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Introduction: Sci-Fi as a Social Force

The 1970 International Exposition in Osaka (Osaka banpaku or Expo '70) was a spectacular embodiment of the aspirations of the postwar Japanese state, the formidable presence of post-reconstruction private industry, and the end of the activist tumult that had marked Japan's 1960s. Yet in many ways, it was also the culmination of the first flowering of science fiction in Japan, a process that had been underway for fifteen years by the time of the Expo. Luminaries of science fiction (SF) literary production like Komatsu Sakyō and Hoshi Shin'ichi were involved both directly and indirectly in the Expo's planning, and the futuristic pavilions, exhibits, and multimedia attractions seemed to incarnate the techno-utopian ideals found in many early SF texts since their appearance and proliferation from the mid-1950s onward. Simultaneous to the Expo, meanwhile, the Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of Japan organized an international gathering of science fiction authors. The first International Science Fiction Symposium brought together authors from seven countries – the US and USSR chief among them – and included a visit to the Expo as part of its schedule. Thus, the Expo was not simply science fictional by coincidence; SF surrounded the event and shaped it at a fundamental level. If Expo '70 was in part a way for the Japanese state to present itself to the Cold War world, then it presented itself as a nation deeply intertwined with science fiction's aesthetics and ethos.

How is it that a literary subgenre like science fiction became so closely connected with the International Exposition? How do the aesthetic and social dimensions of science fiction intersect with the political implications of the Expo? What does thinking this event together with this genre allow us to see about the preceding decade? The Expo brought together key members

of the Japanese science fiction community in order to stage a multimedia spectacle toward a vision of what the Japanese nation-state was to become in the latter half of the 20th century and the transition to the 21st. In other words, the Expo represents the confluence of the aesthetic, social, and mediatic discourses of science fiction that will be the focus of this dissertation. Eminently polyvalent as an event, that is, the Expo both stood as a political economic statement on the triumph of the post-Occupation liberal democratic order while also heralding a societal orientation toward the techno-scientific future that resonated with the aspirations of so much contemporary SF. While the Expo serves as a useful illustration of the progression of the science fiction genre by 1970, the formation of the genre had been underway for over a decade, and it is this process which constitutes the primary concern of this dissertation. To understand the social construction of science fiction as a genre is also to understand the ways popular literary and multimedia cultural production both reflected and, more importantly, were used to shape Japanese social discourse across the 1960s.

“What is SF?”: Science Fiction, Sci-Fi, and SF

A persistent concern within Japanese writing on science fiction, especially non-academic writing, is finding a precise definition of the term “science fiction” itself. This question is fundamentally tied to the project of locating the historical origins of Japanese science fiction: different genre definitions afford the inclusion of a wide variety of texts across history, thus making possible different literary historicizations of science fiction and its attendant political potentials. To define science fiction is to simultaneously demarcate its social functions and

ideological underpinnings. The rhetorical uses of genre definitions will be a central component of this dissertation's argument, so it is useful here to make some preliminary demarcations in order to better position my argument in relation to other scholarly and popular genealogies of science fiction.

Throughout the dissertation, I use the terms “science fiction,” “sci-fi,” and “SF” interchangeably. This reflects their usage in Japanese writing during the period covered by this analysis. By far the most common term from the early 1960s up to today has been “SF,” and this is what I use to refer to the genre most frequently. The specific words that “SF” abbreviates fluctuate: it is usually assumed to be an acronym for either “science fiction” or “speculative fiction,” but the specific term intended in any given case is usually left ambiguous. Each of the terms above, when written in Japanese, tend to be rendered in Roman characters (*rōmaji*), with Japanese semantic glosses occasionally provided as *rubi* – characters written to the right of vertical text or above horizontal text usually as a pronunciation guide for kanji compounds, but here used as in-line translations. The semantic flexibility of this two-letter acronym is fitting for the wide range of aesthetic, social, and political issues the genre was variously used to encompass.

As the names for the genre indicate, SF in Japan has strong ties to its Anglo-American counterparts. This is not to say, however, that native Japanese coinages were not also present. In particular, the term *kūsō kagaku shōsetsu* (or just *kūsō kagaku*) was used frequently as a direct semantic translation for “science fiction,” whereas *shiben shōsetsu* is the most frequent translation of “speculative fiction.” We see this, for instance, in the alternative title for *SF Magazine*, *Kūsō kagaku shōsetsu-shi*, which appeared in a smaller typeface on the covers of each issue. Nevertheless, “SF” became the accepted standard in short order, and most references to

the genre employ it. These terms all began arising in Japanese discourse from the mid- to late 1950s as science fiction magazines began to appear and needed some way to describe the texts they published. It is for this reason that I provisionally place the genre's historical origins there for the purposes of this dissertation.

It would be disingenuous, however, to say that SF spontaneously arose from nothing in this moment. Even before writers began referring to texts as "SF," there are recognizable threads connecting it legibly to earlier modes of writing. The most widely studied of these in English language scholarship has been the genre's pre-history in the Meiji and Taishō periods (1868-1912 and 1912-1926, respectively). Seth Jacobowitz and Miri Nakamura, especially, have written about the connections between science, literature, and the formation of the modern Japanese state, arguing that new scientist epistemologies which were gaining traction during the Meiji period were explored in literature as a means of working through ideas of human subjectivity, coloniality, and the nation-state formation.¹ The science of science fiction is here understood as a political discourse, one connected to the Western-style rationalist epistemologies driving so much of Meiji- and Taishō-era social, governmental, and industrial development. Speculative fiction like that of Unno Jūza or Yumeno Kyūsaku, by extension, was at its core a way of exploring the array of new political formations that arose in conjunction with Japan's modernity.

¹ Jacobowitz's analytical focus tends toward the ways in which proto-SF registers contemporary changes in (especially homosocial male) gendered relations, whereas Nakamura uses proto-SF to consider the ways that the specter of the colonial Other haunted the Japanese imperial imagination. Seth Jacobowitz, "Between Men, Androids, and Robots: Assaying Mechanical Man in Meiji Literature and Visual Culture," *Mechademia* 9, no. 1 (2014): 44–60; Seth Jacobowitz, "Unno Juza and the Uses of Science in Prewar Japanese Popular Fiction," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Popular Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Miri Nakamura, *Monstrous Bodies: The Rise of the Uncanny in Modern Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 382 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

Detective fiction has also been thoroughly examined along these lines, and for this reason it is often read together with science fiction as another form of pseudo- or proto-SF. Sari Kawana and Baryon Tensor-Posadas have each considered the genre of detective fiction – in particular the writings of Edogawa Ranpo – as grappling with the uncanny realities of modernity, probing the limits of ratiocination as a mode of engagement with urban alienation and the threat of crime in the midst of technological industrialization.² Common to both detective fiction and SF in Japan’s modern period, in other words, is the central importance of modern rationality, scientism, and a changing understanding of human subjectivity in relation to both. Rationalism, either in the guise of scientific or criminal investigation and deduction, was the focus of interest for both genres, reflecting its newfound centrality as a core component of modern subjectivity as a Japanese national subject.

Edogawa, Unno, and Yumeno all explored these themes through phantasmagoric and horror-laden stories in their respective genres. As dominant notions of human subjectivity transformed to accommodate modernity, categories of the non-human – the criminal, the uncanny, and the threateningly robotic, especially – took center stage in detective fiction and proto-SF texts as they explored what fell outside the bounds of these new subject formations. Through the 1930s, robots, doppelgangers, and other human-like figures that were nevertheless non-human arose to help writers grapple with an industrializing Japanese workforce, newly psychoanalytic theories of mind, shifting gender roles and relations, and more.³ These popular

² While Kawana is primarily concerned with how Edogawa’s writings articulate the uncanny elements of modern urban living, Posadas looks specifically at the ways the figure of the doppelganger embodies experiences of historical overlap and colonialist imaginations of the Other. Sari Kawana, *Murder Most Modern: Detective Fiction and Japanese Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Baryon Tensor Posadas, *Double Visions, Double Fictions: The Doppelgänger in Japanese Film and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

³ Jacobowitz, “Between Men, Androids, and Robots”; Miri Nakamura, “Horror and Machines in Prewar Japan: The Mechanical Uncanny in Yumeno Kyūsaku’s *Dogura Magura*,” in *Robot Ghosts and Wired Dreams: Japanese Science*

literary subgenres can be understood as part of the contemporary movement of “erotic grotesque nonsense”⁴ (ero-guro nansensu), a kind of popular avant-garde mode in the 1920s and 1930s that spanned a wide range of modern arts like film and modern spaces like cafes. Miriam Silverberg emphasizes the national and class elements⁵ of ero-guro nonsense, and genre fiction like that described above sometimes overlapped in its earlier stages with the movement’s riotous aesthetics and explorations of modernity’s unruly sides.

For the most part, detective fiction and proto-SF of the type described above were carried in juvenile literary magazines like *Shin Seinen* during this period. Part of a mass print culture that had been undergoing industrialization since the Meiji period, magazines like *Shin Seinen* and *Kingu*⁶ joined a proliferating variety of media in an expanding media ecology in the decades surrounding the turn of the 20th century, most notably including radio⁷ and film⁸ but also more domesticized mass media like the telegraph and telephone.⁹ The changing media landscape of modern Japan served as the context for, and one means of, articulating a modern nation-state and the citizen-subjects who lived within it, and it is similarly in this moment that the notion of

Fiction from Origins to Anime, ed. Christopher Bolton, Istvan Csicsery-Ronay Jr., and Takayuki Tatsumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 3–26.

⁴ Miriam Rom Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

⁵ As I will explore in more detail in Chapter 3, SF film can be usefully analyzed through Tom Gunning’s theory of the cinema of attractions. This theory, in turn, shares with Silverberg both a historical context of early 20th century film and a concern with the class element of film spectatorship in that moment. SF film in the 1960s carries these notions forward with it from its historical predecessors in pre- and inter-war Japan. Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde,” in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 56–62.

⁶ Takumi Sato, *Kingu no Jidai: Kokumin Taishū Zasshi no Kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002).

⁷ Shun’ya Yoshimi, *Koe no shihon shugi: denwa rajio chikuonki no shakaishi* (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2012).

⁸ Aaron Andrew Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

⁹ Kerim Yasar, *Electrified Voices: How the Telephone, Phonograph, and Radio Shaped Modern Japan, 1868-1945*, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

“modern Japanese literature”¹⁰ took shape. As part and parcel of that transformation, juvenile magazines served as both pulpy entertainment and pedagogical tool in rearing properly modern subjects.¹¹ As the Pacific War intensified and Japan turned toward total mobilization, proto-SF became increasingly aligned with nationalistic and militaristic propaganda¹² and censorial¹³ regimes, depicting tales of future wars (or perhaps the future of this war) in which the Japanese empire wielded cutting edge technologies like hyper-advanced tanks and submarines in order to defeat its rivals. No longer able to openly question the rationalization of Japanese society as easily as it had in the Meiji and Taishō periods, science adventure stories instead focused their gaze on the unification of private industry and the colonialist and nationalist expansion of state power.

Following the end of the Pacific War, science fiction began to emerge in Japan as a self-identified genre. SF authors in Japan frequently cite the US military occupation’s numerous bases across Japan as a key source of early SF, with Japanese readers near the bases finding, buying, or being given pulp SF books and magazines from US servicemembers. I explore this early instance of transnational SF exchange in more detail in Chapter 2, but here it is sufficient to note that the US Occupation figures large in many historicizations of the genre produced by Japanese writers. This fact immediately complicates any analytical framework that relies on notions of isolated “national literatures,” but also refuses to be simplified into a narrative of the

¹⁰ Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993); Ai Maeda, *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, ed. James A. Fujii (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 2004); Edward Thomas Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Hirokazu Toeda, *Iwanami Shigeo: Hikuku kurashi, takaku omou* (Kyoto: Minerva shobo, 2013); Seth Jacobowitz, *Writing Technology in Meiji Japan: A Media History*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 387 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

¹¹ Sato, *Kingu no Jidai*.

¹² Gregory James Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

¹³ Jonathan E. Abel, *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan*, Asia Pacific Modern 11 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

unidirectional dissemination of the SF genre from the US to Japan. What we instead see is active and self-reflective negotiations of SF's aesthetics and genre histories performed by Japanese readers, writers, and editors navigating what the genre might be able to do for Japan in its present historical moment.

In 1954, two years after the formal end of the Occupation, some of the early products of these negotiations would become visible: that year produced both the first Japanese fanzine of SF literature (*Seiun*, which would publish only a single issue)¹⁴ as well as the film that would come to define much of Japan's SF screen media for decades to come, *Gojira* (*Godzilla* upon its translation into English). Within six years of *Gojira*'s release, the domestic SF literary scene would come to include both the professional periodical *SF Magazine* (rendered phonetically in Japanese as *SF Magajin*) and the long-running fanzine *Uchūjin* (*Space Dust*), which are taken up in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively. Additionally, Japanese film studios – especially Tōhō Studios – and television networks would produce more and more special effects-heavy SF television shows (*tokusatsu terebi eiga*) and monster films (*kaijū eiga*) like *Gojira*, leading to a burgeoning SF film industry going into the 1960s, an industry that I will cover in Chapter 3.

The 1960s, this dissertation's primary historical focus, brought drastic changes to Japanese society at the levels of politics, media, and culture. 1960 witnessed a watershed moment in which the failure of massive popular protests against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty (known in Japanese as “Anpo”) led to a consolidation of the political right,

¹⁴ In spite of its exceedingly brief lifespan, *Seiun* was so influential for the genre's early development in Japan that one of the two biggest awards given to Japanese SF literature today is the Seiun Award, named after the magazine. The award was first given in 1970 and is administered by the Nihon SF fangurūpu rengō kaigi (Japanese SF Fan Group Association). The other most notable yearly award is the Nihon SF taishō, which is administered by the Nihon SF sakka kurabu (styled in English as Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of Japan) and which was first awarded in 1980.

dissolution of the activist left, and a narrowed horizon of acceptable political expression.¹⁵

Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato's "income doubling plan" (shotoku baizō keikaku) across the decade laid the groundwork for significant changes in the material conditions of everyday life for the average citizen, a change reflected in the explosion of television ownership rates leading up to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. With an increasingly televisual media landscape came new experiments in the arts with concepts of liveness, reportage, and "actuality."¹⁶ The film industry began to adopt newly streamlined production and distribution practices to try to keep up with television's quality of being *au courant*, opening the door for what Alexander Zahlten has termed new "industrial genres"¹⁷ like pink film, but also for export-oriented SF films like *Mosura* (1961) or *Uchū daikaijū Girara* (*The X from Outer Space*, 1967).

Thus, while Japanese SF literature, film, and television cannot be understood entirely separately from longer histories of modern mass media and popular entertainment in Japan, the end of the Pacific War, as well as the end of the Occupation and Japan's entry into the Cold War as a sovereign state, present such a shift both in the Japanese media ecology and discourses of SF in circulation that I choose to frame my dissertation through this moment. It is in the 1960s that discourses of SF – as a genre and as an identity – intensify and begin thinking self-reflexively about the genre and its participants. By the end of the decade, those discourses would have grown to the point that SF and its major figures would be a part of Expo '70, one of the defining events of Cold War Japan. This dissertation considers the formation and growth of science fiction across the 1960s, its entanglements with Cold War geopolitics and multipolar liberal

¹⁵ Nick Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018).

¹⁶ Yuriko Furuhashi, *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics*, Asia-Pacific : Culture, Politics, and Society (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Alexander Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema: Industrial Genres, National Times, and Media Ecologies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

humanist ideology, and its transmedia and transnational aesthetics in order to assess what SF was to its participants and what it can tell us about media, genre, and subjectivity in Japan's contemporary period. Science fiction brought these categories together in novel ways in the 1960s that would presage their increasingly dense interleaving in the following decades.

Methods and Media

In order to access the discourses of SF in Japan during the 1960s, this dissertation takes science fiction magazines as its primary units of analysis. In particular, the two major magazines mentioned above (*SF Magazine* and *Uchūjin*) are each examined in detail, constituting the focus of two chapters and the contextual background of the third. The dissertation's methodology is thus best described as a combination of media studies, discourse analysis, and textual close reading. This aligns with recent trends in Japanese media and cultural studies, which have increasingly turned away from a sole focus on thematic close reading and toward concepts of "media mix" and "media ecology" in considerations of contemporary Japanese popular culture. These methods are a means of analyzing cultural production as a socially embedded process that exists in a feedback loop with its cultural, material, and historical milieu. As this dissertation argues, "genre" in the case of SF was notable precisely for the ways in which it crossed divisions of text and context, connecting SF texts to their readers and readers to each other in a subcultural transmedia community.

SF magazines, then, provide the richest confluence of text, context, and discourse with which to study the formation of the science fiction genre. Advertising, editorial focus,

illustration aesthetics, price, membership structures, and fan letters all inform the metatextual and paratextual becoming of the genre as a discursive entity, and the dialectical interactions between these elements and the SF stories and articles carried in the magazines are what created the genre for its participants. Magazines served as information hubs, text repositories, and discursive community spaces in a way very similar to manga magazines or earlier domestic journals like *Shufu no Tomo*.¹⁸ This is not to say that *SF Magazine* and *Uchūjin* enjoyed unquestioned authority over science fiction; the magazines' discourses competed not only with each other, but also with the screen media industries of television and film and the instantiations of SF found there. Sometimes the magazines and their media interlocutors reinforced one-another, building up a unified picture of what made for "good SF," but just as often (if not more so), they were implicitly and explicitly at odds. "SF" was a tool used toward different ends by different actors, and lively debates¹⁹ about the art and politics of SF followed the genre as it took shape across the decade. In this way, SF's community was one in which labels of reader, writer, editor, director, and critic could be quite fluid: readers of *SF Magazine* might submit their own stories for publication in the fanzine *Uchūjin*, film producers might collaborate with magazine editors, and "big name fans" might serve as valued critics in print and at any of the numerous fan conventions held from the early 1960s onward. A participant in SF might occupy more than one of these roles, sometimes simultaneously, and readers of the magazines under investigation were

¹⁸ Prough, *Straight from the Heart*; Frederick, *Turning Pages*. Both Prough and Frederick take the status of their objects of study as specifically gendered magazines as central to their studies, and in this sense, the concerns of this dissertation diverges somewhat from theirs. As I will explore in-depth in Chapter 2, the expected audience for SF magazines was conversely strongly gendered male, in spite of the discursive assertions within the SF community of equal inclusivity. Certainly, the specific stakes of magazines as a community space are different when the context of gender is taken into consideration, but I believe the insights afforded by Prough and Frederick's studies are nevertheless illuminating in the case of SF publications.

¹⁹ Tatsumi Takayuki collects a number of the prominent debates and manifestoes of 20th century Japanese SF in his "history of controversies" (ronsō-shi). The period discussed by this dissertation is historicized by Tatsumi as "SF Theory's Hardcore" (SF riron no haadokoa) and "The Explosion of Controversies" (Ronsō tahatsu jidai). Takayuki Tatsumi, ed., *Nihon SF Ronsō-shi* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2000).

frequently encouraged to flit back and forth between positions of producer and consumer. Even more perhaps than conventional literature, in other words, SF fans played an active role in determining what the genre was to become, and it is in the pages of SF magazines that this is most legible.

