibet of Iwate" (「岩手のチベット縦走記」*Iwate no chibetto jūsōki*) *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 5, Issue 6 (July, 1950), 9. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[48] Sugimura Kōrō (杉村広郎), "Iwate's Tibet: Birth in Iwate Prefecture's Shimohei Region" (「岩手のチベット：岩手県下閉伊郡のお産」*Iwate no chibetto: Iwate-ken shimoheigun no osan*), *Midwives' Journal* (『助産婦雑誌』*Josanfu zasshi*) Volume 1, Issue 6 (June, 1952), 51-53.

[49] Mikami Nobuo (三上信夫) ed., *Records of Buried Mothers: Living in the Kitakami Mountains, Japan's Tibet* (『埋もれた母の記録：日本のチベット・北上山地に生きる』*Uzumoreta haha no kiroku: Nihon no chibetto, Kitakami*

The degree of contradiction within local print media regarding the positionality and role of northern Japan in relation to national democratization efforts should immediately cast doubt on narratives of land reform that treat "rural Japan" as a monolithic space that can be quickly restructured to squash imperialistic tendencies or bring about liberal salvation for the nation as a whole. Likewise, we should hesitate to project generalized calls for a reformed (perhaps more accurately, politically radicalized) "farmers' literature" in centers of urban capital that don't simultaneously recognize the actual reality of postwar print culture. Intellectuals advocated for the emergence of a new postwar writing subject—one who would almost always overlap with the farmer in the case of rural Tōhoku. But if their arguments assume a *national* artistic base upon which a radical, new postwar democratic subjectivity might be realized, then that proposition must be read within the historical context of rapidly expanding independent print.

Disentangling Farm and Region as a Critical Methodology

There is no clean division to be found between regional/rural/farmers' literature. The idea of Farmers' Literature (農民文学 *nōmin bungaku*) as it has come to be understood in urban print capital experienced a degree of actualization in the wartime period, when the genre was co-opted by rightist and imperial-aligned forces from the center. But the lineage of a radical proletarian Farmers' Literature that was then the victim of imperial ambitions cannot fully explain the emergence of rural print in the postwar period. If we were to only read the histories of Farmers' Literature published in urban presses, postwar rural/farmers' literature would appear as a theoretical movement that centered around a handful of key intellectuals operating within and

sanchi ni ikiru) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1965).

around the intellectual center—figures like Wada Den (和田伝, 1900-1985), Inuta Shigeru (犬田卯, 1891-1957), or Sasaki Toshirō (佐左木俊郎, 1900-1933). It is associated with the "failed" literary project that Takeda Taijun (武田泰淳, 1912-1976) and Ohara Gen (小原元, 1919-1975) denounced in the early 1950s and 60s.[50] Taking up the vast amount of print materials that survive in the archives of both the occupation authorities and small regional libraries, however, we find that the regional literary movement in the first decade of the postwar period was widespread and active. It was a blossoming literary form that became the subject of theorization on the pages of rural magazines. Independent magazines were integral to the print culture of rural areas—often in a way that was expressly agitative and oppositional to major print culture exported from urban centers, especially Tokyo and the intellectual elites who have since come to be associated with theorizing Farmers' Literature. Rural writers worked across rural borders. Magazine layout and design became more uniform across publications in an effort to indicate the serious intellectual intentions of the editors. For a brief period, rural intellectuals (novelists, poets, critics, and all manner of essayists) wrote intensely and broadly across hundreds of publications that were as close to genuine democratic literary production as these writers had seen in decades. By the late-1950s, many of these magazines had burned out, leaving just as many decades of print emptiness in their wake.

Recognizing and unpacking the many inconsistencies within literary categories such as "Farmers' Literature" or "regional literature" marks the first step in re-evaluating the historical trends in postwar local print. Misconceptions regarding the practice and ideology of "Farmers'

[50] The most detailed accounting of Farmers' Literature from the Taishō to postwar period can be found in Mukubō Tetsuya's 2013 dissertation, including an outline of postwar critiques leveled at Farmers' Literature by members of the literary elite: Mukubō Tetsuya (椋棒哲也), *Research on Farmers' Literature in the Taishō and Early Shōwa Periods* (『大正・昭和前期における農民文学の研究』*Taishō, Shōwa zenki ni okeru nōmin bungaku no kenkyū*) (PhD Diss., Rikkyō University, 2013), 4-5.

Literature" on national scales should be first addressed through a thorough archival investigation of both cultural and material histories of regional magazines. The explosion of independent rural print culture at the grassroots level did in fact emerge coterminous with the expansion of political subjectivity brought about by land redistribution and voting reforms. However, newly established economic and political conditions occasioned heated and often contradictory debates on local scales that complicate a nationalized image of rural social life. What survives of local print culture demonstrates complex inter-regional trends that clash and counter the narrative of a unified and emergent "Farmers' Literature" that might suitably represent postwar rural Japan.

Literature produced in regional Japan—especially in northern Japan—tends to be associated with farmers' literature, which is not wholly incorrect but paints only a partial picture, one governed by urban modes of literary production. Literary magazines from postwar Tōhoku also evidence a rigorous literary debate regarding the many ways rural writers must differentiate between "farm" as both a lived local space and an imaginary rurality. In the parlance of postwar writers from northern Tōhoku, "region" (*chihō* 地方) became synonymous with "locality." Tōhoku literary theorists approached "region" as a critical category capable of bearing a plurality of experiences in the rural everyday while also allowing for rigorous aesthetic and political debates in non-farming literary magazines published by workers and unions active in railway, logging, fishing, mining, etc. When we only consider local literature when it coincides exactly with the space of the farm (or the literature active in the modern, urban category "Farmers' Literature"), we obscure the depth of intellectual engagement with scalar questions of literary representation and democratic possibility in art.

Theorizing the Farm: *Yōkō*'s Special Issue on Region in Postwar Rural Culture

Yōkō (『陽光』, also titled *Sunshine* on the magazine's cover) was published in Morioka by *Kōkoku yōkōsha* (興国陽光社). Determining the exact dates of the magazine's publishing run is quite difficult: at least six magazines with the identical title *Yōkō* were published between 1946 and 1949. The distributed publishing history of this magazine further confuses the search for volumes. *Yōkō* differs from the majority of other Tōhoku magazines in that it was published by a consortium of regional offices of the Yōkō publishing group, which was also active in Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture and Hakui, Ishikawa Prefecture. This seems to have had a significant impact on the content of the magazine, as it regularly includes new poetry from across rural Japan. The Morioka-published magazine primarily acted as an outlet for Iwate writers, poets, educators, and intellectuals. Although nearly every surviving issue includes at least one essay or text related to rural literary culture, the January 1947 issue acts as a kind of special volume on the topic. The table of contents reads as a who's who of writers, poets, and essayists: Sugino Tadao (杉野忠夫, 1901-1965), "A Road to a New Life" (「新生への道」*Shinsei he no michi*); Yoshida Koyō (吉田孤羊, 1902-1973), "From Takuboku's Poetry" (「啄木の歌から」*Takuboku no uta kara*); Hibino Shirō (日比野士郎, 1903-1975), "Rural Poets" (「田園詩人」*Den'en shijin*); Kawamura Kōjin (川村公人, 1911-1958), "Modern Japan" (「モダン・ニッポン」*Modan Nippon*); new poetry by Tamura Ryōsaku (田村了咲, 1907-1980), Saeki Ikurō (佐伯郁郎, 19011992—not only a famous Iwate-born poet, but also a well-known wartime literary censor for Japan's Home Ministry[51]), and Tatsumi Seika (巽聖歌, 1905-1973); as well as the two essays by Moriguchi and Gifu discussed below.

[51] See Murayama Ryū (村山龍), "Control of Culture Thought by the Wartime Censor Saeki Ikurō" (「〈検閲官・佐伯郁郎〉を通して見る文化統制」<*Ken'etsukan, Saeki Ikurō*> *wo tōshite miru bunka tōsei*) *Intelligence* (『インテリジェンス』) Volume 19 (March, 2019): 156-169.

Moriguchi Tari's (森口多里, 1892-1984) essay "Farmers' Art: On the Liberation of the Human Spirit in Farming Villages" philosophizes on the manner in which historical categories "farmer" and "art" where being deployed in the postwar period. Being fundamentally an art historian and critic, Moriguchi defines the specific concept of "farmers' arts" (農民芸術 *nōmin geijutsu*)—a concept explored in the following section in its relation to literary production and its inseparable ties to Miyazawa Kenji—in relation to subjectivity and aesthetics. He opens his essay by defining "nature":

> There exists an imagination which exults in nature's beauty by seeing a design within the terrain and actualizing some interesting changes to it. This allegorizes the beauty that humans perceive in natural functions through manmade design. It manifests in a subjective interest in nature. This is equivalent to when one views a fantastic rock formation and claims, "Ahh, the craftsmanship of nature."
>
> Just as the operations of nature enact changes upon the face of the terrain, and we humans call the appearance of such things as natural beauty, so too does agriculture bring about a variety of transformations to face of the earth. And we can look upon these transformations and conceptualize them as beauty.[52]

For Moriguchi, a "farmers' art" necessarily involves the "natural" shapes and patterns that exist and change in the world around us, the integration of that nature into human subjectivity, and the reproduction of natural aesthetics in physical form through the application of both human subjectivity and labor. Although Moriguchi at first appears to pull his fundamental analysis directly from Naturalism, he notes that the first aesthetic exchange between human and nature occurs in the act of agriculture, not in artistic reproduction:

> In this way, when we experience beauty in the way that agriculture appends "nature" to the "human," there would be nothing at all unusual about thinking of this as an appreciation of art. Furthermore, it would be fine to call this farmers' arts. However, farmers do not engage in agriculture in order for humans to experience beauty. If we are to occasionally gaze upon the results of that work and experience beauty, that is left to subjective interest. If we were to call this farmers' arts, we would only be speaking metaphorically.[53]

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[52] Moriguchi Tari (森口多里), "Farmers' Art: On the Liberation of the Human Spirit in Farming Villages" (「農民の芸術：農村に於ける人間性の解放」*Nōmin no geijutsu: nōson ni okeru ningensei no kaihō*), *Yōkō* (『陽光』) Volume 2, Issue 1 (December, 1946), 9. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[53] Moriguchi, "Farmers' Art," 10.

Moriguchi goes on to argue, however, that the feudalistic structure that governs the social experience of the farmer prevents both the laboring farmer and the outside observer from recognizing the act of transforming the land—and the human production that organizes that transformation—as an aesthetic in and of itself. Liberation of the farming village does not only indicate the political and economic transformation of land ownership, but the arrival of a subjectivity whereby all parts of village life become the basis for artistic expression.

> We must examine the phenomenon whereby feudalism robbed farmers of beauty in a straightforward manner. Now is the time that the consciousness of farmers' arts should come directly from the demands of farmers themselves. This is not the scattered individual interest in farmers' arts, but a consciousness of farmers' arts built from the entirety of life in farming villages: The consciousness that agriculture as such contains art; the consciousness that the labor of hand producing texts of the farming village contains beauty; the consciousness that folk dances are themselves art; the consciousness that yearly work that goes into decorating the home must be said to contain beauty; and finally, the consciousness that the entirety of all of these things, insofar as they are generalized within the life of the farming village, are themselves the art of farmers.[54]

Moriguchi's philosophical alignment closely parallels the major urban intellectuals working to rethink new possible subjectivities in postwar Japan.[55] Moriguchi's assertion that "the entirety" (全体 *zentai*) of life must form the consciousness of future art dovetails with Takeuchi's assertion of National Literature only emerging from the life of the nation in aggregate. Just as Moriguchi argues, the acts of scaling here are not spatial—at least not in the sense that they extend to clear borders of either the nation-state or the farming village—but are in fact aesthetic and allegorical.

Readers of this volume of *Yōkō* might have been hard-pressed to find a direct relation between Moriguchi's theoretical treatise and the literary theory of active farmer-writers. Within the emerging print culture of Iwate, however, this kind of contradiction does not feel particularly

[54] Moriguchi, "Farmers' Art," 12.

[55] It would not be misguided to point out that this conception of farmers' arts also intersects with the imagination of folk arts (民芸 *mingei*) that developed during Japan's imperial period. Postwar ideologies cannot be cleanly extracted from Japan's colonialization of Korea and Northern China—whether in concepts of democratic action or rural cultural production. See, Lisbeth K. Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty:* Mingei *and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

out of place. Moriguchi's aesthetic theory foregrounds the messiness of artistic debates, a messiness that mirrors the contradictions surrounding land reform or democratic literary production found in other Tōhoku magazines. It is precisely through methodological contrasts that the sudden outpouring of literary and analytical texts marks the transition from wartime to postwar local print.

Gifu Seiichi (儀府成一, 1909-2001), by contrast, critiques the actual conditions of reading and writing practices in postwar Iwate in his essay "The Farming Village and Reading."[56] He opens with a relatively simple question to his readership: What would happen to our lives if we stopped reading? The answer relies on the expectation that the readers of *Yōkō* were themselves invested in Iwate's emerging literary and intellectual scene. Farmers, Gifu writes, are often thought of as "non-readers," people who take pride in having never even picked up a book. Gifu describes his motivation for moving to a remote mountain village, thinking he would take up his notebook as a kind of intellectual leader. He acknowledges some of his ill-conceived preconceptions, and describes his own experience producing print magazines in rural Iwate.

In an early moment of self-reflection, Gifu notes the postwar tendency to conceptualize Farmers' Literature as being somehow equivalent to writing *intended for* farmers. This, he argues, recreates the logic through which Japan justified the "creation of a cultural nation" within the East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere's layered, imperialist structure.[57] He writes:

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[56] Gifu Seiichi (儀府成一), "The Farming Village and Reading" (「農村と読書」*Nōson to dokusho*), *Yōkō* (『陽光』) Volume 2, Issue 1 (December, 1946), 26-29. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library. Gifu himself was something of a literary celebrity in Iwate, having twice been in the running for the Akutagawa Prize. His 1940 short story "The Zoo" (「動物園」*Dōbutsuen*) was a finalist, but was rejected for a variety of reasons including, according to Uno Kōji (宇野浩二) the novel's "bizarre" nature and near illegibility due to Gifu's dedication to reproducing Iwate's northern dialect in print.

[57] It seems likely that Gifu deliberately uses the term "the construction of a cultural nation" (文化国家建設 *bunka kokka kensetsu*) in order to point to the growing trend within postwar democratic movements to fully invest one's energy into remaking Japan itself as a global, "cultural nation."

> It makes me want to say, "To hell with making a cultural nation!" I am not so shortsighted as to want to pull up every individual crime or tragedy, or to ask the nation about every single sin, but even in the democratic present aren't there too many things we simply cannot understand, things that make us question whether the government in fact rules for "the people," or for a politics of "the few."
>
> Maybe we should say that we can see the same extreme hastiness in looking for the problem of farmers and reading.[58]

Gifu argues that the fundamental problem he is describing is far simpler than farmers not having access to books, or only being interested in the most accessible magazines like *King* or *Ie no hikari*. Rather, he notes that the deprivation of intellectual vigor in farming villages comes from the opium-like effect of feudalism—something which can only be addressed through a methodological reversal in print production.

> Are there any manuscripts written for farmers specifically? Are there things being printed for the sake of farmers? Certainly, we must contend that there are no such commercial publishers or establishment writers doing so within the existing system.[59]

Gifu's strategy, one that he proudly claims to have implemented himself in his younger days living in rural Iwate, was to produce noncommercial, independent magazines for distribution throughout the community. Gifu suggests the original magazines he distributed engendered a liberating praxis that will now spur on the development of *print*, not force the replication of modes of writing tied to establishment literary structures. He writes:

> I made not only printed magazines, but also some circulating magazines by hand.
>
> Of course, there was no intent to go out and enlighten the "people without books." I hadn't yet reached the age where I held such ideals. It was no more than a simple kind of masturbation. No one had asked me to make these circulating magazines.
>
> The titles were all something like "The Scent of the Earth" or "Lily" (I have to laugh at my sentimentality as a literary youth at that time). Actually, I think I probably used one of those titles. I wrote all the things a rural youth would write: essays, novels, poetry, tanka, haiku, children's stories, comedies, I even published other people's texts without permission.[60]

In the end, Gifu notes, his circulating magazines were passed through hundreds of hands, with

[58] Gifu, "The Farming Village and Reading," 27.

[59] Gifu, "The Farming Village and Reading," 28.

[60] Gifu, "The Farming Village and Reading," 29.

dozens of readers putting their official seal on articles they had read. The creation of an active print culture in the village was developed from within—even if he finds his own reminiscing "boring."[61]

> Setting up all these idealistic theories is for naught…The work is to start from the ground we walk on, the things nearest to us.
>
> The framework comes from the village library, with any variety of reading groups and circulating magazines. That is what must be done…Considering this from the logic of administration, or from the perspective of technique, I think there are a number of problems that require new reforms.[62]

This logic reflects two important postwar turns: a desire to provide rural communities with the practical means to produce literary culture, and a desire for the literature produced within these new rural print cultures to expand beyond both the centralized conceptions of Farmers' Literature, and the popular concept of literature itself.

Nōmin geijutsu as National Representative and New Regional Thought by Amateur Writers

Farmers' Arts (『農民芸術』*Nōmin geijutsu*) was published across seven volumes from 1946 to 1948. It was edited and published by the Hanamaki-based *Nōmin geijutsu sha* (農民芸術社) which was created to publish not only this magazine, but also the Miyazawa-focused *Miyazawa Kenji Studies* (『宮沢賢治研究』*Miyazawa Kenji kenkyū*) and a general interest journal, *Zuihitsu* (『随筆』). *Nōmin geijutsu* takes its name from Miyazawa Kenji's famous essay discussed below. Of all the postwar magazines published in Iwate, *Nōmin geijutsu* has had perhaps the most resilient afterlife. When the topic of Farmers' Literature is raised in contemporary literary or

[61] Gifu, "The Farming Village and Reading," 29.

[62] Gifu, "The Farming Village and Reading," 29.

historical analysis, Miyazawa's treatise on the topic invariably appears to denote some "genuine" aesthetic sentiment. The essay has been canonized to such a degree that it has come to be interpreted well beyond the space of Hanamaki or Iwate, reaching national and even international peasant or farmers' cultural movements.[63] This is likely due to Miyazawa's increasingly codified position as Iwate's—and therefore rural Japan's—writer *par excellence*. Or perhaps it might be better to specify Miyazawa's place as a *farming* writer within the cultural consciousness of postwar Japan. In this act of scaling, Miyazawa's literary thought becomes scaled to literary movements beyond the local space of Hanamaki, stretching to coincide with the space of nation.

Nōmin geijutsu's inaugural issue opened with the essay "On 'An Outline of Farmers' Arts.'" Penned by the Miyazawa Kenji specialist Mori Sōichi (森荘已池, 1907-1999—who was himself one of Iwate's most prolific Occupation-period writers), "On 'An Outline'" marks an opening salvo regarding the historical context of place within Miyazawa Kenji works at large, and within the concept of "farmers' art" in particular. It is interesting to note that the essay is not in fact a *postwar* essay in the temporal sense. Mori had initially written the essay in 1940 and it was first published as a critical essay in the 1944 supplement to Miyazawa's complete works. Mori emphasizes the limited scope of Miyazawa's original text and the intertwined literary afterlives of Hanamaki, Japan, and the world:

> "An Outline of Farmers' Arts" marks the moment when the author, whoever it is that we will call the Miyazawa Kenji of 1926 (Taisho 15),[64] shows a sudden advance from connotation to denotation in his thought and actions. However, although he set this thought down on paper, making declarations to himself, he did not address his thought to the world or mankind—Japan's Farmers' Literature Movement was born at just this moment. What those people were advocating as a kind of

[63] For a critical intervention in the intertwined history of Miyazawa himself and the development of "Farmers' Art" or "Farmers' Literature" as it has been used in wider discourse, see Hoyt Long, *On Uneven Ground: Miyazawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 159-191.

[64] This may seem like a kind of postmodern turn of phrase, but Mori is referring here to the fact that the only surviving text of "A General Theory of Farmers' Arts" is reconstructed from notes of a Miyazawa lecture. As Mori explains at the beginning of this essay, if Miyazawa did in fact draft an original manuscript of his lecture, it was destroyed in the August 1945 air raid on Hanamaki.

> "regionalism" can in fact be seen as a direct participation in the French agrarian literary movement. We have no way of knowing whether the author, Miyazawa, was aware of these movements. It was not long after three or four of Miyazawa's famous writer/poet friends came to discuss farmers' literature that he set down this general theory and genuinely entered into a farmer's life.[65]

Mori is quick to distinguish a few important features of Miyazawa's essay that have now fallen away from the general conception of what "Farmers' Arts" represents. The essay cannot be perfectly equated with Miyazawa's original text, nor does it indicate to what degree Miyazawa himself was aware of the early developments of the Farmers' Literature movement. Mori implies that the urban conception of Farmers' Literature that developed from late-Taisho and early-Showa was driven by intellectuals who were not particularly concerned with reconsidering a specifically French literary movement in light of the historical and artistic particularities of lived Japanese rural life.

Mori elected to republish "On 'An Outline of Farmers' Arts'" in the inaugural volume of *Nōmin geijtsu* alongside a second, new essay "The Chosen and The Masses: Stray Thoughts on *Ame ni makezu*."[66] Unlike Mori's shorter republished essay, "The Chosen and The Masses" was a significant six-part essay originally written in January 1946 that directly addressed the position of Iwate within the postwar moment. Mori opens the essay by noting that "a certain postwar writer of farmers' literature" attempted to analyze the condition of actual farmers by citing a single line in Miyazawa's most famous poem. The writer, Mori says, takes Miyazawa at his word that the farmer "lives on four cups of brown rice a day." Mori immediately attacks this position,

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[65] Mori Sōichi (森荘已池), "On 'An Outline of Farmers' Arts" (「『農民芸術概論』に就いて」 *"Nōmin geijutsu gairon" ni tsuite*), *Nōmin geijutsu* (『農民芸術』) Volume 1 (May, 1946), 9. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

[66] Mori Sōichi (森荘已池), "The Chosen and The Masses: Stray Thoughts on *Ame ni makezu*." (「選民と賤民：『雨ニモマケズ』をめぐる断想」*Senmin to senmin: "*Ame ni mo makezu*" wo meguru dansō*), *Nōmin geijutsu* (『農民芸術』) Volume 1 (May, 1946), 17-24. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

especially in the postwar, for failing to understand the realities of rural agriculture, as well as the tremendous stress Tōhoku farmers felt to meet rice quotas[67] and participate in black markets. In doing so, Mori critiques the intellectual posing as an author of "Farmers' Literature" versus everyday farmers, making clear the fundamental class division between the tenant farmer and the urban (intellectual) laborer:

> Farmers have spent countless years stoically suffering the depths of despair. It's unlikely that those people living in the cities could do the same.
>
> The spirit made from suffering upon suffering is alienated from suffering's end. It is without order or rules. It does not know where the end exists. They speak not of money, the unspeakable, seeing only want accumulate in their minds. And almost everything is too expensive for them to purchase. The people starving in the cities, those who are drifting towards similar conditions, are undoubtedly in a terrifying position…Suddenly, I'm struck by a variety of thoughts. Were all of these cooperative union movements intended to prevent the breakdown of life for urban dwellers?[68]

Alongside this distinction, which marks an antagonistic stance towards the concept of a universal postwar underclass, Mori repositions the proletarian farmer as the proper subject of national spirit—and thereby national cultural production. Here, Mori deliberately adopts an internationalist position of analyzing the intersections of labor, class, and postwar political revolution:

> Our bodies and souls, as they appear after our defeat in the war, have become like the most detestable part of Darwin's theory of evolution, that of the survival of the fittest. So many of us were wrapped up in the notion that we Japanese were the most superior nation in the world. We were enticed by our leaders, and by ourselves. Now in the conditions we must face in our defeat, we have been revealed to have a more shameful nationalism than the people of China or Korea.[69]

> In Japan, the contemporary administrative village community has more or less returned to a natural village community, but have even the poorest areas become self-sufficient villages?
>
> The villages that have come under control of the Chinese Communist Party have proven that neither the Japanese Military nor the Central Republican Military were able to touch village life at all, no matter how deep the roots they tried to plant.
>
> I think the structure of these villages that have come under control of the Chinese Communist

[67] Mori is almost certainly aware of the larger economic and agricultural arguments being made across Tōhoku regarding contradictions in central land reform policy and radical democratic movements that are outlined earlier in this chapter.

[68] Mori, "The Chosen and The Masses," 19.

[69] Mori, "The Chosen and The Masses," 20.

Party suggest much about how Japanese farming villages should be organized from now on.[70]

Mori Sōichi's concerns over the appropriation of Miyazawa Kenji as a national literary figure mirror many of the manifestos and literary critiques laid out within the pages of magazines by active farmers such as *Akebono* or *Hokunō bungaku.* Chief among these concerns was a growing concern over the positionality of farmer-as-writer and the danger that a new postwar farmers' literature might not find its material base in the lived everyday of rural Japan—an everyday that increasingly included cultural production or material production of print media.

The editorial tendencies of *Nōmin geijutsu* across its publishing run do not necessarily coincide with this critique of prewar farmers' literature, postwar class critiques, and the radical political possibilities of rural nationalism—what Takeuchi Yoshimi would later call the "Mao course" of postwar National Literature. On the whole, the magazine presents itself as a Miyazawa-focused research group, publishing literary critiques on Miyazawa's works and occasionally considering the position of his literary legacy in relation to his newly elevated status as national representative of rural thought. In fact, the majority of Mori's other postwar works shy away from this high degree of politicization. But Mori's early essays also predict what will become the broader tendency: to jettison a unified national farmers' literature in favor of regional literary production and consumption. We can compare this sentiment to two brief examples from Akita. *Horse-chestnut* (『七葉樹』*Nanayōju*), an independently published mimeographed journal of poetry and criticism from local writers in Honjō (本荘町), opens the inaugural volume in May 1946 with Saitō Goichi's (斎藤吾一, dates unknown) essay "For Beginners":

> I had just returned from a walk when I saw that I had received a letter from my older brother. I read it happily. He had exactly the same opinion regarding the development of regional culture. To date, literature has come only from the cities, only from the intellectual class. In the end, I think this leads literature towards decadence and is the most important reason that the impoverishment of literature has come to light. From now, literature must find its health by planting its roots directly in the ground. Doing so, of course, will mean that a heavy weight comes to bear on our shoulders, but we

[70] Mori, "The Chosen and The Masses," 22.

should rush towards this obstacle with joy to bring about a new Japanese literature.[71]

In November of 1948, a semi-anonymous editor (B 生) from the Akita literary magazine *Sōen* (草園) directly attacks another Akita-based literary magazine—*Akita Literature* (『秋田文学』 *Akita bungaku*)[72] —for its strong ties to central literary elites and a lack of local literary praxis:

> *Akita bungaku* is unique in its position as a literary magazine from Akita. Itō Einosuke (伊藤永之介) and Tsuruta Tomoya (鶴田知也) act as advisors, and the magazine publishes new fiction from the likes of Itō Rokurō (伊藤緑郎) and Chiba Jihei (千葉治平)…[73]Even so, there are many people in this prefecture writing fiction, poetry, and criticism. … How about showing an open mind and including some of these writers in *Akita bungaku*? Without doing so it will be difficult to assemble Akita writers or to make inroads in the center. Furthermore, we want to say to the active members of *Akita bungaku*: A literary movement is not so simple as just publishing a magazine. Literature requires a *literary movement*. This means that you need to organize a series of public lectures and conferences on criticism.[74]

Sōen then goes on to lightly attack *Gekkan sakigake* (『月刊さきがけ』) for similar practices, suggesting that they not forget their history of publishing fiction by new writers from Akita. *Sōen*'s position towards *Akita bungaku* is illuminating because it reveals some of the fundamental contradictions in local print culture. *Sōen* was published by the bookseller *Sōen shobō* (草園書房) and would go on to feature new zuihitsu by the founder of the Shirakaba-school, Mushanokōji Saneatsu (武者小路実篤, 1885-1976). On the one hand, the editors of *Sōen*

[71] Saitō Goichi (斎藤吾一), "For Beginners" (「初心者のために」 *Shoshinsha no tame ni*), *Nanayōju* (『七葉樹』) Volume 1 (May, 1946), 2-3. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries. *Nanayōju* was one of the earliest poetry and criticism journals to be published in Akita. Saitō was active in not only Akita as a poet, but also published in Niigata. He would go on to co-edit two Akita poetry journals, *Nagisa* (『なぎさ』) and *Baku* (『獏』), as well as publish an original poetry collection in 1952.

[72] Unfortunately, very few issues of the magazine seem to survive. The magazine does not exist in CCD records, though that does not guarantee that it was never submitted for censorship. The Akita Literature Museum holds the first volume, originally published in January 1948 by the Akita Literature Association (秋田文学会 *Akita bungakukai*). It seemed to have attracted considerable national attention, as *Mita Bungku* (『三田文学』) publishes a profile on the magazine in September, 1948. Further adding to the confusion of *Akita bungaku*'s publishing history, however, is the fact that *Akita bungakusha* (秋田文学社) begins publishing a separate *Akita bungaku* (『秋田文学』) in June, 1957. It is this version of *Akita bungaku* that continued publishing into the 2000s.

[73] While it is true that *Akita bungaku* was publishing new fiction from Chiba, it is more important to note that he was in fact one of the founding editors of the magazine along with Itō Einosuke.

[74] "Akita's Literary World" (「県内文学界」 *Kennai bungaku kai*), *Sōen* (『草園』) Volume 26 (November, 1948), 7. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

recognized the need to remain active in organizing all areas of local literary production to both survive *as a local magazine* and to allow amateur Akita writers a chance at succeeding in their literary endeavors. On the other hand, *Sōen* also seems to recognize the desire in Akita itself to integrate established writers in the actual material practice of local publishing. As the following sections will show, this tension is fundamental to analyzing "regional literature" as it actually existed in postwar Tōhoku.

Debating Regional Literature: A Conversation from *Ōu bungaku*

Ōu Literature (『奥羽文学』*Ōu bungaku*) published its inaugural issue in June, 1955 and continued publishing until 2001. The magazine was a new venture formed out of the conglomeration of three active literary journals: *Akita Literature* (『秋田文学』*Akita bungaku*), *Northern Literary Arts* (『北方文芸』*Hoppō bungei*), and *The North Country* (『北国』*Hokkoku*). The magazine was produced by the newly formed *Ōu bungaku sha* (奥羽文学社, later 奥羽文学会 *Ōu bungakukai*) and published by the Ōdate (大館市) newspaper company *Hokuroku shinbunsha* (『北鹿新聞社』). The first volume boasted Satō Tesshō (佐藤鉄章, 1914-1990) and Itō Einosuke as editor and publisher, respectively. It seems fair to say that this new venture launched with a significant publishing budget (the inaugural issue ran to 125 pages and included a full-color, foldout table of contents) and a commanding presence amongst professional authors active in Akita (established Akita writers such as Ono Kazuji, Chiba Jihei, Komatsu Suematsu, Inoue Ken, and Itō Rokurō acted as regional representatives). The first volume also included a handful of substantial essays, such as Nakano Takashi's (中野堯, dates unknown) eight-page "On the Question of Essence and Method" (「本質と方法の問題をめぐって」*Honshitsu to hōhō no mondai*

wo megutte), and republishes Yoshida Koyō's essay "From Takuboku's Poetry," which was originally published in *Yōkō*'s December, 1946 issue. The inaugural volume's opening feature is a roundtable talk between Satō Tesshō, Inoue Ken (井上謙, 1928-2013), Bundō Shisei (分銅志静, dates unknown), and Ogasawara Jun (小笠原淳, dates unknown) entitled "The Question of Regional Writers" (「地方作家の問題」*Chihō sakka no mondai*). All the participants were somewhat odd selections to lead a debate on regional literary production. They were "regional" in so far as they were still living in Akita, but "central" in that they also were publishing in literary magazines beyond Tōhoku and recognized by members of the urban intelligentsia for their work. The very subtitle of the article, "On Satō Tesshō's *Beyond the Prevailing Winds*" (『季節風の彼方に』を中心として Kisetsufū no kanata ni *wo chūshin toshite*), refers to Satō's newest novel. This work was published by Shinchō and adapted for film in 1958. Although a world apart from the writers publishing mimeographed journals elsewhere in the prefecture, assembling a group of *regional* professional writers remained consistent with *Ōu bungaku*'s origins and editorial team. Their discussion analyzes the way regionalization generates contradictory and problematic divisions within literary production.

