

Reporting on “China” in a “Novel” Way: Japanese Translations of Eileen Chang’s *The Naked Earth* and *The Rice-Sprout Song* in the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program (1952-1956)*

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Abstract

This study adopts the perspectives of “regional politics” and “cultural propaganda,” in examining the relationship between the cultural propaganda of the United States Information Service Tokyo and Japanese

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translations of Taiwan and Hong Kong literature, taking as examples Eileen Chang's *The Naked Earth* and *The Rice-Sprout Song*. The study uses the records of the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program in the National Archives and Records Administration, analyzes the translation of literature from Hong Kong and Taiwan, and clarifies the importance of Japanese translations of works from Taiwan and Hong Kong for cultural propaganda in Northeast Asia. First, I demonstrate that as part of the Book Translation Program, the Japanese translation of the literature of Taiwan and Hong Kong is a medium for understanding "Communist China." Second, I explain the functions of the two works of Eileen Chang in the Book Translation Program and clarify their production process and the logic of U.S. propaganda. *The Naked Earth* was published by a family publisher, Sekatsu-Sha, and translated for its characteristics: "anti-communist," "journalistic literature," and "middle school level book series." In contrast, *The Rice-Sprout Song* was a special project in the Book Translation Program and a Jiji Press publication, characterized as anti-communist fiction. The paper uses the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program to outline the cultural propaganda development of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan, which started under Allied military occupation as the Japan Book Translation Program, and progressed to a collaboration with Japan's existing monopolistic publishing industry and international interpersonal network.

Key Words: Cultural Cold War, U.S. Aid Literary Institution, Sociology of Art Work, Politics of Translation, International Interpersonal Network

I. Introduction¹

In studies of Eileen Chang, *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* are two highly controversial works. Positive reviews of the books focused on their “digging out” of human nature and novel writing techniques, for example Hu Shih (Chang, 1976)² and Chih-Tsing Hsia (1957a, 1957b, 1973, 1991, 2013). Critics of the two books, such as Ling Ke (1985), criticized Eileen Chang’s lack of actual rural experience, while Wen-Piao Tang’s (1995) and Xi-Fang Zhao’s (2006) criticisms were launched from the perspectives of American imperialism and literary politics. In 2011, Chien-Chung Chen reread these two books from the perspective of “exile literature” (2011: 275-311). Mei-Hsiang Wang has also re-evaluated the production and the process of disseminating the two books via the operations of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution (2015: 74-76).³

¹ In the previous discussion of these two novels, *The Rice-Sprout Song* precedes *The Naked Earth* because that the publication sequence in Chinese and English editions. As for Chinese edition, *The Rice-sprout Song* published on July 1954 while *The Naked Earth* on October 1954. As for English edition, *The Rice-sprout Song* published on 1955 while *The Naked Earth* on 1956. However, the case of Japanese edition of these two books reversed the primary sequence of their publication. *The Rice-Sprout Song* published on 1956 while *The Naked Earth* on October 1955. Therefore, the article discussed *The Naked Earth* precedes *The Rice-Sprout Song* in order to fit into the historical context of the USIS-Tokyo Book Publication Program.

² The letter was recorded in Chang (1976: 142-154).

³ The concept of “U.S. Aid Literary Institution” was first proposed by Chien-Chung Chen (2011). The institution “restricted” the ideology and cultural imagination of writers. Compared with the literary institution of Kuomintang (KMT), the U.S. Aid Literary Institution was a more flexible institution, which was constructed through the power of a foreign country—U.S.A. It promoted the development of Taiwanese literature towards the aesthetics of western (especially America/ Modernism). The term used in this study is mainly implemented through four media in terms of actual operation: namely, The Broadcasting Service and The Information Center Service, hereinafter referred to as ICS which included the Book Translation Program), The Motion Picture and Television Service, The Press and Publications Service (hereinafter referred to as PPS). These four styles of media are not imagined out of thin air, but are produced in the confrontation of the Cold War. To sum up, the

Eileen Chang wrote *The Rice-Sprout Song* in English and translated it herself into Chinese, and wrote *The Naked Earth* in Chinese and translated it herself into English. The Japanese versions of the two books were both translated from English. Among Japanese scholars, Shozo Fujii (2004) believes, “There were two main stages of the acceptance of Eileen Chang in Japan. The first was in the 1950s with the Japanese translations of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth*; the second was in the 1990s with translations by Sadako Ikegami and Shozo Fujii.” If Eileen Chang was accepted the first time in Japan through books, the second time was due to a combination of books, films, and promotion by scholars. The films, *Love in a Fallen City*, and *Red Rose, White Rose* were imported into Japan in the 1990s, and received the attention of the Japanese public. Scholarly translations included *Love in a Fallen City*, *The Golden Cangue*, and *Traces of Love* by Sadako Ikegami and *Red Rose, White Rose* by Tarumi Chie. In addition, in “Japanese Translations of the Works of Eileen Chang,” Tomoko Ohashi (2011) looks over the Japanese versions of the works of Eileen Chang, pointing out that after the appearance of the Japanese versions of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth*, Eileen Chang did not receive attention in Japan for around forty years until her other works were translated in the 1990s.

Given the lack of translations Japanese scholars have not conducted in-depth research on *The Rice-Sprout Song* or *The Naked Earth* and their related contexts. In terms of Chinese language research on Eileen Chang, in *Eileen Chang Reconsidered*, Chuan-Chih Kao (2011) discusses the differences between the versions of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* and the content of the English version. Kao focuses attention only on the English versions of the two books and does not discuss the Japanese versions. In Chun-Yen Pai’s (2016) essay, “The Formation of the U.S. Aid

study further points out through the four mentioned media, the U.S. Aid literary institution was not only the mechanism for intervening the field of Taiwanese literature, but also a mechanism which influenced the literary field of East Asia.

Literary Institution in Literary Exchange between Hong Kong and Japan,” she analyzes Japanese translations of Eileen Chang’s *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* and Maria Yen’s *College Student Life in Red China*, highlighting the translation subsidy program, copyright agency, and cross-national networks to show that these three books were the outcome of communication, cooperation, and exchange between Taiwan and Hong Kong in the context of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution.

The research question in this study is: In the process of deepening democracy and pro-American ideology in post-war Japan, why did the United States Information Service Tokyo office (USIS-Tokyo) need to translate the literature of Taiwan and Hong Kong, such as *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth*?

The study argues that this question has several important implications. First, in terms of Eileen Chang studies, most research on translations of Eileen Chang’s work focus on English translations. For example, Shao-Ming Liu (2015) explores the two-way translation between Chinese and English of Eileen Chang’s work. Chuan-Chih Kao (2011) explores the English translation of Eileen Chang’s works (self-translations by the author). Te-Hsing Shan (2009) discusses Eileen Chang’s translations of American literature, and highlights the importance of Eileen Chang as a translator in the study of Eileen Chang. However, the Japanese translation of Eileen Chang’s work has been overlooked by researchers. Research by Chun-Yen Pai (2016) notes the possibility of exchanges between Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution, but does not clearly indicate the power on which this exchange is based. This study uses the archives of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), to explore the mechanisms for the actual operation of the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program to discuss in-depth why *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* were translated into Japanese through the program. The Japanese translations of Eileen Chang provide new historical materials which serve as important secondary materials for

the study of Eileen Chang. Second, current discussions of foreign translations of Eileen Chang are done mainly from the perspective of translation studies and text discussion, and involve textual analyses of different versions and expressions, and proceed with a relative lack of knowledge and understanding of the social context of the translations. Therefore, this article re-examines these two works under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution.

Finally, this study starts from the perspective of cultural propaganda, examining Eileen Chang's work through the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program, showing the institutional operations behind the works and deepening the relationship between existing research on these works and social structures. Through these newly discovered materials, this article focuses mainly on the operating mechanism of the "U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan," which was the same as that in Taiwan and Hong Kong under the logic of the "State-Private Network" pursuant to the "Knowing Communist China" and "Broadcasting Anti-Communist ideology" (Wang, 2015). However, the operation of the "U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan" relied on the foundations laid by the SCAP-CIE Information Center Program, which enabled "state-state collaboration" between the U.S. and Japan. Take *The Rice-Sprout Song* as an example; this book was published by Jiji Press, which was Dōmei News Agency (1936-1945) supported by the Japanese government from 1936-1945. In other words, the U.S. and Japan officials cooperated to develop the publishing system from production to broadcasting in Japan. Moreover, the institution in Japan depended on the cooperation of "international interpersonal networks," including USIS officials, Hong Kong-based writers, Japanese translators, and Free Chinese diplomats in Japan. "State-state collaboration" and "international interpersonal networks" constituted the characteristics of "U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan."