Understanding fan communities as active participants in their objects of fandom has long been a central facet of fan studies, and this dissertation borrows from that field to a limited extent. Growing out of scholarly interest in participatory fan cultures – especially with the rise in visibility of online fan communities – fan studies scholars considered the ways that cultural productions and their fans operated in a process of “media convergence.”²⁰ Contemporary fans not only engage in creative theorization and speculation about the plots of properties like *Lost* (2004-2010), but also create original fiction (“fanfiction”), videos, websites, and more. In the context of Japanese cultural studies, these analytical strategies joined with a growing interest in popular subcultures, and fan studies methods were quickly turned on the persona of the otaku consumer: devoted fans of anime, manga, and video games whose roots are often traced to early SF fandom.²¹ Awareness of the intense connections between otaku and their chosen media forms, as well as standard media portrayals of otaku as socially isolated, meant that these studies frequently considered otaku from the perspective of a model of individual subjectivity.²² Nonetheless, analyses of otaku sociality acknowledge the complex, often transnational, networks of affinity that bind otaku together into a community; many similar community dynamics

²⁰ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2008); Patrick W Galbraith and Jason G. Karlin, eds., *Media Convergence in Japan* (Kinema Club, 2016).

²¹ Hiroki Azuma, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel and Shion Kono (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Patrick W Galbraith and Androniki Christodoulou, *Otaku Spaces* (Seattle, WA: Chin Music Press, 2012); Patrick W. Galbraith, *Otaku and the Struggle for Imagination in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

²² Tamaki Saitō, *Beautiful Fighting Girl*, trans. Keith Vincent and Dawn Lawson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Thomas LaMarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

characterize SF fans in the 1960s.²³ Otaku subjects come into view within this body of scholarly literature as postmodern consumers par excellence, fluidly shifting between registers of reality and fictionality in a highly mediated relationship with their peers.

More recent scholarship extends this consideration of the mediation of otaku subjectivity toward a more in-depth examination of the media ecosystems that spring up in response to consumer demand and in turn shape the tastes and desires of otaku and consumers more generally. Sometimes termed “media mix”²⁴ after the transmedia marketing strategies from the 1960s out of which it arose, these ecosystems created the conditions of possibility for the proliferation of franchises and characters across media, thus allowing otaku consumers to pursue their favorite characters throughout the mix²⁵ and “endo-colonizing”²⁶ the world of (especially juvenile) consumers with character goods. Other scholars refer to this situation as a “media ecology,” signaling with this term a more ambient, less directed assemblage of infrastructures like television broadcast networks, media, texts, and consumers, out of which arises a model of a consumer who is co-extensive with the media they consume, one part of a “screen-brain apparatus” endemic within contemporary Japanese media culture.²⁷ Whether in this more media-

²³ Mizuko Itō, Daisuke Okabe, and Izumi Tsuji, eds., *Fandom Unbound: Otaku Culture in a Connected World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Susan Jolliffe Napier, *From Impressionism to Anime: Japan as Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

²⁴ Sari Kawana, *The Uses of Literature in Modern Japan: Histories and Cultures of the Book*, SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 123–52.

²⁵ Ōtsuka Eiji looks specifically at the centrifugal motion of small narratives in media mix properties, narratives which proliferate as character goods-based marketing spawns more and more points of interest for consumers. In a line of thinking that would later be developed further by Azuma Hiroki, Ōtsuka theorizes that contemporary otaku consumers are less interested in “grand narratives” and more in the “small narratives” of the background setting of the world. Fans must actively seek out small narratives through active consumption of the product (Ōtsuka uses the example of Bikkuriman stickers that came with fragments of character narratives included), a practice he terms “narrative consumption.” These narratives are de-hierarchized in his view, creating a situation favorable to fan creativity as fans might concoct entirely new small narratives that nevertheless carry the same amount of narrative authority as those created by the producers of the franchise product in question. Eiji Ōtsuka, “World and Variation: The Reproduction and Consumption of Narrative,” trans. Marc Steinberg, *Mechademia* 5 (2010): 99–116.

²⁶ Marc Steinberg, *Anime’s Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

²⁷ Thomas LaMarre, *The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

theoretical mode or a more anthropological one, the fact remains that pop culture consumers in Japan have to a great extent come to be defined by their media habits, whether that be in the realm of anime, manga, television dramas, or toys.²⁸ In the context of a study of 1960s SF, we can already see these qualities of media ecology under development, and the methodological insights afforded by otaku studies regarding otaku's movements through this ecosystem by means of the consumption of media texts will help us understand the social significance of the science fiction genre in this period. At the same time, we will be able to see the historical prefigurations of otaku media ecologies and the attendant habits of reception and consumption of the texts therein by 1960s SF.

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the Japanese media ecology and its social ramifications have taken on even greater political significance as the Japanese government has become officially involved in financing popular cultural production through the “Cool Japan” initiative. Government support for a wide variety of “cool culture” industries (e.g. anime, manga, fashion, video games, and television dramas) aimed to capitalize on the success of Japanese popular culture abroad to increase Japan's soft power on the global stage and counteract the economic recession that followed the bursting of Japan's bubble economy in the 1990s.²⁹ As I will explore in more detail in Chapter 3, this formation of culture and state power

²⁸ Gabriella Lukacs has analyzed the ways Japanese women's labor and consumer power both feed into the “trendy drama” genre of television serial dramas; trendy dramas model an idealized consumer lifestyle to female viewers. Gabriella Lukács, *Scripted Affects, Branded Selves: Television, Subjectivity, and Capitalism in 1990s Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Anne Allison has analyzed Japanese toys within global flows of capitalism in the mid- to late 20th century, examining the ways that American views of Japan as “techno-animist” are reproduced in Japanese toys marketed abroad in order to make them more amenable to flexible accumulation and imbue them with affective ties for the consumer. Anne Allison, *Millennial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) There are of course significant differences between these studies both in their objects and their methods, but in both cases, Japanese consumers are understood to be mutually constructed with the media products they consume, what I term their “media habits.”

²⁹ Douglas McGray, “Japan's Gross National Cool,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 130 (June 2002): 44–54; McGray coined the term “Gross National Cool” with reference to the concept of soft power, developed by Joseph Nye in 1990 to describe cultural influence as a means of states wielding power (as opposed to the “hard power” of military force

is not without precedent, and an example of the interplay between government, subject, and cultural production can be found in the case of 1960s SF. Given the overlap between the cases of SF fans of the 1960s and otaku of the 1990s and 2000s, the extensive body of scholarship on otaku studies is helpful in analyzing the specific nuances of SF fans' relationship to the media texts they consumed.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation is organized around investigations of various discursive fields enfolding science fiction in Japan in the 1960s. It posits “science fiction” not as a pre-existing object to be indexed with greater or lesser accuracy by the discourses that sought to grasp it, but rather as the product of those very discourses. As we will see, science fiction discourse was concerned far less with describing the genre as it existed in the present and far more with shaping its meaning within society as it moved into the future – it was prescriptive rather than descriptive, even as it often claimed descriptive objectivity for itself. The social construction of science fiction in turn also involved the discursive construction of the society that would properly receive the genre. Put another way, to change science fiction in these writers' eyes was to simultaneously change Japanese society, steering it toward a more prosperous and peaceful future. In the Cold War moment of the 1960s, this proposition was necessarily one that understood Japanese science

and economic sanctions). Nye would later develop this theme further. See Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

fiction in a transnational milieu, contending and cooperating in turn with other putative national traditions of science fiction production and consumption.

In the media landscape of the decade, three discursive fields are most prominent in their attempts to grapple with science fiction (see Figure 1), and the dissertation's three chapters will take up each one in turn. Chapter 1 examines the discourse of textual aesthetics, most visible in the professional science fiction periodical *SF Magazine*. As the only industry publication of science fiction in Japan during this period, *SF Magazine* was the de facto standard-bearer for what mainstream science fiction would become, and in both the stories that it published and the roundtables and articles accompanying those texts, we can discern the aesthetic qualities and social values the magazine's editors sought to imbue in the fledgling genre. In this chapter I will show how *SF Magazine* positioned SF as a kind of parallel high literature or "pure literature" (*junbungaku*), making use of many of the same industrial practices that had accompanied the creation of the national canon of high literature half a century before. In constructing SF as another national literary tradition, and in basing that tradition on liberal rationalist narrative themes, *SF Magazine* was implicitly participating in Cold War discourses of the US-led "free world," where liberal humanism and scientific rationality would lead the way to ideological victory over the Soviet camp. This was complicated by Japan's own geopolitical positioning vis a vis the United States's own continued military presence in Japan following the Occupation; rather than following American SF wholesale in its rejection of the USSR, *SF Magazine* instead sought to discursively carve out a space for Japan as a mediating presence between the two sides of the Iron Curtain.

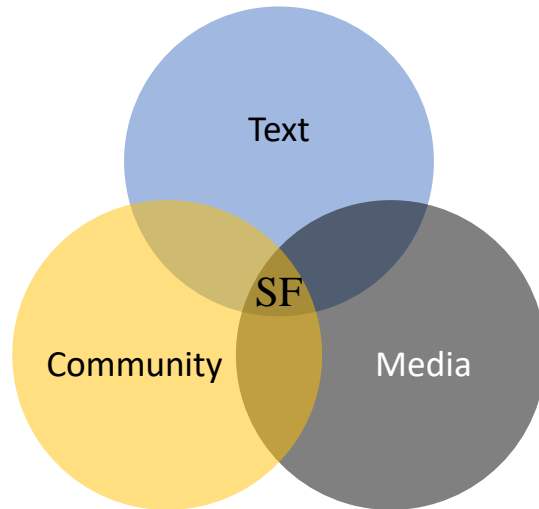


Figure 1: The discursive fields out of which SF arises

Chapter 2 turns to the discourse of community in order to examine what I call the sociology of SF in this period. Using the long-running SF fanzine *Uchūjin* as a case study, I consider the importance of a lively community of readers, writers, and fans to the present and future of SF as it was viewed by contemporary critics. A fan-focused epistemology of SF like that implicit in *Uchūjin* expands the view of the genre seen in Chapter 1 in two key ways: it de-centers the “pure literature” emphasis on specific formal and thematic textual elements in favor of considering the reception of texts within the community, allowing a wider diversity of texts and authors to contribute to the body of SF literature; at the same time, it imagines fans in a global community of peers, with fan movements, meetings, and exchanges displacing the artistic qualities of texts as the representatives of “Japan” on the world stage. More than a shared set of aesthetic ideals for SF texts, *Uchūjin* looked toward a shared community of fandom as the locus of SF’s utopian potentials. This epistemology found expression in the fanzine’s consistent coverage of SF fan activities (“fanacs”) like conventions, profiles of SF fan groups in Japan and around the world, in its promotion of transnational exchanges between fans. *Uchūjin*’s understanding of SF was epitomized in a 1968 Worldcon bid and the later Transoceanic Fan

Fund, established to pay for exchange trips between the US and Japanese fandoms. As this chapter will show, however, the sociology of SF in this period was not free from the implicit racial hierarchies of the Cold War, a fact that some of the authors in *Uchūjin* grappled with in their own writing.

Finally, Chapter 3 considers the broader media environment of SF in the 1960s, looking specifically at SF film and television and the discourse surrounding them. SF screen media were an important part of both magazines considered in Chapters 1 and 2, and I ask in this final chapter how the media form of SF was seen to affect the genre's social standing. More manifestly commercial and spectacular than literature, on the one hand, and more widely known and globally popular, on the other, films such as *Gojira*, *Konchū daisensō*, and *Uchū daikaijū Girara* were a site of ambivalence for critics invested in the genre. In debates surrounding what makes a good SF film, we can see a more fundamental concern with the multiplicities – aesthetic, mediatic, and political – made manifest by the transmedia nature of science fiction. Differing ways of looking at science fiction prompted choices from those in its discursive community, namely: should science fiction be entertaining or educational, intellectual high art or visceral pop art? How do the writers, directors, and other creators of visual media working in the SF genre account for the commercialist reality of the capitalist context in which SF film is produced and within which its social and political potentialities could be played out? As Japanese SF films circulated abroad, some critics worried about the image of Japan such films would project globally, as well as what image of SF they would create domestically; others lauded SF film for embodying SF's aspirations toward a high-tech society in their cinematographic technical achievements. While these critics would never come to a consensus,

their divisions would emblemize the conceptual and political multiplicity of SF as it moved forward into the 1970s and beyond.

In short, my aim with this dissertation is to construct a social theory of genre. By this I mean that, out of specific configurations of the three discursive fields examined in the chapters to follow – textual, communal, and mediatic – different models of contemporary subjectivity were able to crystallize. These fields of determination were held together by the interstitial fluid I call genre. In other words, genre arises discursively but is not itself limited to a single discourse. Rather, it binds together divergent discourses and holds them in relation to one-another. We will see this with the cases of SF throughout this dissertation; the specific qualities, values, and stakes of the term “SF” shift depending on the discursive fields in which it is being invoked, and the term is accordingly used toward a variety of artistic, economic, social, and political ends. For *SF Magazine*, this was a primarily textual discourse that served to inaugurate a new, quintessentially modern form of “pure literature” that could in turn announce Japan’s emergence as a major Cold War power. For *Uchūjin*, it was a primarily communal discourse that served to activate a democratic fan culture that could engage with its international counterparts on the basis of the lingua franca of SF. Finally, for the world of film and television, it was primarily a mediatic discourse that served to catalyze their respective industries and create a new visual aesthetics for a high consumerist, post-reconstruction age. The discursive focal point for SF may change in each case, but it always serves as a means of creating discursive relations between disparate elements in order to affect the contemporary socio-cultural landscape of Japan.

This theory of genre diverges from many prior treatments of the concept, such as those derived from Russian Formalism,³⁰ the later Structuralists.³¹ For the former, genres were more or less transhistorical categories that underwrite all other forms of cultural production, whereas for the latter, genre is a category that reflects the deep structures of history or the human psyche. More recently, analyses of genre arising out of cultural studies have pushed toward an understanding of the term that takes it as a social phenomenon, one which manifests, reflects, and/or shapes its social contexts – simultaneously product and critique.³² Nevertheless, for writers in all of these traditions, genre is essentially a quality *of the text*, whether that quality is inherent or arises in dialogue with other texts or with broader social conditions. To the extent that any of these authors treats genre relationally, it is relations between texts or between a text and society that are the focus of their analyses.

What I instead propose with the case of science fiction is a model of genre as a *force of relations*, which might also be phrased as a mode of communication. While this force certainly arises in connection to texts, I argue that the more pressing area of analytical interest is in the ways it manifested in socio-political relations between individuals. As this dissertation will show, genre is a force that exceeds texts, instead arraying a variety of textual, paratextual, and social elements and holding them together in relation. Genre shaped the reception of SF texts, on

³⁰ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973).

³¹ Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London; New York: Methuen, 1981); Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Gérard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, Quantum Books (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Susan J. Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature: The Subversion of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1996); Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London: Verso, 2005).

³² Amanda C. Seaman, *Bodies of Evidence: Women, Society, and Detective Fiction in 1990s Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Kawana, *Murder Most Modern*; Luc Boltanski and Catherine Porter, *Mysteries and Conspiracies: Detective Stories, Spy Novels and the Making of Modern Societies*, English edition. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).

the one hand, by framing them through specific discursive lenses; on the other hand, genre acted as a normative category that disciplined the texts themselves in their production. Socially speaking, SF was as much an identity as a genre, an identity that (precisely because of its construction through genre) turned its adherents toward trans-individual becoming.³³ SF texts, then, became the language by which this identity was articulated, communicated, and reinscribed.

³³ This is a concept that I draw from Gilbert Simondon and which was developed in more detail by Muriel Combes in her reading of Simondon's philosophy. Simondon viewed individual subjects as fundamentally processual, in a constant process of becoming in communication with their milieu. While Simondon is primarily interested in the "individuation" of individuals as a means of drawing a philosophical distinction between human and machine individuals, Muriel Combes would expand upon his ideas in order to consider the human subject as a "trans-individual" in a processual state of becoming within social milieus as well as physical. The subject, in her reading, is created through a communicative feedback loop with its milieu. Similarly, I argue that SF and its participants in Japan in the 1960s were in a similar feedback loop that defined both parties - subject and genre - simultaneously. Muriel Combes, *Gilbert Simondon and the Philosophy of the Transindividual*, trans. Thomas LaMarre (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013).

Chapter 1

Japanese Sci-Fi's Auto-Canonization: *SF Magazine* in the Cold War

In the October 1967 special issue of *SF Magazine*, commemorating its 100th issue since its founding in late 1959, there appeared a special roundtable (zadankai) entitled “What is SF to the Japanese?” (“Nihonjin ni totte SF to wa nani ka”).¹ The roundtable, which was moderated by *SF Magazine* editor-in-chief Fukushima Masami,² brought together major names in the worlds of SF and mystery writing to discuss what made SF and its Japanese readers unique.³ The discussion takes a comparative approach commensurate with the divided expertise of its participants and examines SF and mystery fiction from the perspective of readerly and writerly practice, aesthetic norms, social values, and national difference. Tied up in the question of SF’s uniqueness is the question of its popularity: what is it about SF, Fukushima asks at the start, that makes some people like it and some dislike it? Is it a question of the reader’s personal character (taishitsu)? Of the relative levels of education of the reader and the writer? Of Japan’s level of economic development? While the discussion obviously holds economic stakes for Fukushima as the editor of a magazine of SF, of more interest for our purposes is the scope of factors SF was seen to touch. The roundtable serves as a succinct summary of an ongoing discourse within *SF*

¹ “Nihonjin ni totte SF to wa nani ka,” *SF Magazine*, no. 100 (October 1967): 150–69.

² In addition to serving as *SF Magazine*’s first editor-in-chief, Fukushima was himself an SF author, publishing multiple novels and short stories throughout this period. Born in Karafuto (now Sakhalin) in 1929, Fukushima lived in colonial Manchuria between 1934 and 1937 before repatriating to Yokohama. Fukushima stepped down as editor-in-chief of *SF Magazine* and resigned from Hayakawa Shobō at the end of 1969 due to backlash from the SF writing community following highly critical comments he made of several prominent authors in an anonymous roundtable for the magazine. He died in 1976 of laryngeal cancer.

³ The roundtable participants included (from the SF side) Mayumura Taku and Ishikawa Takashi, as well as (from the mystery side) Sano Yō and Ikushima Jirō.

Magazine and the SF community more broadly that saw the question of the genre's success as one with implications at all levels of society, from individual character to national development.

