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# NOTES

## Archival Abbreviations

AH	Academia Historica (Taipei)
HIA	Hoover Institution Archives (Stanford)
KMT	KMT Party Archives (Taipei)
LOC	Library of Congress (Washington, DC)
NIDS	National Institute of Defense Studies (Tokyo)
SHA	Second Historical Archives (Nanjing)
SMA	Shanghai Municipal Archives (Shanghai)

## Introduction

1. These are too numerous to list in their entirety here, but for some representative examples, see John Delury, Sheila A. Smith, Maria Repnikova, and Srinath Raghavan, “Looking Back on the Seventieth Anniversary of Japan’s Surrender,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 74, no. 4 (November 2015): 797–820; and Yong Zhou, Vincent K. L. Chang, and Xiaohui Gong, “Recalling the War in China: The *Daboufang* Project in Chongqing and the Restoration of a Legacy,” *Frontiers of History in China* 9, no. 4 (December 2014): 611–627.

2. As evidenced, for example, in the text of Xi Jinping’s speech on September 3, 2015. For the full text of this speech (in English translation), see <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1854943/full-text-xi-jinping-military-parade-speech-vows-china>.

3. I borrow this phrase from David P. Barrett, introduction to *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932–1945: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 1–17.

4. On this regime, see Zhang Tongle, *Huabei lunxianqu Ri-wei zhengquan yanjiu* [A study of the Japanese-bogus regime in occupied north China] (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 2012).

5. On this regime, see Timothy Brook, “Collaborationist Nationalism in Occupied Wartime China,” in *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identities*, ed. Timothy Brook and Andrew Schmid (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 159–190.

6. The very name of this government remains the source of some controversy. I have chosen throughout this book to refer to it (in keeping with what is now common practice in the English-language historiography) as the Reorganized National Government (RNG). This phrase was used in English texts of the 1940s to describe it, such as

Paul Linebarger, *The China of Chiang Kai-shek: A Political Study* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1943), 203. In Chinese, however, the regime is not referred to in this manner. Instead, it is commonly referred to as the “bogus Wang regime” (*Wang wei zhengquan*), or the “bogus Wang national government” (*Wang wei guomin zhengfu*). The RNG referred to itself simply as the “national government” (*guomin zhengfu*).

7. On such attitudes, see Wang Ke-wen, “Irreversible Verdict? Historical Assessments of Wang Jingwei in the People’s Republic and Taiwan,” *Twentieth-Century China* 28, no. 1 (November 2002): 57–81.

8. This is true for popular as well as scholarly depictions. On the depiction of RNG China as a colorless place in recent cinema, see Grace Wang, “The Color of Our Emotions, or *Se, jie*,” *RogerEbert.com* (blog), February 1, 2013, <https://www.rogerebert.com/far-flung-correspondents/the-color-of-our-emotions-or->.

9. Hannah Arendt, *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968).

10. As in Julia Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

11. For an example of historical research that employs such a trope, see Cheah Boon Kheng, “Memory as History and Moral Judgement: Oral and Written Accounts of the Japanese Occupation of Malaya,” in *War and Memory in Malaysia and Singapore*, ed. Lim Pui Huen and Diana Wong (Singapore: ISEAS, 2000), 23–41.

12. On the trope of darkness in Chinese accounts of the occupation, see R. Keith Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness: Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 26.

13. As we shall see in chapter 5.

14. This is an anecdote retold in Hu Shua, “Zheng gong shouji” [Notes on political work], *Qingxiang qianxian* 2, no. 4 (June 1943): 26–28.

15. Some scholars have, admittedly, started to do this. I shall return to examples of such work throughout this book.

16. I make this statement in the knowledge that calls by other scholars for a dispassionate appraisal of “collaboration” have led to highly charged responses. On such debates, see John Whittier Treat, “Seoul and Nanking, Baghdad and Kabul: A Response to Timothy Brook and Michael Shin,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 1 (2012): 121–125.

17. See, for example, Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

18. On this art form, see Jeremy E. Taylor, “The Sinification of Soviet Agitational Theatre: ‘Living Newspapers’ in Mao’s China,” *Journal of the British Association of Chinese Studies* 2 (2013): 27–50.

19. We will revisit this practice in chapter 3.

20. An example of such a manual is Chen Yanqiao, *Kangzhan xuanchuanhua* [Propaganda pictures for the War of Resistance] (Guangzhou: Liming shudian, 1938).

21. Linebarger, *China of Chiang Kai-shek*, 205.

22. Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937–1941* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 269.

23. Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 119.

24. Parks Coble, “China’s New Remembering of the Anti-Japanese War of Resistance, 1937–1945,” *China Quarterly* 190 (2007): 394–410.

25. Cai Dejin, *Lishi de guaitai: Wang wei guomin zhengfu shimo* [Freak of history: The beginning and end of the bogus Wang national government] (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2008).
26. Zhang Xianwen, *Zhonghua minguo shi (disan juan): Riben quanmian qin Hua* [A history of the Republic of China, volume 3: The complete invasion of China by Japan] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2006).
27. One example is Li Zhongming, *Kang-Ri zhanzheng shiqi de Zhongguo wenhua* [Chinese culture during the War of Resistance] (Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 2015).
28. Wang Ke-wen, “Irreversible Verdict?”
29. Liu Jie, “Wang Jingwei and the ‘Nanjing Nationalist Government’: Between Collaboration and Resistance,” trans. Konrad Lawson, in *Toward a History beyond Borders: Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations*, ed. Daqing Yang, Jie Liu, Hiroshi Mitani, and Andrew Gordon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 205–239.
30. See, for example, Huang Meizhen, *Ri-wei dui Huazhong lunxianqu jingji de liueduo yu tongzhi* [The economic pillage and control of the occupied areas of central China under the Japanese and the bogus regime] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian, 2005); and Pan Min, *Jiangsu Ri-wei jiceng zhengquan yanjiu (1937–1945)* [A study of Japanese-bogus regime rule at the local level in Jiangsu (1937–1945)] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006). A thorough analysis of such work can be found in David Serfass, “Occupation japonaise et collaboration chinoise: Tendances historiographiques récentes” [The Japanese occupation and Chinese collaboration: Recent historiographical tendencies], *Revue historique* 680 (April 2016): 941–966.
31. See, for instance, Yu Zidao, Liu Qikui, and Cao Zhenwei, eds., *Wang wei zhengquan ziliao xuanbian: Wang Jingwei guomin zhengfu “qingxiang” yundong* [Selected materials from the bogus Wang regime: The Wang national government’s “Rural Pacification” campaign] (Shanghai: Xinhua shuju, 1985).
32. Huang Renyuan, ed., *Wang Jingwei yu Wang wei zhengfu, shang* [Wang Jingwei and the bogus Wang government, part 1] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1994); and Huang Renyuan, ed., *Wang Jingwei yu Wang wei zhengfu, xia* [Wang Jingwei and the bogus Wang government, part 2] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1994).
33. Zhang Dianxing, *Wang Jingwei funi yanjiu* [Research on the traitor Wang Jingwei] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2008), 9–10.
34. Yingying Gao, “A Survey of Twenty-First-Century Studies of the Japanese-Occupied Areas in China,” trans. Tian Xiansheng, *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 9, no. 1 (2015): 130–151.
35. John Hunter Boyle, *China and Japan at War, 1937–1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), 50.
36. Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Chinese Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).
37. Timothy Brook, “The Creation of the Reformed Government in Central China, 1938,” in *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932–1945: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 100.
38. Brook, “Collaborationist Nationalism,” 163.
39. Dongyoun Hwang, “Wartime Collaboration in Question: An Examination of the Postwar Trials of the Chinese Collaborators,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2005): 75–97, esp. 92.

40. Margherita Zanasi, “Globalizing *Hanjian*: The Suzhou Trials and the Post-World War II Discourse on Collaboration,” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 3 (2008): 738; see also Margherita Zanasi, *Saving the Nation: Economic Modernity in Republican China* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), 222.

41. Though there are notable exceptions. I will draw on many of these in later sections of this book.

42. Rana Mitter, *China’s War with Japan, 1937–45: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 370.

43. Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).

44. Zhiyi Yang, “The Road to Lyric Martyrdom: Reading the Poetry of Wang Zhaoming (1883–1944),” *Chinese Literature* 37 (2015): 135–164.

45. Nicole Huang, “Fashioning Public Intellectuals: Women’s Print Culture in Occupied Shanghai (1941–1945),” in *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation*, ed. Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 327.

46. Edward M. Gunn Jr., *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 7.

47. Such as Carolyn FitzGerald, *Fragmenting Modernisms: Chinese Wartime Literature, Art, and Film, 1937–49* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2013).

48. One example is Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, ed., *Oxford Illustrated History of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

49. Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2005); Andrew Cheung, “Slogans, Symbols, and Legitimacy: The Case of Wang Jingwei’s Nanjing Regime,” *Indiana East Asia Working Paper Series*, 6 (July 1995); Shaoqian Zhang, “Combat and Collaboration: The Clash of Propaganda Prints between the Chinese Guomindang and the Japanese Empire in the 1930s–1940s,” *Transcultural Studies* 1 (January 2014): 95–133.

50. FitzGerald, *Fragmenting Modernisms*, 5.

51. On graffiti in occupied Nanjing, see J. Thomas Rimer, “Paris in Nanjing: Kishida Kunio Follows the Troops,” in *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, ed. Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, and E. Eleanor Kerkham (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 181.

52. Such as Pingchao Zhu, *Wartime Culture in Guilin, 1938–1944: A City at War* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).

53. Gerhard Paul, “Visual History” (English version), *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, July 11, 2011, [http://docupedia.de/zg/paul\\_visual\\_history\\_v1\\_en\\_2011](http://docupedia.de/zg/paul_visual_history_v1_en_2011).

54. Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, trans. Elizabeth Clegg (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), esp. 160.

55. Hung, *War and Popular Culture*; Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

56. James A. Cook, Joshua Goldstein, Matthew D. Johnson, and Sigrid Schmalzer, introduction to *Visualizing Modern China: Image, History and Memory, 1750–Present*, ed. James A. Cook, Joshua Goldstein, Matthew D. Johnson, and Sigrid Schmalzer (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 3. Italics in the original.

57. Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.

58. Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh, “Introduction. China Visualised: What Stories Do Pictures Tell?” in *Visualising China, 1845–1965: Life/Still Images in Historical Narratives*, ed. Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh (Leiden: Brill, 2013), xv.

59. I take this description from Suzanne Pepper, “The Political Odyssey of an Intellectual Construct: Peasant Nationalism and the Study of China’s Revolutionary History—a Review Essay,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 1 (2004): 120.

60. Chang-tai Hung, *Mao’s New World: Popular Culture in the Early People’s Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010); and Barbara Mittler, *A Continuous Revolution: Making Sense of Cultural Revolution Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

61. Such as Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak, eds., *Brush and Shutter: Early Photography in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, in association with the Getty Research Institute, 2011).

62. See, for instance, FitzGerald, *Fragmenting Modernisms*, 169, in which cinema produced under occupation is denied analysis on the basis that “filmmakers in the occupied regions were unable to produce films that explored in depth the experiences of ordinary people in wartime.”

63. Such as Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, and E. Eleanor Kerkham, eds., *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001).

64. For an example, see Ruth Weiss, *China’s War Art Front* (Chungking: China Information Committee, 1940). Cultural production under occupation (let alone in the name of occupation) is not so much as mentioned in accounts such as this.

65. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1973).

66. *Watching Babylon: The War in Iraq and Global Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004) was Mirzoeff’s original articulation of this argument.

67. See, for example, the special issue of *Journal of Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (April 2006), ed. Suhail Malik, which included a number of articles on the photographs and their significance.

68. Nicholas Mirzoeff, “Invisible Empire: Visual Culture, Embodied Spectacle, and Abu Ghraib,” *Radical History Review* 95 (Spring 2006): 21–44.

69. See, for instance, Susan L. Carruthers, “Why Can’t We See Insurgents? Enmity, Invisibility and Counterinsurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan,” *Photography and Culture* 8, no. 2 (2015): 191–211.

70. Gil Z. Hochberg, *Visual Occupations: Violence and Visibility in a Conflict Zone* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

71. Nicholas Mirzoeff, “Introduction: For Critical Visuality Studies,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 2013), xxix–xxxviii.

72. On these topics, see Marc Olivier Baruch, “Charisma and Hybrid Legitimacy in Pétain’s *État français* (1940–44),” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 2 (2006): 215–224; Margaret Collins Weitz, “Art in the Service of Propaganda: The Poster War in France during World War II,” *Religion and the Arts* 4, no. 1 (2000): 43–75; and Chris Pearson, *Scarred Landscapes: War and Nature in Vichy France* (London: Palgrave, 2008).

73. Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat: France 1940–1944*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 234.

74. *Ibid.*, 287.

75. Eric Jennings, “Reinventing Jeanne: The Iconology of Joan of Arc in Vichy Schoolbooks, 1940–1944,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 29 (1994): 711–734.

76. Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. Kathleen A. Johnson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

77. On the subtle difference between these two terms, see Marion G. Müller, “Iconography,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, ed. Wolfgang Donsbach (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 1–3.

78. *Ibid.*

79. Pablo Schneider, “Political Iconography and the Picture Act: The Execution of Charles I in 1649,” in *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies: Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America*, ed. Udo J. Hebel and Christoph Wagner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 64.

80. Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

81. Horst Bredekamp, “A Neglected Tradition? Art History as *Bildwissenschaft*,” *Critical Inquiry* 29, no. 3 (Spring 2003): 418–428.

82. Matthias Bruhn, “The Warburg Electronic Library in Hamburg: A Digital Index of Political Iconography,” *Visual Resources* 15, no. 4 (2000): 410.

83. Martin Warnke, *Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994).

84. I borrow the notion of the “cultural biography of a portrait” from Irene Stengs, “The Commodification of King Chulalongkorn: His Portraits, Their Cultural Biographies, and the Enduring Aura of a Great King of Siam,” in *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities*, ed. Wim M. J. van Binsbergen and Peter L. Geschiere (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 301–318.

85. Schneider, “Political Iconography,” 65.

86. To borrow a phrase from Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 5–6.

87. As opposed to what Andrew Buchanan refers to as the “occupying gaze” (i.e., that adopted by occupiers themselves). On this, see Andrew Buchanan, “‘I Felt like a Tourist instead of a Soldier’: The Occupying Gaze—War and Tourism in Italy, 1943–1945,” *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 2016): 593–615.

88. An account of this practice can be found in Liu Longguang, “Heping yu zuguo” [Peace and the motherland], *Huawen Daban meiri* 5, no. 5 (March 1941): 19–23.

89. The partial reopening of the Second Historical Archives in Nanjing has benefited this book enormously. However, many files held by that institution (including those relating to censorship under the RNG) were still not accessible to researchers at the time of this writing.

## Chapter 1: Contextualizing the Wang Jingwei Regime

1. For an excellent example of the former, see Joseph Yick, “Communist-Puppet Collaboration in Japanese-Occupied China: Pan Hannian and Li Shiqun, 1939–43,” *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no. 4 (2001): 61–88. The political economy of the RNG has been addressed in part 4 of Zanasi, *Saving the Nation*.

2. For an analysis of this group's origins, see Wang Ke-wen, "Wang Jingwei and the Policy Origins of the 'Peace Movement,' 1932–1937," in *Chinese Collaboration with Japan: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 21–37.

3. There is some confusion in the literature about the transliteration of Lin's name. Some texts (including some written by this author) give his full name as "Lin Bosheng." Texts from the time of the occupation, however, show that the first character in Lin's personal name was pronounced "bai" (rather than "bo"). For example, a portrait of Lin by one of the RNG's most prolific woodcut (*muke*) artists, Wang Yingxiao, is captioned (in English) "H. E. Mr. Lin Pai-sheng." This portrait appears in *Huawen Daban meiri* 9, no. 3 (August 1942): 44.

4. On RNG factionalism, see David P. Barrett, "The Wang Jingwei Regime, 1940–1945: Continuities and Disjunctures with Nationalist China," in *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932–1945: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. David P. Barrett and Larry N. Shyu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 102–115.

5. Jiang Hao, "The KMT Reorganization Faction and Its Activities in Shanghai," *Chinese Studies in History* 27, no. 1–2 (1993): 123–130.

6. On these similarities, see Barrett, "Wang Jingwei Regime."

7. Yue Du, "Sun Yat-sen as *Guofu*: Competition over Nationalist Party Orthodoxy in the Second Sino-Japanese War," *Modern China* 45, no. 2 (2019): 201–235.

8. Zhu Yayun, "Nanking: Chronology," *China Heritage Annual 2017, 2017*: <http://chinaheritage.net/annual/2017/chronology/?lang=zh>. While the Sun statue that is now found at this site in Nanjing is not the same statue that was placed there during the occupation, it was the RNG that initiated the use of Xin Jiekou as a site associated with Sun through statuary.

9. Cheung, "Slogans, Symbols, and Legitimacy."

10. Serfass, "Occupation japonaise et collaboration chinoise"; see also David Serfass, "Résister ou négociier face au Japon: La genèse du gouvernement de collaboration de Nankin (janvier 1938—avril 1939)" [Resistance against or negotiation with Japan: The origins of the Nanjing collaborationist government (January 1938–April 1939)], *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire* 125 (January–March 2015): 121–132.

11. Serfass, "Occupation Japonaise et collaboration chinoise," 955 n45.

12. "China-Japan: Treaty concerning Basic Relations and Protocol Annexed Thereto," *American Journal of International Law* 35, no. 3 (1941): 125–128.

13. Robert Culp, "Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation, and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (2006): 529–554. In this book, I follow Culp's use of a gender-neutral term to refer to the *tongzijun* (a category that included both Boy Scouts and Girl Guides).

14. "Wang wei jiaoyubu chengqing huifu Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui an" [Files relating to the revival of the Scouts under Wang's bogus Ministry of Education], March–June 1941, SHA, 2003-1-4118.

15. Stephen R. MacKinnon, "Conclusion: Wartime China," in *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*, ed. Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 338.

16. Frederic Wakeman Jr., "The Struggle between Western and Chinese Medicine," in *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*, ed. Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 276.



17. Philip Jowett, *Rays of the Rising Sun*, vol. 1, *Japan's Asian Allies 1931–45, China and Manchukuo* (Trowbridge, UK: Helion and Co., 2004), 72.

18. On the importance of this city and its wider provincial hinterland in early, pre-1940 discussions, see Joseph K. S. Yick, “‘Pre-Collaboration’: The Political Activity and Influence of Chen Bijun in Wartime China, January 1938–May 1940,” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 36 (2014): 58–74.

19. Controlled by the Japanese navy. See R. T. Phillips, “The Japanese Occupation of Hainan,” *Modern Asian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 93–109.

20. For a detailed analysis of the limited territorial spoils granted to the RNG at its “return,” see Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 256–276.

21. T'ien-wei Wu, “Contending Political Forces during the War of Resistance,” in *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937–1945*, ed. James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine (Armonk, NY: East Gate, 1992), 71.

22. For a comprehensive account of RNG control in east China, see David Serfass, “Le gouvernement collaborateur de Wang Jingwei: Aspects de l'État d'occupation durant la guerre sino-japonaise, 1940–1945 [Wang Jingwei's collaborationist government: Aspects of the occupation state during the Sino-Japanese War, 1940–1945] (PhD diss., École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, 2017), esp. 525–534.

23. It was left to Zhou Fohai to convince the Japanese not to transform strategically important areas such as east Zhejiang into militarized zones directly administered by the Japanese in 1941, for example. See Cai Dejin, ed., *Zhou Fohai riji quanbian, shangbian* [The complete, edited diaries of Zhou Fohai, part 1] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 1998), 456–457.

24. Brian G. Martin, “Patriotic Collaboration? Zhou Fohai and the Wang Jingwei Government during the Second Sino-Japanese War,” in *Japan as the Occupier and the Occupied*, ed. Christine de Matos and Mark E. Caprio (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 155.

25. Brian G. Martin, “Shield of Collaboration: The Wang Jingwei Regime's Security Service, 1939–1945,” *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no. 4 (2001): 130.

26. Gregor Benton, *New Fourth Army: Communist Resistance along the Yangtze and the Huai, 1938–1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 249–250.

27. “Minguo sanshiyi niandu xiaban niandu qingxiang gongzuo yaoling” [Rural Pacification work orders for the second half of 1942], 1942, SHA, 2003-1-4000.

28. On this, see David Serfass, “L'occupation japonaise comme objet pour l'histoire de l'État chinois: L'exemple de la campagne de pacification rurale du gouvernement de Wang Jingwei, 1941–45” [The Japanese occupation as an object for the history of the Chinese state: The example of the Rural Pacification campaigns of the Wang Jingwei government, 1941–45], *Études chinoises* 35, no. 2 (2016): 123–137.

29. On this, see Guomindang qingxiangqu dangwu banshichu, *Qingxiangqu dangwu baogaoshu* [Report on party services in the Rural Pacification areas] (Suzhou: Guomindang qingxiangqu dangwu banshichu, 1942), 10–13.

30. Zhongyang dang'anguan and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, *Ri-Wang de qingxiang* [Japan and the Wang government's Rural Pacification campaign] (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1995), 512–513.

31. Martin, “Patriotic Collaboration?” 158.

32. Variations of this phrase were permitted, however. See “Xuangua guoqi ying zhuyi gedian” [Take note of the following points when flying the national flag], *Zhong bao*, March 31, 1940.

33. This is taken from a bilingual (Chinese-English) publication distributed in March 1940 to mark the *huandu*. See Ministry of Publicity, *Special Commemoration Issue: Return of the National Government of the Republic of China to Its Capital* (Nanjing: Ministry of Publicity, 1940).

34. This description is taken from a contemporary newspaper account of the “lone battalion’s last stand.” See North China Daily News, *Five Months of War* (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1938), 113.

35. Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration*, 17–18.

36. One of many intriguing revelations in Zhu Zijia [Jin Xiongbai], *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang shang* [The beginning and end of the Wang regime, part 1] (Taipei: Fengyun shidai, 2012), 132, is that the *huandu* was marked not just by Wang-themed festivities but also by Japanese soldiers ripping down and destroying ROC flags that had been raised in Nanjing.

37. “Guofu mingling: Zi wu ri qi, chuqu guoqi huangse biaozi” [The national government decrees that from [February] 5, the yellow pennant shall be removed from the national flag], *Jing bao*, February 3, 1943.

38. Ward, “Zhou Fohai,” 38.

39. On this topic, see Du, “Sun Yat-sen as *Guofu*.”

40. Including, interestingly, a bronze mirror once used by Sun. “Wang Zhaoming dian Zhou Fohai ju Chu Minyi yun zongli you tongjing yi mian you Chi Pengji songlai zai Dongjing shi shifou jianguo” [Telegram from Wang Jingwei to Zhou Fohai asking if he saw a bronze mirror that, according to Chu Minyi, had been sent to Sun Yat-sen by Ike Kyokichi when he was in Tokyo], October 21, 1942, AH, Wang Zhaoming shiliao, 118-010100-0029-039.

41. Rudolf G. Wagner, “Ritual, Architecture, Politics, and Publicity during the Republic: Enshrining Sun Yat-sen,” in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, ed. Jeffrey Cody, Nancy S. Steinhardt, and Tony Atkin (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011), 264–265.

42. On “collaborationist nationalism” and ownership of Sun’s physical remains, see Zanasi, “Globalizing *Hanjian*.”

43. Delin Lai, “Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument: The Design of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 1 (March 2005): 22–23.

44. Zhang Sheng, “Lun Wang wei dui Guomindang zhengzhi fuhao de zhengduo” [On the RNG’s struggle over Kuomintang political symbols], *Kang-Ri zhanzheng yanjiu* 2 (2005): 1–33.

45. Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011), 7.

46. Images of foreign dignitaries (e.g., from the Indian National Army) paying their respects at the site are included in Anonymous, “Guangdong sheng Da Dong Ya qingnian dahui” [The Greater East Asia Youth Convention in Guangdong], *Dong Ya Lianmeng huabao* 3, no. 11 (December 1943).

47. Zhongyang dianxunshu, ed., *Zhongguo canzhan yi lai dashi xiezhen zhuanji* [An album of photographs of major events in China since the declaration of war on the Allies] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1944), 82.

48. Jiaoyubu, ed., *Guomin li* [Citizens' calendar] (Nanjing: Xingzhengyuan jiaoyubu, 1941), 98–100.

49. Yang, "Road to Lyric Martyrdom," 136.

50. We shall return to this topic in chapter 5. On bunds more generally, see Jeremy E. Taylor, "The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of East Asia," *Social History* 27, no. 2 (2002): 125–142.

51. On the establishment and development of the RNG navy, see Zhang Shaofu, "Wo suo zhidao de Wang wei haijun" [The bogus Wang navy that I knew], in *Wei ting youying lu: Dui Wang wei zhengquan de huiyi* [A secret record of the puppet government: Memoirs of the bogus Wang regime], ed. Huang Meizhen (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1986), 186–230. See also Xu Xuehai, "Wang wei haijun jianli jingwei yu xiachang" [The complex process of the establishment of Wang's bogus navy and its aftermath], *Zhuanji wenxue* 112, no. 6 (June 2018): 30–37.

52. Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

53. Heonik Kwon and Byung-Ho Chung's use of this idea in *North Korea: Beyond Charismatic Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012), 63–65.

54. *Ibid.*, 59.

55. Geertz, *Negara*, 13.

56. Mark S. Eykholt, "Living the Limits of Occupation in Nanjing, China, 1937–1945" (PhD diss., University of California–San Diego, 1998), 117–118.