II. The USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program during the Cold War

Before understanding the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program, we must first understand its predecessor, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Power (SCAP) Book Translation Program. After the World War II, the United States occupied Japan between 1945 and 1952, and carried out various reforms of Japanese society, one of which involved the translation industry. According to General Order No. 183 of September 22, 1945, MacArthur established the Civil Information and Educational Section (CIE) under the General Headquarters. Through the CIE information centers, it promoted education, media reporting, religious and cultural activities to the Japanese people, especially the promotion of American culture (Yamamoto, 2009: 135). On October 2 of the same year, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers was established, and CIE became part of its organization. In November of the same year, CIE proposed a clear objective and declaration: “strengthening democracy among Japanese nationals” by means of promoting information about the United States and democracy (Matsuda, 2014: 36; Yamamoto, 2009: 136). Finally, the CIE established CIE information centers across the country from Sapporo in the north to Nagasaki in the south. At its peak, there were 23 such information centers, providing U.S. published journals and books to Japanese nationals (Watanabe, 2013: 33; Yamamoto, 2009: 136). The Japanese people responded to CIE information centers enthusiastically. In the first year, starting from March 17, 1946, an average of 575 people used the Tokyo CIE information center every day. This phenomenon was not limited to Tokyo. Even in Sapporo, Hokkaido, the average number of daily users during the first week of opening the centers was 1,800, and the average number of daily visitors during the second week was 900 (Matsuda, 2014: 37).

On September 2, 1949, Donald R. Nugent (director of the GHQ) presented the SCAP-CIE Information Center Program to the

Under Secretary of the Army. Its purpose was to strengthen the democratic orientations of the Japanese people. The program can be divided into the following three sub-programs:

1. Provide American community service facilities that Japanese people can freely use.
2. Provide a comprehensive catalog of American books, magazines, news, and brochures to allow the Japanese to learn from the achievements and ideals of the United States and to get to know American nationals.
3. Provide programs such as documentaries, films, exhibitions, American music records to enjoy, seminars, and English conversation courses (Yamamoto, 2009: 141).

In addition to the CIE information centers' own collections of American books, SCAP also had its own Book Translation Program. Between May 1948 and May 1951, the CIE held a total of 14 reviews for translation rights for foreign books. According to the statistics of the CIE, by the end of 1952, SCAP had made hundreds of book translations available to the Japanese people (Yokohama Research Association of International Relations History & Yokohama Archives of History, 2009). In Japanese scholars' research on the CIE's translation activities, Noboru Miyata (1999) mainly deals with international copyright cases during the occupation period. Kanami Nakatake (2009) predominantly focuses on the issue of translation rights during the U.S. military occupation period and its later impact on Japan. The two scholars were focused mostly on the issue of "translation rights." This study focuses on how translation rights during the occupation period were transferred from the Allied military to USIS-Tokyo, and why and how USIS-Tokyo translated the literature of Taiwan and Hong Kong into Japanese.

On April 22, 1952, the United States announced the abolition of previous copyright arrangements with Japan and the introduction of a revised system of copyright between the two countries. On April 28 of the same year, the Treaty of San Francisco came into effect,

officially ending the seven-year Allied Occupation of Japan and returning sovereignty to the country. On May 9, Colonel Nugent signed an order officially transferring the CIE’s Book Translation Program to the “American Embassy in Tokyo.” As a result, the Book Translation Program was transferred from the Allied forces in Japan to the Information Office of the U.S. Embassy in Japan. The supervisory body for USIS offices in various locations is the USIA. The USIA is responsible for reviewing the publication of books by each USIS office, and for providing the book resources required for translations by each office. The unit responsible for the Book Translation Program was transferred from the “military system” to the “diplomatic information system.” On the one hand, this change enabled deeper implementation of U.S. foreign policy. On the other hand, more “skillful” cultural propaganda, such as setting up USIS offices in the U.S. embassy enabled more effective countering of propaganda from the Communist block (Saeki, 2007: 64).

According to the U.S. National Archives, the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program and the Korean Book Translation Program formed a self-contained cultural propaganda system for Northeast Asia. First, the Japanese and Korean Book Translation Programs could form a self-contained system not because of geographical location, but due to language (Japanese). According to USIS-Tokyo materials, the budget allocations for ICS book translations were based on “language,” rather than “country/region.” At the same time, the main principle of the program was that when the USIS produced a book in a specific language, it was to be made available to people elsewhere using the same language. As the archives stipulate:

The ICS allocation of the Book Translation budget is by language rather than by country, and it has always been a principal of the program for a producing post to make the books available to any other post able to use that particular language. Under similar circumstances France supplies French books to Vietnam, Hong Kong supplies Chinese books to Burma and Thailand, and Mexico—to name only

a few instances—supplies Spanish books to Cuba, Bolivia, Peru and others.⁴

The reason why the Japanese and Korean Book Translation Programs were able to interact with each other was related to language (Japanese). Korea was ruled by Japan from 1910 to 1945. As Japan promoted colonial education in Korea, according to statistics, the proportion of Koreans who were able to use Japanese in 1942 was 19.94% (Takahashi, 1940: 130). Therefore, the post-War USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program included Korea in the scope of the Book Translation Program and publicity due to “language similarities.” In addition, in the USIS-Tokyo application forms, we find that in the application form for book translations, after the translation was completed forwarding it to USIS-Seoul was a requirement. We find no evidence that USIS-Tokyo sent its promotional materials to other USIS offices in East Asia. Conversely, USIS-Pusan also requested Japanese books from USIS-Tokyo. The application forms of the USIS-Tokyo show that the USIS-Tokyo, USIS-Seoul, and USIS-Pusan were in contact with each other more frequently than the other USIS offices in Southeast Asia, forming the network of production and broadcasting between Japan and Korea. When compared with the Taiwan and Hong Kong Book Translation Programs, which were promoted across Southeast Asia (Wang, 2015: 51), the exchange of translated books between USIS-Tokyo and neighboring Korea shows that the cultural propaganda of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution can be divided into Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia cultural propaganda. The significance here is that the U.S. Aid Literary Institution tended to be considered as a whole—fixed and unchangeable. However, according to the archives mentioned, the so-called “U.S. Aid Literary Institution” was not identical in every country. This article is innovative in its

⁴ Operations Memorandum, Washington USIA to Tokyo USIS, “Book Translation Program,” November 24, 1953, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 9, RG 306 (National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], n.d.).

examination of the internal documents of the USIS-Tokyo, which demonstrate that the interactions and actual operations of this institution were adopted to local conditions.

However, the Book Translation Program for the Northeast Asia U.S. Aid Literary Institution based on Japan and Korea did not begin by translating American books. Instead, it was mostly based on the translation of books from the Soviet Union, France, and the United Kingdom before the operation of U.S. Aid Literary Institution. In addition, in the early 1950s, a large number of anti-American and pro-communist books appeared in Japan, prompting the United States to adopt a more active approach to the Book Translation Program. The American ambassador in Tokyo, Saxton Bradford, cited statistics from the Japanese Publishers Association, showing that 1952 was indeed a turning point in the Japanese publishing industry in terms of the volume of publication. The number of publishers increased from 203 in 1945 to 2,487 in 1951; the number of books published increased from 878 in 1945 to 15,536 in 1951.⁵

In 1952, there were 1,174 books translated, of which 370 (32%) were from the Soviet Union, 330 (28%) were from France, and 200 (17%) were from the United Kingdom. Only 103 books (9%) were from the United States.⁶ There are two factors explaining the number of translations from each country. First, the tradition of Japanese translation before World War II was dominated by continental Europe. France was regarded as the best source for learning about Western civilization; there were also a large proportion of translations from the United Kingdom. Second,

⁵ Foreign Service Despatch, Tokyo Amembassy, "IIA: ICS: American Books in Japanese Translation, 1952," April 1, 1953, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG306 (NARA, n.d.).

⁶ Foreign Service Despatch, Tokyo Embassy, "IIA: ICS: American Books in Japanese Translation, 1952," April 1, 1953, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

Table 1

Year	Number of Publishers	Number of Titles Published
1945	203	878
1950	1,869	13,009
1951	2,487	15,536
1952	Not available but will above foregoing ⁷	

royalty fees determined the sources of translated books. Many Russian books did not require payment of royalty fees. This has resulted in extensive translation of Russian books. In addition, royalty fees for books from countries such as France and Germany were lower than those of American books. This prompted the Japanese publishing industry to select the Soviet Union, Japan, the United Kingdom and other countries as main sources of post-war books for translation.