Despite its profound importance to the history of Japanese science fiction, the decade of the 1960s has been mostly ignored in academic studies of the genre in favor of the early “proto-SF” texts from the turn of the 20th century or the later texts that took up issues of feminism, eco-criticism, and posthumanism starting in the 1980s.⁴ Yet the importance of this period as the moment in which science fiction's developmental trajectory was set cannot be understated. The 1960s was when science fiction emerged in Japan not only as a body of media texts, both literary and visual, but also when it appeared as a discursive entity whose values could be contested by interested parties. As we will see, the horizons of those values became very wide indeed. The words “science fiction” could denote significantly different things to different participants in the genre, and yet was nevertheless able to encompass all of the different meanings assigned to it. That is not to say that science fiction can mean anything equally validly, nor that all of these discursive streams were able to peacefully coexist within the media space of science fiction; instead, I argue that a combination of forces – media, discursive, and historical – kept certain fields of possibility active while foreclosing others, with the transformations of SF occurring at the overlap of these fields. The definitions assigned to the genre shifted as it was invoked in different discursive fields in order to make particular elements (of the genre and of the discourses in question) especially salient.

Studying the case of professional Japanese science fiction literary publication allows us to grasp how communities of authorship and readership develop unique identities within mass

⁴ See the Introduction for sources related to Meiji- and Taishō-era proto-SF. For an analysis of how themes of posthumanism are understood in Japanese SF from the 1980s onward, see Steven T. Brown, *Tokyo Cyberpunk: Posthumanism in Japanese Visual Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

culture, as well as how these identities move far beyond the horizons of the cultural products at their center. Science fiction discourse in Japan in the 1960s was not limited to the relative aesthetic merits of SF texts, though these texts were crucial in forming the shared language of that discourse for its participants. Instead, the values that SF was seen – or rather *made* – to represent would define a cultural, political, and ethical worldview for its community. As we will see in this chapter, viewing *SF Magazine* as a discursive arena as well as a carrier of texts clearly demonstrates the ways that its publisher, Hayakawa Shobō, guided and shaped the most prominent discursive streams in the early days of Japanese science fiction, enshrining the magazine as the place where the dominant understanding of SF in Japan was born.

Hayakawa Shobō was founded in 1945, initially as a publisher of theatrical materials and translations of foreign literature. Facing financial strain in the early 1950s, the company took to publishing mystery novels in their “Hayakawa Pocket Mystery Series” starting in 1953. They would later secure the Japanese market rights for the American pulp mystery publication *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine*, published by Mercury Press, who also published *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. *SF Magazine* similarly originated in 1959 as the Japanese edition of *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* but would soon become independent of the American publication. Today, Hayakawa Shobō is primarily known for its SF and mystery publications, though foreign translations have remained a mainstay for the company.⁵

By 1967, when the *SF Magazine* roundtable was published, science fiction was a well-established and expanding genre within Japan. While Nagayama Yasuo finds evidence of the speculative impulse in literature and other cultural productions at least as far back as the Meiji

⁵ In a fitting confluence of genre fiction and literature in translation, Hayakawa Shobō notably owns the Japanese rights to the works of Agatha Christie.

Period,⁶ SF as a self-identified genre (that is, SF that called itself SF) had existed in Japan from about 1954 with the founding of the SF fanzine (dōjinshi) *Seiun*. *Seiun* published only a single issue in December of that year, but reflected the growing interest in SF among Japanese readers. While we examined some of the early “proto-SF” that could be identified in pre- and inter-war Japan in the Introduction, *Seiun* was responding to demand for science fiction of the type carried in pulp magazines and novels read by GIs in the US Occupation, which had officially ended two years prior. *Seiun* was the first Japanese science fiction magazine, and the first to feature science fiction stories by Japanese authors, though translations of stories by Robert Heinlein and Judith Merril took up the bulk of the magazine. As we will see throughout this dissertation, then, translations and domestically produced texts comingled in the Japanese SF sphere from its beginnings, and many of the prominent authors of “first wave” science fiction in Japan were also active translators of foreign works from a variety of source languages.

Nagayama’s identification of the Meiji period as a historical frame for SF’s development is nevertheless significant, as it betrays a desire (shared by much of the discourse community of 1960s SF) to tie SF to the historical imaginary of the modern Japanese nation state as a whole. Komatsu Sakyō, writing in 1982, goes back even farther in tracing Japanese SF’s historical roots. His “Pre-history of Japanese SF” (“Nihon SF zenshi”) states unequivocally, “The first appearance of Japanese ‘pre-SF’ was in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*,”⁷ two 8th century documents that became foundational texts for the Japanese nation state as imagined in the contemporary period. Komatsu finds “pre-SF” in every major historical moment in Japan, seeing its traces in popular narrative artistic media (literature, performing arts, dance) that engage with notions of

⁶ Yasuo Nagayama, *Nihon SF seishinshi: bakumatsu, Meiji kara sengo made*, Kawade bukkusu (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2009).

⁷ Sakyō Komatsu, *Komatsu Sakyō no SF seminaa* (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1982), 84.

the supernatural, ghostly, or otherwise non-human.⁸ Komatsu singles out most every canonical art form in Japan as containing an SF-like character at some point or another. Notably, his identification of SF qualities in premodern art seems to be correlated with a given medium's imagined status as a popular, democratic art form, a political inclination that resonates with the 1960s conception of SF's political ideology to which I will return in the final section of this chapter.

How do we explain the impulse to retroactively create a genealogy of science fiction, such that it appears at all points in Japanese history, in all forms of canonical national culture? How can we understand the desire to turn SF into a Japanese national tradition, and by what means did its proponents attempt to do so? Here, I will examine the discursive positioning of professional SF literature and analyze the ways in which its rhetoric overlapped with that of contemporary "pure literature" (*junbungaku*) and borrowed the national cultural importance accorded to the latter category. To the participants of the 1967 roundtable, the success of science fiction in Japan was predicated on a certain kind of individual and national character, one that would yield a properly receptive audience. Specifically, the magazine's construction of the genre as I analyze it in this chapter positioned it as one built upon bourgeois liberal intellectualism, seen by SF's proponents as the most fitting aesthetic and ideological stance to navigate the cultural and geopolitical landscape of the Cold War. Through its role as a discursive and pedagogical space, *SF Magazine* endeavored to construct its proper audience, even as it heralded the genre's success as indexing the fact that such an audience always already existed in Japan.

⁸ Here and in the following paragraph, see Komatsu, 81–103.

Analyzing the discourse of science fiction in this formative period, then, allows us to see what sort of Japanese identity those behind it were seeking to bring about. This discourse is most concentrated in the pages of *SF Magazine*, but also encompasses SF novels and anthologies in less explicit ways. Professional science fiction, centered on *SF Magazine* and the coterie of authors convened in its pages, characterized the genre and its community as intellectually minded and cosmopolitan. In so doing, the publication created a model of subjectivity for its audience that was defined precisely through the act of consuming science fiction. At the same time, discourse surrounding professional SF positioned Japan as being in a unique position to mediate between the US and Soviet blocs, with *SF Magazine* itself modeling a transnational community of science fiction authors able to overcome issues of national difference. Science fiction production, in turn, would be held up as a model for – or even means of – resolving Cold War tensions and bringing about world peace.

Excluded from this model, however, were those elements that challenged or fell outside of its fundamentally dichotomous Cold War world view, including interlocutors outside of the US-Soviet split as well as political questions that might destabilize the US-Japan relation. Despite *SF Magazine*'s aspirations to act as a bridge between the major powers of the Cold War – or perhaps precisely because of them – it could not critique the conditions of possibility for the conflict in any but the most abstract terms. As we will see, this fundamental political ambivalence would become a point of criticism leveled at the magazine toward the end of the decade.

Hayakawa Shobō's Mechanics of Canonization

While SF might have grown to the point that it could be conceivably connected to matters of national importance by the time Fukushima chaired the 1967 roundtable, just 10 years before, there hardly existed a term in Japanese for “science fiction.” A number of industrial and rhetorical moves would help the genre expand steadily throughout the 1960s to reach what some call its first “golden age” in the 1970s.⁹ Just as important to canonizing the genre would be the work of making that designation seem natural, a matter of common sense. Fukushima Masami, in his role as editor-in-chief for *SF Magazine*, would devote considerable effort here.

We have already seen Fukushima's apparent recognition of the stakes of canonicity for SF in the form of the 1967 roundtable discussed above. However, efforts to make SF seem always already present within Japanese society were underway from the very moment of the publication's founding. “By now,” begins an article near the front of the inaugural issue of *SF Magazine*, “there aren't many people that do not know the term science fiction (*saiensu fikushon*).”¹⁰ The article, entitled “*Saiensu fikushon na no yūrai*” (“The Origins of the Term Science Fiction”) and presumably written by Fukushima, goes on to give a somewhat more conservative account than Komatsu's of the history of science fiction literature – specifically, the history of the term “science fiction” itself – in Japan, an account that would be frequently echoed. Beginning with the introduction of translations of Jules Verne and H.G. Wells in the Meiji period, it traces through SF-focused magazines in Great Britain and the United States that employed such terms as “scientific romance” or “amazing stories,” and eventually ends with the

⁹ See, for example, Akiko Hirao, “Binding a universe: The formation and transmutations of ‘The Best Japanese SF’ (‘*Nenkan Nihon SF Kessakusen*’) anthology series” (M.A., Ann Arbor, United States, 2016); Atsushi Sasaki, *Nippon no bungaku*, Kōdansha gendai shinsho 2356 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2016).

¹⁰ “*Saiensu Fikushon na no yūrai*,” *SF Magazine*, February 1960.

term “science fiction.” A few dozen pages later, in a column dedicated to presenting the latest information on SF films that had recently debuted, the author begins, “It is not clear to this author from when the term science fiction¹¹ developed, but as is well-known (shūchi), astounding developments like those of today increased sharply¹² following the second world war.”¹³ The appeals to common knowledge imply that science fiction was, by February 1960 when the issue was published, a well-established genre recognizable to Japanese readers.

Yet if we recognize a hint of denial in the frequency with which these claims of universal understanding are made, it is because the definition of SF was still very much under debate, and Hayakawa Shobō, publisher of *SF Magazine*, had a significant stake in the outcome of that debate. Founded in 1945, Hayakawa initially published materials related to theater and foreign literature in translation, but moved into publishing foreign and domestic SF and mystery – the genres for which they are today best known – in the 1950s. For the relatively young publishing house, the genre of SF, which was largely unknown in Japan at the time, presented a business opportunity, but also risk. Indeed, Japanese science fiction has been a contested literature from its very inception. As literary critic Tatsumi Takayuki phrases it in the English-language preface to the edited volume *The History of Japanese SF Debates (Nihon SF Ronsō-shi)*, “To put it simply, Japanese SF history is another name for Japanese SF controversial history.”¹⁴ Numerous authors and critics writing in *SF Magazine* and elsewhere would debate the genre’s definition, its boundaries, its purpose, and the contributions it might make to its readers and society at large. As with any debate over a genre and its definitions, this has been a discussion without end in the

¹¹ Unlike in “The Origins of the Name of Science Fiction,” this article leaves “science fiction” in Roman characters. It should be noted, however, that the former article made liberal use of Roman characters, as well, in presenting the original orthographies for science fiction’s progenitor terms.

¹² The literal terms used are “formed a sharp curve”, implying the upward slope of an exponential curve.

¹³ Toshio Oka, “SF Eiga Tenbō 1: Kūsō Kagaku Eiga Makaritōru,” *SF Magazine*, February 1960, 84.

¹⁴ Tatsumi, *Nihon SF Ronsō-shi*, 43.

Japanese SF community.¹⁵ It would be unproductive to try to “solve” the questions that form the horizons of discourse for Japanese SF. Instead, in following genre theorists such as Alastair Fowler and Hans Robert Jauss, we are better served to look at how provisional answers to these questions were being used rhetorically and strategically to guide the development of SF in a given direction.¹⁶

For *SF Magazine* and its editor Fukushima, this generally meant pushing the fledgling genre in the direction of high literature (*junbungaku*). Edward Mack has analyzed the rhetorical and industrial strategies involved in constructing the concept of “modern Japanese literature,” deconstructing the notion of national high literature as a naturally occurring, objective phenomenon that merely needs to be recognized.¹⁷ Mack contends that extraliterary forces like anthologies and awards helped to consolidate the concept of “literature” in the 1920s and 1930s in Japan. In other words, just as important to determining the literary value of a given text as its internal aesthetic qualities were the external discursive and commercial elements surrounding its production, distribution, sale, and reception. *SF Magazine* and its publisher Hayakawa Shobō utilized many of the same methods of canonization for the SF works published in the magazine as modern literature itself in Mack’s analysis.

From a rhetorical standpoint, the editor’s introduction to the first issue of the magazine is illustrative. A similar appeal to readerly common knowledge as the other articles analyzed thus

¹⁵ Hirao, for example, notes that even in their introductions to the yearly *Best Japanese SF (Nenkan nihon SF kessakusen)* anthology, which started in the mid-2000s, editors Ōmori Nozomi and Kusaka Sanzō continue to ask, “What is SF?” Hirao, “Binding a universe,” 3.

¹⁶ Fowler and Jauss both advocate for a diachronic view of genre, one that takes the history of reception into account in arriving at a definition for a given genre. For both, such an approach to genre allows access to the deep structures that genres reflect, and it is thus here that my own argument diverges from theirs. In short, I am less interested in understanding SF as a Structuralist symptom of social conditions, but rather as simultaneously a product and driver of social transformations. SF shows how genre is not a passive reflection, but an active social force. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*; Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.

¹⁷ Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature* passim. I will delve more deeply into the details of Mack’s argument below.

far appears early on in the short introduction when Fukushima says, “the history of fantastical science fiction stories, from as far back as Jules Verne and H.G. Wells, certainly cannot be said to be new, but that it has developed by leaps and bounds in both quality and quantity since the end of the second world war... is something [our readers] already know well (sude ni go-shōchi no tōri desu).”¹⁸ Despite claiming to be “the first magazine of authentic fantastical science fiction stories in the country (wagakuni hatsu no honkakuteki kūsō kagaku shōsetsu-shi),” the preface presumes a basic level of understanding on the part of the reader as to the global history of “fantastical science fiction stories.” This term, a translation of kūsō kagaku shōsetsu, is one of a number used for science fiction throughout the early period of the genre’s development more or less interchangeably. Other variations include a transliteration of the English term “science fiction” (saiensu fikushon) and the abbreviation “SF” (esu efu). It is this last term which has become the most common way to refer to the genre in Japanese.

An educated reader becomes the standard for *SF Magazine*’s imagined audience, and educated authors are similarly imagined to supply the science fiction that they read. The preface is at pains to spell this out as it articulates exactly what kinds of SF the magazine seeks to publish:

What we must say at the outset is that what this publication means by SF is not merely the commonly known space adventure stories (uchū bōken shōsetsu). Of course it goes without saying that we include space stories based on scientific data, but beyond that it is also this publication’s mission to introduce as a new literary form the masterworks of every domain of the mainstream of modern SF, including stories of the future that develop critiques of civilization based on a wealth of intelligence (yutaka na chisei), SF suspense-thrillers that give one shivers and goosebumps, beautiful phantasmagorical stories (gensō shōsetsu) continuing in the tradition of Poe, etc.¹⁹

¹⁸ SF Magazine Henshūbu, “Editors’ Preface,” *SF Magazine*, February 1960.

¹⁹ SF Magazine Henshūbu.

Fukushima emphasizes the role of intellect (*chisei*) in the stories his magazine would publish, implicitly setting *SF Magazine*'s contents apart from mass literature (*taishū bungaku*) and onto an elevated plane of culture.

The articles carried within the magazine reinforced its image as an intellectual publication. Each month's issue saw popular science educational articles like "Chikyū monogatari" ("Tales of Earth") or "Saiensu Toppikusu" ("Science Topics") published alongside the fiction offerings. Accompanied by photographs of star nebulae and illustrations demonstrating the shape of the Milky Way, etc., these informational articles equipped the magazine's readership with the scientific knowledge it would need to appreciate the "wealth of intelligence" included in fictional stories carried each month. Whether the monthly nonfiction columns had the desired effect of educating their readers such that those readers might become more sophisticated consumers of SF is uncertain. However, the presence of the official charts and tables, together with the explanations of scientific phenomena, certainly advanced *SF Magazine*'s image as the "thinking man's" science fiction publication. The non-fiction articles implicitly framed the genre's artistic praxis around scientific, data-driven speculation to be evaluated and appreciated by an intellectual audience.

A properly educated community apparently took some time to develop, a fact that was reflected on the magazine's cover. In her dissertation analyzing *SF Magazine*'s visual language, Kathryn Page-Lippsmeyer notes a distinctive lack of bodies appearing in the magazine's cover illustrations throughout much of the 1960s.²⁰ Instead, the focus falls on otherworldly landscapes and cosmic vistas, a stark contrast to *SF Magazine*'s American counterpart, *Fantasy & Science Fiction*, which tended to illustrate a scene from a particular story in that month's issue and center

²⁰ Kathryn Page-Lippsmeyer, "The Space of Japanese Science Fiction: Illustration, Subculture, and the Body in 'SF Magazine'" (Dissertation, Los Angeles, University of Southern California, 2016).

the bodies of the protagonists in the picture plane. Figures 2 and 3, below, are the covers of the first issue and January 1961 issue of *SF Magazine*, respectively, and are representative of the magazine's visual style throughout much of the decade. Figure 4, by contrast, is the June 1969 cover for *Fantasy & Science Fiction*, illustrating a scene from Poul Anderson's "Operation Changeling," the latter half of which was carried in that month's issue. Page-Lippsmeyer attributes this more atmospheric focus in *SF Magazine* to the nebulous status of SF as a genre at the time. Illustrator Nakajima Seikan was imagining the "space of SF," in which a genre and its fan community could emerge into being. Page-Lippsmeyer tracks the slow emergence of progressively more-recognizable bodies on the covers of the magazine toward the end of the decade, as the SF community came into focus and could be better reflected on the cover of their favorite magazine. I analyze the SF fan community in more detail in Chapter 2, but for now, it suffices to say that the rhetorical positioning of SF by Hayakawa and Fukushima was not a process that occurred overnight, nor did it proceed along just one line.



Figure 2: The cover of SF Magazine's first issue. Source: SF Magazine 1 no. 1 (February 1960).