57. Wu Zhuoliu, *Nanjing zagan* [Nanjing sketches] (Taipei: Yuanxing, 1977), 94–95. It is relevant that Wu's account details festivities in the area around the Fuzimiao, as this was also focused upon in regime photography, which showed the supposedly *renao* (lively) activities that went on in this part of the city. An example is Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Guofu huandu hou de zhengzhi qingshi* [Political trends since the return of the national government] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1941), 6.

58. Wai Chor So, "Race, Culture, and the Anglo-American Powers: The Views of Chinese Collaborators," *Modern China* 37, no. 1 (2001): 74.

59. Don Bate, *Wang Ching Wei: Puppet or Patriot* (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1941), 157.

60. Bunker, *Peace Conspiracy*, 274.

61. Wen-hsin Yeh, "Prologue: Shanghai Besieged, 1937–45," in *Wartime Shanghai*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (London: Routledge, 2004), 6–7.

62. Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

63. Li Narangoa, "Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945," *Critical Asian Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): 492–510.

64. Yeh, "Prologue," 6.

65. Zhang Jiangcai, *Wang Jingwei xiansheng xingshilu* [A true record of Mr. Wang Jingwei's activities] (Dongguan: Baiyuantang, 1943), 8.

66. On this, see Benjamin Brose, "Resurrecting Xuan Zang: The Modern Travels of a Medieval Monk," in *Recovering Buddhism in Modern China*, ed. Jan Kiely and J. Brooks Jessup (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 143–176.

67. Lin Baisheng had, in fact, started speaking of the RNG as being part of an “East Asian Axis” (*Dong Ya chouxin*) in June 1941. Lin Baisheng, “Zhengzhi baogao” [Political report], in *Xuanchuanbu diyi jie quanguo xuanchuan huiyi shilu* [Record of the first national publicity conference of the Ministry of Publicity], ed. Xuanchuanbu (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941), 15.

68. David Serfass, “Le dilemme de Nankin: Tergiversations autour de la reconnaissance du gouvernement de collaboration chinois (1940–1945)” [The Nanjing dilemma: Procrastinations over the recognition of the Chinese collaborationist government (1940–1945)], *Vingtième siècle* 133 (January–March 2017): 99–111.

69. Rana Mitter, “Contention and Redemption: Ideologies of National Salvation in Republican China,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 3, no. 3 (2002): 68.

70. Such sentiments were articulated in a guide published in association with the movement on—significantly—May 4, 1942: Anonymous, *Qingshao xunlian yu xiuyang* [The training and fostering of youth] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshe, 1942).

71. This list is paraphrased from Wang Zihe, “Ruhe tuijin xin guomin yundong” [How to promote the New Citizens Movement], in *Ruhe tuijin xin guomin yundong* [How to promote the New Citizens Movement], ed. Minguo ribao she (Nanjing: Minguo ribao she, 1942), 1–7.

72. Anonymous, *Xin guomin yundong yanlunji, shangce* [Collection of NCM speeches, volume 1] (Nanjing: Nanjing tebie shi xuanchuanbu, 1942).

73. Luo Junqiang, “Weiting youying lu: Dui Wang wei zhengfu de huiyi jishi” [Secret records of the puppet government: My memoirs of the bogus Wang government], in *Wei ting youying lu: Dui Wang wei zhengquan de huiyi* [A secret record of the puppet government: Memoirs of the bogus Wang regime], ed. Huang Meizhen (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1986), 49.

74. I am drawing here on the interviews with former students that are found in Eykholt, “Living the Limits of Occupation,” 278–286.

75. “Wang wei xin guomin yundong diyi jie qingshaonian tuan shuqi jixun ying xunlian gangyao deng” [Points on the first NCM summer training camp for members of the Youth League under the bogus Wang government], 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2092.

76. Zanasi, *Saving the Nation*, 218–219.

77. William C. Johnstone, “Japan’s ‘New’ China Policy,” *Far Eastern Survey* 12, no. 19 (September 1943): 190.

78. “Guomin jingshen zong dongyuan biaoyu” [Slogans for the general mobilization of the national spirit], January 1943, SMA, R18-1-387.

79. Brian G. Martin, “‘In My Heart I Opposed Opium’: Opium and the Politics of the Wang Jingwei Government, 1940–45,” *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003): 365–410.

80. “Wang wei Xuanchuanbu guanyu Zhong-Ri tongmeng Dong Ya lianhe gongshi zhuan’an” [The bogus Wang regime’s Ministry of Publicity files on the Sino-Japanese alliance and joint offensives in East Asia], 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2168.

81. On the racial nationalism in *China’s Destiny*, see W. J. F. Jenner, “Race and History in China,” *New Left Review* 11 (September–October 2001): 55–77.

82. In the words of Peter Duus, “Imperialism without Colonies: The Vision of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 7, no. 1 (1996): 70.

83. Luo (“Weiting youying lu,” 49), who had served within the RNG, suggests that this was Lin Baisheng’s doing and that, in light of the new realities of the war following

Pearl Harbor, Lin sought to transform the RNG into an Axis power, with Wang akin to a fascist leader.

84. Zhu Zijia, *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang shang*, 211.

85. Madeleine Herren, “Fascist Internationalism,” in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 191–212.

86. So, “Race, Culture.”

87. Louise Young, “When Fascism Met Empire in Japanese-Occupied Manchuria,” *Journal of Global History* 12 (2017): 274–296, esp. 282.

88. *Ibid.*, 295.

89. Zuigao guofang huiyi [Supreme Council for National Defense], “Zhanshi wenhua xuanchuan zhengce jiben gangyao” [Basic outline on policy for wartime culture and propaganda], in *Wang wei zhengquan ziliao xuanbian: Wang Jingwei guomin zhengfu “qingxiang” yundong* [Selected materials from the bogus Wang regime: The Wang national government’s “Rural Pacification” campaign], ed. Yu Zidao, Liu Qikui, and Cao Zhenwei (Shanghai: Xinhua shuju, 1985), 392–398.

90. Maggie Clinton, *Revolutionary Nativism: Fascism and Culture in China, 1925–1937* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

91. Brook, “Collaborationist Nationalism,” 187.

92. Bate, *Wang Ching Wei*, 153.

93. Torsten Weber, *Embracing “Asia” in China and Japan: Asianism Discourse and the Contest for Hegemony* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 279–282.

94. *Ibid.*, 286.

95. The result was Tang Leang-li, ed., *China and Japan: Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies; A Guide for China’s Foreign Policy by Dr. Sun Yat-sen* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1941).

96. Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931–1945* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

97. So, “Race, Culture,” 79.

## Chapter 2: Visual Cultures under Occupation

1. See, for instance, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/wang-jingwei-1883-1944-calligraphy-5573876-details.aspx>.

2. Frank Dunand, ed., *The Pavilion of Marital Harmony: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy between Tradition and Modernity* (Geneva: Collections Baur, 2002).

3. See [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wang\\_and\\_Nazis.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wang_and_Nazis.jpg).

4. This date is confirmed in one of the many magazines that reproduced the image under occupation: *Guomin xinwen huabao* 3 (March 1942): 3.

5. Kushner, *Thought War*; Kari Shepherdson-Scott, “Race behind the Walls: Contact and Containment in Japanese Images of Urban Manchuria,” in *The Affect of Difference: Representations of Race in East Asian Empires*, ed. Christopher Hanscom and Dennis Washburn (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016), 180–206.

6. Jeremy E. Taylor, “Cartoons and Collaboration in Wartime China: The Mobilization of Chinese Cartoonists under Japanese Occupation,” *Modern China* 41, no. 4 (2015): 408.

7. For example, the RNG’s Central New Agency (CNA), examined later in this chapter, included on its board high-ranking Dōmei news agency staff.

8. Kushner, *Thought War*, 77.

9. Some seventy-five artists (ranging from exponents of *sensōga*—or Japanese “war painting”—to cartoonists) who worked for the Propaganda Corps in occupied China are listed in Mabuchi Itsuo, *Hōdō sensen* [Reporting on the front] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1941), 432–433.

10. On Kawashima, see Joshua A. Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China: 1862–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 294; on Ōta, see Xu Jinsheng, “Qin Hua Rijun de xuanchuan zhan: Yi Rijun di shiyi jun zhizhi xuanchuanpin wei zhongxin” [The Japanese propaganda war during the invasion of China: A study of Japan’s Eleventh Army’s printed propaganda materials], *Minguo dang’an* (March 2017): 112–119.

11. On the recycling of Propaganda Corps cartoons in the Wuhan-based *Dachu bao*, see Naikaku Jōhōbu, *Senden jihō (Shina kankei)* [Propaganda times (China relations)], March 10, 1940.

12. Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 32.

13. Jie Li, “Phantasmagoric Manchukuo: Documentaries Produced by the South Manchuria Railway Company, 1932–1940,” *positions* 22, no. 2 (2014): 334.

14. Norman Smith, *Intoxicating Manchuria: Alcohol, Opium and Culture in China’s Northeast* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 2.

15. Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 287–288.

16. Jeremy E. Taylor, “Gendered Archetypes of Wartime Occupation: ‘New Women’ in Occupied North China, 1937–40,” *Gender and History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 665.

17. On this organization, see Beijingshi dang’anguan, ed., *Ri-wei Beijing Xinminhui* [The Japanese-bogus regimes’ Xinminhui in occupied Beijing] (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1989).

18. T’ien-wei Wu, “Contending Political Forces,” 66–67.

19. Wen Zongyao, “Daminhui Wen huizhang gao minzhong shu” [Letter from Director Wen of the Daminhui to the people], *Xin Zhongguo* 2, no. 11–12 (December 1939): 2–3.

20. Timothy Brook, “Occupation State Building,” in *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*, ed. Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 35.

21. Zhu Zijia, *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang shang*, 243–244.

22. Liu Jie, “Kangzhan chuqi Huadong lunxianqu qin-Ri qunti yanjiu: Yi Daminhui Zhenjiang lianhe zhibu wei zhongxin de tantao” [A study of pro-Japanese groups in occupied areas of east China in the early stages of the War of Resistance: A discussion of the Daminhui’s branch office in Zhenjiang], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 98 (2017): 89–114.

23. And as detailed in Stephen R. MacKinnon, *War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China: Wuban, 1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

24. Such as the Daminhui’s house theater company, the Yuandong jutuan (Far East Drama Troupe). On the origins of this troupe, see Mabuchi, *Hōdō sensen*, 370–375.

25. Gao Danyu and Xu Shaohong, “Nanjing wei weixin zhengfu ji qi Daminhui” (The bogus Nanjing RGROC and its Daminhui), *Minguo dang’an* 2 (2000): 89–94. A

photograph from 1938 appearing to show the Daminhui logo on the walls of Nanjing is now held by Getty Images (“The city wall of Nanking (China) after the Japanese invasion,” Corbis Historical, 526781174).

26. Andrea Germer, “Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia: The Case of Natori Yōnosuke,” *Japan Focus* 20, no. 3 (2011): 1–35.

27. Song Yuwu, “Meiguo guohui tushuguan cang Zhong-Ri zhanzheng (1937–1945) Zhongwen qikan wenxian” [Chinese-language periodicals and documents from the era of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) held in the Library of Congress], *Guoshi-guan yanjiu tongxun* 13 (December 2017): 129.

28. So, “Race, Culture,” 70.

29. One example being Luo, “Weiting youying lu,” 47–48.

30. Zhong-Ri wenhua xiehui, *Zhong-Ri wenhua xiehui Wuhan fenhui erzhounian jinian tekan* [Special commemorative edition celebrating the second anniversary of the founding of the Wuhan chapter of the Sino-Japanese Cultural Association] (Wuhan: Zhong-Ri wenhua xiehui, 1943), 27.

31. “Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuanbu gong-zuo baogao” [Work report of the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee], December 1940, 47–48, KMT, yi ban, 715.1/415.

32. Anonymous, “Diyi ci huiyi jingguo” [Record of the first meeting], in *Xuanchuanbu diyi jie quanguo xuanchuan huiyi shilu* [Record of the first national publicity conference of the Ministry of Publicity], ed. Xuanchuanbu (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941), 57–60.

33. Anonymous, “Guanyu xuanchuan de zuotanhui” [On a roundtable about propaganda], *Huawen Daban meiri* 6, no. 2 (January 1941): 6–9.

34. Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 53. Smith’s analysis is one of the only ones we have in English for this important publication.

35. On the folding of the Daminhui in 1940, see Luo, “Weiting youying lu,” 52.

36. Zhu Zijia, *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang, shang*, 283–284.

37. Anonymous, “Ben kan zhu Hua banshichu zai Nanjing chengli” [The establishment of this magazine’s China office in Nanjing], *Huawen Daban meiri* 7, no. 7 (October 1941): 29.