Aside from the Japanese tradition of translating from continental European countries, the largest number of translations coming from the Soviet Union were related to its cultural Cold War in Japan. According to *Asahi Shimbun* (《朝日新聞》): “The Cold War is in full swing in our translation and publishing industries. Both the liberal democratic camp and the communist camp waive or reduce fees for publishing translated works. Each camp has made considerable effort to have their works published in Japan. It can be described as a cultural war” (“Freedom of copyright, 1953). Chizuru Saeki (2007) and Kana Nakatake (2009) adopted the same perspective as *Asahi Shimbun*, viewing the publishing and translation industries as two fronts in the Cold War. Moreover,

⁷ “Not available but will above foregoing”: Although the quotation does not reflect proper English grammar, in order to be faithful to the original text in the file, the original English text is used. The text in the file mainly states that from 1945 to 1952, the number of Japanese publishers and the number of books published increased by a factor of multiples. Although complete information was not available in 1952, the number was higher than that for the previous years. Among this number of books, most were from the Soviet Union. In this context, in order to contend with the Communist camp, the USIS-Tokyo translation book project was officially launched in 1952.

there were many official and private institutions sponsored by the Soviet Union, including “Japan-Soviet Friendship Association” (日蘇親善協會), “Japan- Soviet Libraries” (日蘇圖書館) and so on. From this, we can see that during the occupation period, the communist camp was also quite active in translating and publishing in Japan.

Around 1953, there was large scale dumping of “royalty free” books from the Soviet Union and communist China in Japan. According to research by Saeki Chizuru (2007), in the early 1950s, many anti-American and pro-Communist books and magazines were published in Japan. Three intellectual magazines, *Kaizo* (《改造》), *Sekai* (《世界》), and *BungeiShunju* (《文藝春秋》) published a large amount of anti-American content, stimulating left-wing intellectuals and their activities in Japan. In particular, in large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka, many left-wing groups held seminars, attracting large numbers of participants such as university professors and left-wing leaders. At the same time, literary works from the communist camp entered Japanese society on a scale never before seen (Saeki, 2007: 57-62).

In this historical context, the “copyright application” of the free camp was a major issue for Book Translation Programs. Therefore, USIS-Tokyo started to consider providing funds and services for royalty payments. At the same time, the U.S. State Department sent a list of books to Japanese publishers. The branch of the Committee for a Free Asia established in Japan in 1952 played an intermediary role in assisting the Japanese publishers to obtain the rights.

From 1949 to 1952, American books and magazines were translated into Japanese, reflecting the desire of the U.S. to have Japanese people to read about and “Understanding America”⁸ and adopt its ideology of freedom and democracy. It also reflected the interest of Japanese readers in understanding how foreigners

⁸The “Understanding America” in quotation marks was the usage in the file of NARA. It’s not the title of a publication but refers to the policy of U.S. Book Translation Program.

perceived Japan. The former included books about the United States, such as *The American Democracy* (translated in 1955) (Matsuda, 2014: 41). Overall, book translations tended to concern the history, institutions, and society of the United States. Translations of American literary works included books such as *An American Tragedy* (translated in 1950) (Matsuda, 2014: 41). These translations are all famous works of modern American literature. With respect to the latter, Japanese readers were interested in how the United States viewed Japan and the Japanese. Therefore, there were translations of books such as *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (translated in 1948) which was the most influential and widely circulated item representing Japanese culture for Americans and *Japan's Post-War Economy* (translated in 1950-1951) (Matsuda, 2014: 40). However, American anthropologist Ruth Benedict was commissioned by the U.S. government at the end of World War II to resolve whether the Allies should occupy Japan and how the United States should manage Japan. Therefore, the books selected and published by the USIS-Tokyo were based on the political interests of the U.S. That is the publication of *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* was not only reflective of the reading interests of the Japanese, as Takeshi Matsuda explained, but also U.S. political strategy.

After the Peace Treaty of San Francisco came into force in April 1952, the Japanese Book Translation Program entered a new stage and the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program was officially launched. The Book Translation Program of this period should be understood in the context of the framework of the U.S. foreign policy on Information and Educational Exchange.⁹ “Amendment I

⁹ What is Information and Educational Exchange? This policy originated from The Smith-Mundt Act (1946-1947) which was viewed as the perfect strategy for the U.S. to improve their foreign relations through culture. According to Ena Chao's (2011) research, this was the first time that the U.S. government exercised its power over information and education (2011: 99). The book translation program was one of the instruments used to accelerate the effectiveness of U.S. propaganda.

of the Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular No. 47” was implemented on December 10, 1952. Overall, 180 applications were made under “Amendment I of the Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular No. 47.” Of the books translated under the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program, a large number were translations of American political, economic, social, educational, cultural, and literary works. Under this amendment, the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program translated its first book on February 18, 1953 which was published by Asahi Shimbun.

In accordance with amendment 1 of Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular NO.47, dated December 10, 1952, the Embassy submits herewith ten copies of the Japanese translation of “Mary McLeod Bethune.” This is the first publication put out with the assistance of the Book Translations Unit of USIS-Japan.¹⁰

We must pay attention to the hidden political implications of the first book to be translated by the USIS-Tokyo. The book was written by Mary McLeod Bethune, an African-American author. The U.S. was seeking to counter accusations that the U.S. was a racist nation, and was therefore motivated to adopt some books written by African Americans. The USIS tried to highlight African-American authors who were accomplished in different fields, and thereby convey to readers that the U.S. was actually very concerned about racial issues and showing that African-Americans were able to develop their abilities very well in American society. The same motivation and concerns led to the translation and promotion of the autobiography of U.S. president Abraham Lincoln who led the Union in the Civil War and brought about the abolition of slavery.¹¹

¹⁰ Operations Memorandum, Tokyo Embassy to Department of State, “ICS: Book Translation Program: Japanese translation of Mary McLeod Bethune,” February 18, 1953, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

¹¹ Book Translation Program, USIS-Tokyo to USIA, “Book Reports,” December 31,

On this basis, if the Tokyo New Office was committed to introducing books and knowledge from the United States, why were Chinese-language works from authors based in Taiwan and Hong Kong included in the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program? From reports by USIS-Tokyo to the United States Information Agency, we can see trends in the reading habits of the Japanese in 1954. The document “General Trend of Publishing Circles in 1954 in Japan” notes that Japanese readers were interested in the topics “atomic energy” and “China.” As the archives stated:

There are two types of books which attracted special attention of [Japanese] readers. In the first category are the books concerning atomic energy; in the second, the books on China.¹² (The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

Japanese people’s curiosity toward, and interest in, atomic energy was related to the atomic energy myth constructed by the USIA in Japan. For example, in 1954, the USIA issued a piece of national propaganda to the New Zealand Office about “Eisenhower’s speech on the peaceful use of atomic energy.” In other words, what Japanese readers hoped to read were based on their consciousness of American publicity. On atomic energy, there were books such as *The Mighty Atom* by John Lewellen, *Sourcebook on Atomic Energy* by Samuel Classton published in 1955, and *Atoms Today and Tomorrow* by Margaret O. Hyde published in 1956. As for the interest of Japanese readers in the works of authors from Hong Kong and Taiwan, Japan was isolated from Communist China at the time. It was not until 1972 that Japan established diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. Prior to this, Japanese readers who wanted to understand Communist China had to seek

1953, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

¹² Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “General Trend of Publishing Circles in 1954 in Japan,” February 21, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

information through intermediaries, and so Hong Kong (sitting behind the Bamboo Curtain) became a window through which Japan, and the West, understood Communist China. With the gradual opening of the Bamboo Curtain and greater opportunities for Japan to know China, we can understand why books related to China were translated.