The roundtable opens with statements by these authors on the concept of "region" in relation to literature specifically. Satō opens the discussion by citing an unnamed critic lamenting the state of print in Japan:

> Satō - Well, how about we start with the issue a critic recently raised, namely, that independent magazines are currently becoming more concentrated in Tokyo while regional areas, especially Tōhoku, Kyūshū, and Hokkaidō, are, by comparison, relatively inactive.
>
> Inoue - Personally, I don't really feel comfortable separating regional areas from Tokyo. I'm not certain that we can say whether the entirety of culture has come to be concentrated in and around Tokyo. What is more, doesn't it seem as if that view has been shaped through the sense of isolation and exclusion that seems so characteristic of Japanese people?
>
> Bundō - I agree with Mr. Inoue. I don't think there is an essential difference between the center and region. If we were to venture a differentiation between them, we would find it in the lives of those who actual labor in those regions. We can see this in the works by people who write at the same time as they set foot in these regions, live these lives. We can see this in the works published from Italy's Tyrol region, where the literature was written by the doctors, educators, and farmers

> living in that area. Perhaps literature produced in that way might be something we would call "regional literature." However, we wouldn't be able to say that the literature produced by someone like Hans Carossa—who lived on Germany's border and wrote while managing a fruit tree nursery—could be called simply a regional writer. It's dangerous to call a literature central or regional. I think that those works that we call literature cannot ever be summed up by those frameworks or ideologies. In Japan, however, wouldn't we call works "regional literature" when they demonstrate opposition or resistance to not only the literature, but also the journalism that shows a tendency to cluster around, and be deformed by, Tokyo-as-center? Isn't what we are doing now, and especially what we are taking up in our regional literatures, exactly the work that takes as its base a fierce resistance?
>
> (All agree)[75]

Bundō offers an interesting turn-of-phrase here: Regional literature is that which resists a literature deformed by Tokyo-as-center. On the one hand, Bundō recognizes that in those instances when Tokyo does in fact act as a literary or intellectual center—in this particular context by pulling the material processes of print publication tighter and tighter into a single urban space—this action does in fact deform the literature produced in the nation as such. Although he does not use the term specifically, Bundō here is referring to the ways that print production itself becomes scaled to Tokyo-as-center, and that any literature which resists this act of scaling should be considered "regional." Given that this conversation occurs in 1955, just as the postwar National Literature Debate had reached its zenith, it seems likely that new critical deployments of nation and resistance lingered in the minds of these rural writers. Literary resistance to Tokyo-as-center, therefore, becomes rooted in the actual space of everyday rural Japan, but with a deliberate expansion of one's intellectual view beyond rural boundaries.

> Inoue - To take up the actual question, unlike before the war, there are many of us who hold on to our keen eye, surveying a wider area—even if we are called rural people. Shouldn't we be aiming to expand our view even wider? One that deals with our understanding and sensitivity to our regions but moves even beyond ideology.
>
> Satō - If we are speaking of sensitivity, there are many things in regional areas that are essentially urban. There's a danger that what we write would slip into naturalism if we were to ignore those things. Thus, even as we focus on our sensitivities, the writer depicts the size of their scale and the content of their thought. I think that writers necessarily push forward with their works from those places.
>
> Bundō - In that case, the nature and environment of the region takes on an important meaning.

[75] "Roundtable Discussion—The Question of Regional Writers: On Satō Tesshō's *Beyond the Prevailing Winds*" (「座談会―地方作家の問題：『季節風の彼方に』を中心として」*Zadankai—Chihō sakka no mondai:* Kisetsufū no kanata ni *wo chūshin toshite*), *Ōu bungaku* (『奥羽文学』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (June, 1955), 2. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

> I think that when the region takes hold at the root, we find a true literature, a true human form.
>
> Satō - While of course showing regional areas as they actually exist is necessary, what I think is most important is showing the progressive nature of regional people. Meaning, regional writers write on the environment where they live, and even go a step further by addressing the views they have held up until now. But I think they have to rise above this position, if even for a moment, and work from what they truly witness in their surroundings. Whatever this would be called, a world view…[76]

They later expand on the scalar relationship between region and worldedness, pointing out that regional literary expression in Japan is fundamentally limited to what can be exported through translation:

> Satō - I saw that Seidensticker found Takuboku to have written literature with a high degree of worldliness. That was eye-opening for me. I think until now Japanese people looked at only the romantic side of Takuboku and found him disagreeable.
>
> Bundō - I have been reading Takuboku's works that take up Hokkaidō as a topic recently. It seems he actually felt the peculiarities of that environment quite sharply. I was impressed by that.
>
> Inoue - I feel the same way. When someone goes to write poetry, I often hear them say, "I started with Takuboku, but I don't really like him now." I think Japanese people certainly have a blind spot. They often start with Takuboku, but there are hardly any that return to him.
>
> Satō - I think that even as Takuboku is a regional writer, he is also a worldly writer. Miyazawa Kenji also has a few verses that circulate [globally], but it's not the same as Takuboku.[77]

It seems inevitable that Takuboku and Miyazawa appear as avatars of northern Japan—a representative transformation that applies not only to the way that Japanese literature is consumed globally, within the postwar flows of world literature, but within the comparative scales of rural and urban, regional and national. Bundō attempts to summarize his understanding of concrete literary techniques that might lead to successful representation of Tōhoku in literature, a proposition that the other participants immediately re-apply to literary styles that emerge from urban space:

> Bundō - This January, I was riding the train past Lake Hachirō with two members of the magazine, Mr. Chiba and Mr. Komatsu. We felt something as we looked at the surface of the lake stretched out before us, with the frozen mountains of the Oga peninsula lined up on the other side. It looked like its own continent. But all three of us agreed that we hadn't yet read a work that captured that feeling. I think it is essential that we develop an even deeper understanding of these local areas.
>
> Satō - On that question of environment, there is also the mountains of Iwate on the other side. I can imagine a work that shows a dedicated conviction to take up that kind of majestic scale as a

[76] "The Question of Regional Writers," 2-3.

[77] "The Question of Regional Writers," 6.

literary background. That would be something quite unexpected.

Inoue - But how have the people in the center looked at that environment today? Were they truly as exclamatory as we expected? Were they resigned? Why is it that they can't outwardly express that feeling of exclamation? That's what I'd like to reconsider.

Satō - The environment of the city is different, so the people that live there tend to live in a manner that fits the city. I don't think it's right to say that they are only grasping beauty as it exists at a superficial level. The internality of people, whether in the center or in regional areas, cannot truly be divided in such a way based on their concerns and struggles. It's only a difference of asking whether such and such a person is urban, or if they are rural.[78]

Bundō's proposal for a regional literature that fully utilizes rural space is perhaps more radical than it first appears. On the one hand, a new, successful regional literature would imaginatively scale rural life beyond the borders of the space defined by the natural world and formations around us. That is to say, it would allow for an infinite reproduction of the aesthetic critiques Moriguchi Tari proposed in his interpretation of farmers' art through literary production. On the other hand, Bundō's suggestion implies the possibility of a fully independent rural life that exists beyond the reach of central figures—this could mean either aesthetically or politically. It seems fitting, therefore, that this suggestion emerges as an idealized second "continent." The mid-1950s saw a strong identification of a radical rural left with the revolutionary processes underway in communist China.

In the end, however, the consideration of regional literature cannot be divorced from print itself. The regionality of print as a material process inevitably collides with literary production:

Ogasawara - …when we are all reading the new literature that comes out every month from writers in the center, I'm sure we all find positive—and not so positive—things in their works. What do you think about this?

Satō - On the topic of those aspects that aren't so positive, for example, there's any number of negatives one can find in middlebrow magazines. They have their plusses in their own way, too. For example, I've been hearing recently that independently published magazines like the one we have put together, *Hoppō bungei*, have actually made plenty of readers consider their place as regional people. This point really gets one thinking.

Inoue - When writers in the center write rural areas, actual life comes to be separated from objective description. We might think of it as that aspect which prevents these works from making inroads with regional readers.

Satō - Thinking of it that way, even beyond independent magazines raising the estimation of regional literature, we might say the course we have set recently progresses a framework whereby a wider portion of society can participate in literature.

[78] "The Question of Regional Writers," 5-6.

> Ogasawara - I agree. Their desire to participate in society is growing considerably, and this is true not only for postwar writers. Speaking broadly on the state of literature today, I think there is a significant need for works to take up the issue of participating in society at any cost.[79]

The participants do not advocate for a newly emergent social literature tied directly to the mold of rural China, but there is enough overlap in the ideas to suggest they were aware of postwar leftist activists and their analyses of revolutionary literary practice. Of the many postwar writers cited in this discussion, Takeda Taijun receives universal praise, somewhat surprising given his dismissal of postwar farmers' literature as "boring."[80]

In total, these established regional writers differentiate the amateur regional writers active in the postwar period from both the imaginary "Sunday writer" Haneda Kiyoteru attacks,[81] as well as the purely professional writers of 19th century France, the same group of naturalists that Mori Sōichi identified as a failed, imported farmers' literature that took root in the formation of Japanese modern literature. Within the context of farmer/regional/rural literary theory as it developed through the Occupation-period, we find four significant breaks from the literary theorization of farmers' (or perhaps, regional/rural) literature that emerged from the early Occupation period. First, rural land was no longer seen exclusively as the site of a unique form of agricultural labor under feudal remnants, but rather as an abstract and representative space that opened literary possibilities for writers outside of the laboring class. Second, a recognition that local or regional literature exists in relation to the center and, by extension, a world that has a "world literature" as some component of its structure. Third, a dismissal of earlier calls to entirely reject central or urban literature outright, but rather to understand successful literary

[79] "The Question of Regional Writers," 3-4.

[80] Mukubō, 5.

[81] In this roundtable, Satō cites an unnamed article that Hanada had recently published in "a certain regional newspaper." Hanada had asserted, apparently, that he had never encountered a work produced by a true amateur that had caused him to rethink his perception of literary production by amateurs themselves. Satō goes on to criticize Haneda for "preventing the appearance of true literature."

texts within their spatial and artistic contexts. Finally, a proposal for a regional literature as print material that promotes social life not only for the local community consuming those texts, but for a wider readership that will almost certainly include readers (and writers) at increasingly larger scales.

Sawa Sōichi from Wartime to Postwar

Sawa Sōichi was born Yamanaka Katsue (山中勝衛) in 1907 and passed away in 1968.[82] He lived the first twenty-one years of his life in Mitsukaidō (水海道, now part of Jōsō 常総市), western Ibaraki, publishing his first text at the age of 16 in the magazine *Amusement of the Masses* (『民衆娯楽』*Minshū Goraku*). In 1928, through his connection to this magazine, Sawa was able to find work at the newspaper *Chatarō Shinbun* (『茶太楼新聞』) in Hirosaki (弘前市), Aomori. That winter, he participated in the Aomori gathering of *Shin rōnōtō* (新労農党), the New Labor-Farmer Party. He was arrested in a round-up of labor activists following the April 16 incident, 1929,[83] and was imprisoned until May of 1930 when he was released due to illness. Although he does not publish traditional "ideological conversion" (*tenkō*) literature, his postwar writing suggests that he at least renounced his leftist tendencies in part. He returned to Hirosaki, his job, and his literature, publishing *Tōhoku Literature* (『東北文学』*Tōhoku Bungaku*[84]) in

[82] The majority of these biographical details are drawn from the ground-breaking research on local writers being undertaken at The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature (青森県近代文学館 *Aomori-ken kindai bungakukan*).

[83] This was the second round of mass arrests of Communist Party members under the 1925 Peace Preservation Act. In Aomori, these arrests naturally targeted rural labor activists due to the overlap between Communist activists and rural proletarian leftists.

[84] Not to be confused with the major postwar magazine *Tōhoku Literature* (『東北文学』*Tōhoku Bungaku*) published in Sendai, Miyagi—although Sawa was also a regular contributor to this magazine.

Hirosaki from 1935. He married his wife, who was from northern Tsugaru, in 1936 and wrote extensively about the lives of farmers and fishers throughout the war. Although the exact dates are unclear, Sawa himself worked on a fishing boat off the coast of Kamchatka. These experiences led to Sawa publishing two long novels, *The Okhotsk Sea* and *A Fisher on the North Seas*.[85] As the war (and ideological oppression) grew more intense, Sawa turned towards narrating local folk literature. He won the Arima Prize for Farmers' Literature in 1943 for *A Folk Song Almanac* (『民謡ごよみ』*Minyō goyomi*).[86] From 1938 to 1946 he worked at Aomori's daily newspaper *Tōō Nippō* (『東奥日報』), eventually becoming the head of the paper's printing division. In 1949 he moved along with his family to Ōmiya (大宮市), Saitama. Sawa continued publishing regularly in the postwar period, though the full range of his works is as of yet unclear. He was in the middle of writing a massive three-part novel, *In Pursuit of Life*,[87] when he suddenly passed away in his home due to carbon-monoxide poisoning.

Unlike other postwar writers who moved closer to Tokyo from Tōhoku, Sawa's chief aim was not to break into the literary world. He worked full-time in a print shop and submitted his literature sporadically to Tokyo and regional journals. Full-time employment likely interfered

[85] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), *The Okhotsk Sea* (『オホツク海』*Ohotsukukai*) (Tokyo: Shunyōdō, 1939) and Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), *A Fisher on the North Seas* (『北海の漁夫』*Hokkai no gyofu*) (Osaka: Kinjō shuppansha, 1942).

[86] Like many rural leftist writers, Sawa largely abandoned politically charged texts during the war in favor of sketches and reportage style writing that sought to capture the rural everyday. Although the long-term goals for this writing may have included revolutionary aims, this genre of text was less likely to come into conflict with Imperial government censors. The Arima Prize itself was named in honor of Arima Yoriyasu (有馬頼寧), the Tokyo-born count who held left-leaning tendencies in his youth, but found himself accused of Class A war crimes by the Allied Powers. He was one of the founders of Japan's Farmer Union and Minister of Agriculture between 1937 and 1939—an apposite entanglement of rural radicalism and colonial state power.

[87] The first two volumes were published the year before Sawa's death while the final volume was published posthumously in 1968. Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), *In Pursuit of Life, Part 1: A Voice on the Wind* (『生活の探求：第１部　風の中に声が』*Seikatsu no tankyū: dai ichi bu kaze no naka ni koe ga*) (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1967), Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), *In Pursuit of Life, Part 2: The Snow Flower* (『生活の探求：第２部　雪の花』*Seikatsu no tankyū: dai nii bu yuki no hana*) (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1967), and Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), *In Pursuit of Life, Part 1: The Bush Warbler* (『生活の探求：第３部　うぐいす』*Seikatsu no tankyū: dai san bu uguisu*) (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1968).

with his writing, and he received advice on the topic at least twice. First, by Dazai Osamu: "You need to be more of an egoist if you want to be a better writer;" later by his print shop coworkers: "Your job as a printer can't be called much more than part-time, so shouldn't you put all your effort into your literary future?"[88] Sawa's life, as with his texts, seem unceasingly "in between." It is worth critically considering, therefore, how and why Sawa's literary production foregrounds the political implications of writing locality and how the contradictions of rural life—at once radical and reactionary, populist and provincial—inform the literary and political possibilities of postwar subjectivity.

On New Postwar Literary Subjectivities: Sawa as Critic of Regional Literature

Sawa published the essay "The Position of Regional Writers" in the March 1949 issue of *Gekkan Tōō*. He describes the sometimes coincidental and non-literary paths by which Aomori writers came to enter into mainstream literary or cultural consciousness. For example, Ishizaka Yōjirō (石坂洋次郎, 1900-1986) was able to debut in the *bundan* when he published his novel *The Young* (『若い人』*Wakai hito*) in *Mita bungaku*. It was only after the story was selected for film adaptation and became a cultural sensation that Ishizaka began to be recognized as a "major" figure in Aomori's literary history. Likewise, Sawa contends that Dazai Osamu's popularity was driven largely by his sensational affairs and eventual murder-suicide, a particularly shocking accusation considering Sawa's closeness with Dazai and the fact that not even a year had passed since Dazai's death when he made the claim. The formative literary circles that Sawa observes in Aomori developed through works drawn from the *bundan* and mainstream journalism. In this

[88] Sakaki Hiroko (榊弘子), *Sawa Sōichi and Dazai Osamu* (『沙和宗一と太宰治』) (Saitama: Sakitama shuppansha, 2005), 98.

regard, Sawa considers them to have failed entirely to actualize their literary potential. In this, he agrees with fellow Aomori-born/establishment/radical author Akita Ujaku (秋田雨雀, 1883-1962), who contends that Aomori's "literary movement" is all "literary" and no "movement." Sawa recognizes literary potential not in the relationship *between* the central *bundan* and regional literature, but internal to the regional writer's lived experience. He writes:

> The love of literature is assembled in the literary groups run out of the Aomori branch of the National Rail Union, or the Hirosaki Electrical Plant, or the Tōhoku Loom Workers' Labor Union, working people who take their workplace as the foundation of their literature. These are different from salons or naïve reading groups. The participants have connected their circle activity actively to both their everyday life and their literature. They only take up fashionable literary works when they theorize them. They do this through their individual physicality, or logic, or psychology which is drawn directly from their lives or class roots. Because they are not children gathering together to make their *bundan* debut, or work towards becoming a professional writer, the cornerstone of their work is the improvement of humanity and their own lives. This is how manifold literary action can be carried out...This kind of literary organization becomes one wing of democratic revolution. It struggles to overthrow the semi-feudalism, capitalism, commercialism, and the guild-like *bundan* that obstructs the growth of regional literary texts.[89]

Although this quote does not address agricultural issues directly, Sawa's other postwar essays and fiction often deal with the lives of farmers and fishers on these same theoretical terms. In this formulation of the regional writer, Sawa describes regional cultural production that closely mirrors Takeuchi's formulation of an "aggregate" National Literature. The scale of literary production is the lived everyday. The directionality of literary representation emerges from the region outwards towards the center, and the literary culture of urban print capital is specifically cited as an impediment to regional cultural production. Sawa's regional literature is radically unbounded in regards to scale; he does not propose a border to the region he describes, only that region must exist as a mode of reading and writing. Region presents a beneficial flexibility. It is neither too narrow (even down to the individual union member) nor too wide (within an

[89] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The Position of Regional Writers" (「地方に住む作家の立場」 *Chihō ni sumu sakka no tachiba*), *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) Volume 11, Issue 3 (March, 1949), 47-48. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

internationalist movement emphasizing rural praxis).

Sawa already sees a fundamental divide existing within the works that have come to represent farmers' literature, or regional literature, on the national scale. Sawa's criticism directly targets Wada Den (和田伝, 1900-1985), arguably the most famous advocate of "Farmers' Literature."[90] In the 1949 *Gekkan Tōō* essay "The World of Insects" (「虫の世界」*Mushi no sekai*), Sawa outlines how the divide in postwar regional literature occurs either spatially, in the material conditions of everyday life in different rural areas of Japan, or (more importantly) how the very structure and expressions of literary representation become severed across rural and urban modes of regional literature when one tries to critique the genre as a single cohesive movement. Sawa had already moved back to Ibaraki by the time he publishes this essay, and he is careful to point out that he was born and raised near the setting of Nagatsuka Takashi's (長塚節, 1879-1915) *The Soil* (『土』*Tsuchi*). He must now come to terms with his twenty years of living in Tsugaru and the different modes of representing rural life in literature:

> Most main characters in Wada Den's works are prideful, penny-pinching misers, many of whom are extremely greedy. In the estimation of one critic, this is the ideology of the petty landowner. While this is true, I also certainly think that Wada is representing Kantō region farming villages in his literature. There is no sense of social association to be found here. It is far removed from the farmland like you would find in Tsugaru. The towns are all regimented and lined up along the roads. The fields run up along the homes, which are surrounded by fences made of cedar or *cypress*. What's more, they are surrounded by bamboo thickets or forests. This of course guards them from strong winds and thieves. The characters are prepared to make the required repairs to the house, and they marry off their sons and daughters in advantageous ways. Each farmhouse is separate from the others, suggesting a town where every individual is sealed off, alone. There is no doubt that this form is powerful, having a deep influence on the psychology and character of the people there.
>
> The accepted theory that the farming villages in Tsugaru are backwards is a fallacy based on center-first prejudices. The farming villages in the Tokyo area lag far behind those in Tsugaru. The absence of farmers' unions and other such movements proves this. When I think back on the Tsugaru

[90] Meaning here the *nōmin bungaku* (農民文学) theorized and developed by urban literary elites from the 1920s through early 1940s. Sawa writes extensively on rural life and literary production but differs from authors such as Wada or Itō Einosuke in that he generally avoids using the term "Farmers' Literature" to describe literary and cultural movements in northern Tōhoku. As in the essay cited here, Sawa's more often critiques the concept of regionality as it applies to writers in urban or rural space. This extends also to his fictional works, his serialized novels in the Akita newspaper *Gekkan sakigake* (『月刊さきがけ』) address the politics and culture of rural space: *A Regional City* (『地方都市』) and *The White Hamlet* (『白い部落』).

> of my spirit, I can see new conditions arising.[91]

When Sawa's Aomori-born friend "O" comes to visit Sawa's new home in Ibaraki from Tokyo, he describes his experience at the end of the war bartering anything he owns, even down to his wife's *geta*, for yams. He describes the "deep grudge" the farmers in the area held toward him. Sawa notes that even his progressive Aomori friend recognizes the unavoidable political and economic conditions of the town and concludes that it most certainly has "a sense of 'Wada-ness.'"[92]

In "The World of Insects," Sawa does not directly describe the social, political, and economic conditions that led him to discover a significantly more radical space in Tsugaru than in the rural exurbs of Tokyo. It seems likely that readers of *Gekkan Tōō* would have been familiar with the essays he published throughout the early Occupation period, or at the very least been familiar with his views on regional political and cultural movements. Sawa integrated and expressed the future of political subjectivity present in rural Japan in his February 1946 essay in *Tōhoku bunko*, "The Present Conditions of Social Movements." Like Sawa's other texts—both non-fiction and fiction, as will be explored in the follow sections—Sawa opens the essay by situating the text in the locality of Aomori:

> Today, as yesterday, there is a terrible blizzard. My work over the past two or three months has kept me roaming about the prefecture along areas near the Ōu line, Kuroishi, Namioka, Hirosaki, and Aomori City. The past few days I've been commuting to Aomori. As with anywhere, the chill air provides meager warmth. Yet in this area burned out by war, spending a day here in this lonely hut, freezing, isn't so dull, particularly as the snow comes roaring in off the ocean. It's nice for one's body to freeze through, absolutely, severing the ability to think at all.[93]

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[91] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The World of Insects" (「虫の世界」*Mushi no sekai*), *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) Volume 11, Issue 10 (November, 1949), 13. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[92] Literally, 「『和田文学』性」*Wada bungaku sei*. Sawa, "The World of Insects," 13.

[93] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The Present Conditions of Social Movements" (「社会運動の現勢」*Shakai undō no gensei*), *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (February, 1946), 10. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

Sawa starts his essay with multiple unexpected contradictions. Stylistically, essays in the postwar on broad political topics—such as the state of social movements—tend to avoid the kind of lyrical and literary opening that Sawa employs. Furthermore, the intense focus on the solitary writer, frozen and penned up on the empty coast, suggests a severing between the individual and social body. What kind of social movements can one observe in this condition? Severing, as metaphor, projects onto Sawa's cognition, and the tongue-in-cheek jab at his compromised intellectual state undergirds the contradictory opening: What insight can a mind frozen in isolation provide? Sawa's initial answer is obvious, low-hanging fruit—he laments the lack of food and everyday supplies that we see in many other texts from this early postwar moment. Sawa searches for an office with a stove and writes:

> Of course, in this frozen and starving town in the far north no such extravagant place could exist. There isn't a single stove, let alone enough coals to get it roaring. There are, however, places such that frigid air and hunger can blow through. 115 Shinmachi. Inside the burned out remains of Hirasawa Tetsuo's warehouse. Currently it houses the branch office of the Socialist Party, the branch office of the Co-op, the Aomori General Labor Union, and the meeting location for preparations to form the Aomori Farmers' Union. It is dim and narrow, but that dimness lights a single room with an air of shared solidarity. Please, excuse my sentimentality.[94]

The material and social conditions that have emerged after decades of suppression mirror the harshness of Aomori's winter landscape. Sawa crafts an opening that invites participation in this very locality. "Rebuilding" postwar Aomori is not limited to construction or agriculture, but must necessarily include reforming political coalitions that had been trampled by the regional military police. The essay does not open with ideological tests, staking out an *area* of regionality that one must claim to participate in social reform, nor does it disparage or proselytize. The only requirement for accessing the general state of social movements, it seems, is a mindful perception of location and a willingness to recognize historical conditions and future

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[94] Sawa, "Present Conditions," 10.

possibilities. In a sense, Sawa sutures past to future in the present moment precisely through shared locality. As we will discover in Sawa's fiction from the same period, his "sentimentality" here extends only as far as radical local political practices—it does not exact retribution for rural Aomori's militarist past, nor does it uncritically embrace the farmers who rejected the reformed rural left in the early months and years of the postwar period.

This article appears in the journal *Tōhoku Bunko* (『東北文庫』), based in Morioka, Iwate. Despite Sawa being most active in Aomori, he clearly grasps why the political solidarity of locality matters in this moment. Communities in Tōhoku and Hokkaidō are on the precipice of enacting radical democratic reform that had been stifled by restrictions under fascist militarism. He continues:

> Those like-minded people have now largely assembled in farming villages and in local administrations to take steps toward realizing democratization. I cannot state this without feeling deep emotion. These past decades have seen regional [Japan] crushed by the rule of the Special Higher Police like a steamroller. We have been squashed left and right, whether those in the proletarian movement, or their fellow travelers, or even liberal intellectuals…this group of farmers has become the united front of the people's liberation.[95]

Sawa deliberately roots the first steps towards democratization and liberation in local farming communities. Before enacting national policies promoted by any leftist party, Sawa reasserts the foundational role of workers in Aomori and their comrades in the regional farming movement growing throughout Tōhoku. In the moment, this is a tenuous position even for someone writing in Tōhoku. Many mainstream writers recognize the importance of farming communities but tend to see them as the backwards remnants of the feudal system, rather than fertile ground for democratization. Sawa summarizes the most frequent criticism of regional political organization:

> It's said that the feudal consciousness of farmers is, on the whole, too strong and that, accordingly, their sense of devotion to a totalitarian system is too deep. What would happen if we were to play down to the contemporary consciousness of the farmer with watered-down ideology?[96]

[95] Sawa, "Present Conditions," 10.

[96] Sawa, "Present Conditions," 11.

Sawa is not speaking rhetorically here. Examples of this mode of criticism of regional autonomy are abundant. Exposés of rural Tōhoku's "innately feudal nature" receive multi-page top billings in regional magazines, often with derogatory art. Sawa responds in two ways. The first relates to the structure of the nation as a whole, the wartime idea of *kokutai* (国体), and the possibility of resistance to a consciousness of the national polity under fascism that can be generated from local organization:

> Just past the 15th of December, a meeting was held to establish the Farmers' Board in the town of Shimizu in central Tsugaru, Aomori. Tsugawa Takeichi, Tamura Fumio and others had set out a watershed organization for farmers. This was before they had established the Aomori branch of the Communist Party. It was here that we first heard the open cries for the dissolution of the imperial system in Aomori, and they reverberated mightily. Certainly, from now on the Farmers' Movement will lose its position as a union made up exclusively of small-time crop sharers.[97]

Sawa here paints the conditions upon which a farmers' union might find solidarity with other causes on the left and expand its participatory constituents. It seems that one way for farmers and leftist politicians and intellectuals to find common ground is precisely to set their regional autonomy in contrast with the concept of a unified national body. Sawa makes clear that these new political alliances, as they develop towards democratization of the local, will necessarily be led by farmers themselves:

> In our region of Tōhoku, the oppression of Japan's feudalistic, totalitarian rule was particularly harsh. The organizations and struggles that appear hereafter will without question be born from young, competent leaders from the farming villages.[98]

Sawa has laid out his vision of radical democratization in the rural north of Japan in clear terms. This vision, by its nature, includes tension with a centralized and unified vision of a national body. As a writer, Sawa advocates a regional autonomy and democracy that includes cultural production. A democratic shift in rural Japan necessarily includes the democratization of literary

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[97] Sawa, "Present Conditions," 11.

[98] Sawa, "Present Conditions," 11.

production. His unflagging commitment to rural communities leaves him in a position where he must simultaneously argue for the relevancy of rural writers while functioning in the material mode of publishing "modern literature" which he is in fact arguing against.

He sets his vision of regional literature against the so-called humanism of modern literature in his essay "The Farmer and Humanity: The Prerequisites of Democratic Literature" in the September/October 1946 issue of the leftist journal *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』), published in Morioka, Iwate. First, Sawa defines who the farmer-writer is: "Although I feel now that I am myself particularly close to farmers, from the Meiji period onward there has not been a single writer who has emerged who had a background in cultivation." Despite spending more than ten years of his life representing rural farm life in literature, Sawa reasserts the essential condition for democratic literature to develop: It must be capable of supporting every class of writer. He continues:

> Recently, it has been announced that a democratic literature has been established. If the core writers who formed the literary elite and staged their erstwhile, deranged nonsense now look upon the modernity of 'overcoming' favorably, the road ahead is unnavigable. It is unthinkable that democratic literature, or something like it, could be established without the establishment of human subjectivity *as writer*.[99]

As Sawa explored in his wartime writing, the modes of literature and art that exist in farming communities—folktales, folk songs, proverbs, collective art, community performance—must be considered alongside (and included within) revolutionary forms of literary representation that have been most often associated with modern and proletarian literature. Any upheaval in postwar political subjectivity must coincide with a similar upheaval in literary subjectivities. In the end, Sawa's proposal for a radical new postwar regional literature foregrounds a rural human

[99] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The Farmer and Humanity: The Prerequisites of Democratic Literature" (「農民と人間：民主主義文学の前提」*Nōmin to jinsei: minshushugi bungaku no zentei*), *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』) Volume 1, Issue 8 (September/October, 1946), 28. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

subjectivity *as writer* that he cannot, by his own definition, fulfill himself. Sawa remains caught in-between: both as semi-professional author, and as rural writer without roots in the ground.