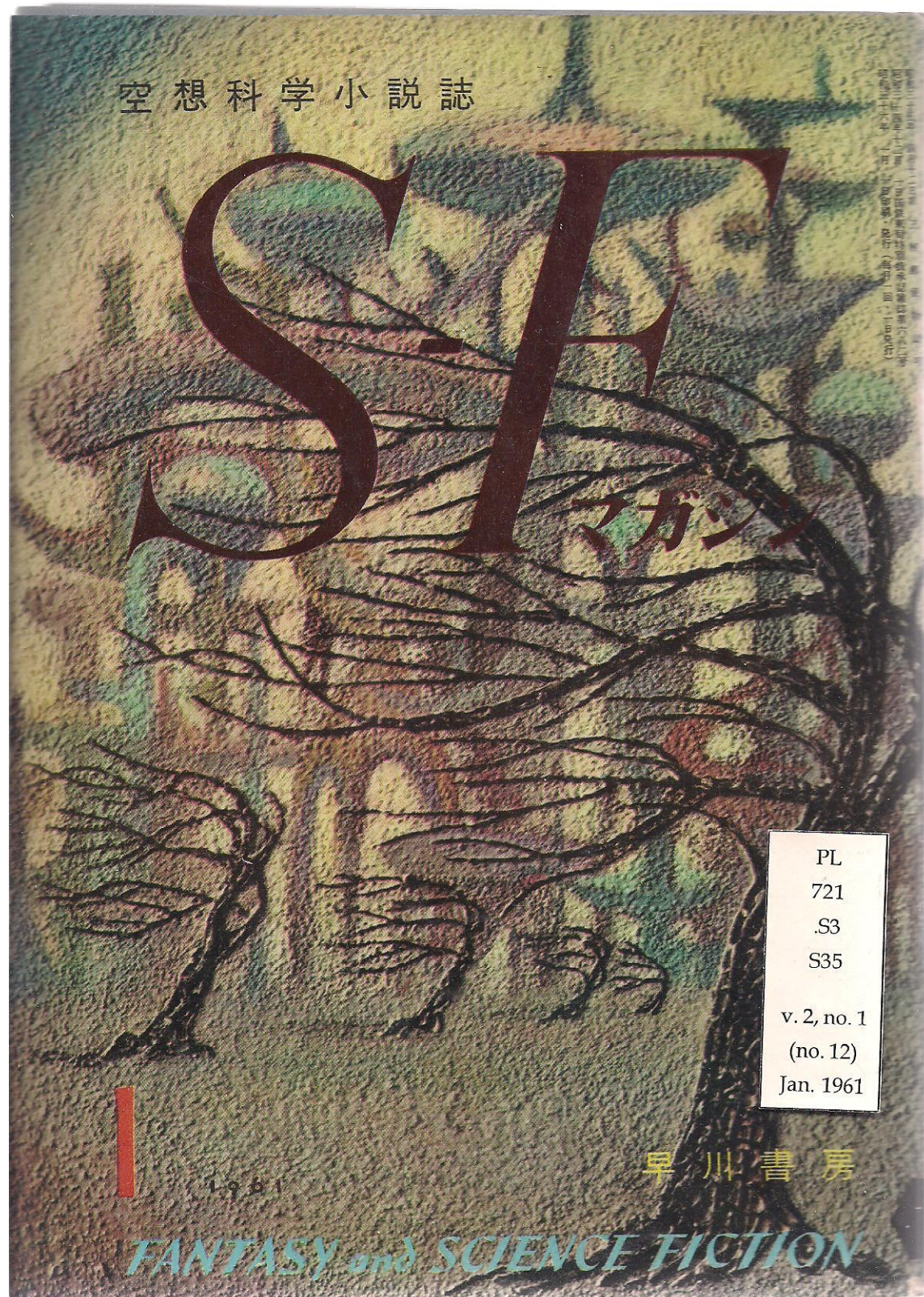


Figure 3: SF Magazine's January 1961 cover. Source: SF Magazine 2 no. 1 (January 1961).

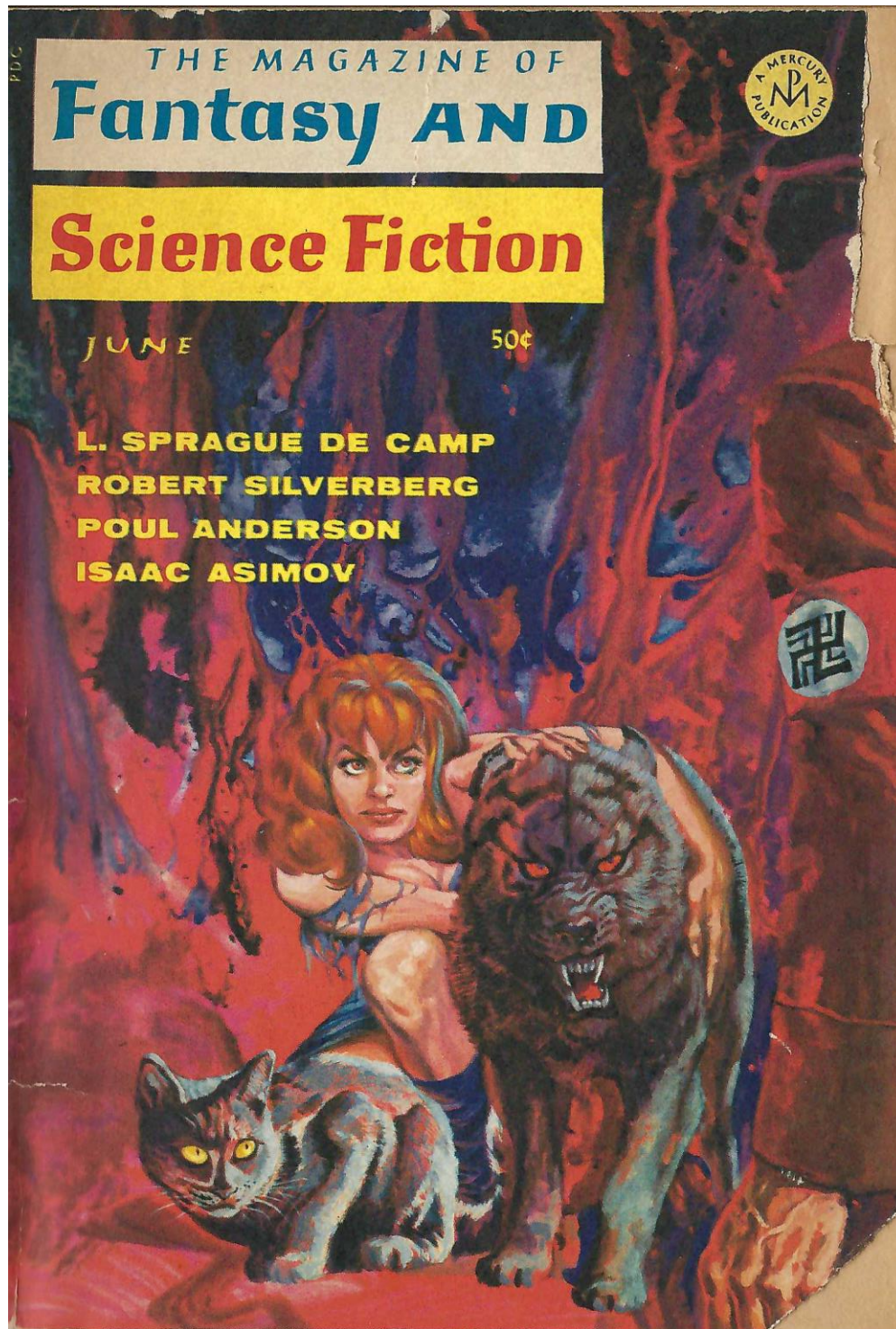


Figure 4: Fantasy & Science Fiction's June 1969 cover. Source: The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction 36 no. 6 (June 1969).

Despite the democratic, egalitarian promise of such an approach to fiction, however, the embodied aspects of subjectivity imagined for SF's audience in the magazine were still

conservatively patriarchal. These assumptions are exposed in a letter printed in the January 1961 issue from a female fan, who apparently feels the need to preface her letter with, “Please don’t say that female SF fans are too brazen, or something like that.”²¹ The rest of her letter goes on to express her excitement at the appearance of a professional magazine of science fiction in Japan, as well as to ask advice on how to get her husband – a veteran of the Pacific War – interested in the genre. Her instinct to speak on behalf of a monolithic notion of “female SF fans,” as well as to preemptively deny hypothetical charges of brazenness – presumably for entering a media space dominated by men as a woman – reveals the norms by which the SF reader community was imagined.

Such a gender gap would align with the rest of the contemporary world of SF, which has classically been characterized as a male-dominated genre. A predominantly male readership would also reflect the demographics of authorship visible in the magazine’s tables of contents, where women authors (and especially Japanese women authors) were almost entirely absent throughout the decade.²² It is therefore imaginable that the transgressive force of this woman’s entry into the male space of SF is partly contained by her close association with a man (her husband), allowing her “brazenness” to be excused. Alternatively, we could also theorize that the similarity of her letter’s contents – and especially her enthusiasm around the appearance of a professional Japanese SF publication – was similar enough to the male letter writers appearing alongside her and sufficiently aligned with the commercial goals of the magazine that her “brazen” status as a female fan was able to be overlooked. The promotion of the magazine as the new tastemaker of Japanese SF, as well as demonstrating fans’ eagerness to become ambassadors

²¹ “Terepōto,” *SF Magazine*, January 1961.

²² Fujio Ishihara, ed., *SF magajin indekkusu 1-100*, Expanded edition (Kamakura: S-F shiryō kenkyūkai, 1980).

for the genre, allow the normative expectations around the readerly community to be momentarily relaxed.

Education, then, was a means, on the one hand, of elevating the magazine's audience. *SF Magazine* consistently touted the genre as one requiring a particular kind of reader, specifically one interested in and educated about the latest in popular science topics, and the magazine's informational columns were there to furnish readers with the knowledge they would need to fully understand SF. At the same time, this rhetoric was used to elevate SF itself, cordoning it off as a genre that requires study and thus positioning it within the purview of intellectualist bourgeois taste and technocratic utility for contemporary Japanese society. By becoming an object of study, moreover, *SF Magazine* stood as the gatekeeper of knowledge, ready to dispense to its readers the necessary scientific learning to properly appreciate the stories it carried.

Another strategy we see employed from early in the magazine's history was the use of awards. Winning awards is one justification given in the first issue for the inclusion of stories by certain authors. Small insets near the beginning of each story detail the professional accomplishments of each author, including innovations in the genre of SF and of course any major awards won by the author. The emphasis on the authors' careers not only cements their status as literary figures worthy of inclusion in the magazine, but also gives readers who did not immediately recognize their names as intended the opportunity to broaden their knowledge of the SF publication world that Hayakawa Shobō wished to create.

More than just recognizing the awards handed out to authors by peer SF entities, Hayakawa Shobō made the move to begin bestowing awards itself. In 1961, *SF Magazine* held the first “Kūsō kagaku shōsetsu kontesuto” (“Fantastical Science Fiction Stories Contest”)²³ to

²³ This prize contest has been held irregularly, though it has been running yearly from 2013 to the present and has gone through multiple names. The first was called “*Kūsō kagaku shōsetsu kontesuto*,” the second and third simply

be given to Japanese SF authors. The award seems to have started from a desire to see more Japanese authors appearing in the magazine, which up until then had been primarily filled with translations of foreign works. In a short response to a fan writing in to the monthly letters column in January lamenting the paucity of Japanese SF authors, the editors state, “The editors expect the appearance of excellent new writers with the ‘SF Contest.’ Further, this year we plan on taking up works from Japanese authors as much as we are able. Starting in the February issue, please expect the appearance of a great number of Japanese authors.”²⁴ The “Kūsō kagaku shōsetsu kontesuto” was thus meant to function similarly to the prize contests Kōno Kensuke discusses in the context of Meiji-era newspaper readership, “in which a community of readers could become a community of writers in the blink of an eye.”²⁵ Though none of the submissions won the grand prize that year, the first- and second-place honorable mentions (*kasaku*) were printed in the September and October issues for 1961, serving as examples of SF writing to be emulated.²⁶

We can think of these texts as part of the emerging “dynamic canon” of Japanese SF during the early 1960s. Edward Mack uses this term to describe the function of the Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes for literature and the way they produce a set of works canonized as “popular”

“*SF kontesuto*,” and the fourth “*SF sandai kontesuto*” (“SF Big 3 Contest” in reference to the newly introduced categorization of fiction, art, and *manga/gekiga*), before settling on “*Hayakawa • SF kontesuto*” in the fifth iteration. The dot would be dropped upon the award’s reinstatement in 2012.

²⁴ “Terepōto.”

²⁵ I cite the translation of Kōno’s essay as it appeared in Michael K. Bourdaghs, ed., *The Linguistic Turn in Contemporary Japanese Literary Studies: Politics, Language, Textuality*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies, no. 68 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2010), 219.

²⁶ The first-place story was Yamada Yoshio’s “Chikyū egoizumu” (“Earthly Egoism”) and the second-place story was Mayumura Taku’s “Kakyū aideaman” (“Low-grade Idea Man”). Also notable in the contest’s results was the debut work of Komatsu Sakyō, to whom I will return in detail below, “Chi ni wa heiwa wo” (“Peace on Earth”), which won that year’s consolation prize (*doryoku-shō*), as well as first or early appearances by many of the most prominent authors of Japanese SF in the 1960s. These included Toyota Arisune, Hirai Kazumasa, and Kosumi Rei – the penname under which the fanzine *Uchūjin*’s editor Shibano Takumi wrote fictional works.

or (especially) “high” literature that changes over time.²⁷ The act of conferring the awards does not simply reveal preexisting qualities of a text, but instead continually produces the categories of “pure” and “popular” literature themselves, while also elevating the prize committee judges as arbiters of taste. As Mack describes it in reference to the Akutagawa Prize committee, “The ability to elevate works into the category of pure literature is a form of power.”²⁸ For *SF Magazine*, then, the conferral of the contest award distinctions serves to inscribe the boundaries of “excellent SF” while also elevating the magazine – as the venue in which the award-winners are printed – as a cultural institution. This authority is not a given, however, and so we might read the presence of Abe Kōbō – a member of the mainstream literary establishment and SF author – and Tsuburaya Eiji, Tanaka Tomoyuki, and Fujimoto Sanezumi – who were all involved in creating *Gojira* (*Godzilla*, Honda Ishiro dir.) eight years before – as giving a “jump start” to the credentials of the magazine in organizing the award. With almost 350 submissions to the second iteration of the contest in 1962, we can conclude that their efforts were largely successful.

Not all recognition for SF was equally desirable for *SF Magazine*, and acknowledgement that might signal success for other forms of high culture was sometimes instead rejected by the magazine’s coterie. In 1966, for instance, Chief Cabinet Secretary Hashimoto Tomisaburō announced a nationwide submission contest commemorating the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Meiji Period. Entrants were to pen creative works imagining “21st Century Japan” and submit them for the chance at a one million-yen prize. In the June issue of *SF Magazine* that year, a roundtable discussion concerning the contest was held, attended by Abe Kōbō, Hoshi Shin’ichi, and Komatsu Sakyō, three of the biggest names in professional SF literature. Despite what essentially amounted to a national science fiction contest promoted from

²⁷ Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 181–222.

²⁸ Mack, 184.

the highest levels of the Japanese state, the roundtable participants were largely skeptical of the event. Komatsu posits that the Cabinet Ministry was using the contest as a cynical means of distracting from contemporary political deadlock rather than out of any sincere desire to consider the future of the nation.²⁹ Moderator Ishikawa Takashi echoes this sentiment, noting that the contest, “is being roundly criticized as a government publicity stunt.”³⁰ Other criticisms included the total prize money of 20 million yen being a waste of taxpayer money and the proliferation of judging committees representing bureaucratic bloat.³¹ What in the private sector of *SF Magazine* and Tōhō Studios might have been viewed as an impressive prize pool and esteemed panel of judges befitting the genre is, in the public sector, disparaged as wasteful and misguided. I will return to this roundtable discussion below, but here, it is sufficient to note that only certain organizations were sanctioned as peers who were properly able to create and distribute prestige to SF.

Nearly simultaneously to beginning the SF Contest, Hayakawa Shobō set about creating a “static canon”³² to complement the dynamic canon taking shape in *SF Magazine*. The publisher inaugurated the *Nihon SF shirīzu* (*Japanese SF Series*)³³ in 1964 with Komatsu Sakyō’s *Fukkatsu no hi* (translated into English by Daniel Huddleston in 2012 as *Virus: The Day of Resurrection*). The anthology series, totaling 15 titles by 10 authors in all by the end of its run in 1969, gave subscribers a curated, unified picture of “Japanese SF,” the naming of which called

²⁹ “‘21seiki no Nihon’ wo kangaeru,” *SF Magazine* 7, no. 6 (June 1966): 71.

³⁰ “‘21seiki no Nihon’ wo kangaeru,” 69.

³¹ “‘21seiki no Nihon’ wo kangaeru,” 71.

³² Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 91–138.

³³ The full anthology was 15 volumes. After *Fukkatsu no hi*, novels published in the series were (in order): Mitsuse Ryū’s *Tasogare ni kaeru*, Hoshi Shin’ichi’s *Muma no hyōteki*, Mayumura Taku’s *Expo ’87*, Abe Kōbō’s *Ningen sokkuri*, Sano Yō’s *Tōmei jutai*, Komatsu Sakyō’s *Esupai*, Tsutsui Yasutaka’s *48oku no mōsō*, Mayumura’s *Gen’ei no kōsei*, Komatsu’s *Hateshinaki nagare no hate ni*, Mitsuse’s *Hyaku oku no hiru to sen oku no yoru*, Toyota Arisune’s *Mongoru no zankō*, Tsutsui’s *Uma no kubi fū’un-roku*, Hirai Kazumasa’s *Megaroporisu no tora*, and Takigawa Kyō’s *Ibu no jidai*.

such an entity into being and invested its component texts with prestige they would not have enjoyed otherwise. The first anthology of its kind in Japan, the *Nihon SF shirīzu* allowed Hayakawa Shobō to set the standard for what constituted “Japanese SF.”

An interesting deviation from Mack’s analysis of the static and dynamic canons of modern Japanese literature is the interaction between these two canons in the case of mid-century SF. The authors featured in the *Nihon SF shirīzu* were all actively being published in *SF Magazine* at the same time that the series was going on, and some of the novels published in the anthology were first serialized within the magazine. The anthology and the magazine reinforce one another, and readers are encouraged to move back and forth between the static and dynamic canons of Japanese sci-fi in order to get the full picture of the nation’s SF production. Hayakawa Shobō placed itself at the center of the Japanese SF literary sphere, enshrining the canonical core of Japanese SF as well as its ongoing evolution and growth. We are thus in a position to ask what kinds of values the publisher and its magazine sought to accrue to science fiction. What was the place of science fiction in Japan and the larger world as articulated by the media practices of Hayakawa and *SF Magazine*? We find a representative answer in the text chosen to initiate the *Nihon SF shirīzu*, Komatsu Sakyō’s *Fukkatsu no hi*.

Fukkatsu no hi and Japanese SF’s Anti-Politics

Komatsu’s 1964 novel narrates the end of the world as brought about by a secret, bioengineered virus, and serves as a meditation on the incompatibility of a Cold War factionalist mindset with the interconnected reality of the natural world. Throughout, inclusive liberal rationalism is

emphasized as the most ethical mode of being for the contemporary moment. *SF Magazine's* ethics of intellectualism and scientism are epitomized in *Fukkatsu no hi*, becoming the means by which a new and better world can be built upon the ruins of the old. The text serves as an ambivalently cautionary tale in which the values of SF that were being articulated in the pages of Hayakawa's monthly magazine might not be enough to prevent apocalypse but could at least ensure the continuation of the human race in spite of it. Democratic, scientific intellectualism, when applied as a model for communal human existence as a whole, points human beings on an upward developmental trajectory, securing the promise of an enlightened and prosperous future even after society as we know it is destroyed.