38. Wu Xuebin, “Xuerou zuocheng de changcheng: Yijiu sansan nian de xin tuxiang yu xin guannian” [A Great Wall of flesh and blood: The new imagery and new opinions of 1933], *Wenyi yanjiu* 1 (2015): 134–143.

39. Ironically, one of his cartoons on the front page of the November 1, 1939, edition of *Nanjing xinbao* (a RGROC publication) lampooned Wang Jingwei and his defection from Chongqing.

40. J. E. Taylor, “Cartoons and Collaboration.”

41. Zhu Shuirong, “Gu wei jin yong: *Jin ping mei* quantu lianhuanhua quanban” [Using the past for present purposes: The complete publication of the comic version of the *Golden Lotus*], *Meishu zhi you* 1 (2003): 27.

42. George E. Taylor, *The Struggle for North China* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 65–68.

43. I am translating the name of the Xuanchuanbu here as “Ministry of Publicity” (rather than as “Ministry of Propaganda”). This is how this organization referred to

itself in English-language publications in 1940. See, for example, Ministry of Publicity, *Special Commemoration Issue*.

44. “Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuanbu gongzuo baogao” [Work report of the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee], December 1940, 46, KMT, yi ban, 715.1/415.

45. Zhu Zijia, *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang shang*, 132.

46. Lawrence M. W. Chiu, “The *South China Daily News* and Wang Jingwei’s Peace Movement, 1939–1941,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Hong Kong* 50 (2010): 343–370.

47. On Hu Lancheng, see David Der-wei Wang, *The Lyrical in Epic Time: Modern Chinese Intellectuals and Artists through the 1949 Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 158–161.

48. Zhu Zijia, *Wang zhengquan de kaichang yu shouchang shang*, 126–127.

49. “Qudi sheying huihua zhanxing banfa caoan” [Interim draft regulations on the banning of photographs and paintings], April 4, 1941, SHA, 2003-1-7320.

50. “Zhongyang xuanchuan jiangxisuo gaikuang” [The current state of affairs at the Central Propaganda Institute], *Jing bao*, December 12, 1940, 4; see also “Sheli Zhongyang xuanchuan jiangxisuo jihua” [Plan for establishment of the Central Propaganda Institute], July 22, 1940, SHA, 2003-1-2191.

51. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], June 1942, SHA, 2003-1-2035. In this case, the MoP notes that members of the fourth cohort of graduates were instructed to design and illustrate a range of cover images for government publications. Some of the unattributed images that we will examine in later chapters of this book from the late 1942 period may well be those produced in response to such calls.

52. Including graduates of Japanese and American universities.

53. “Wang wei Guangdong sheng xuanchuan chu ren yuan ren mian an” [Hiring of personnel by the Guangdong Provincial Publicity Bureau under the bogus Wang regime], 1941–1943, SHA, 2003-4-600.

54. Shuge Wei, “News as a Weapon: Hollington Tong and the Formation of the Guomindang Centralized Foreign Propaganda System, 1937–1938,” *Twentieth-Century China* 39, no. 2 (2014): 118–143.

55. On Dōmei’s role in Asia more generally, see Tomoko Akami, “Japan’s New Empire and the Dōmei News Agency in Occupied Southeast Asia, 1942–45,” *Japan Focus* 13, issue 1, no. 3 (2015): 1–28.

56. Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Zhongyang dianxunshu disan nian* [The third year of the Central News Agency] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1943), 21.

57. Andrea Germer, “Artists and Wartime Politics: Natori Yōnosuke—a Japanese Riefenstahl?” *Contemporary Japan* 24 (2012): 21–50.

58. Although, as we shall see in later chapters, CNA photographers were active even in 1940.

59. Wei Jianxin, “Qingxiangqu de huigu yu qianzhan” [A retrospective view of and the prospects for Rural Pacification areas], *Huawen Daban meiri* 9, no. 3 (August 1942): 15–17.

60. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], May 1942, SHA, 2003-1-2035. In this file, mention is made of the need to strengthen photography in response to the perceived combined propaganda threat posed by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Chongqing.



61. The photography of the former was featured regularly in travelogues published by the CNA, including those examined in chapter 3; examples of the work of the latter can be found in the Wang Jingwei and Lin Baisheng Photograph Collection, East Asia Library, Stanford University (<https://exhibits.stanford.edu/wangjingwei>).

62. Xue Huizi had started his career as a journalist in Suzhou. Zhu Jiayu, “Dai wu zi de Suzhou lao baozhi” [The old newspapers of Suzhou that carried the character “wu” in their titles], *Zhongguo difangzhi* 8 (2007): 43–45.

63. So argued the CNA in Zhongyang dianxunshe, *Zhongguo canzhan yi lai dashi xiezhen zhuanji*, 2.

64. Including fine arts academies in Shanghai and Suzhou. See Tao Kangde and Qiu Shimu, *Shenbao nianjian* [The *Shenbao* almanac] (Shanghai: Shenbaoshe, 1944), 1021.

65. Pedith Chan, “The Discourse of *Guohua* in Occupied Shanghai,” paper presented at the Cultural and Intellectual Histories of Japanese-Occupied China Workshop, Asia House (London), September 16, 2019.

66. On this policy, officially introduced in June 1943, see Zuigao guofang huiyi, “Zhanshi wenhua xuanchuan zhengce jiben gangyao,” 392–398.

67. Liu Zi, “Cong Shanghai manhua xiehui tan dao Huazhong manhuajie” [From the Shanghai Cartoonists Association to the cartooning field in central China], *Huawen Daban meiri* 9, no. 5 (September 1942): 43–45.

68. J. E. Taylor, “Cartoons and Collaboration.”

69. The topic is explored in Hung, *War and Popular Culture*; see also Zhou Aimin, *Yan’an muke yishu yanjiu* [A study of Yan’an woodcut art] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009).

70. Wang penned some twenty-eight essays expounding the form for the *Kabun*. For the final one of these, see Wang Qingfang, “Muke jiangzuo” [Lectures on woodcuts], *Huawen Daban meiri* 8, no. 5 (March 1942): 44–45.

71. Uchiyama Kanzō [Nei shan Wan zao], “Muke zhi fuxing” [The renaissance of woodcuts], *Zhongguo muke* 2 (January 1943): 1.

72. Tao and Qiu, *Shenbao nianjian*, 1021.

73. We shall return to the *Guoyi* group in chapter 5.

74. Eight “Western-style painters” (*yanghuajia*) exhibited their work in the period between 1940 and 1944. Tao and Qiu, *Shenbao nianjian*, 1020–1021; see also Anonymous, “Renwu jieshao: Yan Wenliang” [Introducing Yan Wenliang], *Zhonghua huabao* 1, no. 4 (November 1943): 14.

75. Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists in Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1996), 110–111.

76. Her work was promoted through pro-Wang publications even in the early 1930s. A collection of her paintings was advertised, for example, in *Nanhua pinglun* (South China weekly review), a pro-Wang publication, in 1932. See Anonymous, “Fang Junbi nishi ji hua chuban” [A collection of paintings by Ms. Fan Tchunpi has been published], *Nanhua pinglun* 3, no. 17 (December 1932): 8.

77. Craig Clunas, “Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France (1924–1925),” *Arts asiatiques* 44 (1989): 100.

78. Fang Junbi, *Fang Junbi huaji yice* [A collection of paintings by Fan Tchunpi] (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938).

79. Anonymous, “Fang Junbi youhua zhan jinri juxing yuzhan” [Preview of Fan Tchunpi’s exhibition of oil paintings starts today], *Zhonghua ribao*, May 4, 1945, 2.

80. Sophie Wirth Brentini, “Fan Tchunpi (1898–1986): Between East and West,” in *The Pavilion of Marital Harmony: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy between Tradition and Modernity*, ed. Frank Dunand (Geneva: Collections Baur, 2002), 70.

81. “Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuanbu gongzuo baogao” [Work report of the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee], December 1940, 60, KMT, yi ban, 715.1/415.

82. Poshek Fu, “The Ambiguity of Entertainment: Chinese Cinema in Japanese-Occupied Shanghai, 1941 to 1945,” *Cinema Journal* 37, no. 1 (Autumn 1997): 80.

83. Jeremy E. Taylor, “Chinese Film Exhibition in Occupied Manila (1942–1945),” *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no. 5 (2013): 1588–1621.

84. The most thorough study of the industry is Lin Chang, *Yanmo de beihuan: Zhong lian, Hua ying dianying chutan* [The decline of tragedy and happiness: A preliminary study of the CUP and the CUMP] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2014).

85. Huang Qingshu [Wong Hing-sue], ed., *Wang zhuxi fang Ri jinian huakan* [Special pictorial in commemoration of Chairman Wang’s visit to Japan] (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941).

86. Including one quite extraordinary account of Chinese film stars’ pilgrimage to Nanjing in 1942: Xiao Mi [Li Lihua], “Yingxing zai Nanjing” [Movie stars in Nanjing], *Huawen Daban meiri* 8, no. 2 (June 1942): 34–35.

87. “Wei benshi gechu ren you xuangua di Mei dianying zhaopian . . .” [On the hanging of photographs from enemy American films in various places throughout the city], November 29, 1944, SMA, R1-18-1769.

88. On Bann’s prewar fame, see Chen Xuesheng, *Xunhui shiluo de minguo sheying* [Searching for the lost photography of the Republican era] (Taipei: Fukai yishu, 2015), 117–119.

89. So said one of Bann’s advertisements in the *Jing bao*, November 16, 1944.

90. Sherman Cochran, *Chinese Medicine Men: Consumer Culture in China and Southeast Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 45–46.

91. Zhang Ziping, “Xin hong A zi” [New red A train], *Huawen Daban meiri* 7, no. 5 (September 1941): 21. The ellipses are all featured in the original text.

92. On the conflation of resistance messages and advertising art, see Rana Mitter, “The Visual Imaginary of the War of Resistance, 1937–1947,” *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 7, no. 2 (2008): 167–192.

93. Specific examples of such advertising are presented at various points throughout this book.

94. Anonymous, “Guanyu xuanchuan de zuotanhui.”

95. “Dui Yu Gong gongshi xuanchuan gongzuo baogao” [Work reports on propaganda on the offensive against Sichuan and the communists], n.d., SHA, 718-499.

96. A fascinating account of RNG Rural Pacification cadres admiring captured CCP propaganda material can be found in Hu, “Zheng gong shouji,” 28.

97. Jiangsu sheng xuanchuanchu, “Xuanchuan” [Propaganda], in *Wang wei zhengquan ziliao xuanbian: Wang Jingwei guomin zhengfu “qingxiang” yundong* [Selected materials from the bogus Wang regime: The Wang national government’s “Rural Pacification” campaign], ed. Yu Zidao, Liu Qikui, and Cao Zhenwei (Shanghai: Xinhua shuju, 1985), 399–403. The original document is from July 1943.

98. Wang Zhenghua, “Wanshan wanli qing: Jiashu zhong de zhanshi shenghuo” [Far apart but close at heart: Wartime life through private letters], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 17 (September 2008): 86–128.

99. Toby Lincoln, “The Rural and Urban at War: Invasion and Reconstruction in China during the Anti-Japanese War or Resistance,” *Journal of Urban History* 20, no. 10 (2012): 1–19.

100. Second only to the discrediting of communism in Lin’s view. Lin Baisheng, “Xian jieduan xuanchuan de fendou” [The struggle in the current stage of propaganda], in *Xuanchuanbu diyi jie quanguo xuanchuan huiyi shilu* [Record of the first national publicity conference of the Ministry of Publicity], ed. Xuanchuanbu (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941), 22–30.

101. “Xuanchuan yaodian wushisan hao: Guanyu Ri dui Ying Mei kaizhan” [Propaganda points number 53: On the commencement of war between Japan and the US and UK], December 1941, SHA, 2003-1-7155.

102. Anonymous, “Fa kan ci” [Remarks on the publication of the journal], *Zhonghua huabao* 1, no. 1 (August 1943).

103. On this, see P. Zhu, *Wartime Culture in Guilin*.

104. I am referring here, of course, to Mao Zedong’s Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art (Yan’an wenyi zuotanhui) in May 1942, where the Chinese communists adopted socialist realism as their single, preferred style of cultural expression.

### Chapter 3: Visualizing the Occupied Leader

Some sections of chapter 3 first appeared in Jeremy E. Taylor, “The ‘Occupied Lens’ in Wartime China: Portrait Photography in the Service of Chinese ‘Collaboration,’ 1939–1945,” *History of Photography* 43, no. 3 (2019): 284–307; in Jeremy E. Taylor, “From Traitor to Martyr: Drawing Lessons from the Death and Burial of Wang Jingwei, 1944,” *Journal of Chinese History* 3, no. 1 (2019): 137–158; and in Jeremy E. Taylor, “Republican Personality Cults in Wartime China: Contradistinction and Collaboration,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 3 (2015): 665–693. All are used here with the permission of Taylor and Francis and Cambridge University Press.