(Un)sentimental Rural Life: Sawa as Fiction Author and the Contradictions of Narrating Postwar Aomori

Sawa published the short story "Rice" (『米』) in the March, 1946 issue of *Seikatsusha*. The main character, Fukushi Senkichi (福士仙吉) works at a paper mill in Aomori City. After his house is burned down in an air raid, he moves outside the city with his family of five and faces a long daily commute to remain employed. Senkichi stares down the prospect of his family starving to death in the wake of minimal food rations in the initial postwar period. Inflation makes Senkichi's wages worthless almost as soon as he is paid, so he and his coworkers pool their money to try to buy rice from some of the local farmers in the small town where Senkichi has evacuated. The story opens in the midst of a tense discussion between Senkichi and his wife. His wife demands that he visit Narita, a neighbor who lives as a "half-subsistence farmer." Senkichi's wife suspects that Narita is colluding with Yokoyama, another nearby farmer, to illegally sell off what excess rice they have produced:

> Mr. Narita told Senkichi's wife he had nothing to sell, no matter how many times she inquired. The threshing machine was whirring and the scent of fresh straw coming from the barn wafted up to her nose. Senkichi's wife would bow and make her request, but her pleas always came across as her usual complaints. She could see sacks stacked up underneath the window and she found no kindness in Mr. Narita's intentions.
>
> "It turns out Mr. Narita does in fact have rice, but he's too ashamed to sell to his neighbors at high prices. So, he lies and takes his rice over to Yokoyama's to sell on the black market. I'm sure of if."[100]

After some prodding from his wife, Senkichi meets Murata, an old native farmer of the village with some inside information. Murata explains that his own crops had a bad yield. He couldn't

[100] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "Rice" (「米」*Kome*), *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (March, 1946), 20. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and Iwate Prefectural Library.

even cover the orders he had previously taken after taxes and material costs. He suggests that all the local subsistence farmers are processing their rice at Narita's barn to save what they can. This revelation shakes Senkichi's resolve to confront his neighbors. The story ends:

> *—If that's the case, then the sacks piled up in Mr. Narita's barn are all the rice produced by the tenant farmers*. At this, all the defiance towards the farmers that Senkichi had suppressed inside him suddenly faded away. He had eyed down all these farmers as his enemies, but the people he detested weren't to be found among this old man or the others.
>
> "Sorry for the trouble," Senkichi said.
>
> The old man had explained things perfectly.
>
> "Yokoyama's a tenant farmer, too. No matter how bad the harvest was this year, he had to give up three sacks of rice no matter what was gonna happen. If they had given in to you even a little, the farmers here couldn't have gone on living. And yet, Yokohama is still willing to bargain with you. Think of that, kiddo!"
>
> Then the old man lowered his voice.
>
> "It'd be bad if anyone heard that he sold rice to you. You gotta keep all of this a secret to everyone else."
>
> "No problem, Mr. Murata."
>
> "There's no way that there is gonna be enough rice left over for the year because of the low yield on rented fields. But still, he'll probably sell you something. You just have to sympathize, though!"
>
> The two had arrived at Yokoyama's gate. Senkichi's hatred had dissipated, but…
>
> Fukushi Senkichi was left in a haze, not knowing what was what. After buying the rice, he had suddenly come to detest Narita and Yokoyama. He had a feeling that his hunger had helplessly sucked him into a trick they had themselves designed. It felt as if his life had finally reached a cliff and been pushed over the edge. He was bitter. But was he bitter at himself? Or his friends? Or these farmers?
>
> "Hey, if you wait any longer you are going to miss your train," his wife said.
>
> Senkichi buried his head in his overcoat and turned towards the dawn cold where the streetlights still glared. This morning, as always, his wife hustled him along. He left and headed to the factory.[101]

"Rice" closes by suggesting that the fundamental tension between starving rural laborer and hoarding, deceptive farmer is a false dichotomy. In the original, the division between these two groups is marked linguistically through direct quotation. Senkichi and his wife speak standard dialect (標準語 *hyōjungo*), while the farmers of the village all speak in a (relatively) legible version of the Tsugaru dialect. Sawa shows an interest in representing local speech on the page but does so in moderation. The printed text of Murata's spoken quotations, for example, presents a targeted and "realistic" depiction of dialect variation in Aomori. Sawa avoids the invented,

[101] Sawa, "Rice," 24.

universalized “Tōhoku-ben” that had been popularized by urban writers when they wanted to “write the farm,” but didn’t want to impede the legibility of the text for readers beyond Tōhoku. Sawa steps beyond the cliched *be* (べ) endings of sentences, and uses printed text to both express non-grammatical sound, and dialectal shifts in grammar. Although there is no reasonable way to accurately represent Murata’s accent in English, it’s worth looking at examples of these two methods of regional/literary representation. When Murata says “And yet, Yokohama is still willing to bargain with you,” Sawa changes the particle *ni* to the northern standard, *sa*, and closes the sentence with a small katakana *su* to mark the soft dropping of the standard verb *desu.* 「そこでいま、横山では旦那さ懸合最中なのス。」Later, Sawa represents Tsugaru grammar on the page as such, without concern for the familiarity of his readers with the dialect: 「そこを売るんではで、察してけへや、のウ。」*Ha de* marks the conjunctive particle like the English “so…,” *shiteke* marks a request, *he* is a voiced extension of the previous vowel sound, and both *ya* and *nō* are kinds of emphatic markers, the latter with a katakana-ized accent mark to give a sense of local space.[102]

Sawa gives the reader a messy, contradictory closure to the story. We sense that there remains some *undefined* force that places both local farmers and laborers in shared hardship. This does not totally exculpate the farmers—they remain distant and suspicious, only appearing in moments of indirect narration. The reader is left unaware of just how genuine Murata’s explanation might be as Senkichi enters Yokoyama’s farm. The story cuts at the precise moment Yokoyama himself would appear to settle the matter. This structure suggests, however, that the possibility of resolving the social tension does not in fact exist in competitive or spiteful social

[102] It seems likely that this grammar would have been mutually intelligible for non-Tsugaru dialect speakers who were familiar with some aspects of grammar in other parts of Tōhoku. Miyazawa Kenji uses almost the same grammar (though with an accent that represents his Hanamaki-based dialect) in the famous poem “Morning of Our Final Parting” (「永訣の朝」*Eiketsu no asa*): 「（あめゆじゅ　とてちて　けんじゃ）」.

relations in the village—as Sawa suggested was source of backwardness of farming villages in the Tokyo exurbs. At the same time, Sawa does not take the oversimplified literary exit common to proletarian literature: Readers are not left with a sudden act of defiant solidarity against an overarching oppressive figure. In the end, the reader is left in the same state of confusion as Senkichi himself. Sawa drafts the story in such a way that the reader must recreate the work necessary to discover a route toward local solidarity themselves. That is to say, Sawa expects action from the reader to establish their political subjectivity in response to local literature.

Sawa's conflicted unsentimentally in portraying rural life extends beyond the temporal bounds of the postwar period. He addresses the reaction of rural people to the height of wartime propagandization in his short story "War Song" (「軍歌」*Gunka*). The story was originally published in the November/December, 1946 issue of *Gekkan Tōō*. "War Song" describes the inherent danger of participating in local print culture in the height of the war, when the prefectural offices of the Special Higher Police were tracking down leftist dissidents. The narrator's leftist friend, Shima, is arrested for organizing a local literary group. This sets off a round of arrests, followed by the ideological conversion of most members—the transformation of a local literary group into an "ideological convert" group (「『転向者』グループ」*tenkōsha gurūpu*). The narrator suggests that some of these former leftists were now collaborating with the Special Higher Police that had arrested them. The narrator's friend, Shinsuke, visits his home asking to hide his most prized books before he burns the volumes that remain at his home. As these local writers struggle to hide their libraries of banned texts (and their own texts), they are forced to join the townspeople in a send-off for fresh military recruits.[103] The story's opening

[103] Sawa's story resembles the structure of similar stories from the immediate postwar. A narrator considers the many misgivings they have regarding the war, yet in the end are placed in a situation where they are forced to publicly show support for (or disguise their resistance to) some state-sponsored ceremony. Hotta Yoshie's December, 1946 story *Futatsu no nikutai* follows this structure, with the narrator eventually being sucked into a

passage lays out the stakes of literary production:

> …Today it's someone else. Tomorrow it will be me. Shima met his fate and was snatched up by the Special Higher Police. I can't guarantee when they will come for us. Shima had been working to organize his workplace and been a regular in the town's literary group, but ever since he and the others got picked up, I've suddenly started guarding myself and my behavior. Looking back on the actions of the prefecture's Special Higher Police these past ten years, or even looking at any of the prefectures, they have crushed any person who appeared to be on the far left.
>
> …
>
> The Essential Beauty Association—or rather, the "ideological convert" group—was dissolved by the association's leaders on orders from the probation office. In most cases, the chief at the probation office, an ideological prosecutor by the name of Mr. Kōbe, had set a policy at the probation office of establishing groups to monitor existing converts. The local government office, however, had been taken aback by the course set by his manipulation of converts. The treatment of ideological converts has fundamentally changed. Now, they get called in to the probation office one-by-one. First this person, then that person.[104]

This opening sets in motion the structure of the story: The narrator's attempt to recall their own personal history of literary activism is constantly recalibrated according to counterattacks made by state actors. The story itself opens with an ellipsis, allowing a knowing postwar reader to fill in the events that occurred up to the moment that the narrator recognizes the danger they have found themselves in—events that regular readers of Sawa's works had likely experienced themselves. Yet the immediate incursion of the Special Higher Police indicates two restrictions: first, the character's actions in the story are limited to what is permissible according to wartime state power; second, the memories of the narrator are themselves limited to the moments he or his fellow writers came into contact with wartime state power. The reader might suspect that the narrator is recalling these events in a postwar moment roughly contemporaneous to the story's publication, yet the story itself never offers a temporal or spatial setting. The only contestant throughout appears to be the oppressive relationship between thought, literature, or action to the Special Higher Police. Shinsuke's visit to the narrator makes this clear:

> Shinsuke said, "There's no way that these converts are going to be able to have discussions with their old relations. Even if the whole group is all converts, it's never going to happen. All these

military send off for new recruits near Osaka station.

[104] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "War Song" (「軍歌」 *Gunkai*), *Gekkan tōō* (『月刊東奥』) Volume 8, Issue 10 (November/December, 1946), 23. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

> people need to submit every single book they have to the probation office, no exceptions. Whether it's communist, or even literature on liberalism or rationalism, anything that holds some promise towards communistic intellectual development. There's no way to carry out any action in the future. When you get caught in a raid by the Special Higher Police, you end up with the probation office. And these converts won't take any responsibility for your social actions."
>
> I said with some discontent, "So did you tell them you would hand in all of your books?"
>
> On the many inspections the police had made to my home, they had always carried away some portion of my valuable books. All that was left were things that would have no value as evidence. But, given the changing times, even those were subject to charges under the Peace Preservation Law.
>
> Shinsuke replied, "I told them I didn't have a single book left."[105]

Shinsuke then produces a wrapped packages of his most valuable—that is, most left-leaning—volumes, and asks the narrator to hide them in his own home while he burns what remains. The entire exchange is dominated by the "changing times" and the reality that the narrator no longer has any way of confirming whether or not Shinsuke himself had been picked up in a raid and taken to the probation office to be "converted" to an individual informant. Shinsuke's prediction is shockingly accurate: the narrator cannot feel comfortable discussing any topic with Shinsuke, who we are left to surmise participated in the same literary groups as Shima and the narrator, without exposing himself to some personal danger.

When the narrator fails to hang the Japanese Imperial flag from his home for the anniversary of the Imperial Declaration of War, Shinsuke chides him, pointing out: "We are not normal people."[106] Shinsuke suggests that not only are he and the narrator not "normal" in their willingness to resist the war—and write that resistance—but they are also not "normal" in the eyes of the state and under enhanced surveillance. The narrator shows little interest in expanding on this topic. Shinsuke describes how the neighbors were hoarding food, nudging the narrator towards joining his critique. The narrator replies, "I didn't say anything," to which Shinsuke repeats: "We are not normal people."[107] The narrator's ambivalence to Shinsuke leads the reader

[105] Sawa, "War Song," 23.

[106] Sawa, "War Song," 23.

[107] Sawa, "War Song," 23.

to suspect that he may in fact be acting as an informant for the Special Higher Police. The narrator confirms: "I came to feel that Shinsuke had been wrapped in an indescribable darkness…God, I thought, people like us are going to be forced to break off our relations with every person in this world."[108]

The narrator leaves his home to participate in a sending-off ceremony for local soldiers leaving for the front. He takes up a small flag and waives it diligently in the crowd as he sings. He spots his friend Okiku in the crowd holding a baby. Although the exact details remain unspoken, we understand that she had previously joined the narrator in his literary group and political organizing. After Shima's arrest, she moves to the same area as the narrator—"a town in Aomori." Unlike Sawa's other works, especially those that focus on the postwar period, this small aside exists as the only spatial orientation of the text, one that arrives at the very end of the story when both the narrator and Okiku are themselves forced to remain stationary. The story ends:

> Maybe I had been selfish, but I hadn't tried to find out where she was living. And Okiku was Okiku. She hadn't come to visit me, even though she knew where I lived. We had been close. … Honestly, I was feeling nostalgic about the shared ambitions we had held long ago. But in this small town, both Okiku and I had so far avoided approaching each other before we made a major sacrifice by re-engaging in our friendship.
>
> Okiku also noticed me and grinned. I smiled back and waved my flag. I sang. We both sang…[109]

The story closes with an ellipsis, just as it began. This again suggests to the reader that they can easily enough fill in the course of events that surround this brief narrative. This final trailing off suggests continuation rather than closure. In fact, Sawa had already laid out his thesis for the text a few paragraphs before: "I could hear it on the wind. The people with good hearts and morals who worked in the farms and factories and schools, they would all vanish from [this country] as

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[108] Sawa, "War Song," 24.

[109] Sawa, "War Song," 24.

the war worsened." Given that the story is bracketed with ellipses, we might consider that this narrative itself is an ephemeral lament from the "good, moral" rural narrator. He too vanishes from wartime reality. The story fails to "exist" in a specific time or place precisely because it emerges from the vanished. The story can only orient its characters through their memories of interacting with the Special Police. The form of the story as text exists through the mediating power of the wartime state. Like "Rice," Sawa shows no interest in narrating a triumphant rural actor, one capable of effecting revolutionary action. The narrator, Shinsuke, Mikami, and Okiku—the writers who happen to appear in the story (and Shima, who never returns from his arrest)—are no longer capable of solidarity or trust. Human relationships have been fundamentally rewritten through ideological conversion—a threatening truth that we can surmise these other characters also recognize in their own interactions with the narrator.

Sawa regularly addresses the core themes from both "Rice" and "War Song" in his writings from the early postwar period—the downtrodden yet untrustworthy farmer and the local writer who has betrayed leftist literary and political praxis. On the topic of rural farmers, Sawa publishes essays such as "Where are the Evil Farmers?" in *Gekkan sakigake* and "Musings on Evil Farmers" in *Nōson bunka.*[110] These essays outline the political and social tactics that large landowning farmers use in northern Tōhoku to maintain their position in the local community. Sawa then reintegrates these critiques in his fiction, such as "Rice," above, or the serialized short story "The Blizzard."[111] Unfortunately, the archival holdings that would collect this short story in

[110] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "Where are the Evil Farmers?" (「悪農はどこにいる」*Akunō ha doko ni iru*), *Gekkan sakigake* (『月刊さきがけ』) Volume 2, Issue 5 (May, 1946), 15-16; Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "Musings on Evil Farmers" (「悪農雑記」*Akunō zakki*), *Nōson bunka* (『農村文化』) Volume 27, Issue 5 (November, 1946), 26-28. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[111] Sawa Sōichi (沙和宋一), "The Blizzard" (「吹雪」*Fubuki*), *Seikatsusha* (『生活者』) Volume 2, Issue 3 (March, 1947), 12-15. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries. The story ends with "To be continued…" however this issue of *Seikatsusha* marks the last volume to appear in the Prange Collection or in the holdings of the Iwate Prefectural Library. No later copies appear in the holdings of other regional or national

its entirety remain incomplete. The first volume, however, opens *in media res* as one of the "evil farmers" that Sawa had described in his non-fiction works calls out: "That's it! Okay, if we can convince everyone to drop off their rice in the store house tomorrow too, we'll be able to keep all of it!"[112] What follows is a struggle amongst the members of a local farming union organizing to oust these "evil farmers" from their ranks. These landowning farmers are more concerned with their ability to stockpile the union members' harvest in their personal silos in order to skim profits from the community than they are with maintaining a stock of rice that would be capable of feeding those same union members. The first part of the story closes as the main character, Ryōtarō, discovers a pent-up passion for the first time in his life. He joins the union and begins planning direct action against these wealthy hoarders. As with Sawa's other texts—and the many critical essays by farmers outlined above—there is an inherent messiness when local people struggle to align their democratic aims within their own community and against out-of-control inflation brought about by the central government's monetary and food policies.

Designing Farmers' Literature: Print History and the Creation of (Agri)cultural Magazines

As this chapter has demonstrated so far, postwar Tōhoku writers were caught in the midst of dramatic shifts in cultural production and political participation, and neither category was neatly defined according to a universal literary methodology or democratic ideology that might mark the print history of the region as a particular kind of "rural"—at least, not in the way that might

archives or libraries. It is unclear if *Seikatsusha* ceased publishing or later issues simply have not surfaced. Sawa publishes the script to a dramatized version of this story in the August, 1948 issue of *La Teatoro* (『テアトロ』).

[112] Sawa, "The Blizzard," 12.

be recognized as such in relation to the way urban print history has come to portray postwar "Farmers' Literature." Region/farm existed across contested scales within an emerging postwar print media. To date, examinations of postwar print culture inevitably get wrapped up in a return to the nation-state form, with urban print capital assuming the mantle of proper center of cultural production. As Seiji Lippit writes, a postwar process of decolonization was replaced by "the discursive return to the nation, but one whose historical status as a 'return' (i.e., as a refashioning of national consciousness) was, in some ways, simultaneously repressed."[113] The postwar situation differs significantly from the "regional" works associated with Japanese Imperial Literature.[114] These works—from Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, The Philippines, and other peripheral spaces—were deliberately situated on the outskirts of the expanding state. The large expatriate population of rural poor necessitated a consideration of the cultural conditions of Japanese rural outlands—whether "internal" to the "nation" or otherwise. Without a clear understanding of how local media emerged, interacted, and developed in the opening years of the Occupation period, one can easily be "trapped" in the circular archivization project that reasserted the scaling of urban print production to Japan as nation-state. Reading a regional magazine without the context of local and regional cultural production—that is, by reverting to nation-as-center, or even Tokyo-as-center—obscures the complex exchanges across regional postwar magazines.

Between 1950 and 1951, *Aomori Agriculture* (『青森農業』*Aomori nōgyō*) transforms from a relatively bland technical journal on farming practices into a general interest literary magazine

[113] Seiji M. Lippit, "Spaces of Occupation in the Postwar Fiction of Hotta Yoshie," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Volume 36, Number 2 (Summer, 2010), 290.

[114] See Mari Ishida, "Imperial Literature: Languages, Bodies, and Others in the Japanese Empire" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2016).

publishing new fiction by leading Aomori authors. This magazine does not, however, aim to participate in literary culture as was being produced in "central" general interest magazines. Rather, a close examination of similar magazines from northern Tōhoku indicates that *Aomori nōgyō* changed to better accommodate its regional readership and conform to editorial tendencies and print design that were already developing across similar regional magazines. It might be more correct, therefore, to say that *Aomori nōgyō* did not in fact transform into a general interest literary magazine (総合文芸雑誌 *sōgō bungei zasshi*), the term most commonly used as a catch-all for print culture that falls slightly outside the boundaries of what we would call the "pure" literary magazines (文芸雑誌 *bungei zasshi*) of urban Japan. Instead, *Aomori nōgyō* became what its many sister-magazines were: an (agri)cultural magazine. A magazine that recognized the need to combine practical farming knowledge with original, locally produced literary production in order to meet the new radical democratic atmosphere of rural postwar Japan.

Aomori nōgyō: From Technical Journal to Literary Magazine

The inaugural issue of *Aomori nōgyō* was published in May, 1950. The magazine was created and edited by the Aomori Agricultural Advancement and Promotion Association (青森県農業改良普及会 *Aomori-ken nōgyō kairyō fukyū kai*) and printed by the Tōō Printing Company (東奥印刷株式会社 *Tōō insatsu kabushiki gaisha*). This semi-independent printing company was established by Aomori's largest newspaper company, *Tōō nippō*, and published Aomori's most widely read Occupation-era general interest literary magazine, *Gekkan tōō*. Unlike most of the agricultural magazines from the Occupation period, independent ventures that seldom survived longer than a year or two, *Aomori nōgyō* continued publishing through the end of 1995, whereupon the title

was changed to *Aomori nōgyō* (『あおもり農業』). The final issue was published in December 2016.[115] The magazine generally maintains a uniform editorial focus and material design across the first year the magazine was in print—from May of 1950 to March of 1951. The first volume of the magazine, published in May of 1950, features a greenish, monochrome cover adorned with a black and white photograph depicting a pair of farmers resting beside one of their cows. The fonts are extremely plain and the large title in the upper quarter of the page is balanced in the lower portion by the dual affirmation of editor and publisher: "The Aomori Agricultural Advancement and Promotion Association of the Aomori Department of Agricultural Advancement." The table of contents, set under a truncated farmers' almanac for the month of May, outline the specialized focus of the magazine. The majority of the magazine focuses on topics such as increased yield management, understanding tax reforms, how to incorporate livestock on the farm, or preparation for taking the standardized exam on agricultural advancement. A handful of articles are presented as general interest essays, but these too remain focused on farm life. The lead article is a short translated essay, "The Importance of Undertaking Agricultural Advancement and Promotion" (「農業改良普及事業の重要性」*Nōgyō kairyō fukyū jigyō no jūyōsei*) by an Occupation official stationed in the Natural Resources Department of the Tōhoku Civil Bureau, Carl F. Delica. This article lays out the three goals of the Occupation's farming reforms: 1. Progressing Farming techniques; 2. Promoting democratic citizenship amongst young farmers; 3. Improving the standard of rural family life. Delica's article is paired with an article by the head of the Department of Agricultural Advancement, Murakoshi Nobuo: "For the Young Members of the Association" (「若い改良普及員のために」*Wakai kairyō fukyūin*

[115] The research on *Aomori nōgyō* presented here is possible due to the nearly complete collection of the magazines print run held at the Aomori Prefectural Library. To avoid repetition, I will simply note here that all citations provided below are courtesy of the Aomori Prefectural Library and the helpful research staff there.

no tame ni). Murakoshi opens by lamenting the assumption that young farmers are fundamentally conservative, calling for a more democratic and autonomous rural youth. These themes are augmented by the third article, an anonymous explanation of new legal reforms in the National Diet regarding farm union organizing.

The content and layout of *Aomori nōgyō*'s inaugural volume tells us quite a bit about the initial goals of the magazine—fostering a strong focus on practical agricultural training, paired with a general knowledge of social and legal reforms needed to ensure democratization of farming communities. We should also, however, be attentive to the historical context of this first volume from the perspective of print and material history. By 1950, paper production had largely returned to prewar levels (accounting, of course, for a decrease in overall production with the loss of Japan's colonial forestry and paper industries). Regional publishers such as the Tōō Printing Company had several years of experience producing high-quality, colorful, and visually striking magazines. *Aomori nōgyō*'s cover design for the first handful of volumes resembles something closer to an industrial trade journal than a general interest magazine. The layout and design of contents was also bare bones. Most strikingly, the first two issues of the magazine include the volume information, magazine title, and date of publication across the top of every page, separated by a line break. This style was used mostly in informational pamphlets distributed by labor and farming unions, for example Iwate's exceedingly dry and straightforward *Farming Union General Bulletin* (『農協総合情報』 *Nōkyō sōgō jōhō*). Unlike similar agricultural journals—for example, Iwate's *Nōgyō fukyū* cited below—*Aomori nōgyō* did not apply ornamentation to article titles or breaks. In terms of distribution and readership, *Aomori nōgyō*'s second issue points directly to the magazine's deep reliance on Aomori's Agricultural Advancement and Promotion Association. Rather than stating a list price in the

publishing information, the magazine claims: “For ordering, please visit your local Association office, or contact the publisher directly. (This magazine is intended for reading and discussion amongst Association members.)” The process of printing the magazine itself was tied to practical problems related to farming; the magazine’s editor, Takagi Midori (高木緑, dates unknown) states that the second volume was delayed due to his main obligations in the Association—including a trip to Tokyo for the All-Japan Conference on Pest Treatment. In these ways, early volumes of the magazine resemble specialized industry magazines or pamphlets that share a spartan layout and utilitarian design.

It does not take long, however, for *Aomori nōgyō* to undergo major shifts in published content—changes that are accompanied by alterations to the magazine’s overall visual layout and design. Expanding on the first volume’s tendency to introduce broader cultural critiques through the format of non-fiction essays, the August, 1950 volume of the magazine includes the article “Farming Villages and Radio” (「農村とラジオ」*Nōson to rajio*) by Ochi Kenkichi (越智健吉, dates unknown), the chief of the Aomori Broadcast Station. This three-page essay deploys a synthetic approach to rural life, social development, and democratic practice that would fit perfectly with the editorial missions of literary-minded agricultural magazines from northern Tōhoku. Ochi situates the actual conditions of radio broadcasting and receiver technology in rural Aomori and other northern prefectures, as well as a broader comparison to areas of Kyushu and Hokkaido. He writes of the democratic possibility of radio to transform “the delayed sociality of farming villages, which have been subject to more than a century of strong feudal government.”[116] Later volumes continue to publish occasional, impressionistic *zuihitsu*-esque

[116] Ochi Kenkichi (越智健吉), “Farming Villages and Radio” (「農村とラジオ」*Nōson to rajio*), *Aomori nōgyō* (『青森農業』) Volume 1, Issue 3 (August, 1950), 34. Held by the Aomori Prefectural Library.

essays until the April 1951 volume—which essentially marks the magazine's one year anniversary. This issue includes two important changes: First, Awaya Yūzō penned the magazine's lead essay, "Picking Up from the Debate on Apple Bagging" (「無袋論議に拾う」*Mutai giron ni hirou*); second, Arai Hakuhō (新井白鳳, published as あらい・はくほう, dates unknown) published a selection from his 1950 poetry collection, "A Handful of Dirt" (「一握の土」*Ichiaku no tsuchi*)—a play on Ishikawa Takuboku's famous "A Handful of Sand." Although Awaya's essay is fundamentally tied to his workaday life as an apple farmer, *Aomori nōgyō*'s readers would have likely recognized him as one of Aomori's leading literary figures. This shift towards literary production in early 1951 presages what will become *Aomori nōgyō*'s most substantial editorial change.

From August 1951, the magazine begins publishing long form fiction from Aomori's most popular and established regional writers. Sawa Sōichi was the first novelist to begin publishing new serialized fiction in *Aomori nōgyō*. His multi-part short novella, *Taking a Wife, Taking a Husband* (『嫁とり婿とり』*Yome tori muko tori*) ran across four issues, from August to December, 1951. Sawa immediately followed this story with another, publishing the six-part novella *The Winter Currents* (『冬の流れ』*Fuyu no nagare*) from January to August, 1952. After these two Sawa novellas had been published, *Aomori nōgyō* begins publishing one of Awaya Yūzō's most important postwar novellas, *The Dairy Ordeal* (『酪農試練』*Rakunō shiren*), in eight installments from September, 1952 to August, 1953. Based on the direction of the magazine's contents, we can assume that these first three efforts—two from Sawa and one from Awaya, each successively longer than the one before—were met with some enthusiasm from the magazine's readership. After Awaya completed serializing *The Dairy Trials*, *Aomori nōgyō*

publishes five-part novella by Hirai Shinsaku (平井信作, 1903-1976),[117] *Nursery Rhymes* (『わらべ唄』*Warabe uta*), followed by the longest work of serialized fiction in the magazine to that time, Hirai's *The Origin of Namagaki Gosaburō, Continued* (『続・生柿吾三郎の来歴』*Zoku Namagaki Gosaburō no raireki*). As the title suggests, this novel is a sequel to Hirai's hit newspaper novel, *The Origin of Namagaki Gosaburō* (生柿吾三郎の来歴 *Namagaki Gosaburō no raireki*), which was published across more than 200 installments in *Tōō nippō*.[118] The five-page first installment (out of a mere forty pages for the full magazine) of *The Origin of Namagaki Gosaburō, Continued* was published in February, 1954 alongside a synopsis of the previous newspaper novel. The novel continues beyond 1955, when Hirai publishes the twenty-second installment of the novel in December. The arrival of Hirai's multi-year juggernaut of a local novel firmly sets *Aomori nōgyō* in the familiar territory of general interest literary magazines from northern Japan. The literary works published here resemble those found in *Gekkan tōō* and *Gekkan sakigake*, the two most important literary magazines in Aomori and Akita—both published by the major local newspaper companies, with *Aomori nōgyō* and *Gekkan tōō* sharing the same printer. That is to say, *Aomori nōgyō* began publishing "established" regional literary figures whose novels focused on rural life or farming themes in a broad sense.

Aomori nōgyō's stylistic transformation into a (agri)cultural magazine did not occur without comments from the magazine's editorial team. Hayashi Masajirō (林征次郎, 1898-1978), the poet and literary editor who will eventually take over as the managing editor of the magazine, explains the reasoning behind (and impact of) choosing to publish fictional texts in the magazine:

[117] Hirai was a popular Aomori novelist best known for his long form mass fiction that presented local life in Aomori—especially the Tsugaru region, where he was born—in an accessible and humorous manner.

[118] A later novel in the Namagaki Gosaburō series, *Namagaki Gosaburō's Tax Struggle* (『生柿吾三郎の税金闘争』*Namagaki Gosaburō no zeikin tōsō*), was nominated for both the Bungakukai *Dōjinshi* Prize and the Naoki Prize in 1967, and was eventually published in its complete form by Bungei Shunjū that same year.

> This issue of the magazine marks the start of publishing Sawa Sōichi's serialized novel *Taking a Wife, Taking a Husband*. It is set in a farming village here in Aomori, and Sawa himself was awarded the Arima Prize (in Farmers' Literature in 1942) for his book on farming communities in this prefecture, *A Folk Song Almanac* (『民謡ごよみ』). Isn't this an opportunity? He is a writer who has published novels in a number of major farming journals and who is also intimately familiar with Aomori. In addition, Awaya Yūzō will be contributing essays on farming villages in the coming issues. And we have received confirmation that our cover artist, Kawamura Seiichi, has kindly agreed to continue painting for us. Taken together, I feel this will greatly enhance our magazine.[119]

As *Aomori nōgyō* shifts towards the literary, we can see how Hayashi feels the need to justify that transition not only through Aomori as local cultural space, but also the relation of Aomori to a *national* cultural center. Hayashi notes Sawa's ambiguous literary position as simultaneously local writer of farmers' literature, and establishment novelist—as if selecting Sawa as the first author to publish will import a bit of cultural credibility to the magazine's literary turn. Hayashi is quick to note that Sawa was previously awarded the national prize for farmers' literature. When Awaya Yūzō begins publishing *The Dairy Trials* in September of 1952, he was in the midst of campaigning for a national diet seat as a member of the Japanese Socialist Party's Left-Wing group, organized around establishing farmer-labor political power across Japan. Hayashi notes the ways in which Awaya's text is quite literally *grounded* in the goals of the magazine:

> At last, this issue marks the beginning of our serialization of Awaya Yūzō's novel *The Dairy Ordeal*. This *tour de force* was born from thirty years of bitter struggle against the land. We expect that it will provide some suggestions regarding agricultural policies on livestock implementation.[120]

Aomori nōgyō as Tōhoku (Agri)cultural Magazine: Regional Scales of Magazine Design

Perhaps more important than the introduction of new poetry, fiction, or *zuihitsu*-insipired essays, *Aomori nōgyō*'s layout and design progressively changes, illustrating the journal's

[119] Hayashi Masajirō (林征次郎), "Editorial Postscript" (「編集のあと」*Henshū no ato*), *Aomori nōgyō* (『青森農業』) Volume 2, Issue 7 (August, 1951), 40. Held by the Aomori Prefectural Library.