The text's main cast is an international group of scientists stationed in Antarctica. They are reminiscent of the pointedly multicultural cast of *Star Trek* (1966-1969), and like Gene Roddenberry's television series the group is used as a model of a utopian future. *Fukkatsu no hi* concerns itself with the promises and dangers of connection and isolation in a Cold War world. It is explicitly the isolationist secrecy of the world's militaries – specifically those of the US, Britain, and the USSR – that is responsible for allowing the virus to spread; military reticence to reveal their secret bioweaponry research hampers the international medical response to the epidemic, and by the time civilian doctors discover what is happening, it is already too late. Military-industrial information hoarding is depicted as an existential threat to the world.

By contrast, the civilian scientist characters are democratic and open in sharing and aggregating the knowledge they produce. Upon realizing that they are the sole remaining members of the human race, they quickly and efficiently organize a small-scale society among the Antarctic research bases, using logic and scientific rationality to delegate labor, distribute resources, maintain social order, organize research outings, and systematize reproduction. Old

national identities are erased in favor of a post-national, post-racial model of social equality and self-sacrifice in the name of the greater good for the human race. When a fluke of luck causes an automated nuclear response system cascade to eradicate the super-virus, the scientists eventually make their way outside the Antarctic to repopulate the globe in line with this new, enlightened scientific social order.

Komatsu's worldview is one that emphasizes a fundamental contiguity between all people, one that is intensified under the material conditions of modernity. A scene from the beginning of the novel represents this global connectivity through air travel. Komatsu visualizes railways and air traffic routes as circulatory vectors for disease transmission. At the close of the first chapter, the biological superweapon has been released into the world – fittingly, because the spy plane carrying it has crashed in the Italian Alps – when the focus of the narration drifts away from the site of the wreckage, as though the text itself is the virus, being carried up and dispersed by the jet stream. It spends a short time describing the rivers, mountains, and other natural boundaries that divide Europe before shifting to a similar description of international rail lines and airports:

The railway that passes by Italy's northern entry point of Torino ran west by way of Milan, passing through Venice, Trieste, Beograd, and Sofia on the way to Istanbul, gateway to Asia, then turning southwest, past Genoa and the eastern coast of Italy on the way to Rome and Napoli. To the east, it ran through Lyon and Dijon to Paris, heading into the very heart of Europe. From Milan, there was also a line that ran through the famous Simplon Tunnel to arrive at Lausanne and Geneva in Switzerland. All of middle and eastern Europe was bound together in a net of railways. In the great cities of Europe – Rome, Paris, Geneva – there were international airports where streams of people flew down from the sky and back up into it, flowing like great rivers...³⁴

³⁴ Sakyo Komatsu, *Virus: The Day of Resurrection*, trans. Daniel Huddleston, First Edition (San Francisco, CA: Haikasoru, 2012), 48–49.

Komatsu's description deconstructs two types of boundaries: political and epistemological. On the one hand, the flows of international travel as embodied by the rail and air routes enumerated here effaces the political boundaries between European countries – boundaries which demarcated the Cold War lines of political alliance that will be one of the main drivers of conflict in the rest of the novel and which must be overcome in order to ensure the survival of the human race. On the other, the naturalistic description of air travel, in which flows of people are compared to “great rivers,” stresses the contiguity between the binary categories of natural and artificial. The people of Europe here are connected on a fundamental level not only with one another but also with the natural world.

Given the apocalyptic implications of the virus that the reader has already gleaned, this seems less like a sunny meditation on the border-dissolving potentials of international travel and global connectivity, and more like an epidemiological diagnosis of the virus's spread. In other words, though we may consider natural and political boundaries to be dividing lines that separate the Self and the Other in national terms, Komatsu inverts this understanding to show how boundaries also stitch those two categories together inseparably. It is by misdiagnosing the function these boundaries fulfill that the governments in the novel not only create the bioweapon, but also allow it to spread once it has broken its containment. Thus, we can see that, for Komatsu, it is not the fact of global connection itself that holds the emancipatory potential, but the ability and willingness of human beings to recognize that potential and pursue it. Put another way, humans must recognize and embrace the circulatory pathways of culture and society, lest these arteries become infected with something more sinister and destructive.

The cure for these ills is none other than the intellect that *SF Magazine* promoted among its readers. The novel's faith in scientific rationality and liberal ethics as organizing principles

for human society is a consistent theme throughout the book, and Komatsu depicts scientists who are working to freely disseminate knowledge as unambiguously good. Scientific knowledge and its proliferation are taken as the basis on which a just society can be built, overcoming all obstacles of national or racial division. *Fukkatsu no hi*'s optimistic ending paints a hopeful picture in which the world is able to transcend the national divisions and militaristic secrecy of the Cold War. Political divisions are scrubbed away by the novel's end, and they are replaced by a version of civilization molded in the image of *SF Magazine*'s "intellect." The democratic and pacifist scientists emerge from the Antarctic to remake human society in a world that has been wiped clean.

Stylistically, *Fukkatsu no hi* is written in the same empirical realist mode as the majority of the fiction being published in *SF Magazine* at the time. A limited-omniscient third-person narrator aligns the reader's experience of the virus's spread and the global reaction to it with the perspectives of an array of characters that are caught in the middle of the crisis. The reader is given access to the internal thoughts of the character with whom they are aligned, allowing them to see how, for example, the doctors encountering the virus arrive through ratiocination at an understanding of its epidemiological properties. The scientists and doctors who serve as the main objects of reader sympathy are unfailingly rational in their thought processes, using evidence-based reasoning to deduce what must be done. This aligns with the general narrative arc of many of the stories that appeared in *SF Magazine* at the time, in which the protagonist is able to uncover the truth of a mysterious phenomenon only after careful investigation. A narrative structure of discovery combines with an ethical stance of humanism in *Fukkatsu no hi* to produce a resolution in which the protagonists arrive at the understanding that, more than the

virus itself, it was the fact of humanity divided against itself that was the largest obstacle to human thriving.

In terms of the Cold War world system under which *Fukkatsu no hi* was published, Komatsu's liberal scientism and humanist, anti-war message would appear to be fairly politically neutral. Indeed, SF writers and critics preferred to think of themselves as outside of politics in a stance that resonates with the later label of "non-political" (nonpori). Japanese citizens who described themselves as non-political used it in contrast with the kinds of activist politics that characterized the 1960 Anpo protests and the increasingly violent New Left that arose post-Anpo. According to Nick Kapur, for the so-called non-political class (nonpori-sō), politics felt progressively more distant and disconnected from their increasingly affluent daily lives under Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato's "income doubling" economic plan.³⁵ It would be hard to characterize *Fukkatsu no hi* as an activist novel, and so Komatsu appears to be taking part in being non-political in his writing. Similarly, explicit political commentary or critique was relatively rare in *SF Magazine*, which discursively centered considerations of aesthetic value and artistic skill rather than in-depth discussions of SF's politics. In addition to a strategy for navigating sensitive geopolitics, then, we can also read this as a Kantian strategy of disinterest as the prerequisite for aesthetic value, and thus as another strategy of claiming high literary prestige for SF. *Fukkatsu no hi* and the Hayakawa publishing ecology more generally distanced themselves from historically specific questions of worldly politics as a way of attributing theoretically timeless aesthetic prestige to SF texts themselves. Instead, as in *Fukkatsu no hi*, the horizons of political discussion were shifted to questions of human nature in the abstract,

³⁵ Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads*, 266–67.

centering a transcendental notion of humanity over any more concretely material political considerations.

We can find other instances of this Kantian ideal elsewhere in mainstream SF discourse in the mid-60s SF ecology. If we return to the 1966 *SF Magazine* roundtable on the “21st Century Japan” submission contest, we see that running through the panelists’ critiques is the idea that the contest’s form and institutional positioning forecloses serious thought about what the coming century might hold for Japan. As noted above, the panelists largely agreed that the contest was born out of a concern for present political popularity for a deadlocked Cabinet rather than any real interest in the future. Abe Kōbō and organizer Fukushima Masami discuss the fact that most everyone submitting to and judging the contest will be dead before the 21st century arrives, thus removing the stakes of the question for participants: with no real skin in the game of Japan in the new millennium, both contest participants and judges are free to engage in rosy speculation that, Abe predicts, will diverge greatly from what he imagines will be a more pessimistic future.³⁶

The participants single out a “deficient” (kihaku) imagination on the part of the government organizers as the contest’s primary failing. The government organizers, in their view, are not willing to engage with the complex realities of what Japanese society is likely to be like in the future. While this involves techno-scientific advancement, the panelists agree that serious speculation must go beyond considering new inventions to consider the broader social implications of those changes. At one point, Fukushima compares the contest to a Meiji-era obsession with the future, to which Abe responds, “There’s been no development [in thinking] with regards to the future.”³⁷ Like the colonial ambitions behind rapid industrialization in the

³⁶ “‘21seiki no Nihon’ wo kangaeru,” 70.

³⁷ “‘21seiki no Nihon’ wo kangaeru,” 70.

Meiji period, in other words, the government's interest in the future here is politically motivated, tied to utopian ideas of a more highly-developed Japanese state. This is why, Fukushima concludes, "For [the government judges of the contest], pessimism absolutely won't do.... They think of everything from within their own bright and shining vision [of the future]."³⁸ The narrow horizons of expression seemingly permitted by the contest's state sponsorship mean that the submissions cannot perform any meaningful social critique, one of SF's highest literary functions in the eyes of *SF Magazine* (albeit in its guise of critique of an abstracted human society rather than contemporary Japanese society specifically).

The government organizers of the "21st Century Japan" contest are fundamentally ill-suited to evaluate predictions about the future of society in the eyes of the *SF Magazine* critics. This extends as far as the author named as the head of the committee judging fiction entries, the novelist Yamaoka Sōhachi, whose historical epic *Tokugawa Ieyasu* was nearing the completion of its serialization at the time of the roundtable. Perhaps owing precisely to his status as a historical novelist, Yamaoka's participation is repeatedly lampooned by the panelists as being sorely out-of-step with the contest's stated goals of thinking about the future. The material and social complexity of predicting the outcome of contemporary problems like urbanization, overpopulation, and pollution are such that Abe states at one point, "It's not the kind of problem that Yamaoka Sōhachi can easily judge. It's offensive to us [SF authors]."³⁹

Abe's comments reveal the conviction, shared by the other panelists, that only SF authors are truly equipped to judge such a contest, as they are the only ones willing to take the future seriously, which here equates with rigorous, data-driven⁴⁰ considerations of all the facets of

³⁸ "'21seiki no Nihon' wo kangaeru," 70.

³⁹ "'21seiki no Nihon' wo kangaeru," 72.

⁴⁰ Komatsu specifically advocates for further integration of computer modeling into predictions of the future. "'21seiki no Nihon' wo kangaeru," 70.

social ills and a sober evaluation of the ramifications of those problems, independent of political motivations. Connecting this to *Fukkatsu no hi*'s derision of the petty secrecy of Cold War governments, we can see that despite what might appear to be the narrative trappings of a political thriller, Komatsu's novel instead implies that contemporary governments themselves are the problem. The Japanese government's sponsorship of the "21st Century Japan" contest, by this logic, coopted the language of SF to pursue nationalistic goals that were antithetical to the values of SF that authors and editors in the Hayakawa publishing sphere had been constructing.

Taken from one point of view, it is certainly true that social critique is a pointedly political act, and therefore not "disinterested" in a Kantian sense, but given what we have seen of the scope of "society" as it was imagined in professional SF texts like *Fukkatsu no hi* – that is, global human society as a whole – the boundaries of social (political) critique and commentary upon (transcendental) human nature become almost indistinguishable. Under the post-national futurism of Japanese science fiction, "human" and "society" become one and the same category. If we understand the "political" of "non-political" as referring specifically to politics at the level of the nation-state, then it is a category that is definitionally at odds with the post-nation-state imagination of the kinds of SF carried by Hayakawa. Non-aligned, non-political stances became the properly SF position, with social critique sliding seamlessly into commentary upon transcendental human nature. As we see in *Fukkatsu no hi*, the specificities of contemporary politics are not what is at stake; rather, it is the simple presence or absence of the category of politics itself that is under consideration. The disappearance of political difference appears possible in Komatsu's novel through the eradication of the nation-state formation. This in turn is framed as a positive development for humanity: the end of political difference is conflated with

the end of social division and conflict. Political non-alignment becomes subordinated to a larger project of anti-political or non-political, humanistic living.

In the context of the Cold War, however, Japanese non-alignment was just as politically charged a stance as taking either the American or Soviet sides. Kapur describes a consistent fear within the US diplomatic sphere that Japan might tend toward “neutralism” rather than outright alliance with the American-led “Free World” camp in the Cold War. Refusing to choose a side in the conflict was as undesirable to President Eisenhower and US ambassador to Japan Douglas MacArthur II as siding with the Soviet Union.⁴¹ The consistent presence of American *and* Soviet SF authors in translation in the pages of *SF Magazine*, as well as the coexistence of characters from the US and USSR as protagonists within works like Komatsu’s *Fukkatsu no hi*, is therefore inherently political in relation to the United States, regardless of the intent of authors and publishers. What Komatsu, *SF Magazine*, and Hayakawa Shobō were articulating through their emphasis on non-alignment and the enshrinement of SF as high culture is a worldview in which Japanese SF authors – and by extension, Japan as a whole – stand as equals alongside their US and Soviet counterparts. Through a post-national ethos of intellect, as well as positioning SF in a parallel canon to mainstream literature, *SF Magazine* constructed Japanese SF literature as a genre that wrote toward a utopian way out of the Cold War system.

⁴¹ Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads*, 35–74.

Tsutsui Yasutaka and Japanese SF's Cognitive Map

As the above framing of Komatsu's textual politics suggests, the horizons for professional Japanese SF were defined precisely through the national superpower politics of the Cold War, and the interlocutors *SF Magazine* most sought to engage were those of the US and (to a lesser extent) the USSR. Thus, while the textual aesthetics of 1960s "hard SF" like that of Komatsu seemed to align with the politics of non-alignment, the magazine did not engage with the contemporary Non-Aligned Movement, nor did it often look farther afield than Europe and the United States in its international stance.

This constrained map of the SF-producing world is taken up by another of the major SF authors of the decade, Tsutsui Yasutaka, in his 1968 short story "Rose-Tinted Rhapsody" ("Iromegane no rapusodi"⁴²), originally published in the monthly magazine *Shōsetsu Gendai*. Tsutsui was a major figure in the 1960s science fiction scene in Japan. A frequent contributor to *SF Magazine*, he would also briefly helm his own SF publication, *Null*, which I will cover in more detail in Chapter 2. Heavily involved in theater and drawing influence from Freudian psychology and absurdist humor, Tsutsui's fiction serves as something of a stylistic departure from conventional SF of the time.⁴³ Postmodern ideas about mediation and the subjective nature of reality run through Tsutsui's often satirical work, to the extent that Tatsumi Takayuki has dubbed him the "guru of Japanese metafiction," blending the surrealist aesthetics of metafiction

⁴² It should be noted that "rapusodi" (a transliteration of the English "rhapsody") is given as an ateji pronunciation gloss on the kanji compound "kyōshikyoku," the Sino-derived Japanese term for "rhapsody." As the ensuing argument will make clear, I believe this phonetic ambiguity is a deliberate provocation by Tsutsui, asking in effect whether we choose to read the title through an American- or Sino-Japanese lens.

⁴³ Naoya Fujita, *Kyōkōnai Sonzai: Tsutsui Yasutaka to Atarashii "Sei" no Jigen* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2013), 45–47; Takayuki Tatsumi, *Full Metal Apache: Transactions Between Cyberpunk Japan and Avant-Pop America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 53.

with science fiction in a style Tatsumi terms “hyperfictionality” (chō-kyokō).⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Tsutsui’s speculative approach in constructing the fictional logics by which his narratives proceeded accorded with mainstream SF publication’s emphasis on socially grounded speculation, as seen in the “21st Century Japan” roundtable discussed above.

Though by no means his best-known work, “Rose-Tinted Rhapsody” presents a frank, nuanced take on some of the racialized political hierarchies playing out across the Cold War world order. In addition, it obviously holds significance to Tsutsui himself, as he chose to include it in the paperback anthology *The Best Japanese SF of the 1960s (60nendai nihon SF besuto shūsei)*, of which he was the editor.⁴⁵ Tsutsui’s short story challenges not only Western-centric political discourses that imagine a post-national liberal subject as the ideal inhabitant of the postwar landscape, but also the major contemporary discourse of Japanese SF that tacitly reinforced those ideologies by taking the Anglosphere and the USSR as their only interlocutors. In a decade in which much of the discourse within the SF community concerned Japanese SF’s relationship to its counterparts in the US and Europe, I argue that “Rose-Tinted Rhapsody” serves to re-center the racially and ethnically specific bodies that are effaced as “Other” within a bipolar world order of superpower politics.

The story is a surrealist metafiction, with a fictionalized Tsutsui serving as the narrator. This narrator Tsutsui recounts the story of an unsolicited manuscript he receives in the mail one day from an American teenager named Dick Trimble.⁴⁶ With the help of his translator friend Etō Tenmei (based on the real SF translator Itō Norio), the narrator discovers that this is a manuscript

⁴⁴ Tatsumi, *Full Metal Apache*, 53–54.

⁴⁵ Citations of the text that follow are taken from the story as it appears in this collection. All translations are mine. See Yasutaka Tsutsui, ed., *60nendai nihon SF besuto shūsei* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2013), 53–81.

⁴⁶ This is mostly likely a reference to John Trimble, a major figure in US science fiction fandom along with his wife Bjo, though Trimble would have been older than the juvenile character with which he is represented in Tsutsui’s story.

for a “future political satire” involving a second Sino-Japanese War.⁴⁷ The 17-year-old author Trimble has apparently had trouble selling the manuscript to American publishers, and so hit upon the idea to sell it in Japan. Instructing Tsutsui to, “Please sell it to a Japanese magazine for at least 5 cents per word,” the author adds that Tsutsui may take a 10% translation and service fee, as the manuscript and accompanying letter are both written entirely in English. Tsutsui, who does not speak English beyond a rudimentary level, entrusts it to Etō, who three weeks later gives up in disgust after having translated three chapters. These three chapters are presented verbatim to the reader, interspersed with scenes of Tsutsui’s reactions to them as he reads. By the end of the story, the manuscript’s racism is so toxic that Tsutsui flies into an inconsolable rage and, unable to be dissuaded even by an airplane crashing next door and setting his apartment building on fire, he sits down to write a response to Trimble’s story that will match it in its bigotry.

Faced with such a summary, it may be easy to dismiss Tsutsui’s text as a simplistic lampooning of American racism and egocentrism. However, a closer examination reveals a more nuanced critique of transnational racialized political hierarchies, as well as a theory of SF’s role within that system. It is at none other than literature’s feet that Tsutsui the narrator lays the blame for Trimble’s depictions of Japan, in which all women are “geisha girls” and the primary mode of transportation is the rickshaw. After reading Etō’s translation of the first chapter, Tsutsui says, “It seems like it has some of Seidensticker’s influence,”⁴⁸ presumably referring to Edward Seidensticker, the major contemporary translator of modern Japanese literature. Etō agrees, and likens Trimble’s laughably stereotyped depiction of Japan to SF authors who study just a little bit of science and then inject nonsensical techno-babble into their work in an effort to

⁴⁷ This obviously ignores the fact that World War II could itself be understood as the second Sino-Japanese War.