1. Indeed, his name is still attached to the RNG in the Chinese-speaking world, where this regime is often referred to as the *Wang wei zhengquan* (the bogus Wang regime).

2. On the visual veneration of Puyi in Manchukuo propaganda, see Jie Li, “Phantasmagoric Manchukuo”; on the cult of Pétain in wartime France, see Christopher Lloyd, *Collaboration and Resistance in Occupied France: Representing Treason and Sacrifice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

3. For example, see T’ang Leang-li, *Wang Ching-wei: A Political Biography* (Tianjin: China United Press, 1931).

4. This is recounted in Wen Shaohua, *Cong lieshi dao hanjian: Wang Jingwei zhuan* [From martyr to traitor: A biography of Wang Jingwei] (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2013).

5. Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, esp. 133–145.

6. A number of such images can be found in the Historical Photographs of China Database at Bristol University, <https://www.hpcbristol.net/>.

7. Howard L. Boorman, “Wang Ching-wei: China’s Romantic Radical,” *Political Science Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (1964): 505.

8. Bunker, *Peace Conspiracy*, 9.

9. One example of such collections is Shao Hou, ed., *Wang Jingwei wenxuan* [Collected writings of Wang Jingwei] (Shanghai: Fangu shuju, 1937).

10. “Huanying Wang Jingwei tongzhi xuanchuan dawang” [Propaganda guidelines on welcoming Comrade Wang Jingwei], Hubei sheng dangbu [Party headquarters, Hubei Province], 1927, KMT, bu, 10222.

11. Boorman, “Wang Ching-wei,” 504–525.

12. I am thinking here, of course, of *Chairman Mao Goes to Anyuan* (*Mao zhuxi qu Anyuan*), the 1968 painting by Liu Chunhua, which is purported to be one of the most widely circulated images in history. On this, see Elizabeth J. Perry, “Reclaiming the Chinese Revolution,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 4 (November 2008): 1147–1164. The image of Wang I am describing here was printed on the cover of *Time* 25, no. 11 (March 1935).

13. Claire Roberts, *Photography in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 73–75.

14. *Ibid.*, 75.

15. As was the case with Seyuan Shu, ed., *Poems of Wang Ching-wei* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938).

16. He Peng, “Yi wei sheyingshi yanli de Wang Jingwei” [Wang Jingwei in the eyes of a photographer], *Shijixing* (May 1995): 34–36.

17. Zhou Anqing, “Wang Jingwei shi zenyang guizang Nanjing Meihuashan de” [How Wang Jingwei was buried on Plum Blossom Mount], *Dongfang shoucang* 1 (2012): 116–118.

18. “Wang Zhaoming qiantian zai zhongyang yiyuan bingta shang sheying (guojishe)” [Wang Zhaoming lying on a sickbed in the central hospital two days ago (TASS)], *Li bao*, November 17, 1935.

19. On this event, see Jiang Yingjing, “Hu Shi and Wang Jingwei: Discussions on Sino-Japanese Issues before and after the War of Resistance against Japan,” *Chinese Studies in History* 42, no. 1 (2008): 34.

20. John A. Lent and Xu Ying, *Comics Art in China* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017).

21. Wen Shaohua, *Cong lieshi dao hanjian*, 59.

22. On the political significance of such clothing, see Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press 2008), 180.

23. For a text-heavy collection of Peace Movement propaganda from this period, see Nanhua ribaoshe, ed., *Nanhua ribao gaikuang* [The current state of affairs for the *South China Daily*] (Hong Kong: Nanhua ribaoshe, 1941).

24. Such imagery was, in fact, referred to as a weapon by observers at the time. On anti-Wang caricatures as weapons, see A. L. Bader, “China’s New Weapon—Caricature,” *American Scholar* 10, no. 2 (Spring 1941): 228–240.

25. For examples of this sort of material, see “Fensui Wang ni wei zuzhi zhi xuanchuan chuandan” [Propaganda pamphlets for ruining the bogus organizations of the turncoat Wang], 1939, KMT, yi ban, 537/21.

26. Such images were featured in collections such as Xu Daren, ed., *Wang Jingwei ma Wang Zhaoming* [Wang Jingwei curses Wang Zhaoming] (Cunjinqiao: Lingnan chubanshe, 1939).

27. This approach appears to have been particularly common in art produced by cartoonists associated with the CCP. See Zhongguo geming bowuguan, *Kang-Ri zhanzheng shiqi xuanchuanhua* [Propaganda images from the period of the War of Resistance] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 169.

28. “Tao Wang su jian yundong xuanchuan dawang” [Propaganda outlines for opposing Wang and traitors], April 1940, KMT, yi ban, 155/141. This document advised that such *guixiang* would depict both Wang and his wife, Chen Bijun, and that they would be erected in front of tombs for the “unnamed hero” (*wuming yingxiong*) in unoccupied China.

29. On the Qin Kuai statue in Hangzhou, see Huang Donglan, “Shrines of Yue Fei: Spaces for Creation of Public Memory,” *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 37, no. 23 (2005): 74–112.

30. A full page of such designs and instructions on their use can be found in *Qingqi manhua* 44 (n.d.), held in a collection entitled “Zhong-Ri zhanzheng qijian shishi manhua” [Topical cartoons from the period of the Sino-Japanese War], Special Collections, East Asia Library, Stanford University.

31. One of the earliest depictions in graphic art that I have come across from 1939 is a pamphlet produced by the Xinminhui in north China, entitled *Se yanjing* [Colored spectacles] (Beijing: Xinminhui, 1939), HIA, David Nelson Rowe Papers, 78064, Box 10. Published in January 1939, this graphic text tells the story of an optometrist’s store owned jointly by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, who are selling *kang-Ri yanjing* (anti-Japanese glasses). Wearing these spectacles, the people of China are oblivious to the corruption of the Nationalists and communists but are willing to run blindly into battle as cannon fodder. Only a cartoon Wang Jingwei sees through the ploy, smashing his tinted spectacles on the ground with the words: “I don’t want these!”

32. The only specific date I have been able to locate for this image is one attached to it in the Hawai’i Times Photo Archives, where a scan of the portrait lists the image (object no. ddr-njpa-1-1063) as having arrived at the offices of the *Hawai’i Times* (a Japanese-language newspaper based in Honolulu) on July 12, 1939. Available at <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-njpa-1-1063-master-4853ea7569/>.

33. Bate, *Wang Ching Wei*, 146–149.

34. Intriguingly, the *Central China Daily News* (*Zhonghua ribao*) only published the image for the first time on August 31, 1939 (i.e., well after other sources had published it). The first instance of its use in that newspaper was with an article entitled “Zhongguo Guomintang zai Hu juxing diliu ci quanguo daibiao dahui” [The sixth national congress of the Kuomintang is convened in Shanghai], *Zhonghua ribao*, August 31, 1939, 1. However, the *Tairiku shinpō* credited the image to the *Central China Daily News* when it first published the image on the front page of its evening edition on July 11, 1939.

35. Tai Shi Gong, “Tingshen fenqi heping jiuguo” [Lifting himself upright to save the nation through peace], *Huawen Daban meiri* 3, no. 5 (September 1939): 4.

36. For example, see “Qingzhu guomin zhengfu huandu tekan” [Special edition to commemorate the return of the national government], *Zhong bao*, March 30, 1940, 1.

37. See, for example, Anonymous, “Wang zhuxi fang Ri zuo fan jing” [Chairman Wang returned to Nanjing yesterday after a visit to Japan], *Zhong bao*, September 24, 1943, 1.

38. Such as Xuanchuanbu, *Wang zhuxi heping jianguo yanlunji* [Collection of Chairman Wang’s speeches on peace and nation building] (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941).

39. Ministry of Publicity, *Special Commemoration Issue*.
40. “Wangiana” is a term I have adapted from Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (in which the term “Leniniana” is used to refer to cultural products created to celebrate Lenin in the Soviet Union).
41. Daminhui xuanchuanbu, *Wang Jingwei xiansheng yu xin zhongyang zhengfu* [Mr. Wang Jingwei and the new central government] (Nanjing: Daminhui, 1940).
42. These examples are drawn from multiple issues of the RGROC-affiliated magazine *Xin Dong Ya* (New East Asia).
43. Cai Dejin, *Zhou Fohai riji quanbian, shangbian*, 262. The extant photographic record suggests that such paintings were rarely hung in public spaces. I have yet to see a photograph of an RNG office in which anything other than a photographic portrait of Wang was hung.
44. As evidenced in a photograph of Wang posing for a painting with Asai himself: *Wang Jingwei Having His Portrait Painted*, August 16, 1940, object no. ddr-njpa-1-1067 (G388.040), Denshō Digital Repository, <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-njpa-1-1067/>.
45. A color woodblock print, possibly based on the 1940 Asai oil painting but produced by Yamaguchi Susumu in 1943, is held at the British Museum (item no. 2015,3025.1).
46. “Weiren yu ming shi yanyao” [The world-famous eyedrops of great men], *Zhonghua ribao*, March 30, 1940, 11.
47. Jeremy E. Taylor, “Republican Personality Cults in Wartime China: Contradistinction and Collaboration,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 3 (2015): 665–693.
48. Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 14–15.
49. This point is raised, for example, in Mitter, “Contention and Redemption.”
50. MacKinnon, *War, Refugees*, 78–79. For an account of the work of the PDMAC penned by one of its employees, see Yi Junzuo, *Shengli yu huandu* [Victory and return to the capital] (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1970).
51. “Guofu yixiang ji zhuxi xiaoxiang zhizuo shenqing shencha banfa” [Regulations on the applications for the making of portraits of the father of the nation and the chairman], December 11, 1943, KMT, huiyi, 5.3/221.9.
52. “Xuanchuan yaodian diershiba tiao: Guanyu huandu yi zhounian jinian” [Propaganda directive number 28: On the commemoration of the first anniversary of the *huandu*], March 17, 1941, SMA, R18-1-54.
53. *Guangdong sheng zhengfu chengli zhounian jinian yuebing dianli* [Military parade celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of the Guangdong Provincial Government], photograph, April 1941, AH, Wang Zhaoming shiliao, 118-030400-0001-014.
54. Anonymous, “President Wang Ching-wei in Uniform,” *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 3, no. 10 (October 1941).
55. The original image is now held by Getty Images (editorial no. 514876566) but was used in countless RNG publications in one form or another until the end of the war.
56. Anonymous, “Wang weiyuanzhang san ci xunshi qingxiangqu ji” [An account of Chairman Wang’s third tour of the Rural Pacification areas], *Zhongyang daobao zhoukan* 2, no. 39 (April 1942): 19.

57. Thus stated the oath that Shanghai-based followers of the NCM were expected to read. “Xin guomin yundong wan zhong qian zhe ce” [New Citizens Movement oath to be signed by the masses], February 1942, SMA, R48-1-1445.

58. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], April 1942, SHA, 2003-1-2035.

59. Examples of Wang Chuan’s work from this period can be found in SMA, R18-1-387.

60. Tan Qixu, *Wang zhuxi fang Ri tekan* [Special supplement on Chairman Wang’s visit to Japan] (Tokyo: Yuandong yuebaoshe, 1941).

61. “Wang wei xuanchuanbu wei cheng qing chajin bu liang fenzi wumo zhuxi xuanchuan xiang” [Investigation by the bogus Wang regime’s Ministry of Publicity on the smearing of the chairman’s portrait by an undesirable element], July–August 1941, SHA, 2003-1-2201.

62. “Hangxian Linpingzhen gongmin Zhong Chenzong feng cheng qing chajin qiang shou yuanshou xiaoxiang jinian zhang de youguan wenshu” [Documents relating to the illegal sale of badges bearing portraits of the head of state by Zhong Chenzong and other residents in Linping Township], March–June 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2070.

63. Telegram from Wang Jingwei to Li Shiqun, March 1, 1943, AH, Wang Zhaom-ing shiliao, 18-010100-0047-070.

64. Barrett, “Wang Jingwei Regime,” 105.

65. Suggesting a clear link between the NCM, Wang, the navy, youth, and health—exploited, in this case, by the ubiquitous Jintan. See *Huawen Daban meiri* 8, no. 9 (May 1942): front cover.

66. <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/wangjingwei>.

67. Wang Jingwei, “Wang zhuxi dui quanguo guangbo” [Chairman Wang broadcasts to the people of the nation], *Changjiang huakan* 1 (February 1942).

68. As was the case in *Zhonghua huabao* 1, no. 3 (October 1943).

69. On earlier (and largely unsuccessful) attempts at the manufacture of Wang badges, see Jing Shenghong, *Nanjing lunxian banian shi (xia)* [The eight-year history of Nanjing’s occupation, part 2] (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2013).

70. “In many of the advanced countries around the world,” read instructions from the Ministry of Publicity, “almost every single person wears an image of their leader out of respect. Why is it that even in this minor issue we are unable to keep up?” See “Wei qing qiu tuixing zhuxi xiaoxiang jinianzhang zhun yu fenling ge xuexiao” [On the promotion of badges bearing the chairman’s portrait and their distribution to all schools], September 4, 1943, SMA, R48-H112.