In this regard, compared with the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, prior to World War II, Japan’s publishing and cultural industries had relatively comprehensive systems. According to a report by USIS-Tokyo director William K. Bunce in 1955, Japan had a monopolistic book distribution system.¹³ Therefore, unlike the Book Translation Programs of Hong Kong and Taiwan that were driven by the establishment of small publishing houses, the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan was a continuation of the official information publishers of the past. For example, the Jiji Press (1945-) which published *The Rice-Sprout Song* was created from the Dōmei News Agency. The Dōmei News Agency was formed from the merger of the Rengo and Dentsu news agencies. The Dōmei News Agency received funding from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the military (Yamamoto, 1996: 116). However, given that the Jiji Press was initially focused on news reporting, why did it engage in the translation of literary works? In contrast, Seikatsu-sha was established post-War as a family publisher, originally publishing textbooks for students. So, why did it publish anti-communist literary works like Eileen Chang’s *The Naked Earth*? We need to go back the operational logic of the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program to consider these questions.

¹³ Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “ICS: Book Translation Program,” May 24, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box10, RG306 (NARA, n.d.).

III. Literature as a Medium for Touching Students' Hearts: Japanese Translation of Eileen Chang's *The Naked Earth*

The Naked Earth was written in Chinese by Eileen Chang and then self-translated into English. The book was published in Chinese in Hong Kong in December 1954 by Tien Feng Press (天風出版社). Kashiwa Kensaku (柏謙作) wrote the preface for the translation in September 1955, and the Japanese version was published in October 1955, just one year after the Chinese version was published in Hong Kong. Prior to the publication of the translation of *The Naked Earth*, in June of the same year, Seikatsu-sha published a translation of Maria Yen's *College Student Life in Red China* by Kashiwa Kensaku. On June 11, 1956, the English version of *The Naked Earth* was published in Hong Kong by the Union Press. According to Kashiwa Kensaku's preface to the Japanese translation, "The translation is mainly based on the English trial print, while also referring to the Chinese text." It can be seen that the Japanese version of *The Naked Earth* was translated according to the "trial print of the English translation." Therefore, the Japanese version had already been translated before the English version had been officially published.

Regarding the acceptance of *The Naked Earth* in Japan, in the article "Eileen Chang and Japan: Discussion of Several Facts about her Prose" (1999), the Japanese scholar Sadako Ikegami looks back at how Japanese researchers understood Eileen Chang from the "pre-war to post-war period." In this, there is only a very brief sentence providing information about *The Naked Earth*: "1950s, Eileen Chang's *The Naked Earth*, translated by Kashiwa Kensaku, Tokyo: Seikatsu-sha, 1955" (Ikegami, 1999: 85). However, it is completely silent on the background to the publication of *The Naked Earth*. Chun-Yen Pai also mentions that existing research shows: "In this investigation, the author has not found evidence of the direct involvement of USIS in the publication of the Japanese versions of *The Naked Earth* and *College Student Life in Red China*" (2016:

360). In addition, in the final comments of the translator of the Japanese version of *The Naked Earth*, it can be seen that Kashiwa Kensaku is particularly grateful to a “Mr. Oka Muneyoshi (岡宗義)” of the Asian Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs for providing “guidance” during the translation process. In other words, according to all the current research, there is still no evidence of a direct link between *The Naked Earth* and USIS-Tokyo.

However, this study finds that Eileen Chang’s *The Naked Earth* was published by Seikatsu-sha in 1955 based on “Amendment I of the Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular No. 47” implemented on December 12, 1952, providing direct evidence of a link between *The Naked Earth* and USIS-Tokyo. This means that “*The Naked Earth*” was indeed included in the translation plan of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution, and was at the same time, translated, produced, and disseminated by local publishing houses in Japan. As shown in Table 2, with the economic support of USIS-Tokyo, Lu Su-ma’s *My Strife in 18 Years*, Maria Yen’s *College Student Life in Red China*, and Eileen Chang’s *The Naked Earth* were translated by Kashiwa Kensaku and published in 1955 by Seikatsu-sha. These three books have several characteristics

Table 2 Publication of Seikatsu-sha (Supported by USIS-Tokyo)

Book	Japanese Title	Author	Translator	Publishing Date
鬥爭十八年 <i>My Strife in 18 Years</i>	聖地延安：失われし祖国よ・青春よ	Lu Su-ma (司馬璐)	Yazaki Shigeru (矢内茂)	1955/5/1
赤地之戀 <i>The Naked Earth</i>	赤い恋	Eileen Chang (張愛玲)	Kashiwa Kensaku (柏謙作)	1955/10
紅旗下の大學生生活 <i>College Student Life in Red China</i>	嵐の中の大学	Maria Yen (燕歸來)	Kashiwa Kensaku (柏謙作)	1955/6/25
* <i>Miracle in the Hills</i>	山の上の奇蹟	Sloop, Mary T. Martin	Kashiwa Kensaku (柏謙作)	1955

in common: First, they are all anti-communist non-fiction novels; second, the figures in these books are all young people. The main figure in the *My Strife in 18 Years* is young man who ever believed in communism but was disappointed in the years following the Communist triumph, while the central figures of the other two books are college students. Given the setting and age of the characters in these books, we can argue that students are the books' target audience. Though the dissemination of these works, the U.S. intended to influence young people in Japan.

Seikatsu-sha was founded in 1950 and operated until 1956 by the poet and publisher Fumie Kubota (久保田フミエ, born 齋藤文美江, 1924-). Before establishing Seikatsu-sha, Kubota worked for Shufu no Tomo Co. Ltd (主婦之友社). The magazine, *Housewife's Friend* (《主婦之友》, 1917-), was Japan's oldest publication and very popular for its practical reports, entertainment, and education coverage ("Human story: Fumie Kubota," 2014). In 1943, Kubota worked at a publisher specializing in legal books, and as a ghost writer for other publishers' magazines. In 1950, due to her belief that the publisher was moving in the direction of "leftist thinking" and her disagreements with the editor, she resigned and set up her own publishing company, indicating that Kubota established her own publishing company because she did not agree with leftist ideology, and therefore undertook translation services for the USIS-Tokyo. Lawyers involved with the previous publisher became shareholders in Seikatsu-sha, a small company specializing in student textbooks and translations, consisting only of Kubota, her future husband Haruo Saito (齋藤春雄, 1910-1999, researcher and translator of English and American literature), as well as administrative staff and male sales staff (Nippo, 2014).

Both Kubota and her husband, Saito, had publishing experience prior to establishing Seikatsu-sha. During the pre-War period, Saito worked as an editor for Daiichi Shobo (第一書房, 1923-1944). In 1944, Daiichi Shobo closed down and its business was transferred to today's Kodansha Company (講談社). However, Saito and

another employee, Koichi Ito (伊藤光一), transferred to Yakumo Shoten (八雲書局). After the war, Saito established Saito Shoten (齋藤書店). According to the records of the National Diet Library, Saito Shoten published 94 books between 1946 and 1949.¹⁴ In the context of controls on the use of paper for news during the American occupation period, it was quite unusual for Saito Shoten to publish nearly 100 books in just three to four years. After Saito Shoten came to an end, Seikatsu-sha was established in 1950. As described above, the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan attracted local publishers with their own expertise and social networks. In addition, these intellectuals were more inclined to side with the free camp on the spectrum of ideology, forming the so-called “nation-private network” relationship.

Drawing an analogy with the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Taiwan and Hong Kong, Seikatsu-sha was akin to the small-scale family publishers of Taiwan and Hong Kong. In the context of the USIS Book Translation Program, the local cultural sector became involved in the translation and publishing business. However, due to the brief time period, the number of books in was limited. For example, the Chung Yi Press (中一出版社) (which published Eileen Chang’s translation of *The Old Man and the Sea*) and the Tien Feng Press (which published the seven volume “Tien Feng Translation Series” including *The Rice-Sprout Song*) established by the USIS to help exiled intellectuals, and the Tzu-Lien Press (自聯出版社), a family publisher established by Su-Ma Lu and his wife (1957-1985). In brief, U.S. Aid Literary Institution offices in different countries retained some similarities. For example, the institution cooperated with local publishers to develop the industry. However, the publishers in Japan had a long history and comparatively complete production system; while the family publishers in Hong Kong and Taiwan were founded with the support of the U.S. Aid Literary

¹⁴ According to statistics of National Diet Library done by the author, there were 94 books published in the name of “Saito Shoten” which published from 1946-1949 coincidentally. National Diet Library website at <https://www.ndl.go.jp/>

Institution. This demonstrates that the Institution was tailored to local conditions, as mentioned above.