[120] Hayashi Masajirō (林征次郎), "Editorial Postscript" (「編集のあと」*Henshū no ato*), *Aomori nōgyō* (『青森農業』) Volume 3, Issue 8 (September, 1952), 44. Held by the Aomori Prefectural Library.

transformation into a literary magazine and how that transformation should be considered within a larger context of local print culture in postwar Tōhoku. We can trace the material changes within *Aomori nōgyō*'s print history across four elements of layout or design: First, articles become organized in a more complex manner, with multiple texts (especially essayistic or literary texts) stretching across and sharing multiple pages. The magazine's inaugural volume tends to confine any particular essay to the borders of the page; later volumes stretch articles across the visual space of the open magazine and play with layout in such a way that draws the reader's gaze to multiple articles simultaneously. Second, alongside increased layout complexity, the ornamentation around and within articles becomes more elaborate, especially in the use of cut images by local artists. Early volumes of the magazine do include simple cut images to mark the beginning of a new article. This is the most common usage of combined image and text found in all postwar magazines, a style emulated even in hand-written and mimeographed texts. In later issues, cut images begin to stretch and act as borders, or fill the spaces between and around articles as the use of visual space becomes more complex. Third, the increase of elaborate cut images occurs in concert with the introduction of photographs in the body text of the magazine. These changes indicate what was likely a substantial increase in capital investment from the printer. Fourth, the magazine cover transitions from a bland title font set above a single black-and-white image, to a slightly stylized title font set above a simple colored painted or cut image, to—finally—impressively colored hand painted images that include the magazine's title in its now established and unique font set. On either end of these iterations—*Aomori nōgyō* as technical journal, or as agriculturally-focused general interest literary magazine—there are a number of similar journals published in postwar Tōhoku that help us situation *Aomori nōgyō*'s position within regional print culture.

Agricultural Akita (農業あきた *Nōgyō Akita*, and later 農業秋田) began publishing in July of 1950 by the Akita Agricultural Advancement and Promotion Member's Association (秋田県農業改良普及員協会 *Akita nōgyō kairyō fukyū kyōkai*).[121] This might appear at first serendipitous—a nearly identically named magazine by a sister organization goes to print just months after *Aomori nōgyō*. A more likely explanation, however, is that these magazines were intently aware of the other's existence. In fact, *Nōgyō Akita* follows an editorial and design trajectory that mirrors *Aomori nōgyō*. The first handful of issues retain a relatively plain cover, with a single cut image set underneath the title of the magazine and above the name of the publishing organization. The cut images within the body of the magazine are plentiful, but not particularly detailed or complex. The same could be said for the article layout and overall design. Most importantly, the early contents of the magazine remain focused on practical or technical articles, with a sparse mixture of essayistic articles and occasional appearances of farming-related poetry. From early 1951, the magazine begins publishing long-form serialized essays—Nara Tamanosuke's (奈良環之助, 1891-1970) "The Frog's Croak"[122] or Watanabe Takeshi's (渡邊丈, dates unknown) "Let's Improve Farming Village Life, Part 1"[123]—and eventually takes to publishing original fictional works. The first "creative work" (listed in the body text of the magazines as a *conte*, or コント) is published in October, 1952: Ōno Meiichi's (published as おゝの・めい一, dates unknown) "Young Shoots."[124] This also marks the period when the magazine transitioned to much more

[121] As before, this research is possible thanks to the Akita Prefectural Library's impressive holdings of local print. All references made here draw from their holdings.

[122] Nara Tamanosuke (奈良環之助), "The Frog's Croak" (「蛙の鳴声」 *Kaeru no nakigoe*), *Nōgyō Akita* (『農業あきた』) Volume 2, Issue 2 (February, 1951), 36-38. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

[123] Watanabe Takeshi (渡邊丈), "Let's Improve Farming Village Life, Part 1" (「農村生活を改善しましょう：第１回」 *Nōson seikatsu wo kaizen shimashō: dai ikkai*), *Nōgyō Akita* (『農業あきた』) Volume 2, Issue 2 (June, 1951), 28-31. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library.

[124] Ōno Meiichi (おゝの・めい一), "Young Shoots" (「若い芽ばえ」 *Wakai mebae*), *Nōgyō Akita* (『農業あきた』)

colorful, full-page paintings for the cover image, as well as relatively extravagant—for Tōhoku (agri)cultural magazines, in any case—foldout tables of contents. These changes presage the appearance of the first work to be labeled as a "novel" (小説 *shōsetsu*) in January, 1954: Ono Katsuji's (小野一二, 1928-2013) "The Well."[125] Like *Aomori nōgyō*, *Nōgyō Akita* would go on to enjoy a print run far exceeding other postwar magazines; the final issue was published in March, 2004.[126]

Finally, we might also compare these journals to Iwate's *Agricultural Promotion* (『農業普及』*Nōgyō fukyū*). *Nōgyō fukyū* was published from May, 1949 to December, 2019.[127] It was edited and published by the Iwate Agricultural Advancement and Promotion Association (岩手農業改良普及会 *Iwate nōgyō kairyō fukyū kai*) . This makes both *Nōgyō Akita* and *Nōgyō fukyū* the closest analogues to *Aomori nōgyō*—all three were long-running magazines that began in the late 1940s or early 1950s and were published by a prefectural agricultural promotion association. From the magazine's inaugural issue, *Nōgyō fukyū* recognized its own position within a flood of postwar agricultural magazines. In addition to the agricultural journals discussed elsewhere in

Volume 3, Issue 10 (October, 1952), 31-32. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library. Although Ōno appears to be using a pen name, their identity is unclear. What is clear is that they had some connection to *Nōgyō Akita*, as they had previously published essays in the journal.

[125] Ono Katsuji (小野一二), "The Well" (「井戸」*Ido*), *Nōgyō Akita* (『農業あきた』) Volume 5, Issue 1 (January, 1954), 37-39. Held by the Akita Prefectural Library. Ono went on to publish regularly in Akita literary journals *Ōu bungaku* and *Bungei Akita*. His short stories from the late 1960s were repeatedly cited in *Bungakukai*'s yearly list of the "Best 5" works from regional *dōjinshi*.

[126] Postwar regional magazines outside of the agricultural cultural sphere also show evidence of shifting editorial policies and unification in visual design. Kitagawa Kenzo notes that the trade magazine *Iwate Insurance* (『岩手の保険』*Iwate no hoken*) experienced just this kind of transformation in April, 1951. The magazine quickly turned towards literary and essayistic depictions of rural (and especially farming) life that fell more in line with the regional cultural movement active in Iwate at the time. Kitagawa Kenzō (北川賢三), *The Kiroku Movement in Postwar History: Youth and Women in Tōhoku Farm Villages* (『戦後史の中の生活記録運動：東北農村の青年・女性たち』*Sengoshi no naka no seikatsu kiroku undō: Tōhoku nōson no seinen, josei tachi*) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014), 48.

[127] A nearly complete print run is held at the Iwate Prefectural Library along with copies of most other important (agri)cultural magazines from the postwar period. Citations from Iwate magazines draw from this collection.

this dissertation, Iwate was also home to active and popular trade magazines *Iwate Farm Machinery and Agriculture* (『岩手農機と農業』*Iwate nōki to nōgyō*) and Iwate's *Agricultural Digest* (『農業通信』 *Nōgyō tsūshin*). *Nōgyō fukyū*'s editor's wrote: "Although there is no shortage of similar kinds of agricultural magazines, we intend this magazine to fully consider the regional features of Iwate and combine that thinking into general articles and writing on seasonal farming practices."[128] The magazine's opening statement—penned by Kawamura Kenzaburō (川村健三郎, dates unknown), head of Iwate Prefecture's Agricultural Section—asserts the Association and its magazine have been "freely organized to work towards the economic, social, and cultural advancement" of farmers lives in the wake of land reforms in 1948.[129] In terms of editorial vision, *Nōgyō fukyū* establishes the *cultural* stakes of the magazine from the first volume. Although the first five issues do not include serialized fiction, Association member Sugawara Susumu (菅原進, dates unknown) begins publishing the serialized work *The Death of the Duck* (「あひるの死」) from October, 1949. Sugawara's byline includes an explanation that he is an association member living in the village of Hizume, suggesting the amateur and participatory nature of the magazine's first fiction contribution. The content of the magazine reflects a realization that literary writing is essential to contemporary (agri)cultural magazines. In addition to technical articles on best farming practices, the first few volumes of *Nōgyō fukyū* include a variety of poetry[130] and essays such as "Farm Village Culture and the Working

[128] "Editorial Postscript" (「編集のあと」 *Henshū no ato*), *Nōgyō fukyū* (『農業普及』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (May, 1949), 28. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[129] Kawamura Kenzaburō (川村健三郎), "Opening Statement" (「巻頭言」 *Kantōgen*), *Nōgyō fukyū* (『農業普及』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (May, 1949), 1. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[130] In the case of the opening volume, this original poetry is presented as one might find in a similar agricultural *dōjinshi*. The free form poem, "Solitude" (「孤独」*Kodoku*) is attributed only to "Sugano of Hanamaki" (「花巻菅野生」). The September volume includes cites selected poems from the *Manyōshū* related to farming practices in the premodern provinces of Azuma and Sagami. The October issue reproduces poetry on farming from the *Kokinshū*.

Spirit,"[131] "The Regionality and Synthesization of Farming,"[132] and "Farming Villages and Tuberculosis."[133] *Nōgyō fukyū* fundamentally differs from *Aomori nōgyō*, however, in layout and design. From the opening volume, *Nōgyō fukyū* features extensive cut image ornamentation, picture reproductions, and a complex layout and design. In material design and editorial content, *Nōgyō fukyū* is indecipherable from the style of magazine *Aomori nōgyō* slowly adopts over the course of the early 1950s.

To return our focus to *Aomori nōgyō* briefly, we might also consider postwar (agri)cultural magazines that were not produced by prefectural agriculture promotion agencies. *Aomori nōgyō* shares a degree of editorial tendencies and layout elements with *Shin Iwate nōgyō*. Unfortunately, because so few volumes of *Shin Iwate nōgyō* survive, it is difficult to assume how the magazine developed over the course of its entire print run. The volumes that are available suggest a stronger emphasis on literary-forward selections and design. The first volume of *Shin Iwate nōgyō*, for example, establishes a clear boundary between literary-minded essays and poetry, which make up about half of the issue, from the magazine's technical writing, which addresses farming techniques in a format roughly equivalent to the practical articles found in *Aomori nōgyō*. The remainder of *Shin Iwate nōgyō*'s first volume, however, includes new essays by major intellectual figures in the prefecture. Iwate historian Mori Kahe'e (森嘉兵衛, 1903-

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[131] Satō Naosuke (佐藤直助), "Farm Village Culture and the Working Spirit" (「農村文化と勤労精神」*Nōson bunka to kinrō seishin*), *Nōgyō fukyū* (『農業普及』) Volume 1, Issue 2 (June, 1949), 25. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[132] Kawakami Jirō (川上次郎), "The Regionality and Synthesization of Farming" (「農業の地域性と綜合性」*Nōgyō no chiikisei to sōgōsei*), *Nōgyō fukyū* (『農業普及』) Volume 1, Issue 6 (October, 1949), 1. Held by the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[133] Akaishi Suguru (佐藤英), "Farming Villages and Tuberculosis" (「農村と結核」*Nōson to kekkaku*), *Nōgyō fukyū* (『農業普及』) Volume 1, Issue 5 (September, 1949), 23. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

1981) pens the magazines featured essay: "The Establishment and Development of Agriculture in Early-modern Ōshū."[134] Iwate's most widely published postwar novelist, Mori Sōichi, provides the essay "Miyazawa Kenji's Background."[135] And Takahashi Yasufumi (高橋康文, 1894-1970), the president of what would become Iwate University, authored "An Evening Chat in Winter."[136] Later volumes include cultural or literary essays by Moriguchi Tari, Hirano Tadashi, Takada Michinobu (高田道信, dates unknown), Seki Tokuya (関登久也, 1899-1957), and a wide variety of farmer/writers. In other ways, however, *Shin Iwate nōgyō* and *Aomori nōgyō* appear quite similar. The table-of-contents of both magazines appears alongside a farmers' almanac. Articles sometimes run across multiple pages, but the organization and separation remains relatively straightforward and line breaks or cut images tend to be largely functional, rather than ornamental. The covers depict brightly colored pastoral scenes, with the title in a distinctive font and the name of the publisher displayed prominently at the top.

Citing a handful of relatively similar magazines, however, should not imply that Tōhoku print culture was perfectly uniform in content or design. As noted above, alongside general interest literary magazines, each prefecture in northern Tōhoku had a significant number of trade journals aimed at workers in farming and agricultural industries. Examples include Akita's bee

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[134] Mori Kahe'e (森嘉兵衛), "The Establishment and Development of Agriculture in Early-modern Ōshū" (「近世奥州農業の成立と発展」 *Kinsei Ōshū nōgyō no seiritsu to hatten*), *Shin Iwate nōgyō* (『新岩手農業』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (March, 1948), 2-3. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[135] Mori Sōichi (森荘已池), "Miyazawa Kenji's Background" (「宮沢賢治の背景」 *Miyazawa Kenji no haikei*), *Shin Iwate nōgyō* (『新岩手農業』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (March, 1948), 14-15. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library.

[136] Takahashi Yasufumi (高橋康文), "An Evening Chat in Winter" (「冬の夜語り」 *Fuyu no yogatari*), *Shin Iwate nōgyō* (『新岩手農業』) Volume 1, Issue 1 (March, 1948), 16-19. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries and the Iwate Prefectural Library. Takahashi was extremely active in the Occupation-era Tōhoku press, publishing in *Tōhoku bunko*, *Seikatsusha*, *Shūkan Kahoku* (「週刊河北」), *Uta to zuihitsu*, and others. He was one of the few Iwate authors to experience enforced censorship disapprovals for his article "Small, Weak Nations" in *Seikatsusha* after that magazine moved from post-censorship to pre-censorship. More details are available in Chapter 2.

husbandry magazine *Akita Bee Husbandry* (『秋田の養蜂』*Akita no yōhō*, later *The Beloved Bee* 『愛蜂』*Aihō*) and farming office periodical *Reports from the Agricultural Exam Office* (『農事試験所時報』*Nojishikensho ji hō*); Iwate's farming bulletins *Iwate Farmland Bulletin* (『岩手農地通報』*Iwate nōchi tsūhō*) and *Iwate Agricultural Reports* (『岩手農業通信』*Iwate nōgyō tsūshin*); and trade journals that retain design elements from general interest magazines, such as *Iwate nōki to nōgyō*. These magazines display a considerably more stringent focus on publishing articles addressing technical or practical farming practices, or providing up-to-date information regarding agricultural union organizing activities. Moving in the opposite direction, *Aomori nōgyō* was not a *purely* literary magazine published for consumption "on the farm"—and the same could be said of both *Nōgyō Akita* and *Nōgyō fukyū*, as well. Examples of these kinds of "purely" literary magazines would include *Hokunō bungaku* cited above. These are usually high-quality magazines published by the literary arm of a farming union. They are edited and published in the same manner as Association magazines, but are deliberately designed to highlight the literary production of union members.

Regarding editorial control and the roll of published writers, there is some need to separate the Association magazines from Aomori, Akita, and Iwate, ones which teeter on the border of governmental literary organ and commercial publication, from independently published magazines *by local farmers*. This is not to say that writers in *Aomori nōgyō* were not themselves active in agriculture. Rather, the magazine as it came to exist in its materiality emerged from commercial presses and editorial offices that were not located in the democratic space of the farm. This is vastly different from, for example, *Akebono*—cited above—or Akita's *Tsukishiro* (『つきしろ』). In each of these cases—either union magazines with the specific intention of providing a forum for local farmers' literary output or independently published mimeographs

produced on the farm itself—the magazines are concerned primarily with democratic cultural production, not technical aspects of bumping up agricultural yields. Taken together, however, a cross-prefectural comparison of editorial tendencies and material design helps us triangulate the ways in which regional print culture considered itself active in the literary and intellectual sphere, and what elements came to be seen as essential for the production of a successful (agri)cultural magazine.

Farm/Region/Nation/World—Scales of Postwar Print

It's easy to fall back on a methodology of analyzing material print culture across all postwar Japan through the lens of the most familiar (that is, widely available) examples—generally speaking, this means the newspapers, books, and magazines centralized within and around Tokyo and closely associated with urban print capital. These works have become standard bearers of postwar print culture. Because the breadth of regional publishing in the early Occupation period has largely gone unexamined, "national" magazines such as *Bungei shunjū, Gunzō,* or *Sekai* form the baseline for analyzing a particular magazine's content or design. As outlined in this chapter, local editors, publishers, authors, and readers more often produced and consumed regional print culture through flows and exchanges extant within that region. For the most widely published regional magazines, there is a strong indication that they took their core inspirations from already established publishing trends that carried over from prewar and wartime magazine culture. Of course, core elements of magazine design—the ratio of non-fiction to fiction or poetry; the arrangement of columns on a page; the size and style of cut illustrations—find their origins in urban print culture from the 1920s and 30s. And yet the

precise adoption and execution of those elements in the immediate postwar period often develop out of regional tendencies specific to regional magazine genres or across publisher types.

Unfortunately, this chapter is limited to a mere introduction of the complex interplay of (agri)cultural magazines and the larger regional scale of print culture and radical politics. In the case of print, farming magazines exist in a tangled web of literary journals that represent a wide portion of everyday life: forestry, fishing, paper making, general labor unions, rail unions, women in labor, construction, boat making. Just as Iwate literary magazines promoted exchange across a variety of titles—both in published writers and in readership—many of the magazines that came to publish the writing of everyday people in northern Tōhoku did so with the express intention of generating cultural and political solidarity across working classes through literary production and consumption. As these regional connections expanded, they eventually reached "national" pockets of regional Japan; readers of Tōhoku magazines begin finding and submitting works to magazines in other rural areas of Japan, either in western Honshū, Shikoku, or Kyūshū. For political organizers in Tōhoku's leftist circles, solidarity through literary expression was essential to forming ties across a fracturing left in the immediate postwar period. Kawanishi Hidemichi's *An Age of Socialist-Communist Cooperation* outlines the many complexities of reforming Japan's leftist parties in the immediate postwar. In Aomori especially, these efforts were spearheaded not only by career politicians, but writers. Awaya Yūzō is one of the most important public voices for Aomori's newly formed Socialist Party,[137] while Sawa Sōichi publishes important reportage articles on the developments in Aomori's Communist Party.[138]

[137] Kawanishi Hidemichi (河西英通), *An Age of Socialist-Communist Cooperation: Re-thinking the History of Postwar Revolutionary Movements* (『「社共合同」の時代：戦後革命運動史再考』 *"Shakyō gōdō" no jidai: sengo kakumei undo shi saikō*) (Tokyo: Dōjidaisha, 2019), 153-155.

[138] Kawanishi, *Socialist-Communist Cooperation,* 168-169, 186-188.

Akita Ujaku also looms large over the emerging left parties in Aomori, and other Communist and Socialist Party members find themselves publishing regularly across a variety of local newspapers, weekly party and labor digests, and monthly literary magazines. Tōhoku's leftist solidarity, and the literary soil form which those roots took hold, were essential to "national" leftist politics. By extension, political concerns surrounding the organization of agricultural labor in Tōhoku became the lens through which international Communist politics came to be understood *locally*. Local literary production bleeds into regional political organizing; regional politics transform the national stance towards leftist internationalism. All the while, local writers in Tōhoku became acutely aware of their position vis-a-vis the world not only politically, but spatially and aesthetically.

The actual cultural production across northern Tōhoku speaks directly to the familiar scales of postwar literary culture: the individual, the regional, and the national. "The farm" develops into a radical democratic space which genuinely transforms the lived experience of the rural farming poor. In the midst of that transformation, literary production opens the door for regional writers to speak out to Japan as nation and rescale the consumption of "world" not in terms of the borders of Japan, but in their newly emerging democratic space. The proposition of local postwar literature, regardless of how we attempt to define its borders or boundaries, necessarily exists in the global economy/ecology of world literature. Just as local literature was an essential component of national literary production, world literature must also be understood through the lens of radical new modes of democratic literary production in the postwar period.

Chapter 5:

Scaling Out: World Literature and Occupation Censorship

Scales of World-Systems: Historical and Literary

To this point, my critical approach has focused on scalar tessellations that occur between the concept of nation and some "smaller" space of literary production: region, locality, farm. Acts of scaling also occur in conceptually "larger" spaces, particularly in the way that nation (and by extension national languages and literatures) has frequently been theorized within world-systems. To conclude this dissertation, I would like to briefly consider the scalar tessellations that place world in relation to "smaller" scales—nation, region, and locality—in literary theory. In the interest of space, I will refrain from outlining the many ways that acts of scaling inform world literary theory. Instead, I will focus specifically on the concept of the world-system and how world literature has been critiqued within that critical framework. This includes theoretical approaches to world literature that identify it as one symptom among many of global capitalism. That is to say, examinations of world literature through the lens of world-systems tend to emphasize the "world" scale of "world literature." A variety of approaches challenge or reframe this historical materialist, "worlded" methodology, arguing that world literature must also be understood as a mode of interacting with texts that exceeds the constraints of world-systems. Methodologies that reach beyond historical materialist interpretations of global print capital tend to emphasize the "literature" of "world literature" as a possible panacea to inequalities that are baked into a world literature at the scale of world-systems. This chapter will outline how contemporary critiques of world literature intersect with theories of world-systems, how that

approach has been challenged, and why recent interventions in world literary theory generally fall short of accounting for the actual variations within literary production. To help demonstrate some of these shortcomings, I present an experimental reading of Occupation censorship (meaning both the content and form of censored magazines *and* the translations of those works that were made by Occupation censors that survive in archival documents) on world literary scales, highlighting the ways that "local" acts of translation destabilize world literature as a large-scale "comprehensive" theory.

Historical materialist critical approaches have long sought to understand the expansion of the capitalist system to global scales and how that base informs a cultural superstructure that also necessarily becomes scaled to the world through global capital. Marx was keen to outline this relationship early in his writings, noting in *The Communist Manifesto*:

> The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere. The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country...In place of old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature. The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization.[1]

Marx's analysis of the relationship between material and intellectual production will have two lasting impacts on theories of world-systems and how those systems create and reproduce some concept we might call world literature. First, Marx notes that the arrival of global capitalist exploitation also marks the arrival of a psychological desire within the bourgeoisie classes to consume and participate in a global, "cosmopolitan character." Products that have been fully

[1] *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 476-477.

subsumed within a "world" market devalue "national" or "local" products, and this process is repeated globally not only for the material products of global capital, but the intellectual production within that system as well. Second, Marx has already begun to outline a competitive and scalar relationship between nations whereby those nations most transformed by global capital become a civilized "center" while those that remain outside the system of global capitalism are seen as an uncivilized "periphery." Marx's intellectual output over the next decades will drastically transform our understanding of capital and culture, but these two elements of the historical materialist method that will inform world-system critiques of world literature: first, the establishment of a class-based center-periphery relationship between nations; second, the contradictory desire to participate in that relationship—both materially and culturally—due to the dominance of global capitalism.

Immanuel Wallerstein, the leading figure of world-systems analysis, contends that the world-systems mode of critique developed as a systematic protest against methodological divisions that prevented a comprehensive critique of global capital. Recognizing the integrated nature of state and market, politics and economics, became central to world-systems analyses. Wallerstein writes:

> The argument of world-systems analysis is straightforward. The three presumed arenas of collective human action—the economic, the political, and the social or sociocultural—are not autonomous arenas of social action. They do not have separate "logics." … We are arguing that there is a single "set of rules" or a single "set of constraints" within which these various structures operate.[2]

The bedrock of contemporary world-systems analyses is the global dominance of a "capitalist world-economy" that, Wallerstein argues, functions on the following "single set of rules":

> Its mode of production is capitalist; that is, it is predicated on the endless accumulation of capital. Its structure is that of an axial social division of labor exhibiting a core/periphery tension based on

[2] Immanuel Wallerstein, "World Systems Analysis," in *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: The New Press, 2000) 134.

> unequal exchange. The political superstructure of this system is that of a set of so-called sovereign states defined by and constrained by their membership in an interstate network or system.[3]

Here, Wallerstein notes the *political* superstructure exhibits a core/periphery attention through an interstate network, but as we know, this logic animates the entirety of the world-system. Thus, the capitalist world-economy presents us with a core/periphery logic that also dictates social or sociocultural action.

Therefore, the core/periphery relationship within global capitalism becomes the central component of theories of world literature built upon a world-systems methodology. The mechanisms that set the "world" in motion come to rest almost entirely on hierarchies, ranks, and competition. Compare Wallerstein's critique of the interstate system with Pascale Casanova's concept of a world republic of letters:

> The interstate system is not a mere assemblage of so-called sovereign states. It is a hierarchical system with a pecking order that is stable but changeable. That is to say, slow shifts in rank order are not merely possible, but historically normal. Inequalities that are significant and firm but not immutable are precisely the kind of processes that lead to ideologies able to justify high rank but also to challenge low rank. Such ideologies we call nationalisms. For a state not to be a nation is for that state to be outside the game of either resisting or promoting the alteration of its rank. But then that state would not be part of the interstate system. Political entities that existed outside of and/or prior to the development of the interstate system as the political superstructure of a capitalist world-economy did not need to be 'nations,' and were not.[4]

> This world republic of letters has its own mode of operation: its own economy, which produces hierarchies and various forms of violence; and, above all, its own history, which, long obscured by the quasi-systematic national (and therefore political) appropriation of literary stature, has never really been chronicled...But this immense realm, a hundred times surveyed yet always ignored, has remained invisible because it rests on a fiction accepted by all who take part in the game: the fable of an enchanted world, a kingdom of pure creation, the best of all possible worlds where universality reigns through liberty and equality...In thrall to the notion of literature as something pure, free, and universal, the contestants of literary space refuse to acknowledge the actual functioning of its peculiar economy...[5]

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[3] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Three Instances of Hegemony," in *The Essential Wallerstein* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 254.

[4] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," in Immanuel Wallerstein and Etienne Balibar, *Race Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), 82.

[5] Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 11-12.

Casanova does not cite directly from Wallerstein's analytical essays, and in fact pushes back against the idea that a "world republic of letters" is "world" in the same manner,[6] but the connections are plain to see.

Franco Moretti, in the early stages of developing "distant reading" as a mode of literary analysis, touches on this same problem:

> World literature is not an object, it's a *problem*, and a problem that asks for a new critical method: … I will borrow this initial hypothesis from the world-system school of economic history, for which international capitalism is a system that is simultaneously *one,* and *unequal*: with a core, and a periphery (and a semiperiphery) that are bound together in a relationship of growing inequality. One, and unequal: *one* literature (*Weltliteratur*, singular, as in Goethe and Marx), or perhaps, better, one world literary system (of inter-related literatures); but a system which is different from what Goethe and Marx had hoped for, because it's profoundly unequal.[7]

Moretti will eventually turn away from world-systems theories to focus on the big-data methodologies presented in *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, but not before receiving considerable pushback. In fact, both Casanova and Moretti have in some sense become avatars for world-systems approach to world literature. Fundamentally, this approach is critiqued for the following reasons: 1) It acknowledges the fundamental inequalities of a core/periphery analysis, but tends to replicate its form by overemphasizing the cultural production (either literary or theoretical) of the "core" nations it is attempting to challenge;[8] 2) It does not fully account for the "worlds" of literature that historically predate the modern (and specifically European) world-system of global capitalism;[9] 3) It does not consider the wide variations of translation practices or the possibility

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[6] See Pascale Casanova, "Literature as a World," *New Left Review*, Volume 31 (January/February, 2005): 71-90.

[7] Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review*, Volume 1 (January/February, 2000), 55-56.

[8] Aamir Mufti specifically attacks Casanova and Moretti for failing to reveal "the exact nature of these forms of inequality and sociocultural logics through which they have been instituted, logics for the institutions of inequality that *incorporate* notions and practices of 'difference' and proceed precisely through them. It is these logics that I refer to collectively as Orientalism…" See Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English: Orientalisms and World Literatures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 33.

[9] Eric Hayot critiques Casanova and Moretti for the failure to account for alternative concepts of "world" precisely because these alternatives would require engaging with alternative concepts of "literature" in non-European, non-

that world literature is fundamentally a reading practice, rather than productive endeavor;[10] 4) In emphasizing economically and historically defined inequalities, it reifies systems of literary criticism that are built upon spatial or geographical critiques that fail to account for the complexity of space as a comparative method.

I'd like to emphasize and expand upon this final critique, partially because it is the least frequently cited in introductions to world literary theory and partially because it recognizes the fundamentally unstable scalar relationship between object and space. Nirvana Tanoukhi has advocated for a system of analyzing world literature that accounts for the "literary phenomenology of the production of scale."[11] In this intervention, Tanoukhi argues:

> …the discussion about literary globalization has already launched us, however slowly or implicitly, on a disciplinary critique of the very concept of *scale*, which by necessity moves us away from metaphorical deployments of "space" toward concrete discussions about the materiality of literary *landscapes*. I suggest that the concept scale, properly theorized, would enable a more precise formulation of the role of literature, and literary analysis, in the history of the production of space. But, in the meantime, though such a critique seems imminent, "world literature" threatens to become a hardened (albeit enlarged) image of the old literary history, where *geography* evokes a figurative solidity that assumes the guise of materiality.[12]

And continuing:

> If we can indeed imagine a literary history that is entangled in the history of the production of space, it is time for comparative literature to develop both a critique of *scale*, which would examine the spatial premises of comparison—and, eventually, a phenomenology of scale, which would help us

modern usages of the term. Eric Hayot, *On Literary Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 35-36. Alexander Beecroft makes this critique much more directly: "…the discussions of Moretti and Casanova both focused almost exclusively on the literature emerging from the modern West and from the non-West's reaction to Western modernity, and it was difficult to use their theories to understand the ways in which texts that were pre-modern or non-Western (or both) were circulated and understood." Alexander Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (London: Verso, 2015), 2.

[10] This is David Damrosch's fundamental stance, outlined in David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003). I will return to this idea in later sections of this chapter.

[11] Nirvana Tanoukhi, "The Scale of World Literature," *New Literary History*, Volume 39, Number 3 (Summer, 2008), p. 614.

[12] Tanoukhi, "The Scale of World Literature," 600.

> grasp the actually existing landscapes of literature.[13]

Unlike the central topic of this dissertation, which is concerned with how concepts of locality and nationality inform the spaces that are generally taken to be peripheral to world literary production, Tanoukhi primarily focuses on the postcolonial novel—and how this form of novel presents inherent spatial problems within theories of world literature. As an approach, however, Tanoukhi critiques not only how acts of scaling have informed world literature as a practice of literary history, but also how stabilized scales have limited our ability to maneuver within the literary landscapes that world literature produces. If world-systems theories require a geographic core/periphery relationship, one which will always develop out of spatially realized economic inequalities, then world literature will always reflect a desire for some kind of "measurement" in its analyses. Tanoukhi's principal misgivings, therefore lie "not in the nature of measuring…but rather, in the fact that as literary critics, we often *begin* with strong ideas about what needs to be measured."[14]

Inspired in part by Tanoukhi's critical intervention—and in part by the manifold literary and historical materials that survive from the Occupation period—I'd like to outline some of the ways that literature produced independently in northern Tōhoku can upset some of the familiar scales or methods of world literary theory. First, and most importantly to a vision of world literature that takes inspiration from world-systems analyses of global capital, these works consciously participated in a mode of print that resisted print capital. Although they did not "succeed" in the sense of entering a canon of world literature, they constitute a significant example of resistance to the modes of print production that developed out of global capital.