71. Asahi Shimbun Co., *Media, Propaganda and Politics in 20th-Century Japan*, trans. Barak Kushner (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 85.

72. On the INA in China, see Nirmola Sharma, “Collaborators! Aftermath of Wartime Support for the INA among Indians in China,” *China Report* 54, no. 3 (2018): 325–340.

73. Mario Prayer, “Nationalist India and World War II as Seen by the Italian Fascist Press, 1938–1944,” *Indian Historical Review* 23, no. 2 (July 2006): 111.

74. Anonymous, “Wang zhuxi banian qian liu dan, anran quchu” [A bullet left in Chairman Wang eight years ago is safely extracted], *Zhonghua huabao* 2, no. 1 (February 1944): 2–3.

75. Chan Cheong-Choo, *Memoirs of a Citizen of Early XXth Century China* (n.p.: 1978), 133–134.

76. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 323–328.
77. Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 134.
78. Wen Shaohua, *Cong lieshi dao hanjian*, 331.
79. It can be viewed here: <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/video/dignitaries-mourners-and-the-widow-chen-bijun-are-at-the-news-footage/505940049>. On the Nippon Newsreel Company, see R. W. Purdy, “The Creation of the Nippon Newsreel Company: Personal Rivalry and Profit in Wartime Japan,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 36, no. 3 (2016): 252–372.
80. Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Shishi tongxun: Jing'ai Wang zhuxi* [Topical communications: Mourning Chairman Wang] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1944), 9.
81. Such details are included in “Ge di zhi Wang zhuxi aidian weiyuanhui de dianwen” [Telegrams from various places to the committee on mourning for Chairman Wang], 1944, SHA, 2003-1-5834.
82. Ōta Unosuke, “Ji Wang zhuxi anzang dianli” [On Chairman Wang’s funeral], *Zhengzhi yuekan* 8, no. 6 (1944): 15–16.
83. The claim is made in Anonymous, “Wang Jingwei si hou miwen” [Posthumous secrets about Wang Jingwei], *Hanjian choushi* (February 1945): 28–31.
84. Maps published to aid mourners in locating Wang’s tomb showed its location vis-à-vis both of these sites. See, for instance, “Yi dai weiren de anzangdi: Meihuashan” [The resting place of a great man of our age: Meihuashan], *Zhong bao*, November 24, 1944, 1.
85. Cheng Jie, “Minguo shiqi Zhongshan lingyuan meihua fengjing de jianshe yu yanbian” [The construction and changes to plum blossom scenery in the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum area during the Republican era], *Nanjing shehui kexue* 2 (2011): 151–156.
86. Though preliminary plans were made to establish a “Mr. Wang Memorial Hall” (Wang xiansheng jiniantang), these never came to fruition. See “Shanghai tebie shi jingjiju wei song jianli Wang xiansheng mubei juankuan shihan” [Correspondence to the Shanghai Municipal Government Economic Bureau regarding donations for building tombstones for Mr. Wang], 1945, SMA, R13-1-133-1.
87. Details about the dimensions of the tomb can be found in Zhou Anqing, “Wang Jingwei shi zenyang guizang Nanjing Meihuashan de.”
88. Zhang Yan, *Nanjing minguo jianzhu yishu* [Republican architectural art in Nanjing] (Nanjing: Jiangsu kexue jishu chubanshe, 2000), 104–105.
89. Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Shishi tongxun: Jing'ai Wang zhuxi*, 8–10.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Bunker, *Peace Conspiracy*, 285.
92. This claim about the nature of Wang’s resting place in Nanjing is made in Mitter, *China’s War with Japan*, 357.
93. On this, see Jeremy E. Taylor, “The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929–1975,” *China Quarterly* 185 (March 2006): 96–110.

#### Chapter 4: Gendered and Generational Archetypes

A number of paragraphs in this chapter are drawn and developed from Jeremy E. Taylor, “Gendered Archetypes of Wartime Occupation: ‘New Women’ in Occupied North China, 1937–40,” *Gender and History* 28, no. 3 (2016): 660–686. They are used here with the permission of Wiley.



1. Yun Xia, *Down with Traitors: Justice and Nationalism in Wartime China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017); Liu Jiurong, *Ta de shenpan: Jindai Zhongguo guozu yu xingbie yiyi xia de zhongjian zhibian* [Her trials: Contextualizing loyalty and disloyalty in modern China from a gendered nationalist perspective] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, 2013).
2. I will return to Huang's work later in this chapter.
3. Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*.
4. On this, see Nadje Al-Ali and Nicola Pratt, *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), esp. 82–83.
5. Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 143.
6. Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican Shanghai," *Modern China* 26, no. 2 (2000): 115–147.
7. J. E. Taylor, "Gendered Archetypes." For more on the place of the "modern girl" in the prewar New Life movement, see Hsiao-pei Yen, "Body Politics, Modernity and National Salvation: The Modern Girl and the New Life Movement," *Asian Studies Review* 29, no. 2 (2005): 165–186.
8. Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 32–33.
9. Ōnuma Kikuo [Da zhao Xi jiu nan], *Xinmin zhuyi zhi lilun ji qi zhanlun* [The theory of the New People's ideology and its development] (Beijing: Da Dong Ya wenhua yuanjiuhui, 1944), 212–213.
10. J. E. Taylor, "Gendered Archetypes."
11. See, for example, Li Ming, "Funüjie dui guojia yingjin zhi zeren" [The responsibilities that womanhood should hold for the nation], *Xin Zhongguo* 2, no. 11–12 (December 1939): 50–52.
12. Shi Li, "Qiqi jinian funü ying you zhi renshi" [How women should view the anniversary of July 7], in *Qiqi Dong Ya minzu jiefang erzhou nian jinianji* (Commemorative collection marking the second anniversary of July 7, 1937, and the liberation of the Asian nations), ed. Daminhui (Nanjing: Daminhui, 1939), 54–57.
13. J. E. Taylor, "Gendered Archetypes," 669.
14. E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 183.
15. "Guniang" and "kūnyan" were terms used in Japanese texts as euphemisms for "prostitute." Stefano Romagnoli, "Gendering the War: The Colonial Gaze in Hino Ashihei's *Hana to heitai*," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 90, no. 1–4 (2016): 141–162.
16. Zhao Mengyun [Chou Muun], "Katō Minosuke to senji Shanhai *Tairiku shinpō* jidai no manga, man hanashi o chūshin ni" [Katō Minosuke's wartime Shanghai: Desultory narratives and sociopolitical cartoons from the *Tairiku shinpō*], *Chugoku bunka kenkyū* 25 (2009): 21–46.
17. Tani E. Barlow, "Buying In: Advertising and the Sexy Modern Girl Icon in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s," in *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, Globalization*, ed. Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 289.
18. Yen, "Body Politics," 166.
19. *Ibid.*

20. Madeleine Y. Dong, “Who Is Afraid of the Chinese Modern Girl?” in *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, Globalization*, ed. Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 197–198.

21. One example of this was the Wuhan-based Wha Sun Cigarettes (Huasheng yancao gongsi), which filled the pages of newspapers such as the *Dachu bao* with “modern girl”-themed advertisements for its products but was also a regular sponsor of pro-regime notices in the same outlets.

22. Norman Smith, “Opiate Addiction and the Entanglements of Imperialism and Patriarchy in Manchukuo,” *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 20 (2005): 67.

23. Chikako Nagayama, “Race as Technology and Blurred National Boundaries in Japanese Imperialism: *Nessa no chikai/Vow in the Desert*,” *Transnational Cinemas* 3 (2012): 211–230.

24. Shepherdson-Scott, “Race behind the Walls.”

25. Vera C. Mackie, “Shanghai Dancers: Gender, Coloniality, and the Modern Girl,” in *Shadowlines: Women and Borders in Contemporary Asia*, ed. D. Ghosh (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 80–95.

26. The photo shoot appears to have been conducted by a Mainichi photographer called Ono Isamu, although the material published in the *Kabun* provides only Ono’s surname.

27. Anonymous, “Zhishang gongying: Riji yi ye” (Movie on paper: Page from a diary), *Huawen Daban meiri* 6, no. 1 (January 1941).

28. See, for instance, an unattributed photograph captioned as “Zhong-Ri funüjie de xiang qin xiang ai” [Mutual affection and love between Japanese and Chinese women], *Xin Zhongguo* 2, no. 11–12 (December 1939).

29. Ellen Johnston Laing, *Selling Happiness: Calendar Posters and Visual Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004).

30. On the origins of this story in the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534 CE) and its later adaptations, see Louise Edwards, “Transformations of the Woman Warrior Hua Mulan: From Defender of the Family to Servant of the State,” *Nannü* 12, no. 2 (2010): 175–214.

31. Poshek Fu, “Projecting Ambivalence: Chinese Cinema in Semi-occupied Shanghai, 1937–41,” in *Wartime Shanghai*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (London: Routledge, 1998), 86–110.

32. Shiamin Kwa and Wilt Idema, introduction to *Mulan: Five Versions of a Classic Chinese Legend, with Related Chinese Texts*, ed. Shiamin Kwa and Wilt Idema (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2010), xxviii.

33. Chan’s role as the celebrity face of the regime has been redacted from the fan literature produced about her in more recent years. See, for example, Anonymous, *Yi dai yinghou Chen Yunshang* [Movie queen of the age, Nancy Chan] (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 2001).

34. Yin Jian, “Chen Yunshang: Heping de zhen qin” [Nancy Chan: Chaste bird of peace], *Funü shijie* 1, no. 1 (April 1940): 13.

35. See, for example, “Dong Ya yingxing jieshao” [Introducing East Asian stars], *Nanjing xinbao*, February 18, 1940.

36. This transformation is retold in Qin Yi, “1937–1948 nian bankan zhong de Chen Yunshang” [Coverage of Nancy Chan in the press from 1937 to 1938], *Xiju yu yingshi yishu yanjiu* (April 2016): 122–127.

37. It was a print of Chan, wearing a fascinator and a Western blouse, that was chosen for the cover of *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 7, no. 4 (July 1942)—an issue in which a significant amount of copy was dedicated to the formation of the CUP. Chen, however, would appear on the cover of dozens of occupation-era film magazines.

38. I am basing such generalizations on the rich and varied collection of film magazines from this period now held in the Paul Kendel Fonoroff Collection for Chinese Film Studies, C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of University of California, Berkeley.

39. For more on Dong Tianye and other occupation cartoonists who worked with the modern girl image, see J. E. Taylor, “Cartoons and Collaboration.”

40. See, for example, Zhang Ziping, “Xin hong A zi.” This story was illustrated with a series of line drawings of modern girls by Cao Hanmei.

41. J. E. Taylor, “Cartoons and Collaboration.”

42. This was the main criticism in essays on cartooning, for example. See Liu Zi, “Huazhong de manhua wenti” [The problem with cartoons in central China], *Huawen Daban meiri* 7, no. 4 (August 1941): 22.

43. Ironically, photographs held in the Chu Minyi Photograph Collection (Lot 11700), Prints and Photographs Reading Room, LOC, reveal a world in which leading members of the RNG (though not, it would seem, Lin Baisheng or Wang Jingwei) and their male guests would frequently be escorted by modern girls on social occasions.

44. Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Shishi tongxun: Zhongguo funü wenti* [Topical communications: The question of Chinese women] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1945), 13.

45. Dong Tianye, “Chen Yunshang dapu kongbudang” [Nancy Chan destroys terrorists], *Zhongguo manhua* 1 (November 1942): 7–8.

46. Barlow examines the “sexy modern girl icon with her Flit gun” in “Buying In.”

47. One such advertisement appears on the back cover of *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 6, no. 5 (May 1944). Tellingly, the same issue included a cover image of Burmese women in traditional dress and a photographic feature on Subhas Chandra Bose’s Rani of Jhansi Regiment (an all-female regiment belonging to the Japanese-backed Indian National Army).

48. On this, see Craig Clunas, “China: Art, War, and Salvation,” public lecture, Gresham College (London), February 19, 2018.

49. N. Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity*, 86.

50. *Ibid.*, 88–89.

51. Shelley Stephenson, “A Star by Any Other Name: The (After) Lives of Li Xianglan,” *Quarterly Review of Film and Radio* 19, no. 1 (2002): 1–13.

52. Gunn, *Unwelcome Muse*, 26.

53. Mark Gamsa, “Sergei Tret’iakov’s *Roar, China!* Between Moscow and China,” *Itinerario* 36, no. 2 (August 2012): 91–108.

54. “Nuhou ba Zhongguo!” [Roar, China!], *Zhong bao*, January 17, 1943.

55. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], January 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2034.