This study argues that *The Naked Earth* was translated by Seikatsu-sha mainly because the publisher's political position was more inclined toward anti-communist ideology. We can examine this argument by looking at the publisher's other works. During the period of 1954-1956, Kubota published works focused on anti-communist and romance themes at Seikatsu-sha. Anti-communist works tended to be in the non-fictional novel genre, that is, based on real events or facts, but presented by the author either objectively or subjectively, and possibly embellished. For example, Saito's translation of the anti-communist journalistic literature *The Window of Red Square* (《赤い広場の窓》, 1954) describes the protagonist's

Table 3 Series Textbooks of Seikatsu-sha (Supported by USIS-Tokyo)¹⁵

1	American science
2	American government
3	American political system
4	Fundamentals of Democracy
5	Civics
6	Economics
7	Geography
8	American history
9	American education
10	American literature
11	American music
12	American art
13	American theatre
14	American folk tales

¹⁵ Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, "ICS: Book Translation Program," May 19, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

travels in Russia and the communist world he encounters. In addition, Saito translated the book *Critique of Communism* (《共產主義批判》, 1954) at the International Culture Association, revealing the anti-communist position of members of Seikatsu-sha. In addition, Seikatsu-sha published works by Lu Su-ma and Maria Yen. These works all share characteristics of anti-communist and non-fiction novels. In short, through its publications, Seikatsu-sha tried to report on New China in a “novel” genre, especially the so-called “non-fiction novel.”

For USIS-Tokyo, Seikatsu-sha was positioned in the overall Book Translation Program to distribute middle school level books. Seikatsu-sha was able to publish the following subjects for Japanese high school students.

According to a report by the director of USIS-Tokyo to the United States Information Agency, due to problematic sales¹⁶ of the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program, in order to maintain the influence of USIS book translations among reading market, it was insufficient to rely only on USIS and the American Cultural Center. Therefore, the United States began to think about penetrating campuses through the education system. The USIS hoped that its publications would be available for longer in bookstores and could also be used by students in the education system. As a result, Seikatsu-sha began publishing works related to American life for high school students:

In the forthcoming dispatch, it is pointed out that one method of maintaining books on the shelves of the book vendors is to publish a series of titles, which are related by subject or by format. The mission is currently cooperating with Seikatsu-sha with regard to launching a

¹⁶ The sales problem here meant that the rapid publication of various books in the Japanese market, these USIS books had not stayed in the market long enough and were often replaced by other books. Therefore, USIS-Tokyo tried to find other strategies to make its own publications stay in the market longer.

series of high school level books on numerous aspects of American life.¹⁷

It was the intention of Seikatsu-sha to foster such a series in both the schools and the bookstores of Japan. As a series, it was hoped, these titles would be kept more or less permanently on the bookstore shelves; the uses of these books in schools and with study groups was virtually unlimited.¹⁸

USIS-Tokyo hoped that its publications would continue to be promoted in the market. They adopted a strategy of using students (educational system) and presses (publishing system) to distribute its message. The publications of Seikatsu-sha were mainly aimed at students (especially middle school students). Therefore, in Maria Yen's *College Student Life in Red China* and Eileen Chang's *The Naked Earth*, the main protagonists are college students. The two books are consistent with the plan of USIS-Tokyo to penetrate student groups. In other words, the publication of *The Naked Earth* by Seikatsu-sha was based on USIS-Tokyo long-term focus on, and influence, student groups.

How to attract the attention of young students through novels? The protagonists in these novels (See Table 2) are all students. Quan Liu and Juan Huang are college students in *The Naked Earth*, while Maria Yen is a college student of Peking University. These works tried to provoke a strong sense of emotional resonance among the young audience. In addition to the setting and characters, we must consider the content of literary texts for more comprehensive analysis.

Both Chuan-Chih Kao and Chun-Yen Pai have made detailed comparisons between the Chinese, English, and Japanese versions of

¹⁷ Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, "ICS: Book Translation Program," May 19, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

¹⁸ Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, "ICS: Book Translation Program," May 19, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

The Naked Earth. This study focuses only on translation needs under the Book Translation Program to explain adjustments to the book, consisting of three parts. The first is meeting the anti-communist objectives of the Book Translation Program. The second is Kashiwa Kensaku’s naturalization and addition strategies for translation. The third is cultural translation in addition to language translation.

With regards to the first point, we first discuss the translation of titles. According to the translator, the Japanese version was translated from the English version. However, Kashiwa Kensaku’s translation of the book title into Japanese (《赤い恋》) is not a direct translation of the English *The Naked Earth* or the Chinese title (《赤地之戀》). Instead, the Japanese title (《赤い恋》, meaning “Red Love”) provides an association with leftist passion or emotions so that readers have a “misunderstanding” that the book promotes a love for Communist China.¹⁹

According to Tarumi Chie, “赤い恋” was a popular term in post-War Japan originating from the female Russian revolutionary Alexandra Mikhailovna Kollontai’s (1872-1952) novel *Red Love* (1927), the title of which refers to a passion or love for leftist thinking. The novel was translated twice in Japan. In 1927, it was published by Sekai Press (translated by Shiro Matsuo [松尾四郎]). In 1950, it was published by Shoko Shoin (translated by Yoshio Shibata [柴田好夫]). *Red Love* (《赤い恋》) is also quoted in Saijo’s *Tokyo March* (西條八十《東京行進曲》). In other words, aside from the popular trend at the time, the use of the title “赤い恋” by Kashiwa Kensaku from the perspective of propaganda strategy reflected the “misunderstanding” about the book. In fact, the use of associations as a propaganda technique (the association of the color red with leftists) can attract readers from the “unfree” camp to read based on this assumption, achieving counter-propaganda (anti-communism) objectives and effects.

¹⁹ For this analysis, I would like to thank Professor Tarumi Chie of the International Strategy Section of Yokohama National University for sharing materials, analysis, and inspiration. (5/14/2019)

Second, in terms of the book's content, according to Chun-Yen Pai, chapters 1-19 of *The Naked Earth* roughly follow the English version. However, chapter 20 of the Japanese version combines chapters 20 and 21 of the English version. The biggest difference in the Japanese version is the deletion of chapters 22-32. Therefore, the Japanese version is missing the rescue of Quan Liu Huang by Juan and Quan Liu's participation in the volunteer force to resist U.S. aggression and aid North Korea (Pai, 2016: 372). According to Chun-Yen Pai, these chapters were removed from the Japanese version for unknown reasons, or it maybe that resisting U.S. aggression and aiding North Korea were plot points inconsistent with the program's "anti-communist" objectives.

However, it is debatable whether these chapters were deleted by the translator of the Japanese version, or if the English trial print was incomplete. First, the English version of *the Naked Earth* was published by the Union Press in Hong Kong in 1956, while Kashiwa Kensaku's Japanese translation was published by Seikatsu-sha in October 1955. In other words, the Japanese version was released before the official publication of the English version by the Union Press. Second, in Kashiwa Kensaku's preface to the translation written in September 1955, he stated that the translation was based on the English translation of the trial print. This record clearly shows that prior to the publication of the *Naked Earth* in 1956, there was an English trial print in existence. Therefore, the trial print of the English version of *the Naked Earth* that Kashiwa Kensaku worked on in 1955 may not be exactly the same as the English version that was published in 1956. Therefore, the fact that the Japanese version only translates chapters 1-21 may not be a result of Kashiwa Kensaku deleting material from the English version. On the contrary, it is more likely that there were only 21 chapters in the trial print of the English version obtained by Kashiwa Kensaku.²⁰

²⁰ We can illustrate the possible differences between the 1955 trial print of the English version and the official 1956 publication of *The Naked Earth* in several ways. First, the writing plan of the Chinese version of *The Naked Earth* was

Moreover, the 21 chapters of the Japanese version are on the whole translated very faithfully. However, when comparing the differences between the versions, this study found a paragraph in the Japanese translation that did not appear in either the Chinese or English versions. This section describes Quan Liu and Juan Huang staying in a village temple for one night (Chang, 1954: 9-10). The descriptions in the Chinese and English versions are very simple and simplified, that is the people in the village began calling out what they were eating for dinner.