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[13] Tanoukhi, "The Scale of World Literature," 605.

[14] Tanoukhi, "The Scale of World Literature," 607.

Second, these works seldom survived to be collected libraries, archives, or even private collections. Of the works that do survive, many are deteriorated to the point that they are largely illegible or are in danger of being disposed of entirely as older generations of readers pass and their personal libraries are destroyed. Even if these texts might be classified as what Moretti calls the "real objects" of literature, many will never be capable of entering into a new methodology for world literary theory, a system of distant reading to inform a global analysis of the "right objects of knowledge." Third, of the texts that do survive, the large majority are "literary" without utilizing fictional forms. Short stories or similar forms of fiction constitute a portion of certain texts, but creative non-fiction, reportage, interviews and roundtables, poetry, and literary reviews remain the most important literary genres in independent journals. Fourth, the act of publishing journals in modern Japan was always inseparable from the censorship apparatuses that worked to control them. Japan's experience with literary modernity (either as a colonizer or under Occupation) was mediated through censorship. This historical fact—which obviously can be drawn from the world-system—resists oversimplified concepts of "translation" or "modes of circulation and reading." Finally, these texts participate in alternative formations of world literary production and theorization. In addition to centering publication as a democratic act within a wider transnational effort to de-capitalize and re-localize literary culture, these writers and editors also theorized the reasoning and goals of this movement within and beyond their local space. Beyond these "literary" works (meaning world literature's emphasis on analyzing fiction), the theoretical arguments from these texts remain outside of world literature because they are seldom selected for translation. Here, we see a re-emergence of the fundamental inequality in literary "peripheries": The West makes the theoretical framework, the Rest makes the primary materials for analysis.

Thus, the remainder of this chapter will offer an unabashedly experimental intervention on the process of translation and reading within postwar Occupation censorship at world literary scales. Although it does so with a close eye to the "instance," the end goal is to disrupt our current understanding of world literature "in general." Therefore, the close reading that follows is not necessarily of the *literature* that has been censored, but of the censorship process in its literary form. This follows Eric Hayot's contention that "close reading as a form is not, or not simply, a privileging of the instance against the general, but *a particular arrangement of the relationship between the instance and the general*."[15] The treatment of translation presented below could be thought of as a contextual adjustment of Rebecca Walkowitz's theory of texts that are "born translated" into world literature.[16] Rather than the digital term Walkowitz uses to describe transnational/translational flows of contemporary literature in the literary marketplace, however, the approach offered below attempts to make sense of literary production under the imperial and colonial legacies of censorship. These works did not enter into the global marketplace of print capital, but they were all the same exposed to incessant translational relationships. Provisionally speaking, the literature under postwar Occupation censorship inaugurated an age of born translated, world literary texts—just not in the forms we expect.

Literature Under Occupation: Censorship at World Literary Scales

Although considerable effort has been invested in challenging the structure of world

[15] Hayot, *On Literary Worlds*, 17.

[16] Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Born Translated: The Contemporary Novel in an Age of World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

literature (or, World Literature if we accept Apter's criticism of the term) over recent decades, few studies have begun their critical intervention from the position that it is in fact the act of scaling literature to the world that disfigures our understanding of literary production in relation to space. The analyses of world literature outlined above often skirt around this problem by granting a cursory concession to concept of "the whole." Most scholars will begrudgingly nod towards a technically valid definition of world literature: all the written, printed, or otherwise created "texts" (broadly defined) that have ever existed. This cliché is generally followed by the author's reasoning for narrowing their own definition of the term to some "reasonable" selection of texts. All the same, these critiques carry on with a project that fundamentally approaches "world" (or the "world-system") as that which exists as such, leaving literature to be apprehended within that scale as one component among many *within* the world. This practice leads to two complications that have already been addressed in this dissertation: first, there is the ironic contradiction that a "world" is always already assumed to be whole, even when elements of its construction remain contested; second, this scaling establishes critical reading practices that drastically restrict the range of permissible topics of analysis from within "the whole" of literary production. As scholars of world literature have frequently argued, these contradictions often develop out of linguistic inequalities: either between languages through the messiness of many kinds of translation, or at "world" scales with the emergence and domination of a *lingua franca*. With the growing insistence that research on world literature remain scaled out from individual texts, an essential granularity has been scrubbed from world literature. In doing so, contemporary approaches to world literature risk concealing examples that illuminate the ways that literary works have been scaled to the world.

I would like to set aside this final section of my dissertation for an experiment in critiquing

literary scales, fully aware that it may lead nowhere productive. Rather than reading regional literature in the context of postwar theories of world literature (or the further development of global print capital as countries emerge from the widespread destruction of the Second World War), I would like to read censored literature as world literature where *censorship itself* is understood as a mode of reading literary texts as world literature. The intent here is to allow a wholesale destabilization of the concept-work that has stabilized world scales, critical reception, and readership. Before looking at specific examples, we must recognize the underlying logic that grants this methodology some glimmer of genuine plausibility: Censorship authorities, regardless of their particular temporal or spatial contexts, participate in censorship precisely because they recognize the affective possibilities of language and texts. In other words, every censorship system that has ever existed is premised on an affirmation of literature's possibilities.

Recognizing censorship's internal logic, one that requires censorship to also act as a critical and legitimating reading practice, allows us to look beyond the bureaucratic realities of censorship decisions or implementation, as we saw in Chapter 2, and place censorship in conversation with other modes of reading—including world literature. Reading postwar censorship of independent regional texts confounds the concept that "World Literature" is a product of market practices that reflects the dominance of capitalism as world-system. Without question, the texts examined here—which we would be hard pressed to argue were "read" widely even within their own time and locality—have come to be translated, reproduced, or otherwise engaged with in the ways that we recognize as "worlded." However, they simply did not enter into a system of print capital that had been (or was later) subsumed within global flows of capitalism, nor were they the kind of print materials that established a concept of "nation" that would further entrench the world-system. The manner in which the censorship apparatus read

these texts upends the possibility that "world literature" can be conceptualized as a coherent reading practice.

Treating world literature as a reading practice was originally intended to inject flexibility into a concept that had been overwhelmed by world-system analyses and critiques over Eurocentrism. David Damrosch writes:

> ...world literature exists first and foremost at a level in between the local and the universal: it is formed by the interactions of two or more national literatures within a given cultural space...A culture's norms and needs profoundly shape the selection of works that enter into it as a world literature, influencing what is translated, how it is translated, who buys it, and how it is read.[17]
>
> ...I take world literature to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language...In its most expansive sense, world literature could include any work that has ever reached beyond its home base...a work only has an effective life as world literature whenever, and wherever, it is actively present within a literary system beyond that of its original culture.[18]

There is no doubt that Occupation censorship exists in a local context. It extracts individual texts from their moment and space of production and tessellates those texts until they become the object of international policy. Occupation censorship exists in direct relation to the concept of a "universal" insofar as censorship functions on the assumption that a text represents the intentions of the author, the text possesses the possibility of producing an affective result on the reader, and that both the form and interpretation of the text are accessible across linguistic or cultural boundaries through the process of translation. Censored texts exist between two national literatures, the Japanese local and the literary background and expectations of the (usually) American censor. They are translated and consumed as literature, though they often enter into the "market" in modified forms and circulate outside of major global literary markets. By

[17] David Damrosch, "Where is World Literature?" in *Studying Transcultural Literary History*, ed. Gunilla Lindberg-Wada (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 213-214.

[18] David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 4. Emphasis in original.

Damrosch's own terms, texts that experience Occupation censorship are "world literature"—we simply haven't yet recognized that it is in fact the mediation of the translator/censor make this interpretation possible.

Damrosch is concerned with an "effective" life in a literary system beyond a text's original culture. In an ironic turn, the Occupation's obsessive bureaucracy left behind a significant record of censored literature that is now being reassessed globally as both the "original" uncensored Japanese text and the accompanying translations produced by censors. However, Occupation censorship elides—and sometimes outright rejects—our normative notions of a "successful" translation. We cannot treat these "texts" independent of their original or their historical context; we can only attempt to answer the question: What is translation *within the censorship apparatus*? Surviving documents appear to offer at least a preliminary answer: Translation within censorship is successful whenever a portion of a text has been extracted from the original and presented to an authority who possesses the power to dictate alterations to its contents. This contention is difficult to grasp without concrete context, so the remainder of this chapter will outline five specific examples of how the Occupation censorship apparatus *read* regional literature as world literature. Translation within Occupation censorship *does not require translations to be any of the following*: 1. Correct: Grammatical or lexical errors on the part of the frontline censor/translators did not impact the ability of Occupation censorship officers from reading these texts as affective literary objects; 2. Legible: Censors were careful to locate and translate instances of symbols within the text (XX, ○○, △△, etc., also known as *fuseji*) even though those symbols were specifically deployed by writers to obstruct the possibility of grasping the text semantically; 3. Substantial: Censors could select texts for censorship review on the basis of a single idea (for example, mentioning Occupation censorship) or a single word that violated a

secret key log (for example, The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere); 4. Accurate: The censor/translator was not required to replicate the intellectual nuance of a text, even if this eventually caused ranking censorship officials to read the contents of a text in a way that was in fact diametrically opposed to the contents itself; 5. Sensical: A translation could be presented to a censorship official in translation and suppressed even when Occupation officials openly admit that they cannot grasp the logic presented in the text.

Case 1: Censorship Translations Need Not Be Correct

As was described in Chapter 2, many of the Occupation's frontline censors were Japanese citizens who had some previous experience working in the written English language. Most of the surviving censorship documents from CCD show that there was no pressing effort to "nativize" the translations that were produced for consumption as bureaucratic documents. Spelling, article usage, tense agreement, vocabulary, none of these aspects of English grammar took priority over the timely production of baseline intelligible censorship recommendations. Censorship documents that accompany the Iwate magazine *Poetry and Essays* (『歌と随筆』*Uta to zuihitsu*) contain two different responses to translated materials that contain what would now be called "incorrect" English. First, is a series of three tanka poems that express a genuine sense of disillusionment with the war effort by a local poet from the village of Iwate named Tashiro Tadashi (田代格, dates unknown):

> Old Memory in Ichigaya
>
> It seemed as if it were a dream, when I saw them sitting in a row at the Military Tribunal - they who had plotted the war to gain a success.
>
> As can be seen in the fact that we are suffering from the shortage of clothes and food now, their plot for our country's sake has been in vain.
>
> Are they thinking perhaps that the span of their remaining life is already determined to be just this short while that they are waiting for the inevitable judgment of the military tribunal?

(Above quotations DELETED - defense of War Criminal propaganda)[19]

As a matter of translation, a handful of "errors" appear in these translations. The phrase "their remaining life is already determined to be just this short while that they are waiting…" could be seen as unclear or confusing. The use of articles would likely have been blue-penciled by a literary editor. And there is some question as to whether the phrase "plotted the war to gain a success" (「遂げんと軍謀りき」) may have misled the Occupation censor to assume that Tashiro himself was writing in support of the war effort. The author expresses shock and ambivalence to the appearance of wartime leaders before a military tribunal that will inevitably and swiftly condemn them to death. But the central tone of the poems is one of absolute betrayal to the country. The original poem states: 「衣食に民苦しめば国の為と謀りし事も・・・」showing how those actions under taken "for the country" have only resulted in intense suffering. From the perspective of *literary translation*, however, we might say that these "poems" are incorrect in that they have entirely written away the original text's poetic form. It seems possible that had these poems been presented in a deliberately poetic form, rather than as declarative statements one might read in a political essay, the censors may have been more inclined to pass the material. As we saw in Chapter 2, Occupation censors understood that some leeway should exist in cases of literary materials that struggled with the aftereffects of the war. This problem will re-emerge in the fourth case below, where works were portrayed in censorship translations without the logic or nuance that existed in the original.

The second example from *Poetry and Essays* also deals with the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. The censor/translator K. Iida indicates a poem selected by Yamada

[19] Censorship documents accompanying *Poetry and Essays* (『歌と随筆』*Uta to zuihitsu*) Volume 1, Issue 7 (July, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Sōnosuke (山田草之助, dates unknown) could require censorship. Occupation authorities apparently struggled to properly express this poem in words. Iida's initial translation is followed immediately by a "draft" that had been scratched out, likely by a second re-examiner, though no name is listed. In between these translations is the Occupation censor's final decision: disapprove. [FIG. 5.1]

> The following tanka (Japanese poem) composed by Seison KIKUCHI is quoted: "(Whatever merciless hanging may be done, it may be included in the category of civilization")
> **( ) disapprove** **JF (press)** **Crit of Military Tribunal**
> ~~No matter how~~ ~~Although~~ ~~how~~ ~~merciless hangings are carried out, they still~~[20]

This draft retranslation—by whom we cannot be sure—then reappears on the CCD Information Slip that denotes the official recommendation for censorship enforcement:

> "…Although merciless hangings are carried out, they still are part of civilization…"
> (CRITICISM OF SCAP APPROVED PROGRAM)

These examples demonstrate that a certain degree of grammatical "correctness" does not impact the reading practices of the ranking censor. If anything, these documents call into question CCD's translation/censorship workflow. Did the Occupation censor have access to both translations when making the final disapproval decision? Or did the re-examiner retranslate the poem for the Information Slip after the disapproval decision had been made? Did the retranslation impact the censor's decision? And if it did, did this play any role in changing the disapproval from criticism of "Military Tribunal" to criticism of a "SCAP APPROVED PROGRAM"? Perhaps these questions are unanswerable. Or perhaps whatever answers we might find in Occupation archives will only expose more messiness within the CCD office.

As a matter of translation, however, the surviving CCD materials dealing with magazines from Tōhoku don't indicate that linguistic perfection or "native" diction were a prerequisite to

[20] Censorship documents accompanying *Poetry and Essays* (『歌と随筆』*Uta to zuihitsu*) Volume 3, Issue 9 (November, 1948). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

the operation of censorship. As a reading practice, censorship was concerned with transmission. This fundamentally differs from a system of world literature that targets a "native" language through the process of translation—one that is all too often dominated by racial and cultural prejudices and presuppositions regarding who is "capable" of representing a "native" language.[21] World literature in translation often reflects a concern with a "proper" presentation from an "other" linguistic culture or to a "target" linguistic culture. Of course, what this "proper" translation might entail has become the subject of intense debate, but even within the topic of "foreignizing" translations, we generally do not see a proposal for a world literature that wholly jettisons a concern for "native" grammatical or syntactical constructs.

Case 2: Censorship Translations Need Not Be Legible

The use of symbols to conceal the meaning of text (*fuseji*, 伏字) in Japanese literature has a history closely tied to censorship practices—ones that predated the Allied Occupation. The most common symbol is a simple X for each character removed from the text, though authors often employed some playful revisions to suit their text or style. Under Occupation censorship, these marks were nearly always located, noted, and recommended for censorship by frontline censors. By Occupation logic, these marks brought attention to a system of censorship that was at least ostensibly intended to remain secret. Within the context of censorship as a reading practice, these marks draw out more philosophical questions: What is language? How can text be made either legible or illegible? How do these marks survive in translation? What contexts survive between

[21] See especially Gitanjali Patel and Nariman Youssef, "All the Violence It May Carry on its Back: A Conversation about Diversity and Literary Translation" *Asymptote* (July, 2021).

the original text and the translated text, and which dissolve? When an author uses *fuseji* to excise something from the text—meaning here *before* any censorship decision requires this kind of action—they engage in two negations. First, these marks negate a nationalistic assertion that the written language naturally represents linguistic elements particular to a language or polity. *Fuseji* or other marks which indicate the presence of censorship do not rely on national or linguistic origins to be understood, nor do they reveal to the reader legible content. Second, *fuseji* negates the need for translation as a device that grants or transmits meaning between an "inside" or "outside," a "native" or "target." Now, the text needs only to be legible *as censorship*. It is in this second negation that we find a fruitful comparison to censored literature as world literature. If censorship requires a reading practice that takes literature as fundamentally affective, *fuseji* remove the requirement for that affect to be transmitted linguistically.

Jonathan Abel's *Redacted* gives a comprehensive history of the rise and fall of *fuseji*.[22] This method of representing censorship in text was initially banned in the late 19th century. It experienced prodigious use under the early police state of Japan's militarist government in the late-1920s and early-1930s, whereupon harsher restrictions on the use of symbols denoting censorship were enforced until the end of the war—and through the Occupation period. Most importantly, Abel recognizes that the height of *fuseji*'s popularity marked the form's creative peak. As such, he argues convincingly for literary scholars to preserve these marks in their research (as well as in collected volumes, anthologies, and other forms of reprinting) and critically consider the place of these marks within literary culture.

> …redaction marks themselves were important…it seems that the censors were concerned primarily with the redacted portions, largely skipping over the intervening text. The censors' attention to the

[22] I will only engage with one subsection of Abel's argument regarding *fuseji* in this chapter, but the entire chapter dedicated to the topic explores the intricacies of censorship, publishing, and cultural history. Jonathan Abel, *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 143-193

> marks of redaction attests to the notion that gaps are fecund areas for readerly circumspection and conjecture.[23]
>
> Since there is neither the necessity nor even the possibility for texts to be simple and clean monological signifiers, there is no need to flatten the historical verticality of the material markers of deletion that scream "This was censored!" Reading is not eased in the process of editing out markers of deletion, because the desire of readers to make meaning was never really thwarted by the marks of redaction in the first place.[24]

In postwar literature, these marks were most often deliberate and artistic portrayals of "self-censorship" in a playful or creative way that harkened back to *fuseji*'s heyday in the proletarian literary movement. And yet the reappearance of *fuseji* under Occupation censorship caused two problems. First, and most often, these small acts of self-censorship prevented Occupation censors from identifying specific persons, events, locations, or items that may have been intelligible to a magazine's readership despite the literal illegibility of the text itself. Second, and less frequent, these marks could insinuate the continued presence of censorship practices under the Occupation forces, an absolute guarantee of censorship enforcement as we will see in the following example.

In either case, it seems that frontline censors were quick to recommend any *fuseji* for further examination, though ranking censors were often less strict in requesting or implementing suppressions. *Fuseji* appear regularly in the short story "The Popular Writer" (「戯作者」) by Takadō Masao (高堂正男, dates unknown) in the August, 1946 issue of *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』). The censorship documents that accompany this volume state:

> TOHOKU BUNKO
> Aug Issue Vol 1 No. 7 Pub[lished in]: Morioka Ex[aminer]: K. Takagi
> Pages 19,20,22
> I.O. XX are used repeatedly on these pages. I.O. stand seemingly for names of his friend and XX for name of a location. Against censorship policy.[25]

[23] Abel, *Redacted*, 172-173.

[24] Abel, *Redacted*, 182-183.

[25] Censorship documents accompanying *Tōhoku bunko* (『東北文庫』) Volume 1, Issue 7 (August, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

Certainly, Takadō's use of *fuseji* here represents the most common usage found in postwar magazines: A writer from a narrow coterie playfully conceals harmless information that his in-group would certainly recognize. Then again, the text in no way requires these terms to possess a referent. Acting as signifiers of a person or a location function well enough for the text. In all likelihood, this usage does not even refer to either wartime or Occupation censorship practices. we find similar expressions throughout modern Japanese literature—"K" from Sōseki's *Kokoro*, for example.

The censorship documents for this example include the ranking censor's response. "OK Yes, but in postc[ensorship] we'll leave it." The censor's final decision implies that while these self-censorship marks are in fact violations, the magazine's post-censorship status suggests that attempts to enforce suppressions are unlikely to be successful. Violations—even clear violations—can be passed without further action. This particular example of *fuseji* and the response by Occupation censors is particularly interesting in relation to world literature because Takadō's short story was only recommended for censorship due to the presence of these marks. Takadō himself was not particularly prolific, but this one recommendation has marked his as "censored." Now that Occupation censorship archives have been made widely available for research, Takadō's fiction becomes the object of study by virtue of its relation to censorship as a reading practice. It is therefore precisely the text's illegibility of "self-censorship" that draws this text into the flows and exchanges of translation that we might mark as world literature. The story's *fuseji* place text in a complex spatial relationship with Occupation authorities. By censoring what we can assume are local names and locations, Takadō's portrayal of censorship can simultaneously define and excise local characteristics through contextual reading. In doing so, he also unwittingly launched the text into a larger web of global literary readership. This text

now exists as an example of "censored" literature and has become imbedded within contemporary, transnational databases. One might say that the text is "rediscovered" as a work of world literature by virtue of its illegibility.

Case 3: Censorship Translations Need Not Be Substantial

Before moving on from the minute aspects of censorship enforcement, we should also address key log violations. As explained in Chapter 2, these seemingly insubstantial violations make up a significant portion of the texts that have been collected and made searchable within the Prange Collection database as "censored." The key logs were an ever-evolving secret list of banned topics or phrases that the Occupation authorities issued to censors. While certain items came and went with the political whims of the Occupation—hinging mostly on the so-called "Reverse Course"—some topics remained banned for the entirety of the Occupation. For example: criticism of Allied Forces, defense of wartime propaganda, support for a "Greater East Asia," and references to censorship. In these final two instances, censors were often quite strict. Any mention of Allied censorship was suppressed and most phrases from the colonial project, like "The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere," were at least recommended for review by ranking censors as a suppressible violation. Like the use of *fuseji* outlined above, the strictness with which Occupation key logs were enforced led to a large number of magazines being understood as "censored" even if only a single phrase or word was suppressed in the entire volume.

For the entirety of CCD's existence, the very *mention* of censorship was the target of swift and unforgiving censorship suppressions, sometimes with absurd results. The December, 1946

volume of *Tsushida* (『津志田』), a small mimeographed magazine published in the village of Mirumae, Iwate by the youth organization of the same name, was flagged for the following violation:

> Page 23- This magazine "Tsushida" is sent to the Civil Censorship Detachment in Radio Tokyo Building in order to be censored two copies every month.
> (Above DISAPPROVED; Mention of censorship)[26]

This issue's editorial postscript had noted that the editors sent the magazine to Occupation officials on the same day that they completed printing the volume—cluing their readership in that the magazine was under censorship and clearly violating those same censorship policies. Perhaps surprisingly, this kind of editorial note is not uncommon in magazines from this period. Iwate's most prestigious poetry journal *Nuhari* (『ぬはり』), which had a national circulation, warned readers:

> Any letters are required to be promptly post as mail delivery from western parts from Tokyo area are usually delayed dueing to mail censorship.
> (Above DISAPPROVED; Mention of censorship)[27]

Unlike *Nuhari*, which managed to avoid mentioning censorship in later issues, *Tsushida* dove headfirst into a Kafka-esque realm. The editor of the magazine thought it best to remedy the situation in the February issue of the magazine by declaring that no such censorship had taken place. This created quite a mess for the Occupation censors: [FIG. 5.2]

> P19 Notes To The Reader
> Information- "On the 23rd page of the diary of the No. 6 Tsusida issues on Dec. 1st 46 there is written that the Tsusida is censored, but this is our mistake, so we correct it to the effect that there was no censorship done."
> Exam[iner's] Note: This is mention of censorship which I suppose that the editor was cautioned by CCD on the mention of censorship, so he mentioned again for correction denying the fact of

[26] Censorship documents accompanying *Tsushida* (『津志田』) Volume 6 (December, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[27] Censorship documents accompanying *Nuhari* (『ぬはり』) Volume 20, Issue 11 (November/December, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

being censored.[28]

The censorship documents are uncharacteristically messy, as this particular passage experienced at least one round of re-examination. The re-examiner produces the following decision: "Disapprove, publisher should [illegible]." However, a ranking Occupation censor marks over this passage in large letters "OK" indicating that the selection may remain in the magazine as it was originally printed. Based on the reaction of Occupation officials to other journals of this kind—independently printed coterie magazines from the rural north—it seems likely that this violation was passed because the journal was both post-censored and something of an enigma to the authorities. The magazine examination sheet states: "Place of Publication Unknown" and that the English title *Tsushida* is "Supposed to be the name of the place"—not true, incidentally, but probably too much work for a frontline censor to discover by paging through stacks of past violation sheets. In any case, this comedy of errors almost certainly incited quite a philosophical debate amongst the censors: Was the denying of censorship's existence also a reference to censorship? This example reveals some of the motivating logic of the censorship apparatus and its relationship to world literature. The expression of censorship in writing was *actually suppressed* with regularity because it exposed the power relations present between Japanese writers and the Allied Forces. In its transnational implications, this relationship reinforces the scales of "world" that censorship worked to conceal: Japan's submission to a national occupation not only politically, but culturally as well.

Other key log violations were considerably less urgent than the public mention of Occupation censorship. Frontline censors regularly flagged individual phrases for additional review if those

[28] Censorship documents accompanying *Tsushida* (『津志田』) Volume 8 (February, 1947). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

phrases found their origin in Japan's colonial project. The most common of these terms related to the way the Japanese empire had referred to their war effort in Asia: "The Greater East Asian War" (大東亜戦争) or "The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" (大東亜共栄圏). It seems likely that postwar writers would have been generally unaware that these terms were subject to censorship for two reasons. First, speaking in terms of literary style, these writers were simply recycling the terms for the war that they had already been using for years. Most regional writers were likely never exposed to Occupation approved terminology like the "Pacific War." Second, many of the censorship recommendations that frontline censors submitted for excising these terms were eventually rejected by ranking censorship authorities on the presumption that these words were too insignificant to warrant a response. As we saw in Chapter 2, this decision was often weighed in relation to the cost and effort required to a hand-deliver a letter of censorship to the publisher. Besides, in most cases these magazines were under post-censorship and had already been in distribution for weeks, if not months.

The censorship records accompanying northern Tōhoku magazines prove that very few of these minute key log violations were enforced. In the case of *Shin Iwate fujin*, for example, the censor Nakajima notes each use of the term "The Greater East Asia War" in the April 1947 volume, writing simply: "Key Log Violation" and "Should changed into the Pacific War." In some cases, CCD's frontline censors make a direct appeal to their key logs when making their recommendations. In October, 1946, the first volume of a small automobile journal called *Shinrin* (『新輪』) was published in Ichinoseki (一関市), Iwate. The initial censor, T. Torii finds the following violation:

> 1) On page 9 in chap. 4, "The Nishiiwai Chauffeurs' Association is the place to perfect our human personality."
> "'The Greater East Asia War' in which we, the Japanese, had fought putting up with every hardship and destitution ended in too grievous a fact for us."

> Ex[aminer]'s note: The portion ' ' should be disapproved, because this is a term of suppression of publication.[29]

Torii does not use the term "Key Log," choosing rather to state the reasoning behind the recommendation. Unlike Nakajima's recommendation for *Shin Iwate fujin*, which does not show clear evidence of being either passed or disapproved, Torii managed to gain the attention of the Occupation examiners. One censor (or perhaps re-examiner) writes directly on top of Torri's term "disapproved": "Suggest pass." Over the entire recommendation another censor writes the all too familiar "OK post."

As was the case with *fuseji* under Occupation censorship, translating minute key log violations dramatically transforms the afterlives of works. The fact that these examples come from largely ignored coterie journals from rural Iwate does not preclude their being translated and read within the Occupation censorship apparatus. In that context, these translations were perfectly successful. They alerted ranking censors to the appearance of banned terms. Yet by virtue of these same, brief glimpses into the original works, these translations (and the original texts) entered into the records of international literature, bleeding into world-scale methods of reading literary history.

Case 4: Censorship Translations Need Not Be Accurate

In the cases described above, the primary archival documents present very little ambiguity regarding *why* some portion of a text was selected for translation and review. A symbol or word

[29] Censorship documents accompanying *Shinrin* (『新輪』) Volume 1 (October, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

appeared on the page, and that symbol or word happened to be banned. As a reading practice, this mode of translating original texts and then exposing those translations to the possibility of censorship are straightforward. It is only in the archival afterlives of Occupation censorship that these texts take on a second life. This simplicity does not hold when works are recommended for censorship on ideological grounds. In these cases, both frontline examiner/translators and the censorship officers who will make a final decision on enforcement participate in analytical modes of reading. The documents that accompany works subject to longer translations and more serious accusations—being labeled as "propaganda" or "critical of Allied forces," for example—reveal the complexity of censorship as both translation and reading practice. Many of these complexities find their origins in the gap between the nuance of the original text, the method of extracting portions of a work for consideration, and the inability of ranking censors to compare recommendations to original articles due to lack of linguistic ability or time. Archival documents also present instances of suppression based on a translation that does not align the overall content of the text. In these cases, analytical modes of censorship—reading practices in the familiar sense of the term—veer dramatically from the original's intent. Even so, within the framework of the censorship apparatus, these translations are just as "successful" as others that maintain greater "fidelity" to the original text. Or, considering inaccurate translations often result in disapprovals, we might see them as even more "successful" than their counterparts.

Texts that expressed a strong political ideology were a favorite target for censors. Leftist critics of Japan's imperial project commonly became victims of a censorship system that emphasized to-the-word readings of texts—just as we saw above. Examiner/translators homed in on the language of ideological critique, disregarding an argument's analytical context. As militarist censorship systems crumbled with the empire's defeat, critics to the far left of the

militarist government reignited their historical materialist analyses and took aim at nearly every aspect of Japan's wartime history, society, and culture. Some leftist writers fell victim to misreadings and mistranslations as they systematically laid out Japan's calamitous past.

Consider these two disapproved passages from the article "Struggle Against Fascism" by Kasajima Kyōichi (笠島彊一, dates unknown), a historian of Hokkaidō agricultural movements, from the literary organ of the Hokkaidō Agricultural Union, *Hokunō Bungaku* (『北農文学』). The censor R. Kiriyama quotes these passages at length in the violation sheet that accompanied the July, 1946 volume:

> Page 5 "These countries (Germany, Italy and Japan) had narrow lands and less colonies compared with Britain, America and France, and were backward in the modern imperialistic world. For this reason they were placed on a most disadvantageous position. 'Poor States', namely Germany, Italy and Japan, were capitalistic countries, but retained a great deal of feudalistic factors. When so-called social necessity arose either to go for the radical changes or to take up an anti-capitalistic order as a means to adjust the capitalism which had come to a standstill, there was such a fear in these countries that their capitalist order might be thrown over, root and all. 'Rich states', namely Britain, America and France, could succeed in maintaining of their capitalism through modifications, such as MacDonald's labor cabinet, movements of the people's front, new deals, etc., thus overcoming the danger of breakdown some how. However in Germany, Italy and Japan, unless free democratic social movements and thoughts were destroyed at once, their national existence (as capitalistic states) was in danger. This was the misery of 'the poor countries', and was the cause for the rise of totalitarian movements."
>
> (Quotation DISAPPROVED - propaganda)
>
> Page 6 "Japan went for militarism because she needed a strong armament as a backward nation in order to cope with the imperialism of the world powers. And for this reason she had to establish an absolute dictatorial political system under the name of Tenno-ism so as to unite the country politically. Such a national policy has something in its nature that is congenial and works naturally to foster totalitarianism. Accordingly, it can be said that Japan had such a fate as to plunge herself into Dai Toa Senso."
>
> (Quotation DISAPPROVED - defense of War propaganda)[30]

Before addressing the details in this argument, it seems worthwhile to point out that the translator's continued use of "her" and "she" to refer to Japan shares little in common with the biting tone of the original essay. A real possibility exists that the use of these terms in the translation directly impacted the censor's impression of the essay as a whole. It is impossible to

[30] Censorship documents accompanying *Hokunō Bungaku* (『北農文学』) Volume 1, Issue 4 (July, 1946). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

speculate how the results might have changed had the examiner/translator removed these terms, but we can easily imagine how the tone of the translation might change by simply changing "she had to establish an absolute dictatorial system…to unite the country politically" to "Japan's experience with global imperialism forced the government to adopt an absolute dictatorship as a national policy."