56. Zhou Yuren, *Nuhou ba Zhongguo* [Roar, China!] (Nanjing: Nanjing juyishe, 1943), script.

57. Qiu Kunliang, “Funi yu kangdi: Wang Jingwei zhengquan de xijujie” [Associating with turncoats and attacking the enemy: Drama under the Wang Jingwei regime], *Xiju yanjiu* 15 (January 2015): 117–148.

58. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], March 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2034.

59. The story had, after all, been invoked in *huobaoju* (living newspaper) form by resistance dramatists in 1937. Ke Fu, “Zhongguo nuhou le! Huobao juben” [Roar, China! Living newspaper script], *Shi shi leibian tekan* 4 (1937): 51–54.

60. Xiaobing Tang, “Echoes of *Roar, China!* On Vision and Voice in Modern Chinese Art,” *positions* 14, no. 2 (2006): 467–494.

61. Daminhui artists such as Yan Sanyuan (whose illustrations were also featured prominently in the *Zhonghua ribao*), for example, celebrated the figure of the anonymous, pole-bearing coolie in woodcuts in 1940, in *Damin* 5, no. 3 (May 1940).

62. Wang Yingxiao, “Fa kan ci” [Remarks on the publication of the journal], *Zhongguo muke* 1 (December 1942).

63. A series of Li Hua woodcuts, including nature and village scenes, was featured in the Wuhan-based *Changjiang huakan* 4, no. 2 (March 1942).

64. X. Tang, “Echoes of *Roar, China!*” 473.

65. For example, one woodcut, published as *Matou shang* (On the docks) in *Zhongguo muke* 3 (February 1943), was attributed to an artist listed simply as “Hankei,” a Japanese name.

66. Wang Yingxiao, “Yu er” [Second foreword], in *Qingxiang mukeji: Canzhan zhi ji* [Rural Pacification woodcut collection: Declaration of war edition], ed. Wang Yingxiao (Suzhou: Guomindang qingxiangqu dangwu banshichu, 1943).

67. Xia, *Down with Traitors*, 125.

68. Andrea Germer, “Adapting Russian Constructivism and Socialist Realism: The Japanese Overseas Photo Magazine *FRONT* (1942–1945),” *Studies in Contemporary History* 12 (2015): 236–263.

69. Anonymous, “Guofu huandu hou xin junren de yucheng” [The cultivation of new China’s soldiers since the return of the national government], *Dong Ya Lianmeng huabao* 3, no. 3 (February 1943).

70. On the strict uniformity of dress and grooming adhered to in Manchukuo military academies, see Carter J. Eckert, *Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea: The Roots of Militarism, 1866–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2016), 111.

71. For anti-Blue Shirt literature produced under the RNG, see this book detailing Lanyishe atrocities: Chen Gongshu, *Lanyishe de neimu* [The inside story on the Blue Shirts] (Shanghai: Guomin xinwen tushu, 1942).

72. Most noticeably, the Xinminhui. “The so-called ‘New People’s Movement’ [i.e., of the Xinminhui] is fundamentally the same as the New Citizens Movement,” wrote one CNA cadre: Lu Yifeng, *Xinminhui yu xin guomin yundong* [The Xinminhui and the New Citizens Movement] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1944), 1.

73. Kristin Mulready-Stone, *CCP Internationalism, GMD Nationalism, and Japanese Collaboration* (London: Routledge, 2015), 141–163.

74. Lei Yimin, “Xin guomin yundong yu qingshaonian” [The NCM and the youth], *Beiping yuekan* 1, no. 2 (1943): 42–46.

75. MacKinnon, *War, Refugees*, 89.

76. “Xin guomin yundong wan zhong qian zhe ce” [New Citizens Movement oath to be signed by the masses], February 1942, SMA, R48-1-1445.

77. On this, see Horii Koichiro, “Ô Chōmei seiken ka sō dōin taisei no kōchiku to minshū” [The general public mobilization system under the Wang Jingwei regime:

Formation and popular participation], *Nihon Daigaku daigakuin sōgō shakai jōhō kenkyū ka kiyō* 9 (2008): 39–50.

78. The English word “gentlemen” is used in the original text.

79. Zhongyang dianxunshe, *Qingnian xunlian yu xiuyang* [The training and fostering of youth] (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshe, 1942), 32–34.

80. One account details hundreds of RNG students who were in Nanjing to celebrate the third anniversary of the *huandu* listening to a public speech by the head of the RNG’s Examination Yuan (Kaoshiyuan), Jiang Kanghu, who suggested that “peace is not surrender, and surrender is not peace!” See Chen Zijia [Jin Xiongbai], *Wangchao miyan lu, san* [Secret records of the Wang dynasty, volume 3] (Hong Kong: Yuzhou chubanshe, 1964), 2.

81. “Wang wei xuanchuanbu guanyu Zhong-Ri tongmeng Dong Ya lianhe gongshi zhuan an” [Bogus Ministry of Publicity files on the Sino-Japanese Pact of Alliance and the united East Asian offensive], October–December 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2168.

82. On this, see Margarita Tupitsyn, *The Soviet Photograph, 1924–1937* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 106–107.

83. Lu Guowei, “Yu yi” [First foreword], in *Qingxiang mukeji: Canzhan zhi ji*, ed. Wang Yingxiao (Suzhou: Guomindang qingxiangqu dangwu banshichu, 1943).

84. This description of a “fascist aesthetic” is taken from Wendy Larson, “Zhang Yimou’s *Hero*: Dismantling the Myth of Cultural Power,” *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 2, no. 3 (2008): 183.

85. Anonymous, *Dai Tōa shashin nenpō* [Photographic annual of Greater East Asia] (Tokyo: Dōmei Tsūshinsha, 1943).

86. Anonymous, “Quanguo minzhong, dadao Ying-Mei zong dongyuan” [General mobilization of the masses to overthrow Britain and America], *Zhonghua huabao* 1, no. 1 (August 1943): 8–9.

87. The episode is retold in Martin, “In My Heart.”

88. Martin (*ibid.*) suggests that youth groups were mobilized by Lin Baisheng for strictly factional purposes.

89. On Sha Fei, see Claire Roberts, *Photography and China*, 92–94.

90. A term I borrow in this context from Jorge Dagnino, Matthew Feldman, and Paul Stoker, “Building Illiberal Subjects: The New Man in the Radical Right Universe, 1919–45,” in *The “New Man” in Radical Right Ideology and Practice, 1919–45*, ed. Jorge Dagnino, Matthew Feldman, and Paul Stoker (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 1–15.

91. Germer, “Adapting Russian Constructivism.”

## Chapter 5: Rivers and Mountains

1. Huang Qingshu [Wong Hing-sue], *Wang zhuxi fang Ri jinian huakan*. A person surnamed Suogeluofu (possibly Sergalov, Segalov, or Shugalov) is credited with the “artistic design” of the book.

2. On the adoption of Yue Fei as a symbol for the anti-Japanese resistance, see Huang Donglan, “Shrines of Yue Fei.”

3. Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, “Introduction: Iconography and Landscape,” in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.

4. Ironically, however, much of the impetus behind the promotion of *guohua* in the prewar years had been anger about Japanese imperialism in China. On this topic, see Pedith Pui Chan, *The Making of a Modern Art World: Institutionalisation and Legitimation of Guohua in Republican Shanghai* (Boston: Brill, 2017), 171–174.

5. Clunas, “China: Art, War, and Salvation.”

6. Chen Xinhe, “Zhongguo huihua zhu qingxiang” [Trends in Chinese painting], *Huawen Daban meiri* 9, no. 10 (November 1942): 46.

7. Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 107–110.

8. Claire Roberts, *Friendship in Art: Fou Lei and Huang Binhong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 58.

9. Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration*, 130–131.

10. Cao Hanmei, “Dianzhong huasheng” [Painting manual from central Yunnan], *Guoyi* 3, no. 4 (September 1941).

11. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], March 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2034. Lin had been associated with the resistance in Guangzhou early in the war and had relocated first to Hong Kong and then to Macao to escape the Japanese. However, her claims to an impeccably revolutionary (and Cantonese) heritage—her father was one of the “seventy-two martyrs” entombed at Huanghuagang—may have represented too much of a temptation for MoP cadres to ignore.

12. Shen Enyang, “Kang-Ri zhanzheng shiqi de Aomen meishu” [Fine art in Macao during the War of Resistance], *Nanjing yishu xueyan xuebao* (March 2009): 93–99.

13. “Wang wei xuanchuanbu niqing buzhu Riben Da Dong Ya bolanhui [Bogus Ministry of Publicity files on the invitation to subsidize Japan’s Greater East Asia Exposition], October–September 1942, SHA, 2003-1-2157.

14. On *sensōga* in China, see Mark. H. Sandler, “A Painter of the ‘Holy War’: Fujita Tsuguji and the Japanese Military,” in *War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia, 1920–1960*, ed. Marlene J. Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer, and E. Eleanor Kerkham (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 188–211.

15. Xuanchuanbu, *Guomin zhengfu zhi jinzhhan* [The progress of the national government] (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941), 68.

16. Hochberg, *Visual Occupations*, 5.

17. This approach contrasted with that of the Chongqing Nationalists, who fetishized the map of China in their propaganda. For an example, see Ministry of Information (China), *Introducing China* (Sydney, 1944), which has a stylized map of China on its cover.

18. Such as maps regularly included in this organization’s own pictorial, *Go So shunjū: Naka Shina gurafu* [Lower Yangtze seasons: Central China graphic], copies of which are held at the Tōyō Bunko library.

19. RNG agencies accomplished this, for example, by including China within a borderless Asia. This observation is made by Torsten Weber in “Imagined Territoriality: Visual Portrayals of ‘Asia’ in the Age of Nationalism in East Asia,” *Comparativ* 23 (2013): 37–56.

20. These are now held in the David Nelson Rowe Papers (78064), esp. Box 10, HIA, Stanford University.

21. David Nelson Rowe, “Japanese Propaganda in North China, 1937–1938,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (October 1939): 564–580.

22. “Zhongguo ming’an tu” [Map of light and darkness in China], NIDS, Chūo gunji gyōsei jōhō [Central military administration intelligence files], 69.

23. Mark Dorrian and Frédéric Pousin, introduction to *Seeing from Above: The Aerial View in Visual Culture*, ed. Mark Dorrian and Frédéric Pousin (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 1–10.

24. Such imagery did find its way into early propaganda published by the CNA, despite being created by Japanese agencies. An image taken from the perspective of Japanese bombers over Chongqing was reproduced in Zhongyang dianxunshu, *Guofu huandu hou de zhengzhi qingshi*, 14.

25. On this, see Parks M. Coble, “Writing about Atrocity: Wartime Accounts and Their Contemporary Uses,” *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2011): 379–398.

26. The photo spread “Youjiu de Zhongguo” (Eternal China) was published in *Huawen Daban meiri* 4, no. 8 (April 1940). Presumably, RNG luminaries would have noticed that all but one of these sites or topographical features lay in that area of China governed by the North China Political Affairs Commission and hence beyond the realm of actual RNG control.

27. Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 53.

28. On Nanjing as it was featured in *sensōga* in 1939, see Jing Shanshan, “Nanjing lunxian shiqi, Ri-wei dui meishu, sheying, dianying de kongzhi yu liyong” [The control and use of the fine arts, photography, and cinema by the Japanese and the bogus regime in occupied Nanjing], *Shihai tanji* (July 2014): 60–64.

29. Guo Xiufeng, “Yu” [Foreword], in *E Gan shidi shichaji* [A field survey of Hubei and Jiangxi], by Xue Huizi (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1940), i.

30. Xue Huizi, *E Gan shidi shichaji* [A field survey of Hubei and Jiangxi], with photographs by Xue Diwei (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1940).

31. Xue Huizi, “Shinian ai le” [Ten years of sorrow and joy], *Taiping zhoubao* 1, no. 55 (1943): 1074–1076.

32. Xue Huizi, *Jinri zhi Huabei* [North China today], with photographs by He Zhang (Nanjing: Zhongyang dianxunshu, 1940).

33. Another example is Liu Longguang, “Heping de zuguo zhi xing” [Journey through a peaceful motherland], *Huawen Daban meiri* 6, no. 2 (January 1941).

34. For examples, see Wuhan tebie shi zhengfu, *Wuhan tebie shi zhengfu zhounian jinian tekan* [Special commemorative issue marking the first anniversary of the Wuhan Special Municipality] (Wuhan: Wuhan tebie shi zhengfu, 1940), which was published in April 1940. This was followed in September of the same year with the richly illustrated Anonymous, *Xin Wuhan* [New Wuhan] (Wuhan: Wuhan shi zhengfu, 1940).

35. One such account was “Shanhe posui yi Daizong” [The ruined rivers and mountains recall Mount Tai], *Zhonghua ribao*, July 13, 1939, 4.

36. On this topic, see Charles D. Musgrove, *China’s Contested Capital: Architecture, Ritual, and Response in Nanjing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013).