Chinese version pp. 9-10: 民兵搬著雞蛋蔬菜，出來進去忙個
 不了。側屋裡發出烙餅的香味。劉荃不看見那兩個司機，問
 別人，都說不知道。

English version p. 11: They all went inside the temple and sat
 down in a dark, deserted schoolroom. Militiamen and
 villagers hurried in and out, carrying bags of flour and baskets
 of eggs. Soon the good smell of large flat cakes baking in dry
 pans filled the air. Dinner was almost ready. “Where are the
 drivers?” Liu asked.

completed by Eileen Chang after the outline of the story had been completed by the USIS (Wang, 2015). Therefore, when Eileen Chang wrote *The Naked Earth*, it was a painful and helpless experience. According to Stephen Soong, “During this period, she was writing *The Naked Earth*. The outline was drawn up by others, she was not free to do it herself. So, it was very difficult for her to write” (Chang, Soong, & Soong, 2010: 30). The same difficulty also occurred when Eileen Chang wanted to translate the Chinese version of *The Naked Earth* into an English version. Eileen Chang once said: “In the English version, I wrote as far as the bedroom scene and couldn’t write anymore. It seems so hackneyed! I don’t know how this kind of stuff should be written in English. I want to read some novels such as *From Here to Eternity* and *Bhowani Junction*” (Chang, Soong, & Soong, 2010: 51-52). The bedroom scene that Eileen Chang’s claims she was unable to write appeared in Chapter 14 of the English version. In other words, even in the case of translating her own work from Chinese to English, the process was not an easy one for Eileen Chang. Therefore, the trial print of the English version obtained by Kashiwa Kensaku was probably an incomplete version that had only be translated as far as chapter 21, with chapters 22-32 missing.

However, there are six lines in the Japanese version that do not appear in the Chinese and English versions. The following is the “additional content” in the Japanese version.

Japanese version p. 19: 一人の男が赤く塗った木の箱に饅頭を山盛りにしたのを持ってきた。饅頭は赤いテープでしばってあって、箱から溢れてお下げ髪のように垂れさがっていた。劉はその男の目つきや、歩き方や、こそこそした様子から、この食事がこの村の平生の食事ではないことを見てとった。彼はふいに物持ちの壇家が寺にやってきて、たいせつな広壇をけがして本堂に泊りこんで、けがららしい肉で宴会を開くような気がした。いつまでもしぶい顔をしてはならぬと思つて、わざと朗かに、「運転手はどこにいったのだろう」と言った。

A man came with a lacquered red-painted wooden box full of Udon noodles. The Udon noodles were tied with red paper tape, which dangles from the box like braids. From the man's eyes, the way he walked, and his sneaky attitude, Liu found that the meal was not the daily meal of the village. He suddenly felt as if the sponsor of the temple came to the temple, destroyed the sacred altar, and then hold the banquet using dirty meat. He felt that it was not appropriate to always keep a straight face. Then, he deliberately asked: “Where's the driver?” (Added note: Red is a color symbolic of the Communist party.)

The style of writing in this section clearly displays the brushstrokes of Eileen Chang's writing. For example, the use of color, a “red lacquered wooden box” reflects the “white” noodles; or descriptions such as, “the noodles are tied with red paper tape like hair overflowing from a box.” The way Quan Liu looked into the man's eyes, the way he walked, and his surreptitious character—this detailed character psychology and observations are very much Eileen Chang's style. If we consider that overall, Kashiwa Kensaku's translations were very faithful, it is difficult to explain this exquisite and wonderful description as added by the translator. On the

contrary, the most likely scenario is that the trial print of the English version obtained by Kashiwa Kensaku in 1955 is what the Japanese version now looks like, and that this trial print of the English version was not identical to the version of *the Naked Earth* published in 1956. This paragraph, which differs in the Chinese and English versions, was Eileen Chang’s revision in the process of translating from Chinese to English. In addition to complementing the unexpected turn of Quan Liu suddenly looking for a driver in the Chinese and English versions, by emphasizing that “normally there is no such food in the village,” it is once again strengthening and insinuating the hardships of rural life in communist China.

Kashiwa Kensaku adopted two translation strategies: “naturalization” and “addition” to meet the need of the target audience—middle school students. The naturalization strategy means that vocabulary in the local linguistic context places vocabulary originally used by the author so that it is more familiar to readers, for example, “pilgrim” in English becomes “incense burner” (香客) in Chinese. In Kashiwa Kensaku’s translation, the more familiar Japanese term for “udon noodles” (“うどん”) replaces the term “white noodles” (白麵) in the Chinese version. Finally, “additions” are typically used as supplementary explanations to reduce linguistic and cultural barriers, and to reflect differing national conditions so that readers can enter the world depicted by the author (Shan, 2009: 172, 174).

In addition, “cultural translation” is added to help readers understand the social background of China’s land reform. For example, in the passage where Juan Huang is attacked, there is only one sentence in the Chinese version: “That day the group held a meeting and she was criticized severely.” However, in the Japanese version, the reason why Juan Huang was criticized by the group was explained to help readers enter the context of Eileen Chang’s novel. For example:

Japanese version p. 54: 彼らは大喜びで黄絹を攻撃し、彼女を封建的、資本家的、若い貴婦人、西洋の帝国主義思想に

毒された人間と呼んだ。

They happily attacked Huang Juan and called her a feudal, capitalist, young lady, poisoned by Western imperialism.

In the Japanese version, it is particularly emphasized that Juan Huang was attacked for Western imperialist thinking. There are also some explanations of terms that only appear in the Japanese version, and not in the Chinese or English versions, for example:

Japanese version pp. 145-146: 軟座席—これはブルジョア的な「一等車」という呼び名にかわる新しい呼称だ—の乗客は各の番号によってかわりがわり食堂に行くのだった。

Passengers on soft seats—the new expression that replaces the “First Class” of the Bourgeois class. According to their numbers, passengers take turns to eat in the cafeteria on the train. Passengers on hard seats, instead of the former expression of the second- or third-class cars, can only eat after the soft-seat passengers have finished their meals.

These terms were explained for the convenience of readers from different cultural backgrounds. In addition, unclear paragraphs in the Chinese version can also cause problems during translation. For example, Comrade Ge Shan and Quan Liu discussed writing some books that attacked U.S. imperialism and blamed the United States for all of misfortunes that occurred in China over the past century. The Chinese version mentions that “One Book” without indicating for its content. The Japanese version noted this problem and further explained “One Book” as follows:

Japanese version pp. 207-208: それは革命に対する蔣介石の裏切りを扱ったものなの。英米がどこの隅までも手を入れていたことは知ってるでしょう。

That was a book about Chiang Kai-shek’s betrayal of the revolution. You should know that it is something that the United Kingdom and the United States would go to the ends of the earth to obtain.

With regard to the “book” of Comrade Ge Shan, the Japanese version adds, “They spent a lot of time discussing how the United States was the mastermind behind Germany and Japan.” This directly added specific content to the “book” in the Chinese version. By analysis of the Japanese translation, we find that when compared to the English version, the English version is more concise. In addition, during the translation process into Japanese, more annotations were added to terms to clarify the text for the reader.

Overall, aside from the missing chapters 22-32, the Japanese version can be described as a complete translation from the English version. However, as mentioned by Chuan-Chih Kao, Eileen Chang places many Chinese terms in the English version of *The Naked Earth*, which the average reader may not have the patience to read (Kao, 2011: 237). Therefore, Kashiwa Kensaku’s translation removed many of the transliterations while retaining the sense-for-sense translation. Therefore, we can see that Seikatsu-sha made adjustments to the translation according to the needs of the Book Translation Program.

IV. Fiction as a Weapon for Grasping People’s Minds: Japanese Translation of Eileen Chang’s *The Rice-Sprout Song*

The Rice-Sprout Song was written in English and translated into Chinese by Eileen Chang, the opposite process to *The Naked Earth*. Stephen Soong believes that regardless of whether the work was translated from Chinese to English, or English to Chinese, “the two are equally natural, and there is no trace of translation” (Chang, Soong, & Soong, 2010: 37).

Compared to *The Naked Earth*, there has been more discussion about the relationship between the Japanese translation of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and USIS-Tokyo. According to Chun-Yen Pai’s research, “By nature, the Jiji Press was not suitable for translating and publishing literary works; their publishing activities may have been

the result of receiving secret funds from the U.S. embassy in Japan” (Pai, 2016: 352). When visiting the president of the Jiji Press Seiji Hasegawa (長谷川才次), Japanese scholar Sadako Ikegami found that the president was a staunch anti-communist. “From the perspective of what it publishes and the political inclination of the president, it is possible that Jiji Press established a cooperative relationship with USIS in order to implement anti-communist beliefs” (Pai, 2016: 353). Yoshinobu Yushiro (湯城吉信) also pointed out that Ryo Namikawa (並河亮) translated *The Rice-Sprout Song* to “fully show the reality of China now” (湯城吉信, 1999). In short, Yushiro believes that the reason *The Rice-Sprout Song* was translated was the need to “know China” rather than the literary nature of the book. With regards to why the Jiji Press published the book *The Rice-Sprout Song*, Taiwanese and Japanese scholars have made inferences from the president of the press, types of works published, and the need to “know China.”