Kasajima, like many local writers in the immediate postwar period, suddenly found themselves with the ability to analyze Japan's destructive fate on national and global scales. If these texts had been disapproved simply as "propaganda" then contemporary readers would almost certainly understand the context to mean *leftist* propaganda. The fact that the examiner/translator saw these passages as a defense of *war propaganda*—and that somehow the ranking Occupation censor agreed with this interpretation—is surprising even before reading Kasajima's text in full. Perhaps at the semantic level one can imagine a censor finding the content objectionable—without question, Kasajima is taking the logic of Imperial Japan's capitalism and militarism seriously. The words as they exist on the page, however, describing the actual historical conditions that led not only to Japan's fall to militaristic totalitarianism but the Second World War overall, extend beyond this translated selection.

In fact, the conclusion to Kasajima's central argument stands diametrically opposed to Japan's imperial project. As should be obvious from the format of the journal and the essay's title, Kasajima presents the analytical tools Hokkaidō farmers must develop to understand Japan's fall into fascism and how to fight a second emergence of that system. If the Occupation censor had taken the time to examine *the very next paragraph,* they would have found the following:

> In this way, Japan's feudalism, bureaucracy, militarism, dictatorship etc. took the Japanese emperor as their core and became the essential element of totalitarianism. The Emperor system was the

underpinning of totalitarianism.[31]

Had this portion of the text also been translated, even the most inexperienced Occupation censor would have recognized the impossibility of the original recommendation. Any writer who states plainly that "the Emperor system was the underpinning of totalitarianism" could not in any way be construed as mounting a "defense of War propaganda." As a mode of reading translated texts, however, this case does bring into stark relief the question of analytical interpretation within the censorship apparatus. Even if the ranking censor had the linguistic ability to read Japanese, the overabundance of work due to understaffing in CCD meant in practice that the texts presented in recommendations accounted for the entirety of evidence for disapprovals. Some censors asked for additional translations of problematic texts, but there is no indication of that occurring here. Nor is this example an outlier. Other politically charged critiques of fascism in essays, fiction, and poetry faced similar disapprovals. "Successful" translations were quite simply not required to maintain perfect fidelity with the original text.

Fruitful intersections between Occupation censorship and "national" Japanese literary history being to appear once we examine the problematic realm of "fidelity" or "ideology" in translations. On the one hand, censorship translations were "successful" so long as they were read within the transnational Occupation system. Fidelity to the original was seldom a concern in censorship of the rural press. On the other hand, we have the long history of debate regarding what "fidelity to the original" means for works of Japanese literature that have been translated and inserted into the pantheon of World Literature—that is, the transnational system of a literary

[31] Kasajima Kyōichi (笠島彊一), "The Struggle Against Fascism: Totalitarian and Democratic Conceptions of the State" (「フアツシズムへの闘争─全體主義と民主主義の國家概念」*Fasshizumu he no tōsō: zentaishugi to minshushugi no kokka gainen*), *Hokunō bungaku* (『北農文学』) Volume 1, Issue 4 (July, 1946), 6. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

marketplace. Must we discard our historical understanding of postwar censorship wholesale? And if not, how do we come to terms with a deeply entrenched mode of historical analysis that relies on Occupation-produced documents that often differ significantly from original texts? Do these "mistranslated" Occupation-era texts call out for multiple retranslations in the same way as *The Tale of Genji*? Would anthologizing or reprinting the literature and censorship documents cut a pathway towards re-evaluating the place of Occupation literature in world literature?

Case 5: Censorship Translations Need Not Be Sensical

Finally, censorship documents occasionally present us with a case of total incoherence. Previous examples point to partial breakdowns in censorship as a mode of reading, breakdowns that are in some sense baked into the system due to the nature of translation and bureaucracy. Some "successful" translations, however, did not even require the source text to present a discernible internal logic. Such cases from magazines in northern Japan are exceedingly rare. Examiners, re-examiners, or ranking censors commonly expressed their doubts over whether a phrase or article warrants censorship, but only one example from Iwate marks the text as beyond comprehension. Unlike previous examples, which were often "truly local" examples of independent magazines that were published in a small community for a small collection of readers, the magazine examined here, *Tamashii*, shows evidence of being something akin to "true" world literature. As I will explain below, it seems most likely that Occupation censorship reading practices, despite their existence between two cultures—Japanese and American, generally—were unprepared to examine literature that introduced a third cultural context and the remnants of imperialism in non-Japanese colonial subjects.

Spirit (『魂』*Tamashii*) advertised itself as an "intellectual journal" (思想雑誌 *shisō zasshi*) on its title page. *Tamashii*'s editor, listed as Chong Yon-kyu (鄭然圭) in censorship documents, was a resident Korean living in Iwate. Chung (the spelling used by his family currently, or Jeong Yeon-kyu in the more contemporary romanization) was already an established writer, having been quite active in colonial-era Korean literature written in Japanese. He has frequently been cited as one of the first—if not *the first—zainichi* novelists, one with an extremely complex personal history. His early works include the 1923 novels *The Anguish of Life* (『生の悶え』*Sei no modae*) and *The Wandering Sky* (『さすらひの空』*Sasurahi no sora*). He frequently wrote in response to the mass murder of Koreans in Tokyo after the 1923 earthquake and contributed regularly to proletarian magazines. Akita Ujaku and Chung were both featured in a 1923 special volume of the leftist magazine *Artistic Front* (『藝術戦線』*Geijutsu sensen*) introducing twenty-nine rising stars in proletarian literature.[32] By the late-1920s, however, Chung had experienced a full ideological conversion and his writing began to focus on colonized peoples becoming proper "Imperial Citizens."

Tamashii's print and censorship history directly intersects with this complex history. From the information provided in the publishing information, the journal boasted a long print run that predated the Occupation era—the first postwar issue is listed as volume 167. Unfortunately, the wartime history of this magazine is unclear. Searchable records do not show a magazine by the same title or publisher. In 1936, however, a second publishing company, *Manmōjidaisha* (満蒙時代社), published a short pamphlet by Chung called *What Will the Imperial Way Do? Bury*

[32] Nakanishi Inosuke (中西伊之助), ed., *Literary Front: 29 Emerging Writers* (『藝術戦線：新興文芸二十九人集』*Geijutsu sensen: shinkō bungei nijūkyū nin shū*) (Tokyo: Shizensha, 1923). Akita even recalls attending an event commemorating Chung's publishing achievements in his diary, see Akita Ujaku (秋田雨雀), *Akita Ujaki Diaries: Volume 1* (『秋田雨雀日記第１巻』*Akita Ujaki nikki: dai ikkan*) (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1965), 319.

Fascism and the Left! Unsurprisingly, the contents of this pamphlet argue for the total subsumption of colonized peoples within the national body (国体 *kokutai*) by grace of the deified Imperial line.[33] The top portion of the back cover lists in large block letters: *Tamashii - A Monthly Magazine* (月刊雑誌魂 *Gekkan zasshi tamashii*). The publishing information for *Tamashii* here also lists *Manmōjidaisha* and includes the same address as Chung's home address in Nakano, Tokyo. Considering *Tamashii*'s postwar "publisher," *Kōgakukai* (皇学会) was essentially Chung's personal, independent press, it seems likely that the "publisher" changed as Chung moved throughout Imperial Japan.

Even without knowing this magazine's precise wartime publishing history, however, there are any number of reasons that this journal stands out from its contemporaries. First, it was one of the few Iwate journals that targeted a national and international audience. It was published in the small town of Kurosawajiri (黒沢尻町), now part of the city of Kitakami (北上市) in central Iwate, yet the journal was printed in Tokyo by *Kōgakukai*, where Chung had previously lived. *Kōgakukai* had actively published far-right works throughout Japan's colonial period arguing in favor of one branch of the Imperial Way Faction (皇道派 *kōdōha*). Second, despite some volumes containing more than sixty pages, it seems likely that Chung wrote the entirety of each issue. Of the few articles that list the name of an author, all are attributed to Chung. Anonymous articles take up the same topics and tone from article to article, issue to issue, suggesting that this magazine is the singular outlet for Chung's writing. Finally, more censorship documents accompany *Tamashii* per page than any other Iwate magazine. The last volume on file, from September 1947, is only twenty-three pages, but twenty-two CCD-issued violation sheets

[33] Chung Yon-kyu (鄭然圭), *What Will the Imperial Way Do? Bury Fascism and the Left*! (『皇道派は何にをなさんとするか：ファッショと左翼を葬れ』*Kōdōha ha nani wo nasan to suru ka: fassho to sayoku wo hōmure*) (Tokyo: Manmōjidaisha, 1936), 7.

accompany it.

It is this final volume in particular that seems to have vexed Occupation censorship authorities. Substantial suppressions are set down for nearly every page, [FIG. 5.3] including Chong's "Open Letter to Premier Katayama," Japan's first Socialist Prime minister, or an article describing "The Plot for Another War." The article "Policy of Hatching a Plot against the Allied Powers" describes the examiner/translator T. Sasaki's exasperation: [FIG. 5.4 & 5.5]

> Title: "Policy of Hatching a Plot against the Allied Powers" (Brief)
> Since the termination of the war Japanese Conservatives have been pursuing a policy of trickery and plot against the Allied Powers. In the formation of the present 3-party coalition Government, they, in fear of the leakage of their shady secrets, forced the Socialists to promise finally to keep it deeply in their hearts. Thus the present Socialist Government has become the inheritor of the treasonous foreign policy. I pointed to a facet of the policy in the April number (1946) of TAMASHII. This cost me temporary suspension of paper supply.
> …
> Ex[aminer's] Note
> This article is so incoherent and fabulous that I can not clearly understand what the author says. Maybe it comes under two suppression categories, namely "Incitement to Unrest" and "Untrue Statements"[34]

In terms of censorship documents that accompany magazines from northern Tōhoku, this passage stands alone. I cannot recall any other example wherein the front-line censor recommends suppressing an article while simultaneously confessing that they could not understand the contents. As the translation sheets pile up, Sasaki remarks on a separate essay, "A Study of the Imperial Way Thought":

> As may be seen from the brief gist, writer is confused and incoherent in his theory or gossip. But the article may develop into some weighty scholarly treatise in some future installment: at the end of this article we see 'To Be Continued.'[35]

It is rare to see such dry and dismissive sarcasm in these files. What is more, the ranking Occupation censor *upholds these recommendations* and the article is suppressed in its entirety.

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[34] Censorship documents accompanying *Spirit* (『魂』*Tamashii*) Volume 16, Issue 168 (September, 1947). Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

[35] *Spirit* (『魂』*Tamashii*) Volume 16, Issue 168 (September, 1947).

Few documents spell out the censorship reading practice quite so clearly: translations within the censorship apparatus need not recognize or present a sensical internal logic. So long as the ranking censor who was consuming these translations could imagine an affective result on the readership of the article—and some portion of that affect could be understood as "disturbing public tranquility"—censorship was suddenly made possible.

Without question, Chung's writing does not necessarily present an internal logic that readers might easily grasp. If anything, *Tamashii* represents the ideological disorder that awaited so many supporters of Japan's imperialist aims in the early postwar period. Perhaps this is especially true due to Chung's position as a former colonial subject—a true collaborator—who remained in Japan picking up the pieces. Chung's confusion is made all the clearer as article after article turns towards national and transnational conspiracy theories to explain the co-opting of the Imperial family by militarists, or a government-wide "two-fold" conspiracy in postwar Japan to attack all of Asia and the Allied powers in order to keep the country in a semi-colonial position. On the whole, *Tamashii* spews vitriol towards any and all aspects of postwar life: Japanese militarists, socialists, communists, fellow *zainichi* Koreans, the Occupation authorities, the Allied Forces, the Imperial system, black-markets, farmland, rationing. It is astounding any portion of the text received approval.

Here, we can begin to see the conceptual messiness that surrounds nation, imperialism, and literature in the immediate postwar period. Just as postwar Japanese concepts of national literature and world literature were trying to come to terms with the sudden arrival of a new political and cultural power structure, Chung is feverishly writing to justify an ideology that collapsed with the defeat of Imperial Japan, attack all that emerges from the ashes. CCD censors likely anticipated this kind of reaction from the hardline conservatives that had been purged from

public life in the initial years of the Occupation. Perhaps they struggled to grasp the "logic" of defeat presented by writers who experienced colonization personally and joined the imperial project as collaborators. In our contemporary position, we can begin to construct a systematic reading of these texts with the aim of understanding, rather than dismissing, what logic might be contained therein—how that logic reflects the history of literary production from the 1920s through the postwar, and how the process of Occupation and decolonization can never be as tidy and "logical" as we expect or hope. Chung likely felt trapped with his own outrage. Self-publishing several serialized essays every month demonstrates an intense drive to carry on with writing as a process. Chung's output speaks to the distressing day-to-day life of a democratizing population that still retained so much colonial history. Chung's unbridled anger and mistrust speaks to the legacies of war and colonialism, while his confusion and contradiction reveals the struggle to present a sensical ideological platform in a moment when concepts of nation and literature were collapsing and reforming.

Censoring, Translating, and Reading the World

As a closing coda, let's return very briefly to Damrosch's theory of world literature as a mode of circulation or reading:

> It is important from the outset to realize that just as there never has been a single set canon of world literature, so too no single way of reading can be appropriate to all texts, or even to any one text at all times. The variability of a work of world literature is one of its constitutive features—one of its greatest strengths when the work is well presented and read well, and its greatest vulnerability when it is mishandled or misappropriated by its newfound foreign friends.[36]

Without question, the intervention of the Occupation censorship apparatus on these various

[36] Damrosch, *What is World Literature?*, 5.

works represents a "mishandling" of the highest order. All varieties of violence are done to the text without any concern beyond the work's eventual disappearance. Ironically, however, it is *precisely* this process—and the bureaucratic fetishization of document preservation—that allows these works to remain in circulation. Censorship as reading process and collection process leaves open the very real possibility that these works will be read explicitly as world literature. If not now, then perhaps in a future intervention that takes global censorship practices as one form of reading and translating. We might say that they fundamentally fulfill each half of Damrosch's arithmetic to "measure" world literature:

> A work enters into world literature by a double process: first, by being read as literature; second, by circulating out into a broader world beyond its linguistic and cultural point of origin. A given work can enter into world literature and then fall out of it again if it shifts beyond a threshold point along either axis, the literary or the worldly.[37]

Rather than presenting these translations as primary historical documents that indicate the Allied Forces' efforts to stamp out or authorize postwar thought, we might find more potential in treating them as remnants of a transnational reading practice. Even if these translations appear utterly alien to the concepts of world literature that were circulating at the time, they fit into a long history of reading and translating across national borders for the sake of control. These documents preserve the messiness of regional, national, transnational, and world literatures in the first decade of Japan's postwar period. Perhaps they might help us understand similar (or radically different) kinds of messiness in censorship and translation as a "world" reading practice in other locations and historical contexts. Censorship as a reading practice predated the postwar period and lives on in the present day. Some censorship can be thought of as "local" or "domestic," but even without translation entering censorship's workflow, there is always some

[37] Damrosch, *What is World Literature?*, 6.

transcultural element that tessellates linguistic or literary representations from "violation" to "integration."

"World" methodologies need not always rely on the small handful of stabilized concepts that appear to animate scalar analyses across space. Local, national, global; literature, culture, capital. Instead, we should recognize these terms as extant insofar as they have been the subject of considerable concept-work. Reading censorship archives across nations and historical periods could help remake the ways we consider world literature to exist as a world-system. Few will argue that a handwritten, mimeographed magazine with a distribution of twenty copies falls under the concept of a "local" text. Local culture, however, tends to possess a longer and more complex history than the scalar term suggests. In postwar Japanese literature, these "local" texts become the target of a transnational censorship apparatus that treats them as the same impactful expression of "national" culture as the mass-produced Tokyo magazines with print runs in the tens of thousands. When they eventually become archivized *as censored materials*, they are no longer the objects of a literary coterie, but instead become one representative element of the intellectual culture of the "nation." Censorship inaugurates the text's entry into a method of reading that draws directly from world literary practices. The process of "worlding" literature does not require a text to have been immediately translated and distributed across the global literary marketplace. These examples of extremely "local" magazines from postwar Japan should be understood to have survived through the expansion and transformation of world-systems that re-deploy practices of world literature in unexpected ways. World literature might be the "authorized" canon of global print capital; but the examples discussed here show that it might also be the method of reading and translating literature for other forms of "authorization" that have little concern for the literary marketplace.

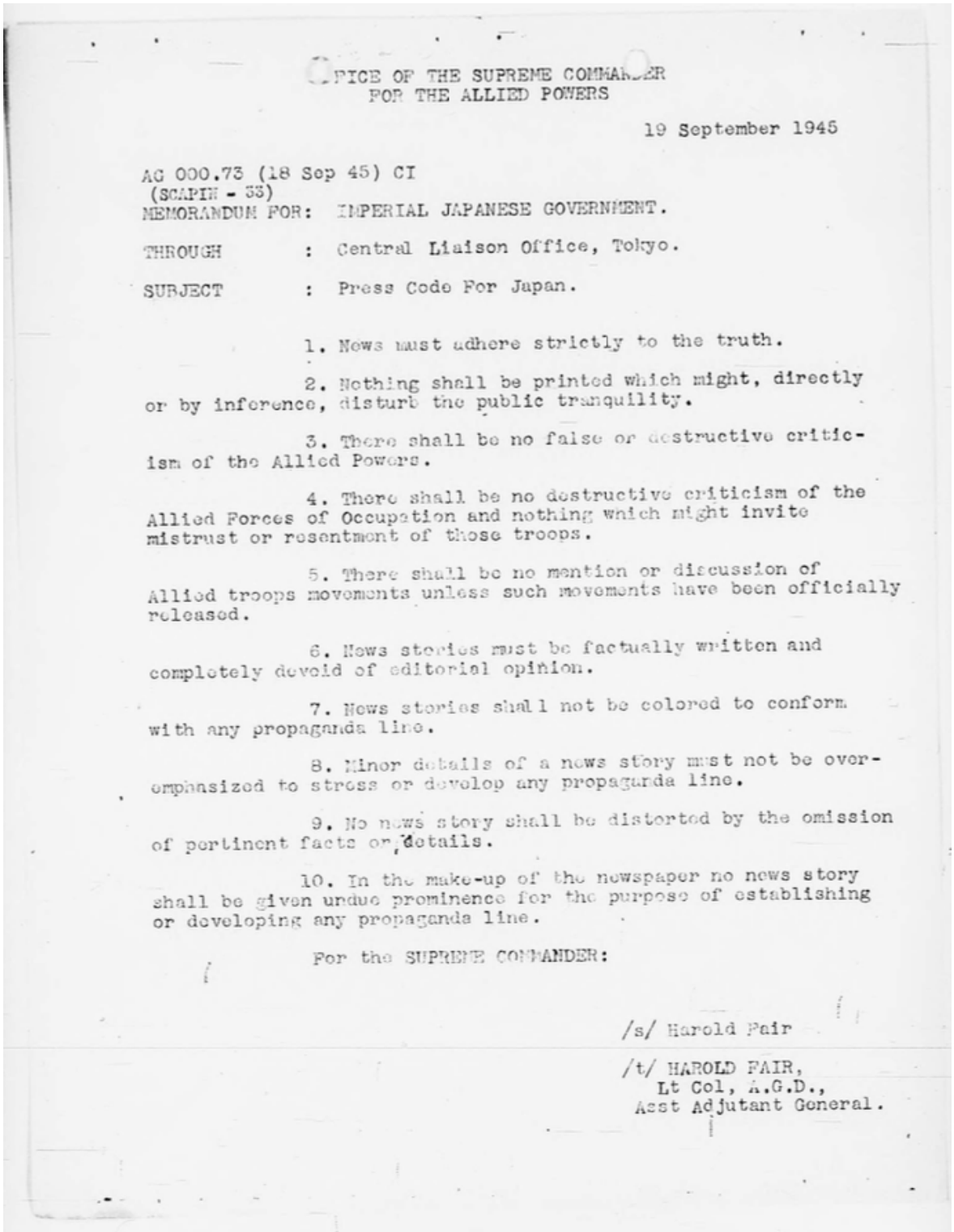
Appendix

Figures

N.B:
- All figures numbered according to chapter and order of appearance.
(e.g. Chapter 2, Figure 1 = Figure 2.1)

- Some figures have been inverted to enhance legibility.

Figure 2.1: SCAPIN-33, “Press Code for Japan,” September 19, 1945



OFFICE OF THE SUPREME COMMANDER
FOR THE ALLIED POWERS

19 September 1945

AG 000.73 (18 Sep 45) CI
(SCAPIN - 33)
MEMORANDUM FOR: IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT.

THROUGH : Central Liaison Office, Tokyo.

SUBJECT : Press Code For Japan.

1. News must adhere strictly to the truth.

2. Nothing shall be printed which might, directly or by inference, disturb the public tranquility.

3. There shall be no false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers.

4. There shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Forces of Occupation and nothing which might invite mistrust or resentment of those troops.

5. There shall be no mention or discussion of Allied troops movements unless such movements have been officially released.

6. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion.

7. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.

8. Minor details of a news story must not be over-emphasized to stress or develop any propaganda line.

9. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details.

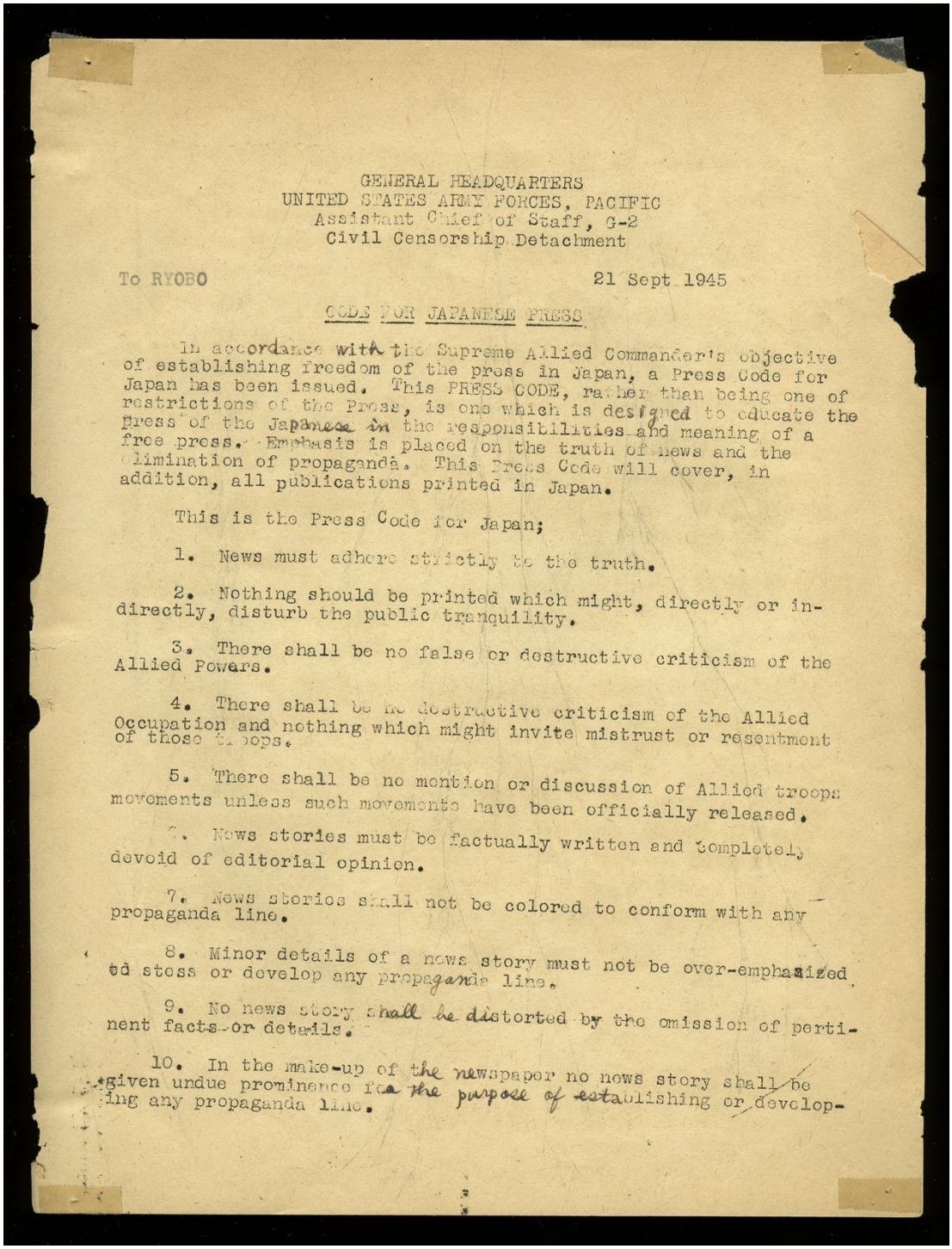
10. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

For the SUPREME COMMANDER:

/s/ Harold Fair

/t/ HAROLD FAIR,
Lt Col, A.G.D.,
Asst Adjutant General.

Figure 2.2: General Headquarters, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Civil Censorship Detachment, "Code for Japanese Press," September 21, 1945
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
Civil Censorship Detachment

To RYOBO 21 Sept 1945

CODE FOR JAPANESE PRESS

In accordance with the Supreme Allied Commander's objective of establishing freedom of the press in Japan, a Press Code for Japan has been issued. This PRESS CODE, rather than being one of restrictions of the Press, is one which is designed to educate the press of the Japanese in the responsibilities and meaning of a free press. Emphasis is placed on the truth of news and the elimination of propaganda. This Press Code will cover, in addition, all publications printed in Japan.

This is the Press Code for Japan;

1. News must adhere strictly to the truth.

2. Nothing should be printed which might, directly or indirectly, disturb the public tranquility.

3. There shall be no false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers.

4. There shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Occupation and nothing which might invite mistrust or resentment of those troops.

5. There shall be no mention or discussion of Allied troops movements unless such movements have been officially released.

6. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion.

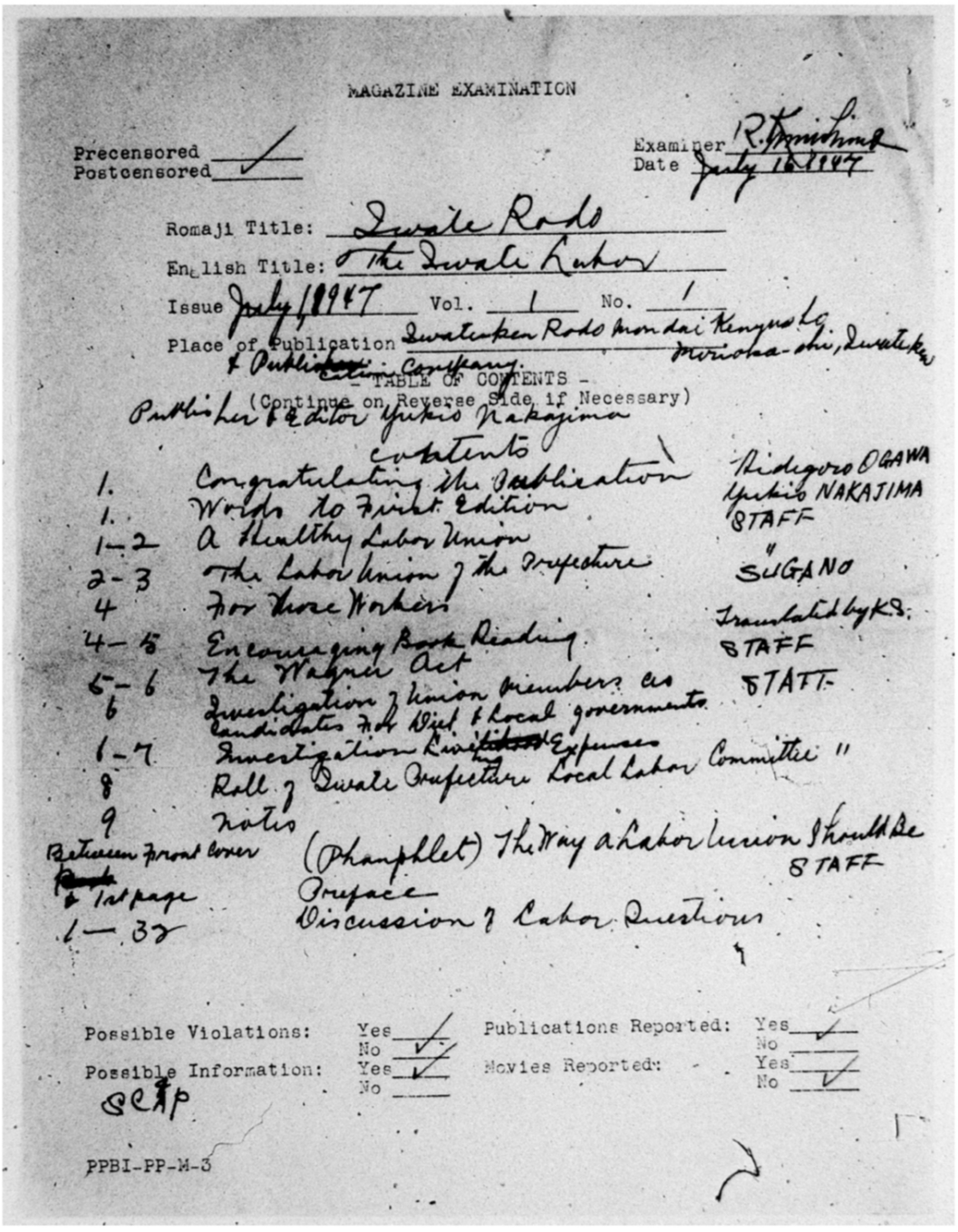
7. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.

8. Minor details of a news story must not be over-emphasized to stress or develop any propaganda line.

9. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details.

10. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

Figure 2.3: Magazine Examination Sheet, *Iwate Rōdō* Volume 1, Issue 1 (July, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



MAGAZINE EXAMINATION

Precensored ____
Postcensored ✓

Examiner R. Tomishima
Date July 16 1947

Romaji Title: Iwate Rodo
English Title: The Iwate Labor
Issue July 1947 Vol. 1 No. 1
Place of Publication Iwatoken Rodo mondai Kenyusho, Morioka-shi, Iwateken
& Publisher Company.