37. On the symbolic importance of the Ming tombs to earlier Republican iconography, see Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 209–211.

38. Ministry of Publicity, *Special Commemoration Issue*. The English term “redecorating” is used in this bilingual publication, though the images are of workmen repairing roofs, windows, and entire buildings that appear to have been damaged by war.

39. Pin Mo, “Shuodao Nanjing: Yi qi baimen lao liu” [When one talks of Nanjing, one remembers the old willow outside the white gate], *Huawen Daban meiri* 4, no. 1 (January 1940): 26–27.

40. Such as in the Daminhui-published *Xin Zhongguo* [New China] 3, no. 1 (January 1940): 60.
41. As was the case for Zhongyang dianxunshe, *Zhongyang dianxunshe disan nian*.
42. As was the case with Anonymous, *Xin Wuhan*.
43. Shaoqian Zhang, “Combat and Collaboration.”
44. Mimi Hall Yiengpruksawan, “Japanese War Paint: Kawabata Ryūshi and the Emptying of the Modern,” *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993): 76–90.
45. Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 111.
46. Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 121.
47. Shepherdson-Scott, “Race behind the Walls.”
48. As was the case for the front cover of *Xin Dong Ya* 1, no. 15 (October 1939).
49. A full-page cartoon, captioned “Heping jianguo” (Peace and nation-building) and attributed to an artist listed merely as “Bai” (literally, “white”), employed this motif in the Wuhan-published *E bao* 2, no. 8 (February 1942)—i.e., in the lead-up to the first anniversary of the *huandu*. The image shows rays of light shining from the city walls of Nanjing (which are themselves floating on cloud scrolls).
50. On this wider topic, see Musgrove, *China’s Contested Capital*.
51. Charles D. Musgrove, “Monumentality in Nanjing’s Sun Yat-sen Memorial Park,” *Southeast Review of Chinese Studies* 29 (2007): 2.
52. Lai, “Searching.”
53. Zhang Sheng, “Lun Wang wei dui Guomindang zhengzhi fuhao de zhengduo.”
54. Photographs of ceremonial visits to the Sun Mausoleum represent a significant subset of images held in the Wang Jingwei and Lin Baisheng Photograph Collection at the East Asia Library, Stanford University (<https://exhibits.stanford.edu/wangjingwei>).
55. Di’er lishi dang’anguan [Second Historical Archives], ed., *Wang wei zhengfu xingzhengyuan huiyilu, diwu ce* [Record of the meetings of the Executive Yuan of the bogus Wang government, volume 5] (Beijing: Dang’an chubanshe, 1992), 429.
56. Such as Nanjing tebie shi zhengfu, *Shoudu zaolin yundong jinian kan* [Special commemorative issue on the capital forestry campaign] (Nanjing: Nanjing tebie shi zhengfu, 1941). The RNG’s forestry campaign around the mausoleum was officially inaugurated on the anniversary of Sun’s death in 1941.
57. “Gongzuo baogao” [Work report], March 1943, SHA, 2003-1-2034.
58. On Wang’s “emotional, though ceremonial, pilgrimage” to the mausoleum, see Du, “Sun Yat-sen as *Guofu*.”
59. On that photograph, see Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 42–43.
60. The image appeared in this vein on the front page of the *Central China Daily News* on March, 12, 1940.
61. Robert Bickers, “Moving Stories: Memorialisation and Its Legacies in Treaty Port China,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 5 (2014): 826–856.
62. An unattributed cartoon of the statue, and bearing this name, was produced in the RGROC-affiliated magazine *Xin Dong Ya* 1, no. 6 (January 1939).
63. This image, entitled *Wanmin huansheng* (Thousands welcome victory), was apparently submitted to the *Zhonghua ribao* by a pro-Wang Jingwei reader and published on August 6, 1939.
64. See also *Gengsheng* 2, no. 3 (July 8, 1939): 9, where the angel is presented as an anthropomorphization of *gengsheng* (regeneration).



65. This image is on the front page of the *Jiangsu ribao* for October 10, 1941.
66. The image bearing this phrase is unattributed but appears in *Dong Ya Lianmeng huabao* 1, no. 4 (June 1941).
67. Bickers, “Moving Stories.”
68. Shanghai shi zhengfu mishuchu, *Guofu huandu zhounian jinian tekan* [Special commemorative issue marking the first anniversary of the return of the national government] (Shanghai: Shanghai shi zhengfu mishuchu, 1941).
69. On this film’s popularity with Chinese audiences in 1943, see Michael Raine, “‘You Can’t Replace *Gone with the Wind* with *Chūshingura*: *China Nights* and the Problem of Japanese Film Policy in Occupied Shanghai,” *Film History* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2018): 164–198. On this film more generally, see David Desser, “From the Opium War to the Pacific War: Japanese Propaganda Films of World War II,” *Film History* 7, no. 1 (1995): 32–48.
70. Anonymous, “Zhong-Ri lianxi dianying: *Shanghai zhi yue*” [Sino-Japanese joint production: *Moon of Shanghai*], *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 3, no. 7 (July 1941).
71. Baskett, *Attractive Empire*, 57.
72. *Changjiang huakan* 1 (February 1942). This inaugural issue of this pictorial was entitled “Da Dong Ya zhanzheng teji hao” (Greater East Asia War special edition).
73. Germer, “Adapting Russian Constructivism.”
74. Anonymous, “Fazhan zhong de Hankou” [Developing Hankou], *E bao* 1 (November 1940).
75. Zhang Renli, ed., *Wuhan tebie shi zhengfu zhounian jinian sheying ce* [Collection of commemorative photographs marking the first anniversary of the Wuhan Municipal Government’s founding] (Wuhan: Wuhan tebie shi zhengfu, 1941).
76. Article 7 of the said document stated that “the Government of Japan shall abolish extraterritorial rights possessed by Japan in China and render to the latter its concessions.” See “China-Japan: Treaty concerning Basic Relations and Protocol Annexed Thereto.” It should be noted, of course, that there were many parts of this treaty that were never, in reality, implemented.
77. Anonymous, “Shanghai diyiqu gongsuoshu chaichu waitan dixing tongxiang” [The municipal office of the Number One District of Shanghai removes imperialist statues from the Bund], *Zhonghua huabao* 1, no. 3 (October 1943).
78. According to the Virtual Shanghai website: <https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=833>.
79. A typical example of such photography is found in this photo spread: Anonymous, “Xin Shanghai de mianmao” [The appearance of new Shanghai], *Dong Ya Lianmeng huabao* 3, no. 8 (October 1943): 18.
80. Photographs of murals by MoP artists depicting *youjidui* crimes can be found in *Zhonghua ribao*, *Guomin zhengfu huandu huashi* [A pictorial history of the national government’s return] (Shanghai: Zhonghua ribaoshe, 1942).
81. On this, see Daminhui xuanchuanbu, *Renjian diyu* [Hell on earth] (Nanjing: Daminhui, 1939). This play demonized resistance *youjidui* and presented rural Jiangsu and Zhejiang as places where insurgents raped and pillaged in local communities.
82. On this, see Shaoqian Zhang, “Combat and Collaboration.”
83. See, for example, Anonymous, *Naka Shina genjō hōkoku* [Report on the recent situation in central China] (Tokyo: Sozōsha, 1942).

84. Philip Charrier, “Fuchikami Hakuyō and the ‘Manchukuo Pastoral’ in 1930s Japanese Art Photography,” *Japanese Studies* 34, no. 2 (2014): 169–192.

85. Kari Shepherdson-Scott, “A Legacy of Persuasion: Japanese Photography and the Artful Politics of Remembering Manchuria,” *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 27 (2015): 135.

86. The phrase is used as the title of a photo spread in *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 5, no. 11 (November 1943).

87. The phrase is used as the title of a photo spread in *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 5, no. 12 (December 1943).

88. On this, see Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape: The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 1999).

89. Freda Freiberg, “Genre and Gender in World War II Japanese Feature Film: *China Nights* (1940),” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 12, no. 3 (1992): 249.

90. Liu Jianhui, “Demon Capital Shanghai: The ‘Modern’ Experience of Japanese Intellectuals,” trans. Joshua Fogel, *Sino-Japanese Studies* 16 (2009): 184–204.

91. Kushner, *Thought War*, 79–80.

92. So read the caption to an image (spread across two pages) produced in a special series of photographs in Anonymous, “Hankou de jinjiao” [The environs of Hankou], *E bao* 2 (December 1940).

93. A series of ox-themed songs and photographs is included in Anonymous, “Nongfu ge” [Farmers’ songs], *Xin Zhonghua huabao* 6, no. 4 (April 1944).

94. Bo Liu, “The Multivalent Imagery of the Ox in Song Painting,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 33–84.

95. Bert Winther-Tamaki, “Japanese Painting during the Fifteen-Year War,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 145–180.

96. On this, see Andrew Shih-ming Pai, “Modernity in Agony: Contemporaneity, Landscape, and the Representation of Modern Life in Colonial Taiwanese Art,” *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 33 (2011): 4–33.

97. Wen-Chien Chen, “Paintings of Traveling Bullock Carts (*Panche Tu*) in the Song Dynasty (960–1279),” *Archives of Asian Art* 66, no. 2 (2016): 239–269.

98. Wang Zhenghua, “Wanshan wanli qing.”

99. Xuanchuanbu, ed., *Xuanchuanbu diyi jie quanguo xuanchuan huiyi shilu* [Record of the first national publicity conference of the Ministry of Publicity] (Nanjing: Xuanchuanbu, 1941), frontispiece.

100. Anonymous, “Dong Lian xiangcun gongzuotuan hongzhao” [Traces of the East Asia League village work teams], *Dong Ya Lianmeng huabao* 2, no. 8 (September 1942).

101. Lei (perhaps wisely) qualified such statements by suggesting that this had all been the result of Chiang Kai-shek’s use of scorched-earth tactics. Lei Yimin, “Jiaogong yu qingxiang” [Communist extermination campaigns and Rural Pacification], *Beiping yuekan* 1, no. 2 (1943): 14–20.

102. A typical example of such an illustrated account can be found in Zhengzhi gongzuotuan, *Zhenggong baogaoshu* [Report on political work] (Shanghai: Jiangsu sheng Zhenjiang qingxiang diqu zhengzhi gongzuotuan, 1943).

103. *Lai ri fangchang* [The days to come] (Shanghai: Hua ying, ca. 1943), film pamphlet, Paul Kendel Fonoroff Collection for Chinese Film Studies, C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley.

104. David C. Earhart, *Certain Victory: Images of World War II in the Japanese Media* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 286–291.

105. Anonymous, *Dai Tōa shashin nenpō*, includes a specific section on Rural Pacification in its chapter on RNG China.

106. I am thinking here of the sorts of imagery that were reproduced in pro-occupation propaganda pictorials in Indonesia, such as *Djawa Baroe* (New Java). On this publication, see Aiko Kurasawa, “Propaganda Media on Java under the Japanese, 1942–1945,” *Indonesia* 44 (October 1987): 59–116.

107. The account I am drawing from here can be found in Charles D. Musgrove, “Cheering the Traitor: The Post-war Trial of Chen Bijun, April 1946,” *Twentieth-Century China* 30, no. 2 (2005): 3–27.

108. Fitzgerald, *Framing Modernisms*, 22.

## Conclusion

1. Hannah Beech, “The World’s Next Superpower Announces Itself with an Epic Parade,” *Time*, September 3, 2015.

2. For the full text of this speech (in English translation), see <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1854943/full-text-xi-jinping-military-parade-speech-vows-china>.

3. Chang Jui-te, “The Politics of Commemoration: A Comparative Analysis of the Fiftieth-Anniversary Commemoration in Mainland China and Taiwan of the Victory in the Anti-Japanese War,” in *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*, ed. Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 136–160. As Chang notes, Li Peng made reference to wartime collaboration in September 1995 as a means of attacking the Taiwan independence movement: “History repeatedly demonstrates that anyone who tries to lean on foreigners to divide and betray the mother country will be thoroughly discredited” (139).

4. Ironically, the PRC’s former leader Jiang Zemin was in attendance, however. In the years leading up to 2015, Jiang had been the subject of a number of theories circulating in China, some of which posited that his father had served as a high-ranking member of the RNG bureaucracy. On such theories, see John Garnaut, “High Stakes in China’s Game of Thrones,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 17, 2012.

5. Frederic Wakeman Jr., “A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism,” *China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 432.

6. Fitzgerald, *Framing Modernisms*.

7. See, for example, Hwang, “Wartime Collaboration.”

8. Zanasi, “Globalizing Hanjian.”

9. The newsreel is now held by Getty and can be viewed online: <https://www.gettyimages.co.nz/detail/video/nationalist-government-president-wang-and-imperial-news-footage/505525795>.

10. The story is retold in Sullivan, *Art and Artists*, 108–110.

11. See, for example, Mirzoeff, “Invisible Empire.”

12. Hochberg, *Visual Occupations*, 3.