⁴⁸ Tsutsui, *60nendai nihon SF besuto shusei*, 65.

flaunt their knowledge. The problem with SF portrayals of both science and culture, according to Etō, is that the authors behind them haven't put in enough hours of study to attain a true and proper understanding of their subject. This echoes the narrator's own assertion at the beginning of the text that the people who proclaim their knowledge most loudly are often those with the least of it. If we simply commit ourselves to becoming educated enough, it is implied, we will be able to produce work that depicts its subject in a way that is closer to an objective truth. Invoking Seidensticker's influence shifts the problem of insufficient study to the realm of intercultural understanding. The transpacific movements of literature in translation have set up the conditions for rank racism as Americans read a smattering of Japanese literature and then attempt to inject elements of poorly understood Japanese culture into their own writing. Like Komatsu's *Fukkatsu no hi*, Tsutsui's "Iromegane no rapusodi" concerns itself centrally with contemporary global connectivity as an epistemological problem to be solved.

The problem becomes more complex, however, in that framing the manuscript's racism as a problem of translation begs the question of whether the reader is to trust Etō's own translation as a transparent, frictionless movement of Trimble's manuscript from English to Japanese. Etō's voice is ubiquitous in the manuscript excerpts, appearing in a profusion of parenthetical translator's notes that attempt to make some sense of Trimble's text and its baffling set of assumptions and associations with Japanese cultural touchstones. In one example, Etō notes that Trimble's description of a "high class taxi with its sloped thatch roof" seems to be a result of the author's misunderstanding of a traditional Japanese funeral hearse.⁴⁹ Etō's labored attempts to reverse engineer Trimble's assumptions about Japan, as reflected in his increasingly exasperated translator's notes, are humorous to read but nevertheless mark his presence in the

⁴⁹ Tsutsui, 64.

manuscript and force the reader to judge what proportion of the text's style is attributable to him, and what to Trimble, or if indeed such a judgement is even possible. As readers, we must reckon with the fact that our perceptions of American racism are being filtered through a Japanese translator's subjective decisions in the process of translation. Tsutsui the author is suggesting with this conundrum that readers' understanding of how America sees Japan in part reflects how Japan sees America. Trimble's manuscript as it appears in the story, then, must be read through a complex system of cultural filters by readers who are self-aware of the role their own assumptions play in creating those filters, scrambling any hopes of recovering an objective truth or an objective "America" against which an equally objective "Japan" could be compared.

Self-awareness is in short supply among the narrator Tsutsui and Etō, and it is here where it becomes the most productive to split the author Tsutsui from his fictional persona, and to consider the broader racial and political landscapes of 1968 when "Rose-Tinted Rhapsody" was published. Sandwiched between two manuscript chapters in the text that take Japan as their setting is a chapter focusing on the Chinese end of the fictional conflict. Though the racism in the portrayal of China is equally virulent to that in the chapters about Japan, it passes almost unremarked by Tsutsui or Etō. On the contrary, in the short interlude that follows the chapter, the two characters briefly take on the affectation of the Chinese figures in Trimble's story, using broken Japanese that is apparently meant to mimic a Beijing accent and which might most usefully be compared to Mickey Rooney's yellowface character Mr. Yunioshi in *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961, Blake Edwards dir.). Though they seem to be speaking this way as an ironic joke, there is little evidence that they are mindful of their own post-colonial position as Japanese people using such charged language.⁵⁰ Rather than a cause for outrage like the Japanese

⁵⁰ I am indebted to Yoko Katagiri for her help in dissecting the valences of irony and self-awareness in this passage.

chapters, the racist tone in the Chinese chapter is simply good for a laugh for the narrator and his friend.

Tsutsui remarks at one point that the manuscript's writing is malicious, and it leads to an illuminating moment of miscommunication. After discussing playing mahjong with a "Komatsu" and "Hoshi"⁵¹ in the racialized Chinese affectation discussed above, Tsutsui says, "So full of malice." ("Akui ni michite iru na.")⁵² Etō misinterprets the statement and takes it to be about his own opinions of Komatsu and Hoshi. He vigorously denies the imagined accusation until Tsutsui corrects him, "Not that, towards China." Etō immediately shifts the conversation to American attitudes toward China, placing America firmly in the position of the agent of racism. He says, "Well of course an American is going to harbor ill-will toward China. These days, if you say 'Red' in America, you're talking about the Chinese, not the Soviets." In other words, when the prospect of racism is raised, it is only assumed to refer to Americans like the author of the manuscript Tsutsui and Etō are reading. Moreover, Cold War political positioning is conflated with considerations of race such that racist depictions of China are assumed to be due to political difference. This conflation extends to the Japanese characters in "Rose-Tinted Rhapsody" in that Tsutsui and Etō are able to avoid any introspection about their own racist attitudes toward China by attributing their stereotyping to the contemporary Cold War moment, divorced from Japan's more complex postcolonial relationship with China. Here again, Tsutsui the author invites the reader to question Etō's role in creating the racist language that exists on the page in his translation of Trimble's manuscript.

⁵¹ These presumably are references to Komatsu Sakyō and Hoshi Shin'ichi, though the text does not specify. Tsutsui, Komatsu, and Hoshi have often been grouped together as the "Three Pillars of Japanese Sci-Fi" in its first generation.

⁵² Here and throughout this paragraph: Tsutsui, *60nendai nihon SF besuto shusei*, 72–73.

In sum, Tsutsui's and Etō's awareness of or sympathy for China in its postcolonial relation to Japan is absent, or at least repressed in favor of bipolar Cold War geopolitics. We can link this with a short statement from Etō as he describes the Chinese chapter to Tsutsui before the latter starts reading it. He says, "China comes up in the next chapter, and if any Chinese people were to read it, they'd be fit to be tied. Thank god SF doesn't exist in China, so the Chinese wouldn't have any chance to read this in the first place."⁵³ In fact, SF had existed for years in China, though its production was suppressed due to the Cultural Revolution when "Rose-Tinted Rhapsody" was published.⁵⁴ Etō's comment reveals that China isn't on his "cognitive map" of global producers and consumers of SF, a fact that points toward the wider significance of the author Tsutsui's work. Michael Bourdaghs uses the term "cognitive map" to elucidate "American Cold War culture's bifurcated view of the world," in which nations of the Communist Bloc were to be held at an unbridgeable remove while Japan and other capitalist nations were to be "integrated into a single family of nations, a tendency that stressed similarity and shared values."⁵⁵ This discursive sleight-of-hand required substantial elision of the recent past, as Bourdaghs explains: "World War II was reconfigured as primarily a struggle between the United States and Japan (erasing from memory Japan's military conflict with China and other Asian nations), a melodramatic story that led to an ultimately happy ending."⁵⁶ The Cold War bifurcation opened up new avenues of identification and enjoyment for Japanese SF producers and fans, but also closed others off. Joining the ranks of American Cold War capitalist allies

⁵³ Tsutsui, 66.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, the chronology listed in Dingbo Wu and Patrick D. Murphy, eds., *Science Fiction from China* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 165–74.

⁵⁵ Michael Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J-Pop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 57.

⁵⁶ Bourdaghs, 56.

foreclosed the possibility of affinity with other Asian nations that fell on the other side of the curtain.

Moreover, I would argue that Trimble's manuscript is so infuriating to the narrator Tsutsui because it exposes the contingency of this identification. While incorporation into the American fold of capitalist nations might in theory break down the national boundaries that divide the world, these boundaries find their way back in elsewhere. As Bourdaghs phrases it, "borders could be crossed, but only in certain directions, at certain times, and by persons carrying the proper cultural passports."⁵⁷ The narrator Tsutsui recognizes that Japanese SF is always marked as marginal for Americans, beholden to the American imaginary of what "Japan" can and should mean, despite Japanese SF producer's discursive efforts to frame the two national bodies of SF as equals. This is why the reader feels little hope that Tsutsui's riposte to Trimble's manuscript will have any impact; it was attempting to critique American society from a position of equality, but would only be received in America (if indeed it ever made it there) as a product of the margins, evaluated according to its ability to present a commodified version of "Japaneseness" that reinforces the United States' hegemonic position and consumed as pleasurably exotic, but incomprehensible.⁵⁸ In a similar vein, Bourdaghs borrows Naoki Sakai's theory of co-figuration to conclude that, while the Communist Bloc was rendered as fundamentally Other and un-translatable, Japan was reconfigured as a marginal dialect within the Self of the capitalist world system. He mobilizes the metaphor of air travel to symbolize the way Cold War-era translation promised to erase national boundaries while instead reinscribing them.

⁵⁷ Bourdaghs, 89.

⁵⁸ In discussing science fiction anime from the 1990s, Ueno Toshiya would identify a similar dynamic of commodification and marginalization under the term "techno-Orientalism." He terms the commodified image of Japan sold both abroad and domestically as the "Japanoid." Thus, while the Japanese market might also consume the Japanoid as an entertainment product, the power disparity between the US and Japan meant that US consumers would understand the Japanese as Japanoid, irrespective of the inaccuracies of such a conflation. Toshiya Ueno, "Japanimation and Techno-Orientalism," accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.t0.or.at/ueno/japan.htm>.

It is fitting, then, that the jet plane of trans-Pacific translation has literally crashed outside Tsutsui's apartment at the close of the story.

To return to our discussion of geopolitical cognitive mapping, Etō's disregard for China and his simultaneous attention to America (he mentions having read extensively in American SF) is important not just for what it reveals about Etō himself, but because it mirrors the dominant discourse in contemporary Japanese SF publication. In the pages of *SF Magazine*, the sphere of "global" SF throughout this period never included more than the West and Japan. A statistical analysis of *SF Magazine*'s first 100 issues, for example, notes the number of authors published in *SF Magazine* by country. The country with the most authors published is the United States, at 148 (62% of 238 total authors). Japan is next, at 38 (16%), followed by Great Britain and the USSR at 23 (10%) and 20 (8%), respectively.⁵⁹ The Japanese SF community of the 1960s might be notable for its eager consumption of authors from both superpowers of the Cold War, but it was not able to see beyond the two poles of the conflict in its mapping of global SF. Instead, the professional sphere of SF publication in Japan positioned Japanese SF as a bridge between the two superpowers; the hope was that Japanese SF could mediate between the USSR and America, but little attempt was made to find other avenues of alliance that could provide a third way in the conflict.

"Rose-Tinted Rhapsody" therefore stands as a parody of this narrow discursive worldview held by Tsutsui's contemporaries in Japanese SF. Though at first glance, the reader may be tempted to read the story simply as lambasting the imperious disdainfulness of Americans toward Japan, Tsutsui's subtle invitations to consider the role translation plays in establishing the reader's own assumptions about "over there" gives us a much more nuanced

⁵⁹ Ishihara, *SF magajin indekkusu 1-100*. The rest of the countries represented are: France (4 authors, 2% of total), Australia, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, and South Africa (1 each, .4% each).

theory of the racialized politics of the Cold War and SF's role in shaping them. In so doing, he implicates Japanese SF producers, as well, in establishing a myopic view of SF as a genre. Tsutsui suggests that, in their eagerness to include themselves in the Western-dominated SF world, Japanese SF critics are vainly chasing after "American Prosperity" (the name of the response story the narrator Tsutsui writes as his apartment burns down around him) without any prospect that their efforts might be reciprocated. In this view, America sees Japan as a lesser Other while Japan does the same to China. Trimble, the 17-year-old author of the fictional manuscript, does not speak Japanese, nor has he ever read any of Tsutsui's work before sending Tsutsui his voluminous manuscript with the arrogant instructions to sell it to a Japanese publisher for 5 cents on the word and take a measly 10% cut of the sales. The reader gets the sense that this American teen sees the Japanese SF market as a dumping ground where works that couldn't make it in America might still be offloaded.

The inherent power differential in this worldview between an American – even a teenager with no publication credentials – and a Japanese author, however, means that Tsutsui can't bring himself to laugh off this manuscript. Inveighing against the story after reading its third chapter, the narrator Tsutsui says, "Insofar as this sort of image of Japan undeniably exists inside the heads of real, live Americans, to them it's actually true! And within that hides the possibility that the truth for real, live people can be accepted as fact. No matter what we try to say, there's a whole other Japan that undeniably exists for them."⁶⁰ In other words, the danger of becoming America's Other, an object of fantasy, is that it will warp reality for American consumers as they perceive it. This is in keeping with Tsutsui's interest in "pseudo-events" expressed in earlier stories like "The Vietnam Tourism Corporation" ("Betonamu kankō kōsha", published in the

⁶⁰ Tsutsui, *60nendai nihon SF besuto shusei*, 78–79.

May 1967 issue of *SF Magazine*) and “The Tōkaidō War” (“Tōkaidō sensō”, published in 1965 as part of Hayakawa’s *SF shirīzu*), in which fictional media events become real by shaping their viewers’ understandings of reality. The narrator seems to recognize that American perceptions of Japan represent a commodification of Japanese society and Japanese people as entertainingly exotic goods. By engaging with those perceptions on their own terms, however, Tsutsui the narrator merely seems to perpetuate them while simultaneously reenacting them with regard to other Asian nations.

We can find an example of this attitude in action in a December 1966 article in *SF Magazine*. The piece is a travel report from SF author Mitsuse Ryū concerning his trip to China earlier that year, one of the only times the country appears as the subject of a column in the magazine during the decade. Given that the travelogue appears in a publication of science fiction, one might expect that Mitsuse would detail SF authors or readers that he met, the latest in technical and scientific developments being made in China at the time, or prognostications about China’s sci-fi future. Instead, the beginning of the article is a long meditation on the Great Wall, recounting the sights around the section of the wall that cuts across the Juyong Pass, northwest of Beijing. Mitsuse describes the trip to the site as a long and rugged journey into the mountains, where the Great Wall inflects the land around it with pastness.

Most of Mitsuse’s visual and aural keys have to do with the natural setting surrounding the wall, including the forested mountains, flowers, insects, and faint presence of the Gobi Desert in the form of sand collecting in the seams of the stonework and distant patches of “sand yellow” (given as a rubi gloss of “sabaku no suna no iro”) earth to the north and west. He briefly mentions the “hamlet” (sonraku) visible in the mountain basin, but otherwise there is very little indication given that other people are present. Instead, the reader is given the sense that Mitsuse

has entered into a radically past place of history, where he is alone with the memories of Han Dynasty figures (he expounds on the Han general Wei Qing's life story, as well as that of Xiongnu noble Huhanye). The primal character imbued into the Great Wall is emphasized by Mitsuse removing his shoes "to feel the cold, hard stones under my feet" as he ascends a watchtower. The article gives the sense that, far from being a nation of science fiction, China is instead the topological locus of the past. Traveling spatially from Japan to China represents traveling temporally backward in time.

Later, Mitsuse recounts staying at a hotel near the Conghua hot springs in Guangzhou. He makes note of the beautiful attendant girl at the hotel, as well as the unsettling presence of soldiers stationed nearby, whose presence amidst the beautiful mountain carries with it "the stench of fresh blood" (chinama-gusai).⁶¹ The attendant and a representative soldier are implicitly paralleled with the general Wei Qing and his sister, Wei Zifu, whom Mitsuse also mentions and whose beauty led her to become the empress consort of Emperor Wu of the Han. The two become spectral remnants of the past, and Mitsuse describes seeing them meeting together on a bridge near the hotel one night, "bathed in the moonlight." He observes them for a short time, then departs; when he returns, "the two had already vanished" (mou futari no sugata wa nakatta).⁶²

Uniting these two passages of the Han dynasty's ghostly persistence is a short interlude considering themes of collectivism and individualism in utopian science fiction and how the utopian imaginary of a perfectly rationalized, collectivist society requires not just a radical change in thought, but perhaps even a physiological change to human beings themselves. With this, Mitsuse seems to be reading the lives of Wei Qing, Wei Zifu, and Huhanye as embodying

⁶¹ Ryū Mitsuse, "Chūgoku 1966-nen natsu," *SF Magazine* 7, no. 13 (December 1966): 89.

⁶² Mitsuse, 90.

the SF struggle between collective good and individual fulfillment. Huhanye and Wei Qing having been converted into imperial subjects of the Han turns them into functionaries of the collective. In the case of Huhanye, converting to Han citizenry entailed defecting from his status as Chanyu nobility within Xiongnu society, setting off a factional conflict with his brother Zhizhi over the fate of the Xiongnu Empire. For Wei Qing, meanwhile, his appointment as general fighting against the Xiongnu meant that he left his sister Wei Zifu behind and carried out his military duties along the border between the Han and Xiongnu empires. Both figures, in other words, are framed in Mitsuse's account through the melodramatic dyad of public/collective duty and private/individual familial loyalties, simultaneously science fictional and historical.

The soldier and attendant's moonlit meeting at the Conghua hot springs is tinged with a sense of illicitness, suggesting that their assignation is similarly part of this SF narrative system and reflects their individual feelings winning a momentary triumph over their obligations to collective society. Aligning them with Han Dynasty incarnations of the same themes performs a dialectical transformation on the categories of science fiction and history in the Chinese setting. Mitsuse at once implies that the man and woman at the hot spring are emblematic of science fictional tropes while simultaneously overlaying them with the deep historical character that attended his visit to the Great Wall. Chinese history itself is imbued with an SF character, but SF that is constitutionally different from that of the rest of *SF Magazine*. Here, SF is a literature of the spectral past rather than the technological future, and Chinese subjects are characters rather than producers or consumers, narratively organized by the authorial gaze of Mitsuse himself. Like Etō's assertion that there is no SF in China in Tsutsui's story, China for Mitsuse is at most a narrative setting, a topos otherwise absent from Japanese SF's cognitive map of the world and

thus unavailable as a potential source of political affinity. China exists here in both the past and the future, but not in the political present.

Expo '70, the International SF Symposium, and the Perpetual Future of SF

As we have seen, *SF Magazine* used a number of explicit and implicit rhetorical and industrial strategies to position science fiction as a genre that engaged substantively with the contemporary socio-political issues of the Cold War. How, then, were these strategies received? What manner of social force was SF able to exert because of them? By way of a conclusion, let us look ahead to the end of the decade, when some of this discourse would bear fruit, for one answer to these questions.

In 1970, the first International Science Fiction Symposium (ISFS, Kokusai SF shinpojiumu in Japanese)⁶³ was held in cities throughout Japan. Organized by the Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of Japan (Nihon SF sakka kurabu, abbreviated in English as SFWJ) and the Japanese SF Fan Group Association (Nihon SF fangurūpu rengō kaigi), the symposium took place from August 29 to September 3, 1970, in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Ōtsu. It was initially planned to be held in association with Expo '70 in Osaka but became its own independent event over the course of its planning. Guests of honor were invited from the US, USSR, UK, Canada, Poland, and Germany. Over the course of the symposium's 6-day span, leading SF authors participated in roundtable discussions on the state of the genre and its role in society, and

⁶³ A second ISFS would be held to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nihon SF Sakka Kurabu's founding. Beginning with a "kickoff" event in 2012, the bulk of the symposium was held in 2013, once again attracting guests from throughout the world. See Tatsumi's introduction to Tatsumi and Nihon SF Sakka Kurabu, *Kokusai SF Shinpojiumu zenkiroku*, 4–5.

attendees took part in film screenings, poetry readings, meet-and-greets, lectures, and sightseeing (kengaku). The symposium concluded with a joint statement of cooperation and understanding signed by attendees from five of the participating countries (Japan, the United States, the Soviet Union, England, and Canada).