The present study has reviewed the U.S. archives on the original publication of *The Rice-Sprout Song*, finding that aside from the preference of Japanese readers for investigative reports, the publication was also related to Japanese readers’ interest in “China.” The USIA requested an “anti-communist” title and a “novel” format. In contrast to different from the arguments of Yoshiro, I argue that the novel form was quite an important factor in the USIA’s decision to include Eileen Chang’s *The Rice-Sprout Song* in the list of translated books.

Mission has asked previously on several occasions for agency suggestions of further anti-Communist titles in fiction form to be incorporated into this series with no definitely reply.²¹

Sailing to Freedom and *The Rice-Sprout Song* are already included as the two mildly anti-Communist works.²² (The

²¹ Incoming Telegram, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “Unclassified,” August 29, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

²² Operations Memorandum, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “ICS: Book

bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

In other words, the Japanese translation of *The Rice-Sprout Song* is not only a medium for understanding China, but more importantly, it is a "mildly anti-communist novel." More specifically, the book was published on the basis of "Amendment I of the Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular No. 47" implemented on December 12, 1952. *The Rice-Sprout Song* was work no. 139 under this program. However, the difference between *The Rice Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* is that *The Rice-Sprout Song* is one of the ten works contracted to the Jiji Press by USIS-Tokyo. USIS-Tokyo and the Jiji Press cooperated as part of the Jiji Tsushin Project, full name Jiji Press Special Large-Edition Project. The project made use of special funds with the USIA handling copyright but did not involve long-term repeated cooperation.

The Jiji project, which is responsible for ten titles, was supported on the basis of special funds, and as an ad hoc arrangement, is not subject to repetition.²³ (The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

The importance of the project can be seen in its proportion of the overall USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program. In 1955, the total budget for the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program was 85,473 yen, of which the Jiji Tsushin Project accounted for 28,536.11 yen, around one-third (33.4%) of the entire budget for the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program.

In fiscal year 1955, contracts were made for the production of Japanese translations of 90 titles. (Add: FY1955, 85,473)
The ¥85,473 were expended as followed: ¥44,926.12 for the

Translation Program," June 22, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 10, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

²³ Confidential Mission Budget: USIS Japan Fiscal Years 1956-1957, "Confidential Book Translation Program," USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

support of Japanese translations and Japanese originals on the regular program; ¥28,536.11 for the **Jiji Tsushin Project** (see USIS-Tokyo Despatch # 91 of May 24); ¥3,650.53 were absorbed in purchasing bibliographic tools²⁴ (The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

In addition, the Jiji Tsushin Project was quite different from the other translation projects of USIS-Tokyo in terms of its quantity and price. In terms of quantity, 20,000 copies of *The Rice-Sprout Song* were published, each sold at the low price of ¥100. Compared with the Japanese publishing industry of the time that rarely published more than 5,000 copies of a book, the number of copies of other books under the Book Translation Program were typically around 2,000-5,000 (for example, the number of copies of *The Naked Earth* was 3,500); we can see that the number of copies printed under the Jiji Tsushin Project was three to four times greater than for other books. In terms of price, other books published by Seikatsu-sha were sold at ¥200 each. It can be seen that *The Rice-Sprout Song* and other books under the Jiji Tsushin Project were cheaper than other USIS publications. The purpose of Jiji Tsushin Project was to make these books readily available among common people in Japan.

Previous studies have not been able to find the number of copies of *The Naked Earth* that were published (Pai, 2016:365). In addition, past studies have been unable to explain why there was such a large difference in the number of copies of *The Rice-Sprout Song* and *The Naked Earth* published in Japan. In 1956, the books in this project adopted an “unprecedented” promotional strategy.

Jiji Project of translations acquired unique and unprecedented attention in trade journals and the press. Even before availability of the books on the market. Large-scale attention was given not only to the project in general but to the titles

²⁴ Confidential Mission Budget: USIS Japan Fiscal Years 1956-1957, “Confidential Book Translation Program,” USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

individuality.²⁵

In other words, the Jiji Tsushin Project was not only engaged in promotion for the entire book series, it also promoted individual books, including “book announcements” for major publishers and the distribution of “book samples.” First, the Jiji Tsushin Project was promoted in important publishing trade magazines, for example *Nippan Tsushin* (《日本通信》, March 1956) which is distributed in major bookstores in Japan.²⁶ Following promotion through *Nippan Tsushin*, the number of copies increased from the original 5,000 to 7,000 copies, showing the effectiveness of the marketing network. Aside from *Nippan Tsushin*, there were also publication announcements in *Tosho Shimbun* (《図書新聞》, 3/10/1956) and *Dokusho Shimbun* (《読書新聞》, 3/12/1956).²⁷ *Dokusho Shimbun* was established in 1930 and *Tosho Shimbun* was established in 1949 after splitting from the former. The reason for the split was that *Dokusho Shimbun* was subject to U.S. GHQ guidance and intervention in the post-War period. Books that discussed responsibility for the war were purged and re-organized under the Japan Free Publishing Association. As a result, *Dokusho Shimbun*, the Japan Free Publishing Association, and *Tosho Shimbun* which had split from *Dokusho Shimbun* became the three main sources for book reviews in Japan. In addition, USIS-Tokyo also used book reviews for promotion.

Second, another publicity item in the Jiji Tsushin Project was the distribution of “book samples.” On March 12, 1956, the Jiji Tsushin Project distributed Margaret O. Hyde’s *Atoms Today and*

²⁵ Foreign Service Despatch, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “ICS: Book Translation Program: Jiji Project,” March 23, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG 306 (NARA, n.d.).

²⁶ The time in brackets after the three “book announcements” mentioned above indicate the publicity time of *The Rice-Sprout Song*.

²⁷ Foreign Service Despatch, Tokyo USIS to Washington USIA, “ICS: Book Translation Program: Jiji Project,” March 23, 1955, USIS Book Translation Tokyo, Box 4, RG306 (NARA, n.d.).

Tomorrow, Bela Kornitzer's *The Great American Heritage*, and Eileen Chang's *The Rice-Sprout Song* to major book sellers in Tokyo, demonstrating that the Jiji Press was very active in promoting books through the Jiji Tsushin Project and received the attention of readers. "Book Announcements" for major readers and the distribution of "Book Samples" were unique features of the Jiji Tsushin Project. Compared with the USIS-Hong Kong approach of novel serialization of *The Rice Sprout Song* in *World Today* (《今日世界》) (1/1/1954-7/1/1954) (Wang, 2015), USIS-Tokyo promoted books through book reviews, and the distribution of free samples.

Finally, with regards to the version of *The Rice-Sprout Song* in the Book Translation Program, according to the preface to the Japanese version of *The Rice-Sprout Song*, the well-known Japanese translator of the book, Namikawa (並河亮 · 1905-1984), once wrote to Eileen Chang to ask for her input and completed the translation with the help of Yuan-chu Huang (黃遠竹). Namikawa was a writer and translator, who served as an intelligence officer for the Japanese Intelligence Agency during WWII, retiring in 1945. Subsequently, he worked for Jiji Press, translating many books. He translated *The Rice-Sprout Song* from Eileen Chang's English version. A comparative analysis shows that there is less difference between the English and Japanese versions. In most cases, the English and Japanese versions are the same, but the Chinese version is different or contains omissions. There is only one part that appears in both the Chinese and English versions that is omitted from the Japanese version.

Chinese version p. 20: 要不是毛主席，我們哪有今天呀？

Japanese version p. 27: No Content

English version p. 15: If not for Chairman Mao we would never have this day!

In the above example, the Japanese version was translated according to the English version, but the sentence, "If it were not for Chairman Mao, we wouldn't be here today," was omitted by Namikawa to

avoid the possibility of praising Communist China. Assuming the translator is anti-communist, we can understand why he did not translate the sentence. However, another passage stating, “America is the devil,” is still faithfully translated.

Chinese version p. 54: No Content

Japanese version p. 71: バカな話だよ、まったく」と、「幹部」が家が出て行くと伯母がつぶやいた。「アメリカの悪魔はこんなちっぽけな村に来るもんですか。それに、幹部がわたしたちから何もかも盗んでしまったから、外国人の悪魔が来ても盗む物はもう何も残ってないよ！

English version p. 49: “Stupid!” Big Aunt had murmured when the *kan pu* was gone. “The American devils will never come to this little village. Besides, these *kan pu* have left us so poor that there’s nothing for the foreign devils to steal anyway!”