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(Continue on Reverse Side if Necessary)

Publisher & Editor Yukio Nakajima

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1.	Congratulating the Publication	Hidegoro OGAWA
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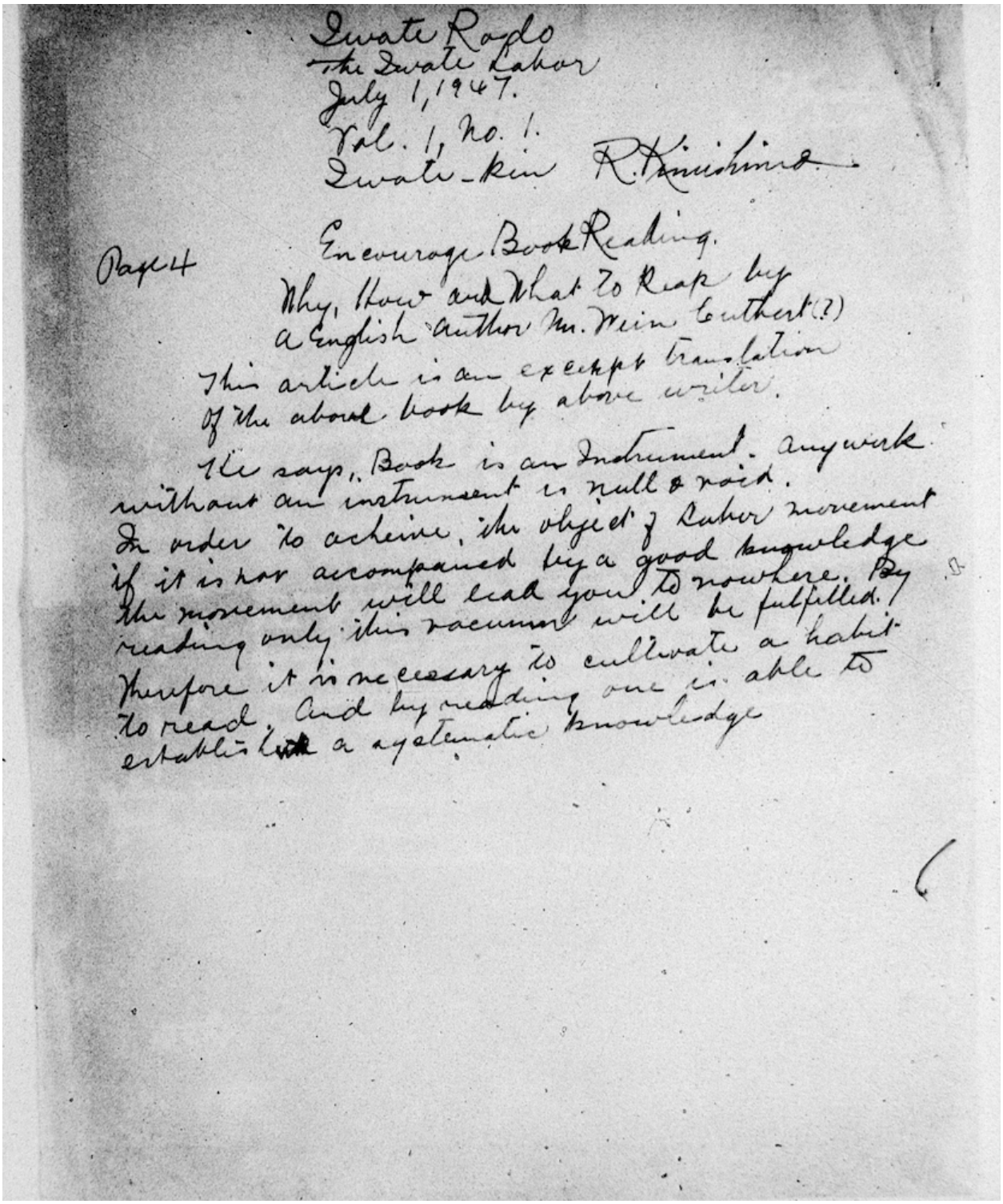
2-3	The Labor Union of the Prefecture	" SUGANO
4	For those Workers	Translated by K.S.
4-5	Encouraging Book Reading	STAFF
5-6	The Wagner Act	STAFF
6	Investigation of Union members as candidates for Diet & Local governments	
1-7	Investigation Limited Expenses	
8	Roll of Iwate Prefecture Local Labor Committee	"
9	Notes	
Between front cover & 1st page	(Phamphlet) The Way a Labor Union Should Be	STAFF
1-32	Preface Discussion of Labor Questions	

Possible Violations: Yes ✓ No ✓
Publications Reported: Yes ✓ No ____
Possible Information: Yes ✓ No ____
Movies Reported: Yes ____ No ✓
SCAP

PPBI-PP-M-3

Figure 2.4: Censorship document accompanying *Iwate Rōdō* Volume 1, Issue 1 (July, 1947) (Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



Iwate Rodo
the Iwate Labor
July 1, 1947.
Vol. 1, no. 1.
Iwate-ken R. Kaichokai.

Page 4

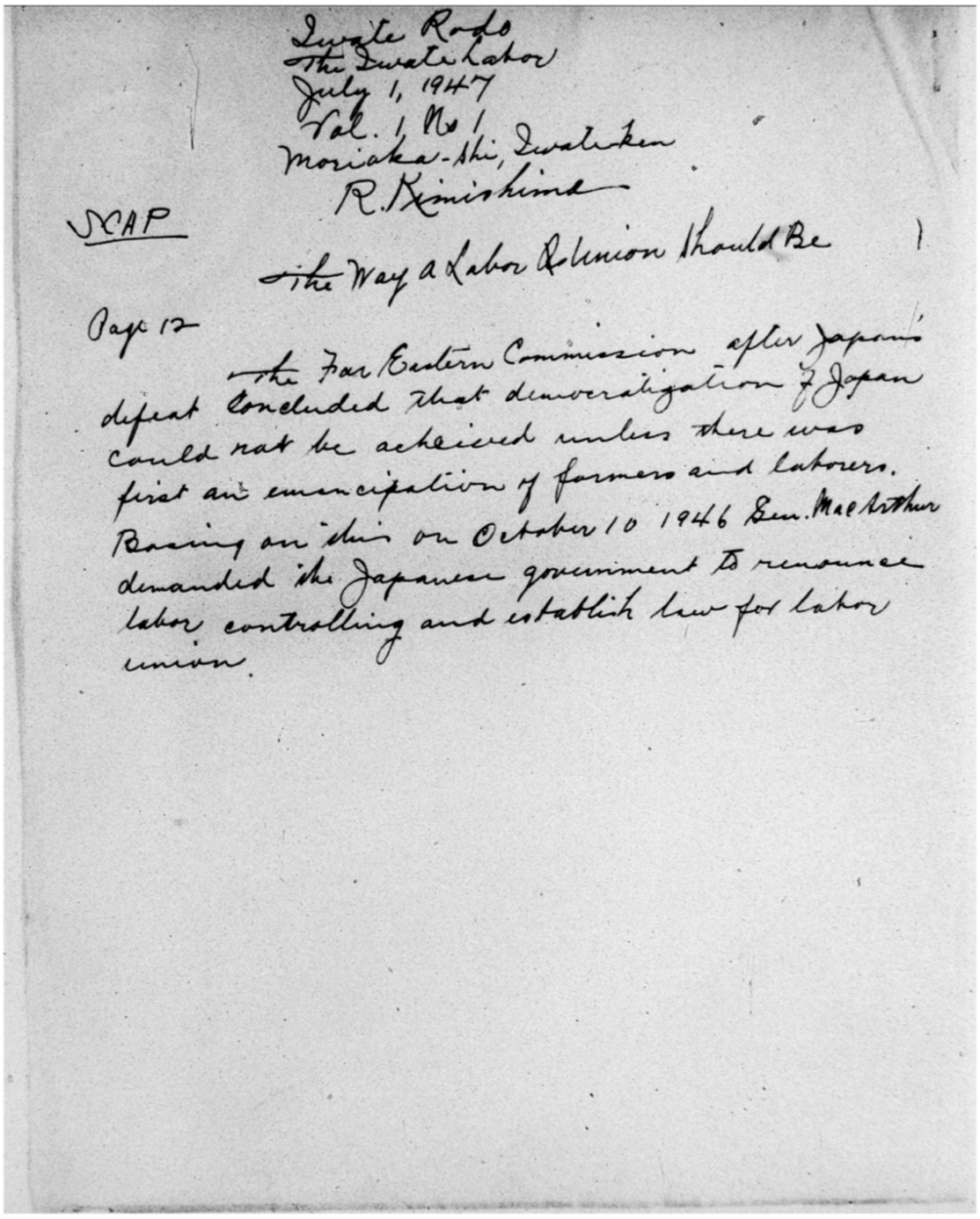
Encourage Book Reading.

Why, How and What to Read by
a English Author Mr. Wein Cuthert (?)

This article is an excerpt translation
of the about book by above writer.

He says, Book is an Instrument. Any work
without an instrument is null & void.
In order to achieve the object of Labor movement
if it is not accompanied by a good knowledge
the movement will lead you to nowhere. By
reading only this racemon will be fulfilled.
Therefore it is necessary to cultivate a habit
to read. And by reading one is able to
establish a systematic knowledge

Figure 2.5: Censorship document accompanying *Iwate Rōdō* Volume 1, Issue 1 (July, 1947) (Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



Iwate Rodo
~~The~~ Iwate Labor
July 1, 1947
Vol. 1, No 1
Morioka-shi, Iwateken
R. Kimishima

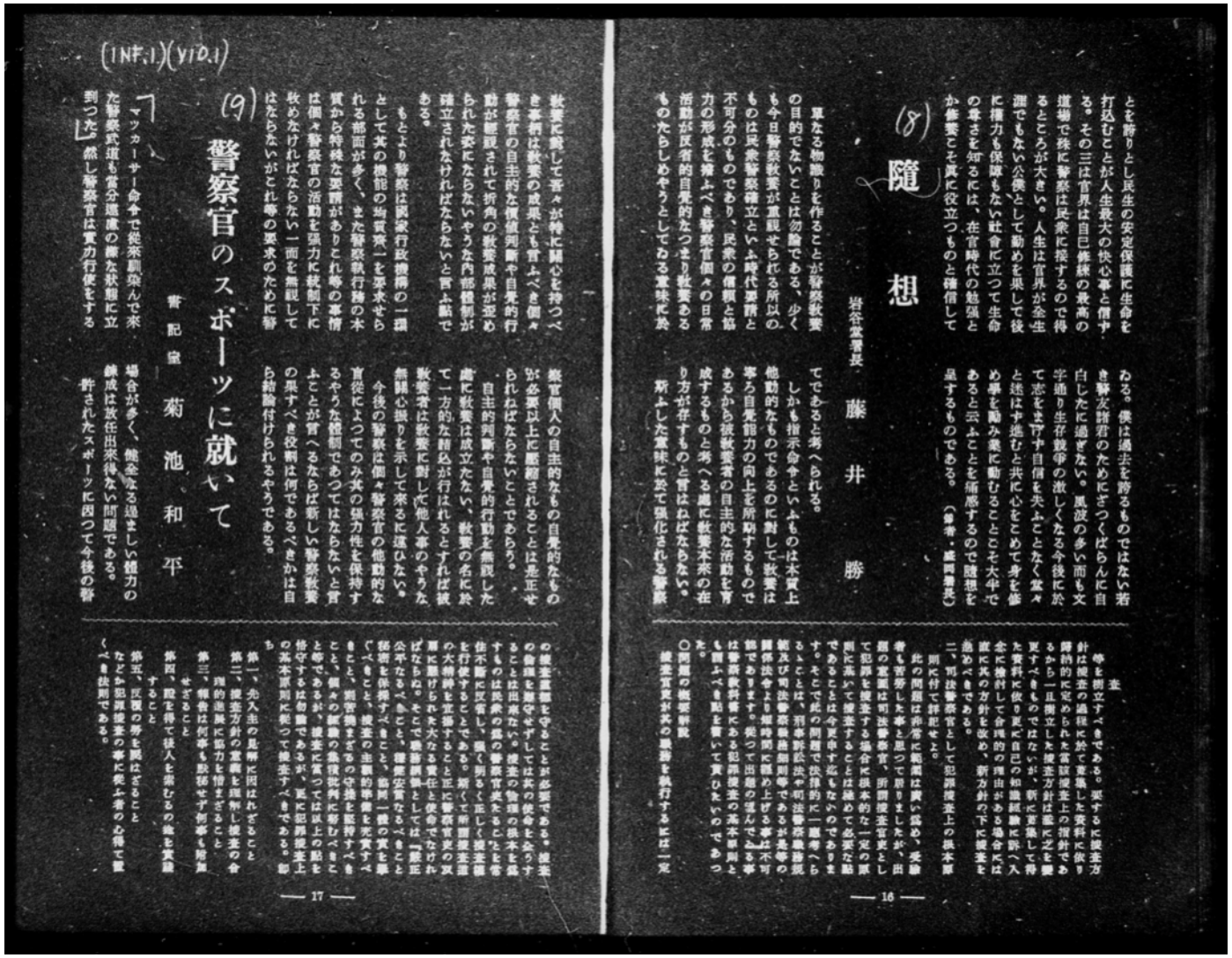
SCAP

~~The~~ Way a Labor Union Should Be

Page 12

~~the~~ Far Eastern Commission after Japan's defeat concluded that democratization of Japan could not be achieved unless there was first an emancipation of farmers and laborers. Basing on this on October 10 1946 Gen. MacArthur demanded the Japanese government to renounce labor controlling and establish law for labor union.

Figure 2.6: Censored Copy, *Shin Iwate no mamori* Volume 1 (August, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



(8)

隨想

岩谷警察署長　藤井勝

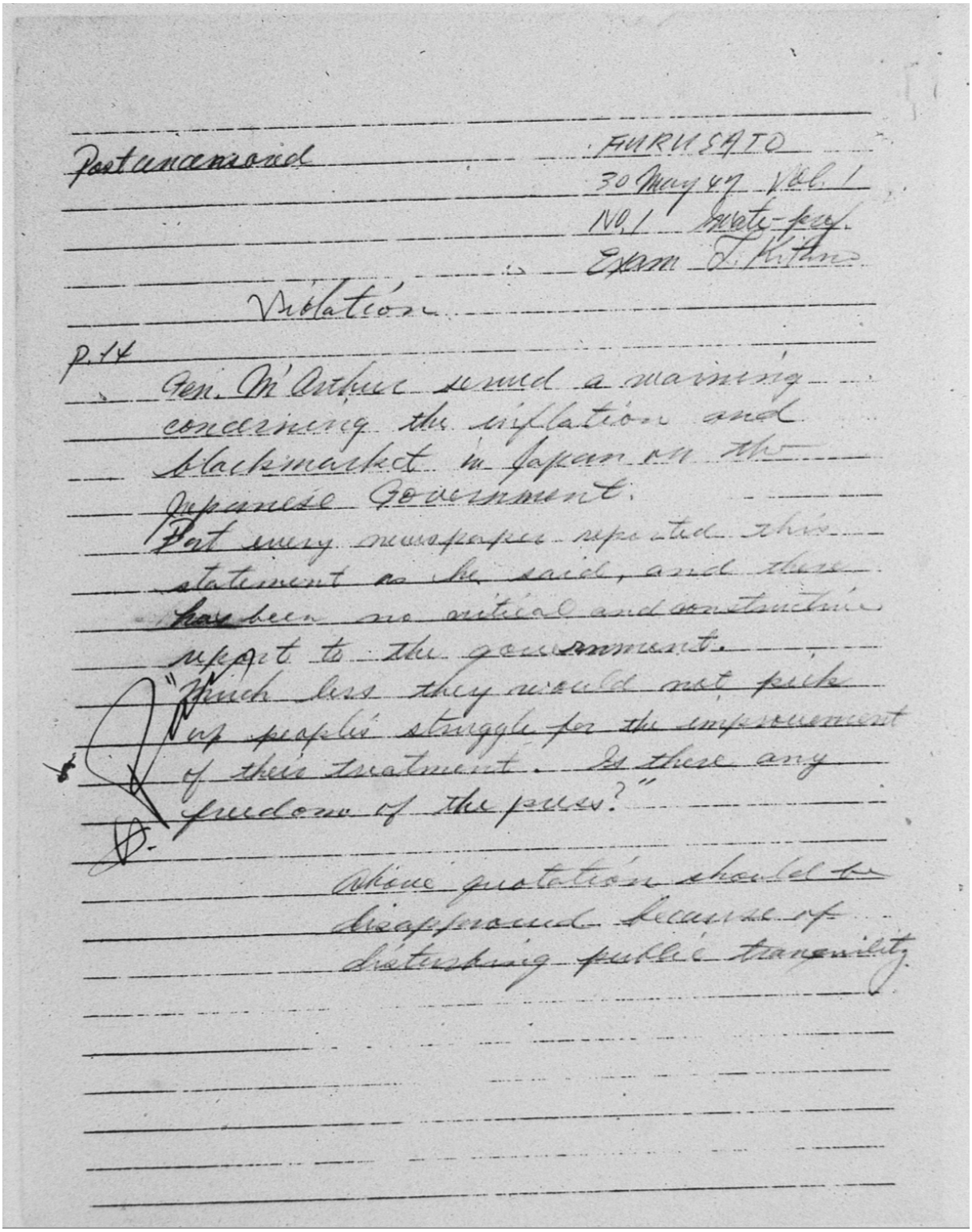
(INF.1)(YID.1)

(9)

警察官のスポーツに就いて

警記室　菊池和平

Figure 2.7: Censorship document accompanying *Furusato* Volume 1 (May, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



Post unmanned

FURUSATO
30 May 47 Vol. 1
No. 1 Private-pay.
Exam T. Kihara

Violation

p. 14

Gen. MacArthur issued a warning concerning the inflation and blackmarket in Japan on the Japanese Government.

But many newspapers reported this statement as he said, and there has been no critical and constructive report to the government. Much less they would not push up people's struggle for the improvement of their treatment. Is there any freedom of the press?"

MacArthur quotation should be disappeared because of disturbing public tranquility.

Figure 2.8: Cover, *Seikatsusha* Volume 1, Issue 1 (February, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)

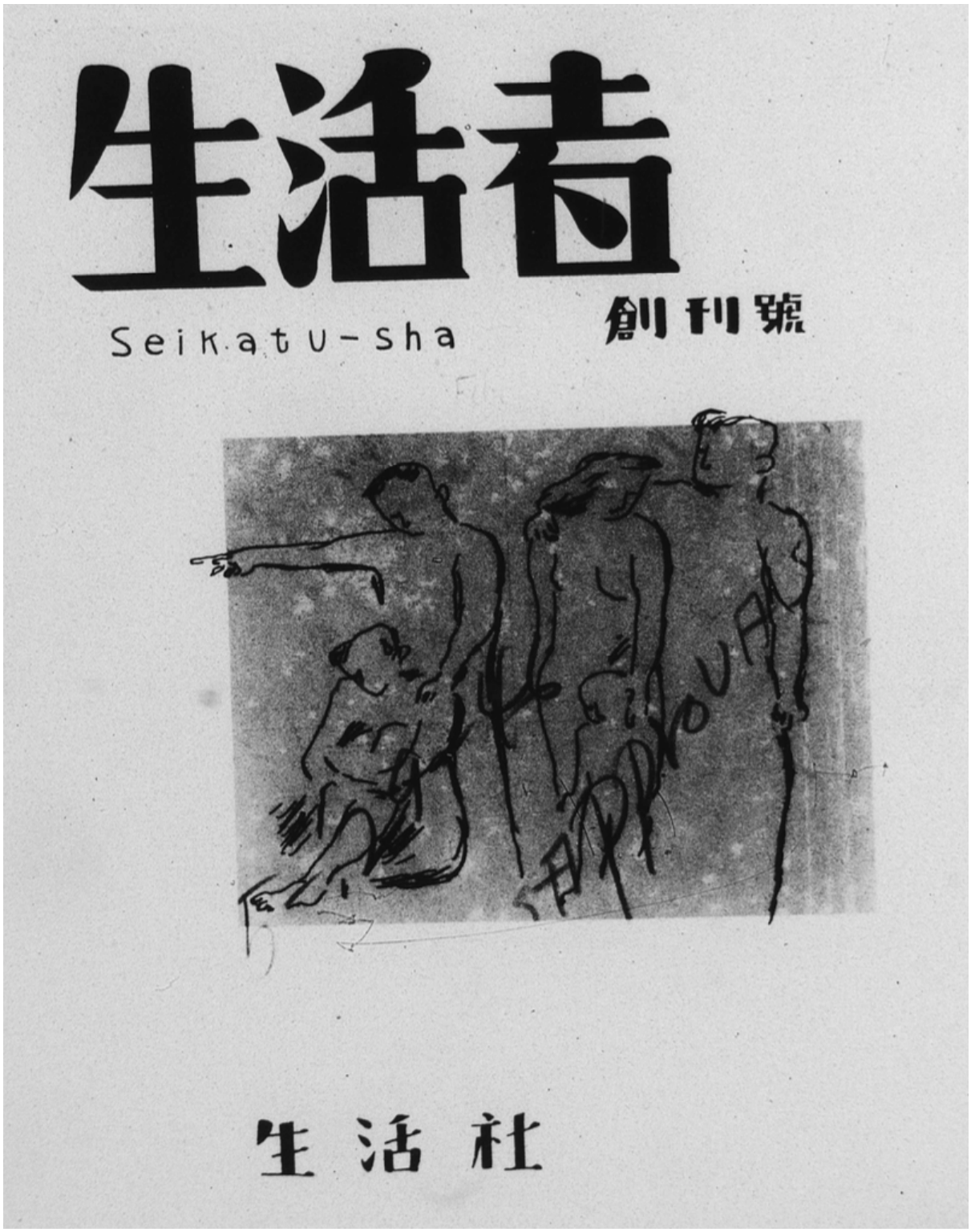
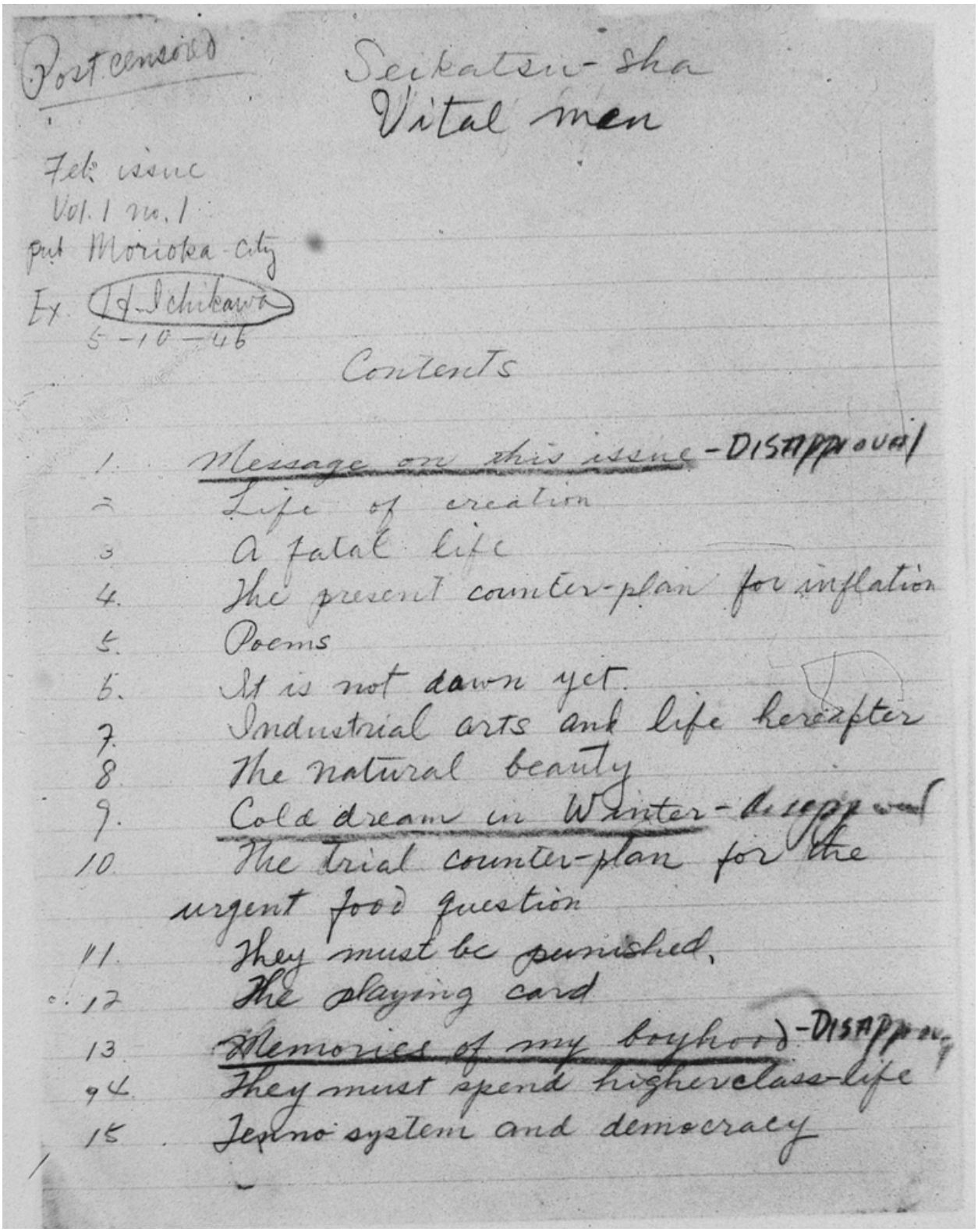


Figure 2.9: Magazine Examination Sheet, *Seikatsusha* Volume 1, Issue 1 (February, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



Post censored

Seikatsu-sha
Vital men

Feb. issue
Vol. 1 no. 1
pub. Morioka-city
Ex. H. Ichikawa
5-10-46

Contents

1. Message on this issue - DISAPPROVAL
2. Life of creation
3. A fatal life
4. The present counter-plan for inflation
5. Poems
6. It is not dawn yet.
7. Industrial arts and life hereafter
8. The natural beauty
9. Cold dream in Winter - disapproval
10. The trial counter-plan for the urgent food question
11. They must be punished.
12. The playing card
13. Memories of my boyhood - DISAPPROVAL
14. They must spend higher class-life
15. Tenno system and democracy

Figure 2.10: Censorship document accompanying *Tōhoku bunko* Volume 1, Issue 6 (July, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)

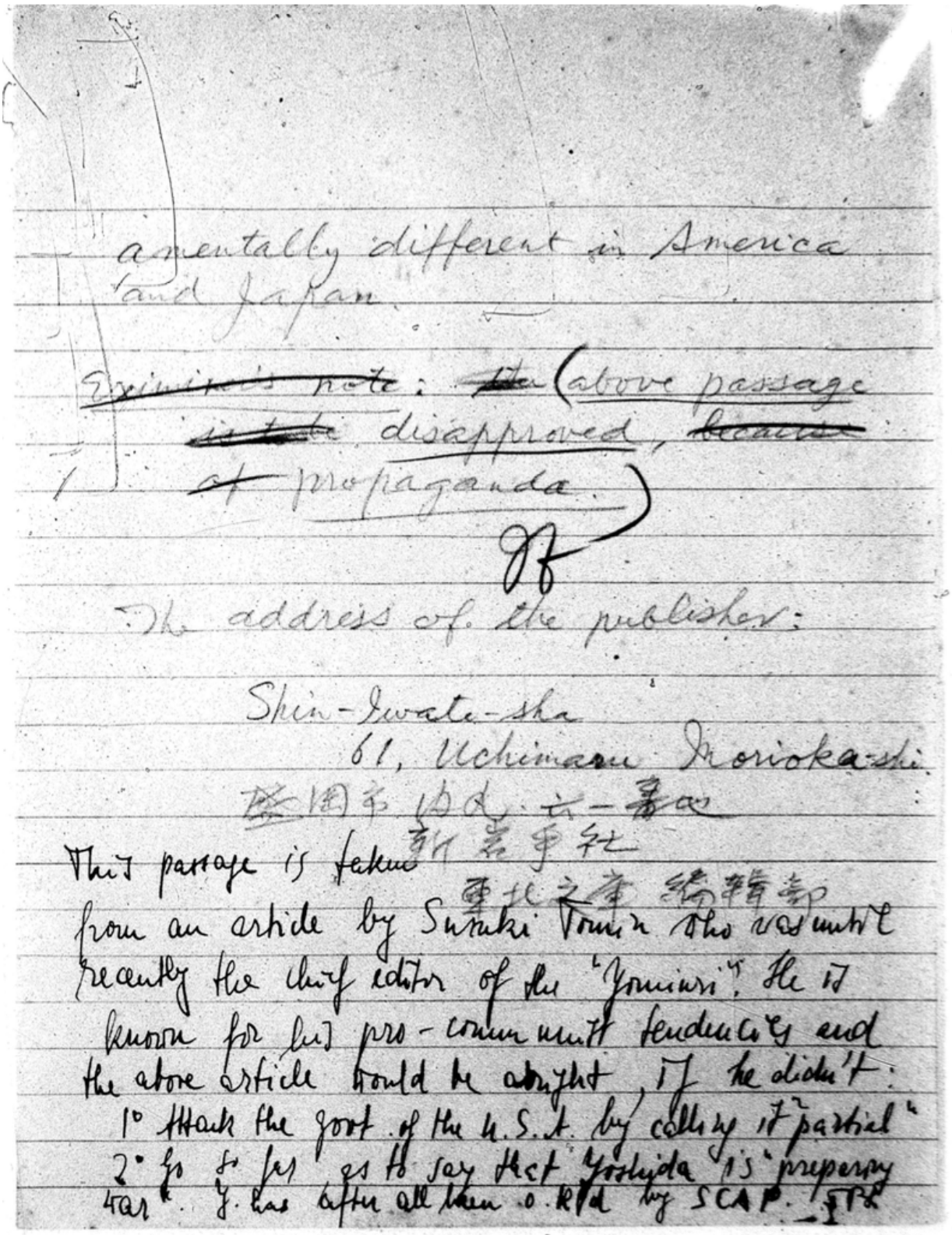
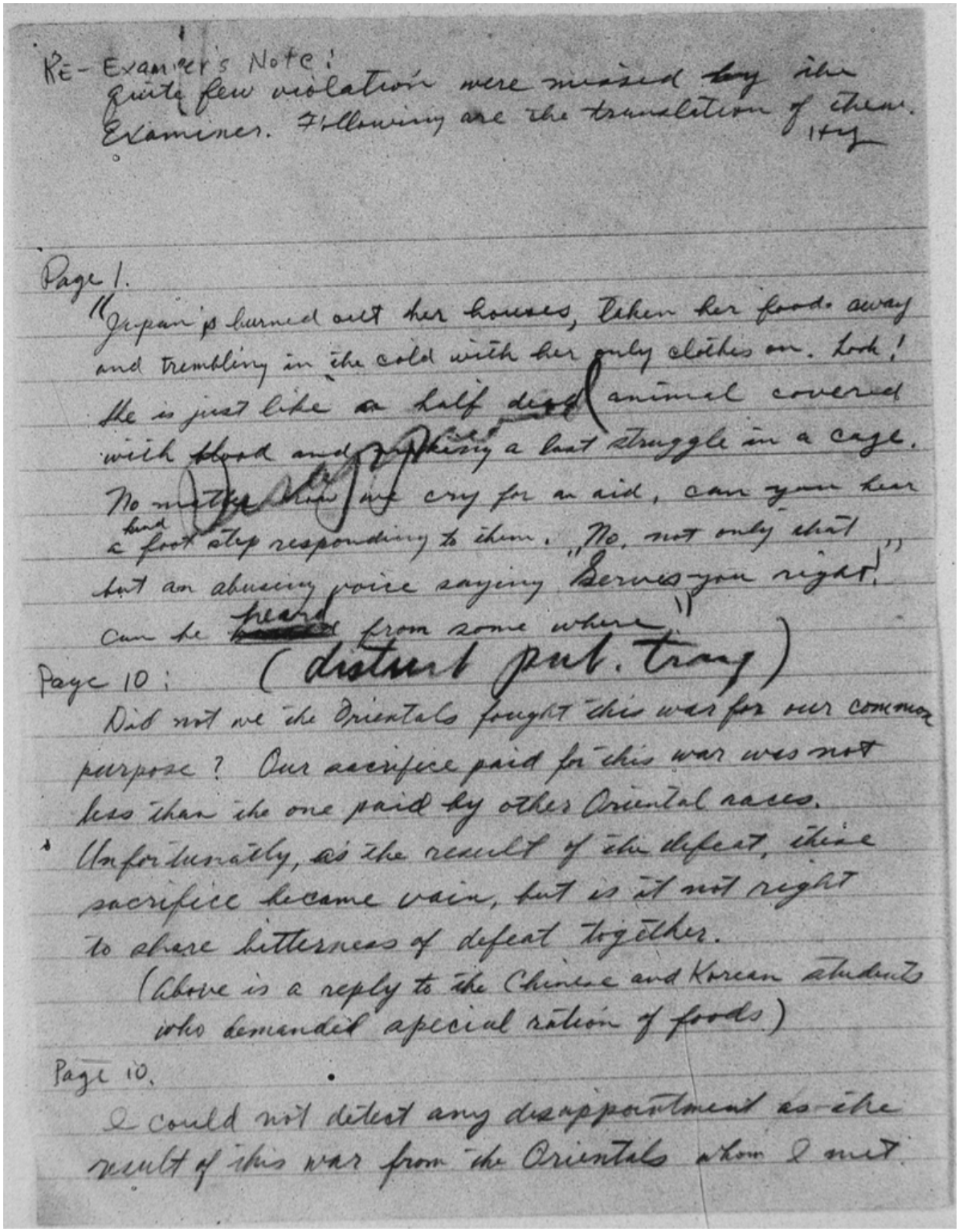


Figure 2.11: Censorship document accompanying *Seikatsusha* Volume 1, Issue 1 (February, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



Re-Examiner's Note:
Quite few violation were missed by the Examiner. Following are the translation of them.