The ISFS in many ways embodies the ideals for SF set forth by Hayakawa Shobō, and it provides us with a useful lens through which to view the stakes of those ideals. The programming for ISFS emphasized SF's place as a leading intellectual formation that would help participants in the event think through large-scale social ills like pollution or nuclear destruction. Discussion panels such as "SF and Civilization" (SF to bunmei), in other words, reinforced the genre's overarching concern with utopian social planning and the future of humankind as a whole. These were concerns that it shared with Expo '70: the exposition drew heavily on SF aesthetics and figures within the Japanese SF community in its planning stages, including *SF Magazine's* editor Fukushima Masami.⁶⁴ Expo '70 and the ISFS represented the convergence of the Japanese state, private industry, and the SF discourse community as they considered the future of Japan and human society more broadly. Indeed, we could even say that, in the discursive imaginary of the events, the future of Japan was none other than the future of human society itself.

Yet the events' focus on the problems of the future came at the cost of the present. The ISFS, for instance, focused its discussions on de-politicized problems of technological modernity writ large such as pollution and would approach these problems from the angle of intellect that we have seen emphasized within *SF Magazine*. For Expo '70, as well, thanks to government suppression of critical elements of the Expo's exhibits, any substantive political discussion that

⁶⁴ William O. Gardner, "The 1970 Osaka Expo and/as Science Fiction," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 23 (2011): 26–43.

might be generated by the event was foreclosed. By the same token, ISFS's international attendance would seem to open the way for a more nuanced discussion of political, national, racial, ethnic, or gendered difference within the international SF community, but the symposium itself opted to avoid such topics. Even in Komatsu's utopian vision of a cosmopolitan, post-national future in *Fukkatsu no hi*, the only way to achieve such a future is through the eschatological end of the present world system, first by super-virus and then by nuclear cascade. Without any means of bridging that future with the lived present of the Japanese SF community, Komatsu's utopianism would remain a speculation.

It is precisely this liberal optimism that was the target of critique for Yamano Kōichi in his 1969 essay "Nihon SF no genten to shikō" ("Japanese SF, Its Originality and Orientation").⁶⁵ In the essay, Yamano offers an anti-establishment critique of contemporary Japanese SF, specifically targeting many of the authors published in *SF Magazine*. His identification of the magazine and its coterie as the representatives of Japanese science fiction ironically serves as proof positive that *SF Magazine* had succeeded in defining the dominant discursive character of SF in the preceding decade. This is perhaps why it was none other than *SF Magazine* where Yamano's essay was first published, in that year's June issue. Yamano's anti-establishment stance could only take shape on the pre-condition of the publication's authority as the "establishment."

Yamano's critique was a political one, though couched in the language of literary originality. He compares the history of Japanese SF since the 1950s to living in a "prefabricated house" imported from the United States and criticizes Japanese SF authors for not doing enough

⁶⁵ Unless otherwise noted, citations of Yamano's essay are drawn from Kazuko Behren's English translation, published in 1994. See Kōichi Yamano, "Japanese SF, Its Originality and Orientation (1969)," ed. Darko Suvin and Takayuki Tatsumi, trans. Kazuko Behrens, *Science Fiction Studies* 21, no. 1 (March 1994).

to resist derivativeness and seek out originality. Originality for Yamano comes from, “*actuality informed by the writer’s own consistent subjectivity in the context of Japanese civilization.*”⁶⁶

Here, he is distinguishing between SF as a genre, which he sees as “basically universal,” and the writerly subjectivity of Japanese SF authors. He says, “Japanese writers possess their own literary personality, in which their subjectivity resides.”⁶⁷ He links this “literary personality” to the historical experiences and material conditions of contemporary Japanese society, connecting personal ideology to political class consciousness and a broad-ranging civilizational critique. He expresses hope for “the emergence of an equivalent of ‘Zengakuren’ in Japanese SF,” explicitly invoking the leftist student protest movements of the decade as a political ideal for the genre.⁶⁸ The following year, Yamano would put these ideas into action when he founded *Kikan NW-SF*, a magazine for New Wave-style science fiction that would run from 1970 to 1982. The New Wave subgenre used the speculative tools of SF to pursue questions of subjectivity and political critique, representing a departure from *SF Magazine*’s attempts to disavow politics through a “non-political” stance at the ISFS and throughout the 1960s more generally.

Professional SF’s vision of the genre as represented by Hayakawa Shobō was far from the only articulation of the promises of science fiction during this period, though it was the one with the most reach and the one that has continued to influence the genre’s direction up until today, at least in literature. Nevertheless, fan communities and SF as it was constructed in visual media each offer other realms of possibility, which I examine in depth in the chapters that follow. Each media formation (professional publication, amateur fanzines, visual media) offers a different

⁶⁶ Yamano, emphasis in original.

⁶⁷ Yamano.

⁶⁸ Yamano.

angle on SF, with their own discursive fields arising from it. These discourses would intersect, inflect, and influence one another, and it is only by taking them together that we get a sense of the polyvalent social force exerted by SF in this period. As the only professional publication of science fiction in Japan at this time, *SF Magazine* exerted a great deal of influence over the general understanding of the genre, to which the discourses to be examined in the upcoming chapters responded in a variety of ways.

Cutting across each of these discourses, however, is the commonality that SF could define a mode of subjectivity. Made more explicit in the feminist and posthuman movements that would arise within SF production in the subsequent decades, and observable through phenomena like the rise of “otaku” (subcultural enthusiasts) as a recognizable identity surrounding Japanese popular media, the idea that subcultural entertainment could constitute an ethical or philosophical model for living became a prominent part of 1960s SF. Hayakawa Shobō’s attempts to canonize the fledgling genre as an alternative high literature was in part motivated by economic considerations as a business. Nevertheless, the cultural significance the publisher created around science fiction would resonate with the media landscape of the Cold War to catapult the genre to national significance by the end of the decade.

Chapter 2

Uchūjin and Its Aliens: Fan Communities and the Subject of SF

The 1963 short story “Saigo no mori”¹ (“The Last Forest”) begins with a woman in the inner Amazon sobbing over a grave as flower petals fall around her. This is Kunhatshin, last of her tribe, who has just buried her infant child. The baby is the latest victim of the fatal disease that has ravaged the rest of Kunhatshin’s tribe, leaving her as the sole survivor. After a disastrous encounter with a visitor from the “White People” – whose war with the “Black People”² we learn has given rise to the fatal disease – Kunhatshin at the end of the story is once again abandoned and alone. The story is illuminating with regards to author Bien Fuu’s proposition of what Japanese SF is and who it might be for, and it contains many of the narrative features that mark her stories. “Saigo no mori,” which Bien wrote under the alternative penname Nanbu Fuu, combines themes of gendered violence, indigeneity, and dis-communication that recur throughout the numerous stories she would publish in the science fiction fanzine *Uchūjin* throughout the 60s and 70s. Though never explicitly articulated as such, these themes as they are used in Bien’s fictions constitute a critique of dominant understandings of the social dynamics of SF itself.

We saw in Chapter 1 the ways in which *SF Magazine* privileged a discursive field of textual aesthetics in its efforts to create a genre called “science fiction” in Japan and position it as

¹ Fuu Nanbu, “Saigo no mori,” *Uchūjin*, no. 70 (August 1963): 28–35.

² The terms used here are “shiroi hito” and “kuroi hito.” Note that, while this translation makes the conflict sound like a race war, these are not the terms most commonly used in referring to race in Japanese (“hakujin” and “kokujin” respectively), though there is certainly resonance.

a new form of high literature at the forefront of national cultural development in the 1960s. As the only professional magazine of science fiction, *SF Magazine*'s discursive understanding of the genre held a great deal of sway, but it was far from the only way of framing the nascent genre in the minds of its community. As we will see with authors such as Bien Fuu her contemporaries, alternative visions of SF that diverged from the intellectualist "hard SF" of *SF Magazine* were in circulation, even if they were not explicitly framed as such. Taken together, these texts – as well as the venue in which they were published, *Uchūjin* itself – mobilize a different discourse in articulating their understanding of SF, namely that of community.

In this chapter, I turn first to texts written by three women authors of SF: Bien Fuu, Ishikawa Jinbi, and Yasuoka Yukiko. All three of these women published multiple stories in *Uchūjin* throughout the 1960s, a fact that sets the fanzine apart from its professional counterpart. I argue that these texts make use of science fiction to pose more intensely personal and embodied questions of their readers than those found in *SF Magazine*, which tended to concern themselves with national development and disembodied international geopolitics. In so doing, they mount an implicit critique of the universalist assumptions of the liberal rationalism found in mainstream professional SF, suggesting instead a relativized epistemology that incorporates knowledge pushed to the margins by hard SF. Theirs is an SF *of* the margins, which centers variously marked subjects – premodern subjects, indigenous subjects, and female subjects most notably. These authors question who the subject of SF is, emphasizing the very markers of difference that liberal aspirations of a post-national world effaced.

Their focus on a wider array of perspectives in SF texts was reinforced by *Uchūjin*'s own focus on the SF community. As I will show in more detail below, *Uchūjin* actively took on the role of standard-bearer for the Japanese science fiction fan community, placing fan activities like

conventions on center stage in its pages. Beyond opening space for a more diverse set of aesthetics and themes in the texts it published, the magazine's promotion of a community-centered understanding of SF shifted its metrics of success for the genre outside of the publishing world and into matters of interpersonal exchange and social relations.

Despite this difference with the text-centered SF discourse found in professional publishing, however, the horizon of possibility for the genre in *Uchūjin*'s construction of it resembled that of *SF Magazine* quite closely. *Uchūjin* still framed SF as a genre that could foster international understanding and cooperation and perhaps even bridge the Cold War divide between the US and USSR. Rather than premising that potential on a shared set of post-national textual aesthetics built on liberal intellectualism, however, the fanzine envisioned SF's political potential arising out of a transnational social network of SF fandom and the human relations therein. Toward this end, the magazine's editor Shibano Takumi undertook a number of projects aimed at increasing interchange between the Japanese fan community surrounding SF and their counterparts abroad. He documented these efforts in frequent columns and articles in his magazine. Before we examine *Uchūjin*, however, let us first turn to some of the texts found within it and consider how, while the fanzine was articulating a new sociology of SF consumption and production, three of its authors were re-envisioning the texts around which that community could cohere.

Writing from the Anti-Margins: The Alien Voices of Bien Fuu, Ishikawa Jinbi, and Yasuoka Yukiko

Science fiction literature in the 1960s was composed of an overwhelmingly male coterie of writers in Japan at both the professional and amateur levels of publication, making the presence of female authors in *Uchūjin* notable from the perspective of the genre's development. Beyond this simple historical fact, however, these women's texts are significant in the ways they subtly re-draw the boundaries around SF's genre identity. Bien Fuu published prolifically in *Uchūjin* during the 1960s, making her one of a very few female authors active in science fiction publication during the decade. *SF Magazine* did not publish any stories by Japanese women throughout the 1960s, making fanzines like *Uchūjin* the only venues in which they were visible.

Bien Fuu was one of a few pennames used by Suzuki Fukuko, derived from the battle of Điện Biên Phủ.³ Suzuki was a member of the extended former imperial family (kyūkōzoku) that had been stripped of their rank in 1947 by the US Occupation as part of reforms to the emperor system. She was the daughter of Asaka Takahiko and Chikako and took the surname Suzuki upon her marriage. Like her contemporaries, Bien consistently scrambles categories of center and periphery with her short stories, a move which holds political ramifications at both the domestic and transnational levels of SF production in this period.

"Saigo no mori," introduced above, combines these elements in Kunhatshin's failed conversation with the man Tomo, the scene which takes up the majority of the story. Tomo is introduced as a white-skinned, flaxen-haired man who emerges from a spaceship in a protective

³ I Romanize Suzuki's penname as Bien Fuu throughout this chapter to differentiate it from its namesake conflict. Her other most commonly used penname was Nanbu Fuu. She frequently contributed interior illustrations to *Uchūjin* under these names, as well as Nanbu Fukuko, Asaka Fukuko, and Suzuki Fukuko.

environmental suit along with his hulking black robot companion.⁴ The scene that follows is one of dysfunctional, failed communication overlaid with racialized fetishization and sexual overtones. In addition to marveling at the fact of Kunhatshin's womanhood – for Tomo's society in cities floating in the sky apparently has no women thanks to the war – he immediately notes her golden skin, a marker of racial difference between the two of them. Tomo is smitten, despite the fact that the two do not share a language and are unable to communicate, and decides he must possess Kunhatshin for his own. This fantasy is interrupted by the arrival of his superior, come to investigate the astounding claim of a woman being sighted, but Tomo quickly shoots down this potential sexual rival. Realizing that he has committed a crime, Tomo flies off, leaving Kunhatshin behind.

Kunhatshin's body is multiply marked, appearing as racially other, as female, and as temporally "primitive." Yet by centering the third-person narrative perspective on her, Bien invites the reader to see Kunhatshin as a normative subject with whom to identify, and Tomo as a deviation from the norm. Through Kunhatshin's eyes, we see all the ways that Tomo is different. He has white skin, he is male, and he hails from a military-scientific society that is highly technologically developed. He is, in short, very akin to the sorts of protagonists found exploring "savage" planets in pulp SF like that which informed the mainstream of the genre's development in Japan. While these differences would conventionally privilege Tomo as the more civilized, rational subject, his outburst of violence and single-mindedly sexual drive make him appear childish and utterly self-centered. This impression is reinforced near the end of the story, as Tomo flies back to his floating city to face punishment for killing his superior officer.

⁴ The color contrast here, which echoes that of the participants in the war, implies that perhaps the war was not actually one fought over racial lines, but instead one between humans and robots. Given the close metaphorical ties between robots and the working class – especially the non-white working class – I do not believe this alternative possibility invalidates the racial reading given above.

As he rides in the ship, Tomo takes a box from his belt and opens it, saying, “This is my wife.”

His “wife” is a grotesquely abject creature described in the following language:

Inside was an extraordinarily degenerate, soft, flabby white object. It still vaguely had the shape of a human woman, but it had no face, nor eyes nor a nose. It appeared somewhat like an insentient sea urchin, with gaping holes that served as orifices for ingestion and excretion and at the same time for sexual reproduction. Of course, it showed no trace of reason. Like a mass of rotted eggs.....⁵

Despite the fact that the description of Tomo’s “wife” states that, “[i]t still vaguely had the shape of a human woman,” the ensuing elaboration makes it difficult to imagine any physical resemblance to real-world women. Instead, Tomo’s understanding of femininity is revealed to be a fetishistic farce of utilitarianism in which all elements of women’s humanity that do not serve their “use values” of reproduction and sexual gratification for men are literally stripped away.

Splitting understandings of the feminine between Tomo’s “wife” and Kunhatshin invites the reader to compare the two and examine their own assumptions about how femininity would normatively function within SF. Within conventional science fiction Kunhatshin would at first appear to be a figure of abjection, existing outside patriarchal society and closely associated with both death and subaltern status. She is a woman from a tribal group in an irradiated Amazon, existing literally below the scientifically advanced cities in the sky, and we first encounter her as she is burying her child’s corpse. She is tied to elements of disease, of death, and a conception of belatedness or pastness under a teleological view of technological development. These, in addition to her status as a mother, would all seem to render her as an abjection par excellence under theories of abjection like those of Julia Kristeva.⁶

⁵ Nanbu, “Saigo no mori,” 35.

⁶ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

And yet, Kristeva's notion of the abject is that it is that which is expelled in the process of subject formation. The abject is constitutionally unable to achieve subject status, as the subject can only exist by negating it. To center Kunhatshin as the figure of narrative identification, therefore, forces the reader to re-orient their understanding of subject, object, and abject. Kunhatshin becomes a sympathetic subject, one with whom the reader is encouraged to empathize. The figure of abjection, then, is re-inscribed on Tomo's grotesquely described wife, and Tomo by association is made even more repulsive through the implication of his sexual relationship with it. What's more, the reader is led to believe that this is the normative idea of femininity in Tomo's society, given that the actual women were all killed in the war, causing that society to appear grotesque as a whole.

We could hardly say, however, that Bien's depiction of Kunhatshin is a triumphal one. Throughout the scene in which she and Tomo have their "dialogue," Kunhatshin is practically silent. As she watches his ship fly off again, she reflects that once again the gods have left her on her own, referring to a previous characterization of the men in floating cities in semi-Biblical terms, whereby they occupy the position of gods who have brought apocalypse on the world, but would return to save the worthy. Kunhatshin in this scene is forced into the position of object, to be possessed or discarded at will by the male subject Tomo. As this tension makes clear, the central problem of "Saigo no mori" is the question of who gets to be a subject.

Bien's text prompts a consideration of normative protagonists in mainstream science fiction, as well as how those categories are reflected by the broader science fiction community in Japan. Tomo is aligned with most all of the qualities that would normally characterize an explorer-protagonist in science fiction narratives, not to mention the men that made up the overwhelming majority of SF authorship in this period. He is an encapsulation of the patriarchal

mode of science fiction: exploring lands for colonization and exploitation, quick to resort to violence as a means of solving problems, and rigidly and aggressively heterosexual. Yet the narrative characterization of these traits as fetishistic, possessive, and impulsive casts him in a negative light. In opposition to Tomo is Kunhatshin, a subject who is multiply marked with elements of marginality – racial, cultural, and gendered. Bien implicitly asks what science fiction might look like that centers Kunhatshin over Tomo and identifies with her marginality. “Saigo no mori” thus becomes a text that hints at whole worlds of subjective experience that are ignored by science fiction publication in Japan.

While Kunhatshin is never explicitly recognized as being from an Amazonian indigenous culture, Bien elsewhere is much more concrete in taking up protagonists from marginal or subaltern groups. Two stories published in *Uchūjin*, for example, feature a cyborgized Geronimo (Goyaalé) as a central character. In 1967’s “Jeronimoibun” (“The Strange Tale of Geronimo”) and 1969’s “Apuko rimitto monogatari”⁷ (“The Tale of Apulco Limito”), a cyborg Geronimo appears as a trans-temporal, semi-supernatural warrior fighting on behalf of Native Americans and oppressed cyborgs, respectively. Like “Saigo no mori” six years before, “Apuko rimitto” begins at a grave site. The story takes place largely in flashback and recounts the story of the cyborg Arle and his ersatz alliance with Geronimo as the latter seeks to destroy a city in which cyborgs are being kept as slave labor. Femininity in “Apuko rimitto” exists only in absence, however, in the form of a woman named Señora. She has died before the narrative begins but forms the axis around which Arle and Geronimo’s relationship develops. Arle accuses Geronimo repeatedly of being responsible for Señora’s death, as she apparently became infatuated with Geronimo to the point of being delusional, and starved to death because she was

⁷ Fuu Bien, “Apuko rimitto monogatari,” *Uchūjin*, no. 128 (January 1969): 38–59.

convinced Geronimo's enemies were poisoning her food in a plot to draw him out. The categories of gender and race are once again active in "Apuko rimitto monogatari," this time in a more complex formation than in "Saigo no mori."