In the context of English and Japanese, it can be understood that the character in the novel is cursing Americans as “foreign devils,” but expects the American devils will not come to their village because the Communist Party cadres have abandoned them and left them with nothing. This shows that the ultimate target of the novel’s criticism was not the United States, but Communist Party cadres.

As *The Rice-Sprout Song* was designed for “general Japanese readers” as part of the translation project, its translated text needed to be easily read by most Japanese readers. Therefore, many parts of the Japanese version of *The Rice-Sprout Song* are faithful to the English version, albeit adopting a reader-friendly “interpreting terms” approach.

A.

Japanese version p. 23: ……その造花は、朝鮮戦線に兵士を送り出す壮行会で「労働英雄」や新兵が胸につけていたと同じ種類の造花である。(The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

English version p. 12: . . . and newly enlisted men in the big meetings to recruit soldiers to go fight in Korea. (The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

B.

Japanese version p. 28: 伯母は共産党と革命党をごっちゃやにしていた。革命党は、伯母が娘のころに満洲王国を倒した初期の革命家たちだったから、伯母は、共産党を革命党と混同し、時には台湾に追いつめられた国民党とごっちゃにするのである。 (The bottom line and bold are added by the author of this article.)

English version p. 15: Big Aunt mixed up Kunch'antang, Communists, with Kemingtang, revolutionists, which only meant the early revolutionaries who had overthrown the Manchu dynasty, back when Big Aunt was a young girl. So she persisted in referring to the Communists as Kemingtang and sometimes even as Kuomintang, the Nationalists who had been chased over to Formosa.

C.

Japanese version p. 113: ……呼び出されて、文化班の指導員の前で踊ったり、体操をしたりしている農民音楽隊の人々……

English version p. 84: . . . the people in the Rice-Sprout Song Corps had been called out to practice again and were dancing and wriggling under the eye of the cultural cadre.

However, there is no such content in the Chinese version. For example, the translation of Chinese terms helps Japanese readers to communicate and resonate with the author. In addition, the communication between Eileen Chang and Japanese translator is another form of exchange between people under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution, separate from book translations.

V. Conclusion

This study begins from the question: “Why did the USIS-Tokyo need to translate Taiwanese and Hong Kong literature?” By looking

at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), the functions and position of *The Naked Earth* and *The Rice-Sprout Song* in the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program are established. It is shown that the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program continued the book translation program of the Allied forces in Japan (1945-1952), and after 1952, the book translation program was transferred from the Allied forces in Japan to the Information Office of the U.S. Embassy in Japan. After that, the USIA was responsible for the review, translation, and publication or translated books and providing the books required by USIS offices throughout Japan.

The Naked Earth and *The Rice-Sprout Song* were both translated under “Amendment I of the Foreign Service Information and Educational Exchange Circular No. 47.” Both books were a response to the interest of Japanese readers in learning about China, but the two books also differed. *The Naked Earth* was mainly translated for middle school students and the book was published to deepen the influence of the USIS Book Translation Program on the education system and young students. At the time (1955), USIS-Tokyo was faced with the challenge of maintaining the influence of its book translations. The Americans were deeply aware of the limited influence of the USIS and the constraints on its information centers. As a result, the USIS began to consider textbooks as a means to disseminate book translations. *The Naked Earth* was translated and published in this context.

In contrast, *The Rice-Sprout Song* was a special project under the aforementioned project—the Jiji Tsushin Project. This project used special funds and was not intended to be permanent. Its publications were cheaper than ordinary books and three to four times the number of copies were printed. At the same time, unprecedented approaches in the Japanese publishing industry were adopted for the marketing of *The Rice-Sprout Song*. This included book reviews/book announcements in Japanese newspapers *Nippan Tsushin*, *Tosho Shimbun*, and *Dokusho Shimbun* and distributing free book samples. Due to political “anti-communist” demands, *The*

Rice-Sprout Song was included in the Book Translation Program by the USIA in the form of a novel translated by the well-known Japanese translator Namikawa. This was marketed in Japan using innovative methods, and its target audience was the general public.

Through the relationship between the production history of the two books and the U.S. Aid Literary Institution, in addition to providing new historical insights on Japanese translation in the study of Eileen Chang, through specific text analysis, we also found that during the translation process, translators considered different targets for propaganda and adjusted and planned their translations accordingly. Through analysis of the two books and of the operations of USIS-Tokyo, we can identify the characteristics of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan. Overall, the U.S. Aid Literary Institutions elsewhere in the world used multiple media as follows: radio, film, books and magazines. Under the framework of institution, we identify how state-private networks varied between different USIS posts as the operations of different USIS posts adapted to the publishing conditions of the countries in which they were resident. The uniqueness of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan is outlined below.

First, unlike with the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program was influenced by the Allied occupation of Japan led by the United States (1945-1952), including copyright acquisition methods, book publishing, and propaganda impact. Overall, USIS-Tokyo cooperated with a more mature publishing industry than the four countries mentioned above. Second, the Japanese Book Translation Program had to take into consideration Japan's original, monopolistic publishing houses. That implied that USIS-Tokyo had more opportunities to cooperate with local publishers and translators. However, USIS-Tokyo needed "international interpersonal network" support when it undertook to translate Chinese literary works. When comparing the book translation programs in Taiwan and Hong Kong, USIS-Hong Kong

served as the center for translation and publishing, while USIS-Taipei carried out promotion and marketing, including the establishment of publishing and marketing systems in Taiwan and Hong Kong (including marketing units such as publishing houses, bookstores, and newsstands) under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution. Singapore and Malaysia's U.S. Aid Literary Institution showed that USIS-Kuala Lumpur became more active only after 1956. The publication of Chinese-language propaganda materials was accomplished mainly through "non-governmental organizations," such as the Asia Foundation and its partner, The Union Press, whose members came from Hong Kong.

However, the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Japan was quite different from the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Southeast Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia). In 1955, when the book translation programs in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia were in their infancy, the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program was already flourishing. Aside from the Book Translation Program of the Allied military occupation of Japan and the mature publishing and marketing system before the War, when the U.S. intervened in the Japanese publishing industry, the cooperation between the USIS and government-linked publishers, for example the Jiji Press, as well as cooperation with people in the local cultural sector with intelligence backgrounds, such as Namikawa.

This study first clarified the logic of the operation of American power in various countries, outlining the hierarchical structure from the USIA, USIS (USIS-Tokyo and USIS-Hong Kong), local publishers (including semi-official and private presses), and the local cultural sector revealing how the structure of U.S. cultural propaganda works in East Asian countries. Second, in order to understand the interaction between the Northeast Asian (taking Japan as an example first) and Southeast Asian literary institutions, including during the translation of books from Taiwan and Hong Kong into Japanese, during the process of language translation, communication and interaction between Japanese translators and

authors in Taiwan and Hong Kong was also promoted. In other words, the USIS offices of different countries under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution collaborated with each other under the logic of “state-private” and “state-state” networks. When the Japanese wanted to learn about China, anti-Communist narratives were created by Chinese writers in Hong Kong and transferred to the USIS in Japan.

Finally, in the USIS-Tokyo Book Translation Program, over time the unwinding of Allied military occupation of Japan meant that the Book Translation Program was transferred from the “military system” to the “diplomatic/news system,” showing the cultural differences and special characteristics of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in Northeast Asia and Southeast can serve as a basis for the comparative study of the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in different countries.

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「新」中國報導：
東京美新處譯書計畫與張愛玲
《赤地之戀》、《秧歌》日譯 (1952-1956)

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摘 要

本研究從「區域政治」與「文化宣傳」角度，以張愛玲《赤地之戀》與《秧歌》為例，探討東京美新處文化宣傳與臺港文學日譯的關係。首先，兩部作品作為理解「共產中國」的媒介。其次，說明兩部作品的定位和功能：《赤地之戀》為「家庭式出版社」出版品，因其「反共」、「報導文學」和作為「中學程度的系列叢書」而被翻譯；《秧歌》作為譯書特殊計畫：「時事通信」的書目。最後，透過兩書說明「美援文藝體制在日本」的運作邏輯，承繼「同盟國軍事佔領日本」翻譯計畫，與日本既有的壟斷性出版事業協力，並透過跨國人際網絡而完成。

關鍵詞：文化冷戰、美援文藝體制、作品社會學、翻譯政治、跨國人際網絡