Page 1.
"Japan is burned out her houses, taken her food away and trembling in the cold with her only clothes on. Look! She is just like a half dead animal covered with blood and crying a last struggle in a cage. No matter how we cry for an aid, can your ear hear a foot step responding to them. "No, not only that but an abusing voice saying "Serves you right!" can be heard from some where."
(distant pub. tray)

Page 10:
Did not we the Orientals fought this war for our common purpose? Our sacrifice paid for this war was not less than the one paid by other Oriental races. Unfortunately, as the result of the defeat, their sacrifice became vain, but is it not right to share bitterness of defeat together.
(Above is a reply to the Chinese and Korean students who demanded special ration of foods)

Page 10.
I could not detect any disappointment as the result of this war from the Orientals whom I met.

Figure 2.12: Censorship document accompanying *Seikatsusha* Volume 1, Issue 1 (February, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)

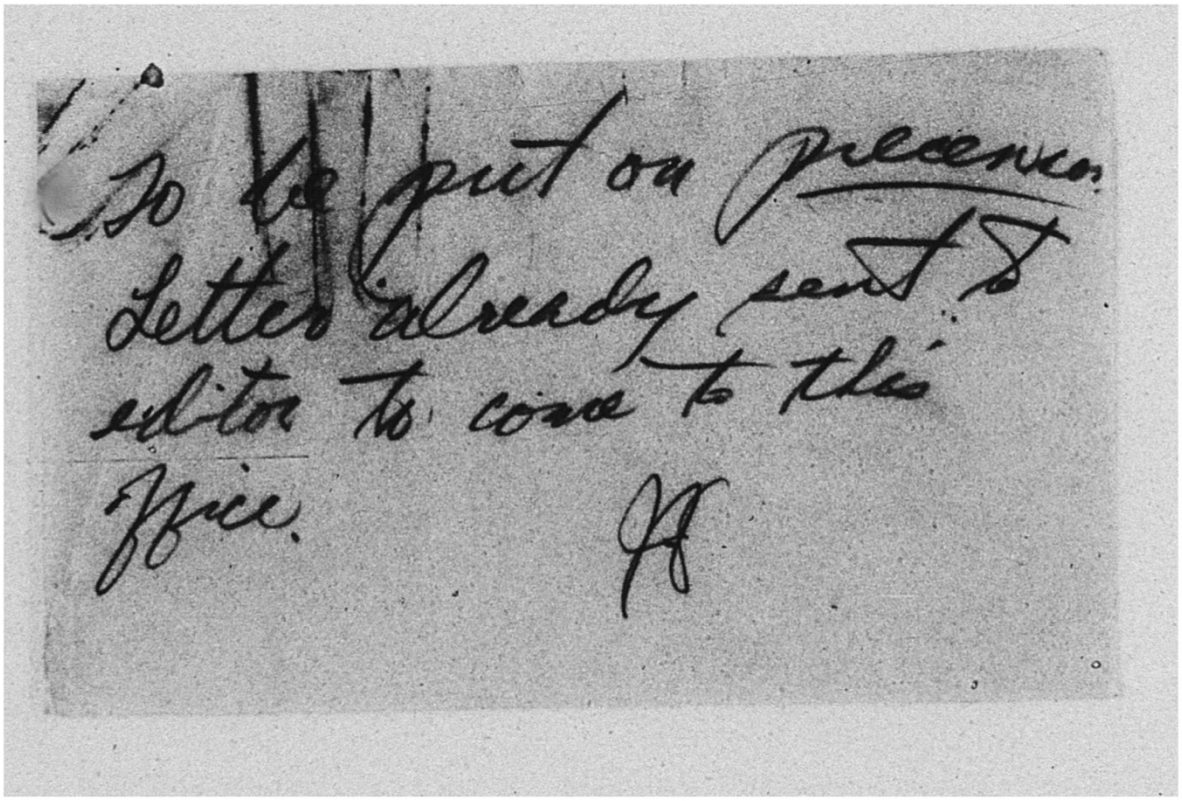
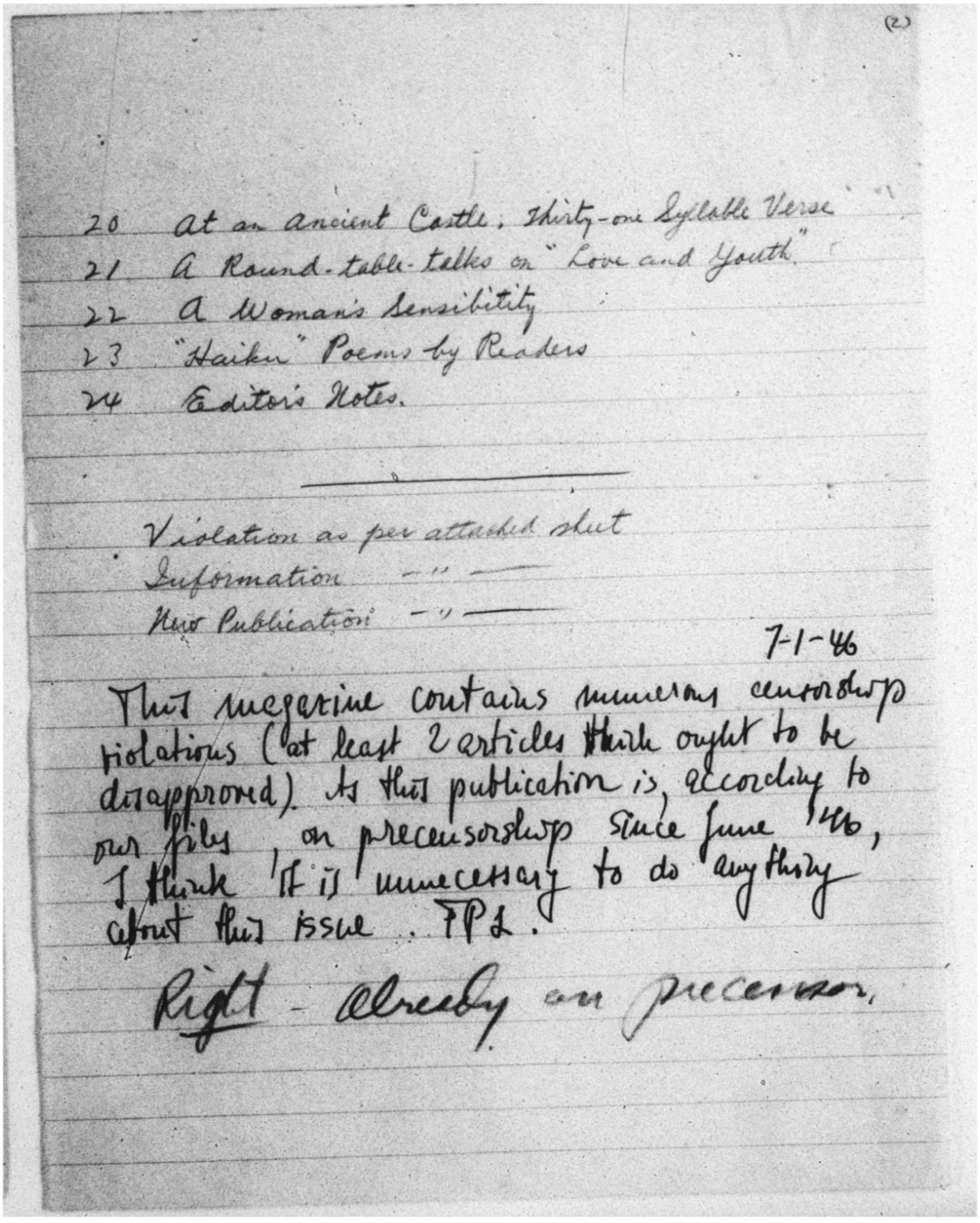


Figure 2.13: Censorship document accompanying *Seikatsusha* Volume 1, Issue 4 (May, 1946)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



(2)

20 At an ancient Castle: Thirty-one Syllable Verse
21 A Round-table-talks on "Love and Youth"
22 A Woman's Sensibility
23 "Haiku" Poems by Readers
24 Editor's Notes.

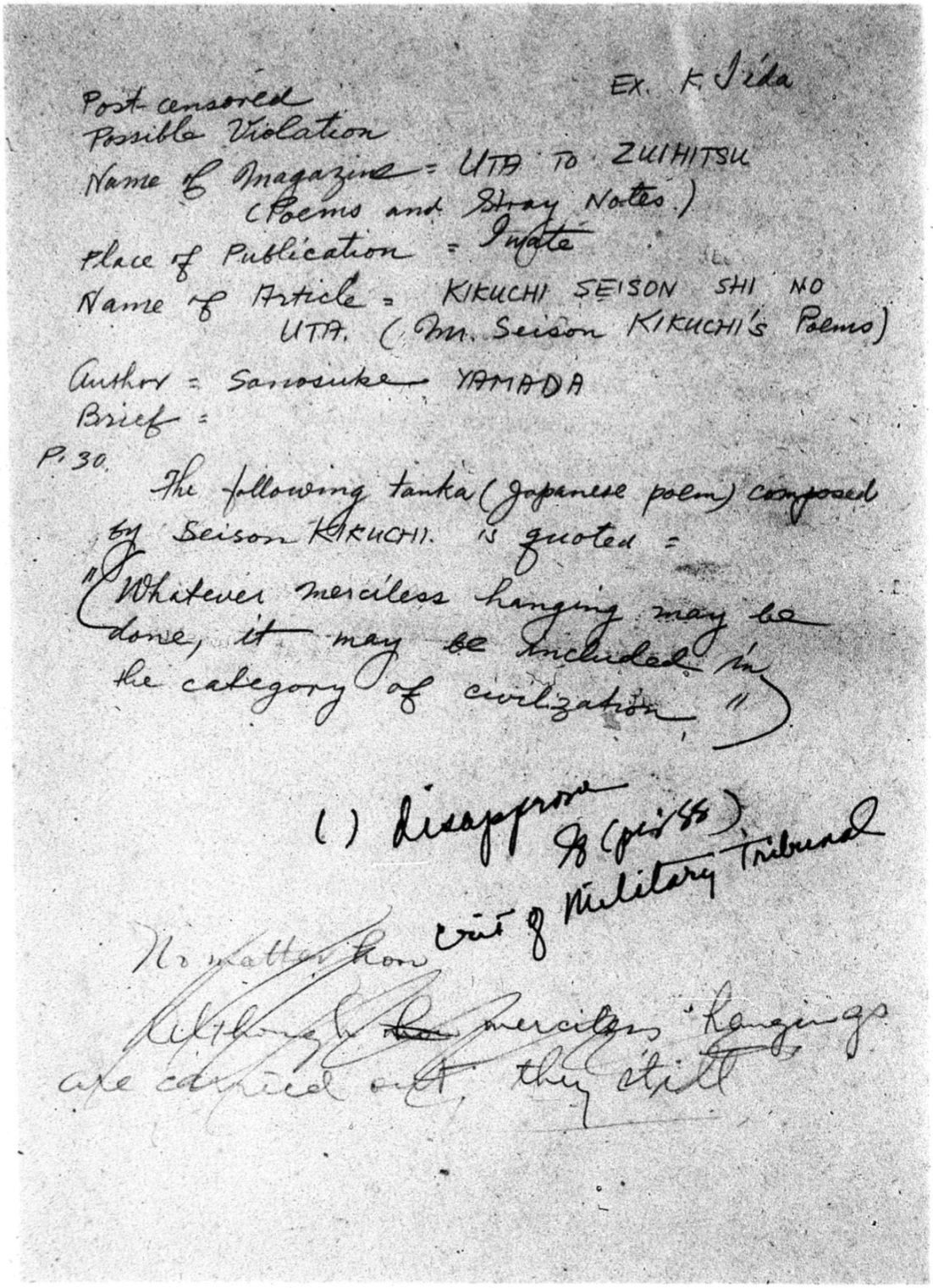
Violation as per attached sheet
Information —"—
New Publication —"—

7-1-46

This magazine contains numerous censorship violations (at least 2 articles which ought to be disapproved). As this publication is, according to our files, on precensorship since June '46, I think it is unnecessary to do anything about this issue. FPL.

Right - already on precensor.

Figure 5.1: Censorship document accompanying *Uta to zuihitsu* Volume 3, Issue 9 (November, 1948)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)

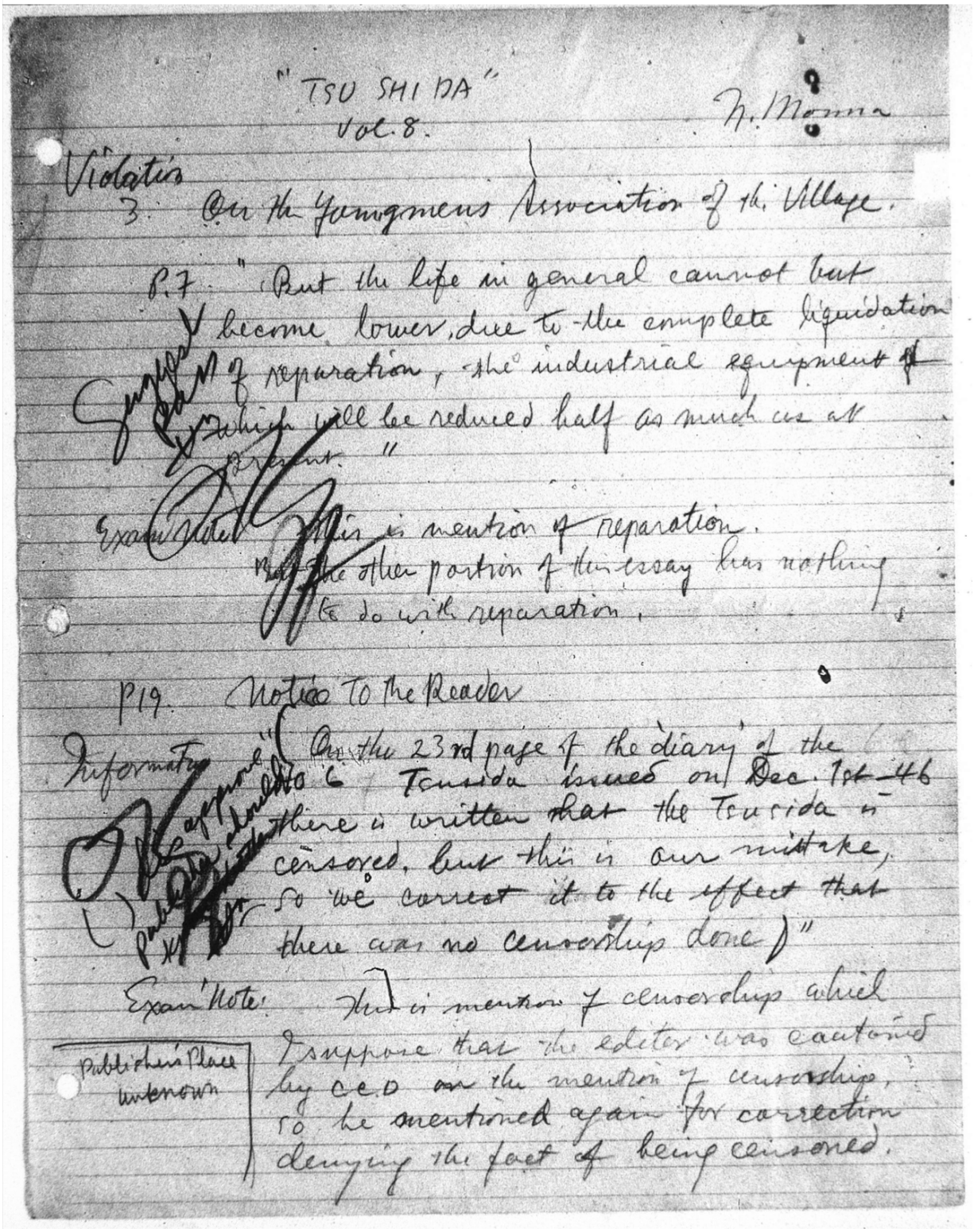


Post-censored
Possible Violation
Ex. K. Iida
Name of Magazine = UTA TO ZUIHITSU
(Poems and Stray Notes)
Place of Publication = Iwate
Name of Article = KIKUCHI SEISON SHI NO
UTA. (Mr. Seison KIKUCHI's Poems)
Author = Sanosuke YAMADA
Brief =
P. 30.
The following tanka (Japanese poem) composed
by Seison KIKUCHI. is quoted =
"Whatever merciless hanging may be
done, it may be included in
the category of civilization."

( ) Disapprove
( ) Suppress (pp. 88)
Court of Military Tribunal

No matter how ~~the~~ merciless Hangings
are carried out, they still

Figure 5.2: Censorship document accompanying *Tsushida* Volume 8 (February, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)


"TSU SHI DA"
Vol. 8.
T. Monma

Violation
3. On the Youngmens Association of the Village.

P.7. "But the life in general cannot but become lower, due to the complete liquidation of reparation, the industrial equipment of which will be reduced half as much as at present."

Exam. Note: This is mention of reparation. But the other portion of the essay has nothing to do with reparation.

P19. Notice To the Reader

Informatory "On the 23rd page of the diary of the Tsushida issued on Dec. 1st 46 there is written that the Tsushida is censored, but this is our mistake, so we correct it to the effect that there was no censorship done."

Exam. Note: This is mention of censorship which I suppose that the editor was cautioned by C.C.D on the mention of censorship, so he mentioned again for correction denying the fact of being censored.

Publisher's Place unknown

Figure 5.3: Censored copy, *Tamashii* Volume 16, Issue 168 (September, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)

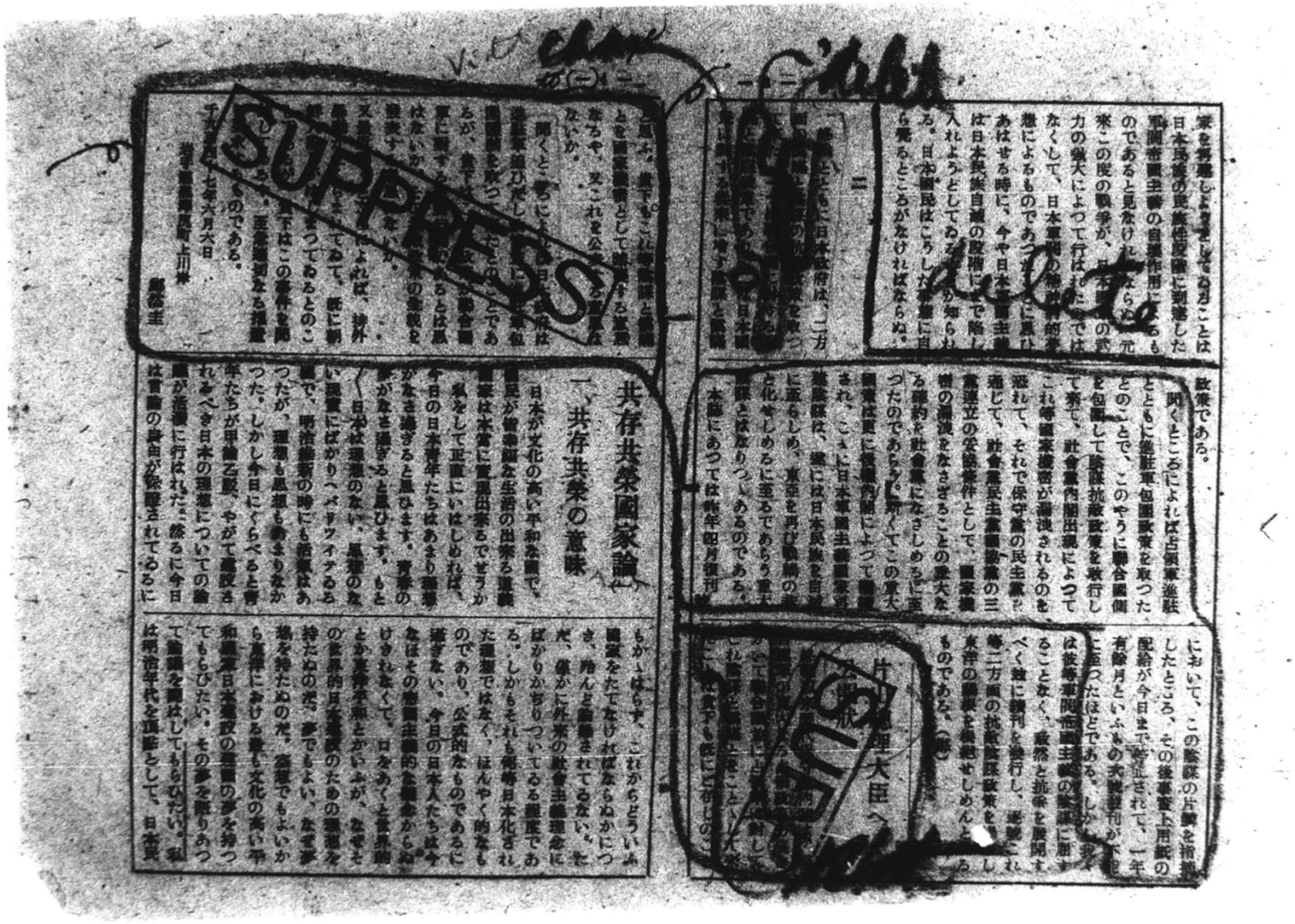
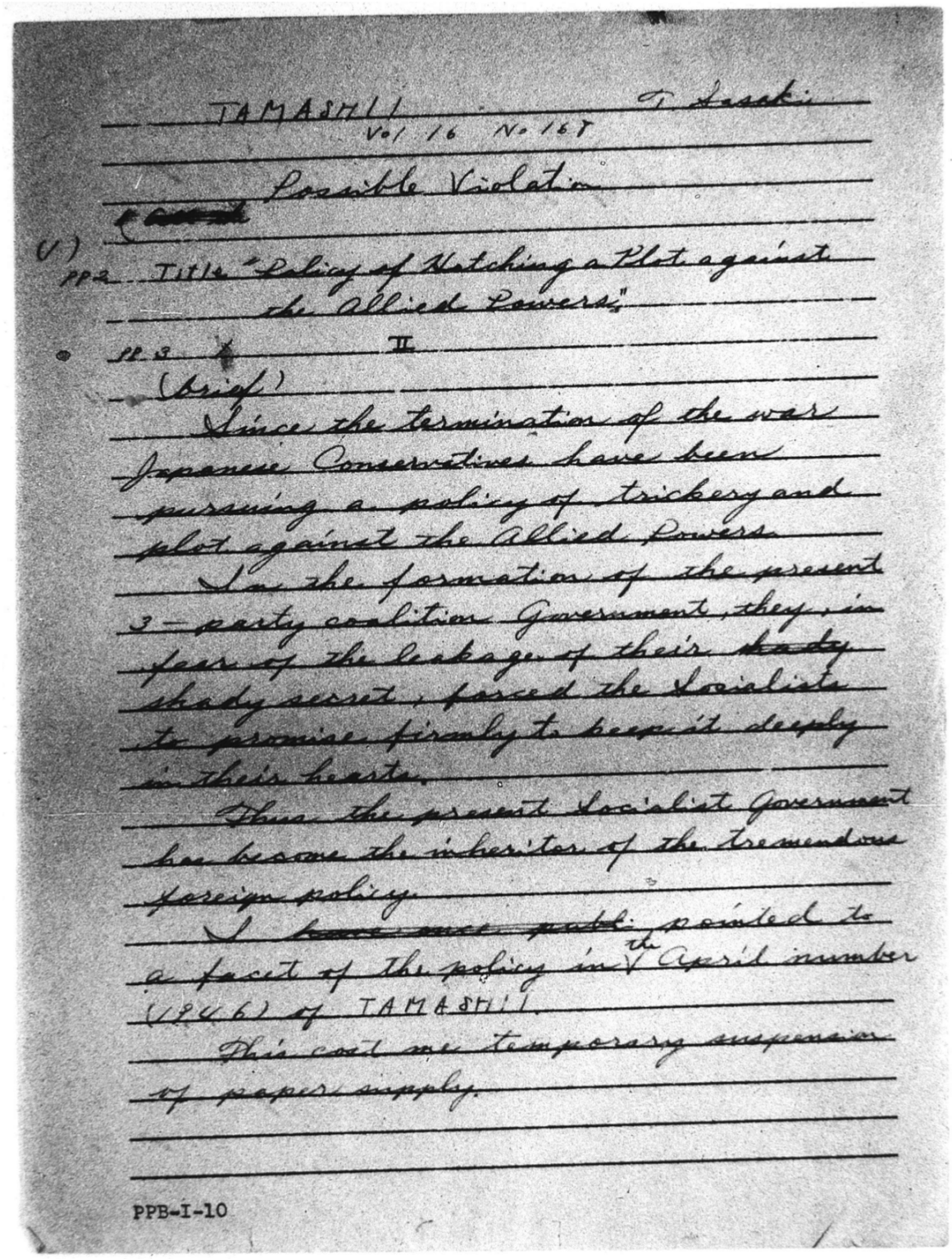


Figure 5.4: Censorship document accompanying *Tamashii* Volume 16, Issue 168 (September, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



TAMASHII T. Saeki
Vol 16 No 168

Possible Violation

(V)
pp2 Title "Policy of Hatching a Plot against the Allied Powers"

pp 3 II

(brief)

Since the termination of the war Japanese Conservatives have been pursuing a policy of trickery and plot against the Allied Powers.

In the formation of the present 3-party coalition Government, they, in fear of the leakage of their shady secret, forced the Socialists to promise firmly to keep it deeply in their hearts.

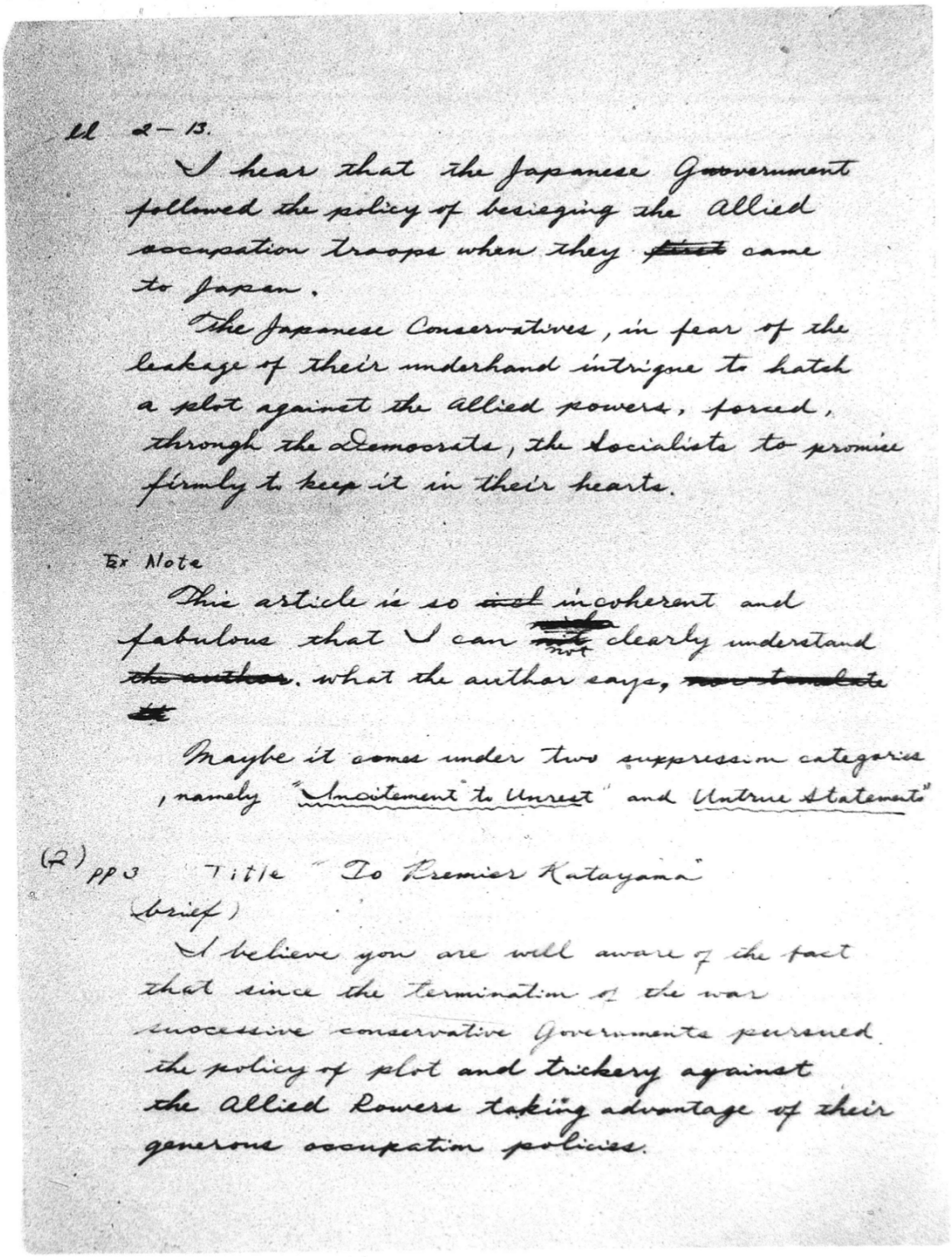
Thus the present Socialist Government has become the inheritor of the tremendous foreign policy.

I ~~have once pointed~~ pointed to a facet of the policy in the April number (1946) of TAMASHII.

This can be temporary suspension of paper supply.

PPB-I-10

Figure 5.5: Censorship document accompanying *Tamashii* Volume 16, Issue 168 (September, 1947)
(Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries)



ll 2-13.

I hear that the Japanese Government followed the policy of besieging the Allied occupation troops when they ~~first~~ came to Japan.

The Japanese Conservatives, in fear of the leakage of their underhand intrigue to hatch a plot against the Allied powers, forced, through the Democrats, the Socialists to promise firmly to keep it in their hearts.

Ex Note

This article is so ~~not~~ incoherent and fabulous that I can ~~not~~ not clearly understand ~~the author~~. what the author says, ~~no comment~~ it

Maybe it comes under two suppression categories, namely "Incitement to Unrest" and Untrue Statement"

(2) pp 3 Title "To Premier Katayama"
(brief)

I believe you are well aware of the fact that since the termination of the war successive conservative Governments pursued the policy of plot and trickery against the Allied Powers taking advantage of their generous occupation policies.

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