Geronimo's covert quest to bring down an entire city makes it tempting to place his character in the archetype of the daring rebel, a kind of ironic inversion of the "lone wolf" cowboy figure popular in narratives in the western genre. His status as a Native American adds an anti-colonial valence to the otherwise morally simple abolitionist nature of his goals. Nevertheless, Bien chooses once again *not* to align the story with his perspective but instead to relativize his point of view with that of Arle and the story of Señora. Structuring the story around Arle and Geronimo's interactions and the question of Señora's death (Geronimo's campaign against the city actually takes up fairly little space in the text) serves to complicate the text's understanding of oppression, morality, and justice. Beyond the relatively black-and-white moral distinctions of "Saigo no mori," the central triangular relation between Arle, Señora, and Geronimo in "Apuko rimitto monogatari" signals Bien's commitment to widening the scope of SF texts to include multiply marginalized subjects – what would today be recognized as a concern with intersectionality. This project is reflected in her penname, Bien Fuu, which is a reference to the battle of Điện Biên Phủ, in which French colonial forces in Vietnam were driven out, bringing an end to the First Indochina War and French colonial rule while also setting the stage for the Second Indochina War – i.e. the Vietnam War – during which Japan was used as a staging ground for American forces. Identifying her authorial persona with the conflict aligns Bien with the widespread antiwar movement active in Japan at the time and adds urgency to her implicit call in her writing to re-think preconceptions of subjecthood in SF texts.

If Bien Fuu's protagonists stand as subtle critiques of those subjects who were classically centered in SF texts, another author from the late 1960s, Ishikawa Jinbi, pushes that critique into the realm of parody and satire. Ishikawa published prolifically in *Uchūjin* from the late '60s to the early '70s, with surreal satires somewhat reminiscent of Tsutsui Yasutaka. Like Bien, Ishikawa wrote texts that took aim at the patriarchal assumptions of SF like those found in *SF Magazine*, most specifically the assumption of a stable empirical reality whose truths can be discerned by objective observation and ratiocination. Her texts frequently employ absurdist humor, casting a suspicious eye on a reality held to be dishonest.

This constitutive doubt plays a central role in "Mōten"⁸ ("Blind Spot"), which Ishikawa published in *Uchūjin* in 1969. The text is a one-act play script in which two bar patrons, Y and Z, carry on a kind of Socratic dialogue on the topic of one's ability to trust empirical experience. As the bartender grows more and more anxious that the two are getting drunk to the point that they will scare away potential customers, Z tells Y of his theory of psychological blind spots, in which some subconscious mechanism prevents the conscious mind from registering the presence of certain elements of the world. Z worries that perhaps the reality he sees and the reality Y sees are not actually the same due to the influence of these blind spots. Eventually, the two drunkenly extrapolate so far as to arrive at the conclusion that, rather than a Freudian mechanism of post-traumatic repression within the subject's own consciousness, these blind spots must be imposed on the population at large by a sinister external force trying to maintain some sort of secret, under threat of death should an individual ever discover the truth. Realizing with horror that the subconscious and conscious minds are closest to one another in sleep and in drunkenness, Z begins to fear he might accidentally stumble across the source of his own blind spot because he

⁸ Jinbi Ishikawa, "Mōten," *Uchūjin*, no. 139 (December 1969): 36–52.

is so inebriated. He cries out in shock, points toward an invisible presence that he insists he can see because he has seen through his blind spot, and promptly falls over dead.

In this play, Ishikawa constructs a narrative logic that prevents its own closure. The text does not give any hint whether Z has died because the amount of alcohol he drank interacted badly with his apparently weak heart (as the bartender had feared), or because he had indeed gotten to the core of a global – perhaps even extraterrestrial – conspiracy that could not allow him to live. As Samuel R. Delaney’s famous example of, “Her world exploded,” demonstrates, SF poetics open a space of uncertainty and play between metaphorical and expository modes, allowing readers to make a “literal reading” of the above sentence in which a woman’s planet has actually exploded, or a metaphorical reading that is meant to illustrate a moment of emotional turmoil.⁹ It is precisely this space of play that “Mōten” exploits: are we to trust our own empirical understanding of the world and assume that “blind spots” do not exist, or are we to believe Z and Y’s deductions and therefore doubt what our senses tell us?

While Ishikawa certainly may be ridiculing the idea that empirical reality is determined by an individual’s subjective experience – thus concluding that Y and Z’s fears are completely nonsensical – her formal commitment to ambiguity in this text means that the audience cannot discard the possibility that the two salarymen’s experiences really are different. Given the text’s status as a play script, all the reader is given is the dialogue between the three characters (Y, Z, and the bartender) and occasional stage notes documenting their physical movements. At no point does Ishikawa give any hint of the characters’ interior, subjective perceptions of the events of the text. As a result, the audience cannot take up an objective position as an omniscient observer of empirical truth. We are forced to reckon with what Donna Haraway would call our

⁹ Cited in Takayuki Tatsumi, *Gendai SF no retorikku* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1992).

“situated knowledge”¹⁰ that is, the ineluctable effect our socio-historical situatedness as observers has on any claim we might make about empirical reality. Both Bien and Ishikawa wrote stories that critique the bases on which the center had been constructed *as* the center in SF by considering the archetypical SF protagonist – epitomized by the male scientists and reporters that stood at the center of Komatsu Sakyō’s writings in Chapter 1 – from a perspective that is not aligned with him. Their texts deconstruct the ways the patriarchal viewpoint was enshrined as science fiction’s exclusive subject position by demonstrating the ways it overlooks, objectifies, and does violence to perspectives outside of its own.

While Bien and Ishikawa deconstructed the center’s epistemological underpinnings, another contemporary female author conversely centered what had classically been marginal to SF, providing alternative possibilities for what the genre could be and whom it could include. Yasuoka Yukiko¹¹ was active in *Uchūjin* from August 1964 to September 1966, contributing three original works and three translations of foreign works across those roughly two years. This includes her translation of American author C.L. Moore’s influential 1933 story “Shamblau,” which would later be reprinted in *SF Magazine*’s August 1966 issue.¹² Moore was an early female author of SF in the United States, meaning that Yasuoka was important not only for writing SF as a woman in Japan at this time, but also for introducing women’s SF from outside Japan to a Japanese-language audience. An overriding concern throughout Yasuoka’s work is

¹⁰ Donna Jeanne. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 183–201.

¹¹ Biographical information surrounding Yasuoka is scant, save for the fact that Yasuoka Yukiko is not her real name. After 1966, no works appear under this name. See Takumi Shibano, “Atogaki,” *Uchūjin*, no. 189 (1989): 108. I am indebted to Tatsumi Takayuki and Hayashi Yoshitaka for bringing this information to my attention.

¹² “Shamblau” is an interesting mirror to Yasuoka’s own work, insofar as it is a pulp sci-fi restaging of the myth of Perseus and Medusa. The titular Shamblau, while initially appearing to be an innocent woman, turns out to be a vampiric creature that appears very similarly to the mythical gorgon. She is shot and killed by an associate of the main character, Northwest Smith. While, as we will see, Yasuoka tends to stage mythological tales in such a way as to radically alter their meaning through re-framing and re-contextualization, Moore’s story is one that conversely reinforces Medusa’s marginalization and monstrosity.

parenthood, and this theme sets her narratives apart from most of her contemporaries.

Parenthood, inheritance, and heritage in general are crossed with the mythological in her texts, scrambling temporal teleology and variously resulting in humans from the future becoming their own ancestors, Norse mythic history turning extraterrestrial, and futuristic psychics joining the pantheon of Greek myth in mind-bending time paradoxes that leave the reader, as well as the narrator, disoriented and unsure of their place within the grand scheme of things. Yasuoka troubles the grand narratives of historical development and temporal difference.

Teleological displacement of this manner is common to all three writers examined in this chapter, and (fitting to the science fiction genre) this effect is achieved in their texts through plot devices of time travel and temporal scrambling. Johannes Fabian has written about how, in anthropological writings produced up through the 1970s, spatial separation is conflated with historical separation, such that traveling to places deemed marginal in the colonial mindset was simultaneously understood as travel backwards in time, to a more primitive and less civilized time in history.¹³ This conflation, in turn, serves to prop up Eurocentric, developmentalist systems of value that see white cultures as more advanced and non-white societies as historically belated, in need of colonialist rule to guide them toward the light of civilization. Yasuoka and Bien, especially, play with these white supremacist colonial assumptions about “primitive” and “advanced” civilizations, using them to create a sense of pleasurable surprise when hyper-advanced technologies appear in societies held at the margins of the white colonial world such as pre-Columbian Aztec society, as in Bien’s “Chōja gensōfu”¹⁴ (“Fantasia of the Quetzalcoatl,” 1968). In reasserting the contemporaneity of the European “center” and Mesoamerican

¹³ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 1–35.

¹⁴ Fuu Bien, “Chōja gensōfu,” *Uchūjin*, no. 124 (June 1968).

“margins” imagined under European colonialism, Bien undermines the very notion of a center-periphery divide.¹⁵

Yasuoka similarly holds the mythological past – emblematic of pre-modern practices of storytelling and oral traditions – in an active relationship with the speculative future, as when the mythic Greek maiden Io, mistress to Zeus, turns out to be the daughter of a time-hopping member of the shadowy Bureau of Time, whose agents come from the future to intercede in human history to preserve the “proper” flow of events. These events, which take place in Yasuoka’s story “Io”¹⁶ (1965), perform similar work to Bien’s cyborg Geronimo or alien Aztecs, namely rewriting history such that marginalized peoples, contrary to hegemonic colonial narratives, are not technologically belated or inferior to Euro-American colonists. The past, present, and future all remain active in the time of the narrative, such that a teleological framework of civilizational development, which relies on universal “secular time,” no longer functions.¹⁷ Such a colonialist epistemology was being re-inscribed during the Cold War in the form of modernization theory, which – similarly to Fabian’s theory of secular time – mapped temporal difference onto spatial separation and assigned developmentalist categories of progress and belatedness on that basis. This epistemology held Japan at the margins of the “Free World,” of which the United States was the center. To question the center-periphery dynamic that

¹⁵ This is also visible to a lesser degree in “Saigo no mori,” in which the spatial separation of the floating cities and the irradiated Amazon function simultaneously to demarcate the hi-tech future and the primordial past respectively. Bien’s depiction of the grotesque nature of Tomo’s society signals that developmentalist value judgements that equate techno-scientific advancement with social rectitude and enlightenment are misguided.

¹⁶ Yukiko Yasuoka, “Io,” *Uchūjin*, no. 87 (January 1965): 12–27.

¹⁷ According to Fabian, secular time is the conception that, “Time is immanent to, hence coextensive with, the world,” rather than being a succession of events understood in relation to the life of Christ, and thus, “relationships between parts of the world... can be understood as temporal relations” in the developmentalist mindset of colonial Europe, validating a view of the colonial Other as developmentally belated. Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 11–12.

underwrote centuries of Euro-American colonialism as these texts did is therefore to simultaneously question Japan's own place within the Cold War world system by extension.¹⁸

In the work of the women authors that appeared in *Uchūjin*, we see a critique from the margins of the field of SF, aimed at the very notion of marginality. The narrative strategies of Yasuoka Yukiko's time travel stories, the formal ambiguities of Ishikawa Jinbi's work, and the thematic content of Bien Fuu's anti-colonialist texts take aim at the underlying assumptions of the social field of SF that placed America at the center of its cognitive map of SF literary production. This critique was doubly inflected, however, with its other half aimed at the domestic SF scene. As we have seen, all three authors examined here shared a commitment to deconstructing the patriarchal, rationalist epistemology that was predominant within 1960s Japanese SF. Their work interrogated the ways that such an epistemology upheld a neocolonialist status quo, in which a developmentalist discourse of national progress and rational enlightenment supplanted the classical colonialist rhetorical justification of Christian proselytizing and conversion. While the geopolitical dimension of this neocolonialist system held Japan at the belated margins, its patriarchal aspect did the same to women authors within Japan. If, as Harry Harootunian has written, the Occupation would re-define the postwar US-Japan relation, "as a bourgeois wedding between the United States and Japan,"¹⁹ then post-Occupation understandings of masculinity and femininity within Japan would need to shift to accommodate this strongly gendered political relationship. If, in turn, Japanese male producers of SF were feminized with regard to their US counterparts – that is, placed in a subordinate

¹⁸ It should be noted that this inversion ignores Japan's own status as a colonial power during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, at least insofar as we read the various colonist analogues in each story to be symbolic of Euroamerican colonists. While it may in some cases be possible to read the stories as critiques of colonialism *in general*, this would muddy the texts' connections to their own Cold War moment somewhat. It is for this reason that I do not explore the possibility of anti-colonialist self-critique any further here.

¹⁹ H. D. Harootunian, "America's Japan/Japan's Japan," in *Japan in the World*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 199.

position in a transnational political landscape of SF production marked by gendered power relations – Japanese female SF authors found themselves held at an even greater remove from discursive positions of prestige and power within that landscape.

Yasuoka Yukiko directly confronts the peculiar allegorical family structure of Japanese SF writers in her 1964 story “Mama.”²⁰ The text takes up a child’s point of view in considering the world literary genealogy of Japanese SF. In some ways a restaging of Miyazawa Kenji’s *Ginga tetsudō no yoru* (*Night on the Galactic Railroad*, published posthumously in 1934), “Mama” is the story of two young children, the human girl Miwa and the alien boy Romi, as they both try imperfectly to overcome their loneliness and become friends. Their friendship is framed around a shared love of stories, and Yasuoka explicitly cites Miyazawa’s novel, as well as his short story “Kaze no Matasaburō” (“Matasaburō of the Wind,” also published posthumously in 1934) and Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), in the text’s plot.

Stories in “Mama” constitute the mechanisms by which the subject is formed and socialized; while the three texts named above provide the common social grounds on which Miwa and Romi can construct their friendship, stories also serve as the material of the children’s subconscious, the way they understand the world. We see this in the story’s climax, in which Romi is killed and eaten by the Minotaur of Greek myth after Miwa – jealous of Romi’s loving relationship with his mother – uses Romi’s alien technology to create a portal to a cave network in which the monster lurks. Miwa’s unconscious resentment of Romi, stemming from her own sense of abandonment after her parents divorced and her mother remarried and had another daughter, finds violent expression in the guise of characters from the stories that she has read as

²⁰ Yukiko Yasuoka, “Mama,” *Uchūjin*, no. 82 (August 1964): 16–33.

she grows up. World literature in “Mama” is thus constitutive of both the subject and its relations with other subjects.

The ambivalent ending of the story, in which a sobbing Miwa ascends the stairs to confront Romi’s mother after she has fled the caves and sealed the portal, leaves open the question of whether she intended to kill her playmate, but her own terrified reaction to the appearance of the Minotaur suggests that her jealous desires were buried deeply enough in her subconscious that even she was unaware of them. Lacking conscious, linguistic means of expression, her envy could only manifest through the cultural material of myth. Themes of parental abandonment stitch this myth together with the contemporary SF story into which it is inserted, as well: the tale of the Minotaur has it that the creature is the misbegotten offspring of the queen of Crete, conceived after an affair with a bull and imprisoned alone within a labyrinth by King Minos.

The figure of the mother, as well as the role of storytelling in the formation of the subject, stand as central concerns to the text. Yasuoka implicitly puts “Mama” in a genealogy that includes Miyazawa Kenji, Mark Twain, and Greek myth. In other words, science fiction is meta-textually linked with longer storytelling traditions from a variety of cultural backgrounds and genre frameworks. Yasuoka takes these genres as the “parents” of contemporary SF with “Mama,” thereby reformulating the genre’s values and social positioning. We might compare this with the protagonist of “Fune,”²¹ (“The Ship,” 1965) who forms almost her entire sense of identity through the connection she feels with Norse mythology, believing that she has a familial connection to legendary Viking rulers. As with Bien Fuu’s time travelers, the past for Yasuoka’s protagonists – both in the form of parentage and of narrativization of their own personal

²¹ “Fune” was serialized across the May and June, 1965, issues of *Uchūjin*. Yukiko Yasuoka, “Fune (jō),” *Uchūjin*, no. 91 (May 1965): 2–20; Yukiko Yasuoka, “Fune (ge),” *Uchūjin*, no. 92 (June 1965): 16–31.

development – deeply shapes the lived present. With this and other stories we will examine below, she implies that, if the stories by which SF fans are constructed as SF fans, the stories that define the genre and its community, were to change, then the community itself would change as well.

As we see in “Mama,” it is the mother who exerts the most fundamental influence on a developing child: both Miwa and Romi place far more weight on their relationship with their respective mothers than with their fathers. Counter to the patriarchal Cartesian model separating male/mind and female/body that undergirded mainstream SF’s emphasis on rationality and intellectualism, Yasuoka’s SF is maternal, emotional, and more willing to confront irrationality as part of the human experience. The stories Yasuoka cites as her SF family tree in “Mama” are illustrative of how the horizons of community within SF would shift if her reconceptualization took broad root. Miyazawa Kenji’s novel and short story, for instance, while incorporating some scientific elements based on his profession as a teacher at an agricultural school, are nevertheless stories for children, that is to say popular juvenile literature rather than high-minded “pure literature” (*junbungaku*) of the sort claimed by *SF Magazine* as Japanese SF’s heritage. Her use of western texts (Mark Twain and Greek and Norse mythology) is an act of creative appropriation that takes them as fodder for creative manipulation rather than models to be emulated in the way that Asimov, Clarke, and Heinlein were emulated by professional SF writers in Japan. Yasuoka’s texts privilege alternate lines of filiation for Japanese SF but hold those lines open in active relation to the present moment rather than conceiving of them as radically past moments in a secular temporal framework like that of Eurocentric developmentalism.

Just as in her subtle geopolitical provocations through the use of time travel, Yasuoka’s unique relationship to modes of cultural production outside of SF serves to problematize the

value hierarchies implicit to Japanese science fiction production. Focusing her narratives on themes of motherhood allows Yasuoka to unfold a new implicit theory of Japanese SF literature's positioning within longer and more diverse traditions of cultural production. We could consider her literary historical preoccupations in the context of "Io," in which a time-traveling Argos must kill another time-traveler in order to protect the latter's daughter, who would go back in time and come to be known as Io, Zeus's lover whom he transformed into a heifer to cover up his indiscretion from his wife Hera. In this short story, Io goes on to be the progenitor of the psychically attuned subtype of human beings that serve as the text's protagonists, thus enabling humanity as the text knows it to take shape. Categories of "ancestor" and "descendent" become nearly meaningless, with the time traveling psychics enabling their own births by protecting the narrator's daughter/ancestor Io. Here again, it is matrilineage that is privileged as the driver of history and human development. Just as much as the archetype of the scientist-father, Yasuoka suggests, Japanese SF needs the storyteller-mother in order to arrive at its own, proper heritage. "Proper" here should not be understood as meaning "inevitable," however: if heritage is constructed through narrative, it follows that it can always be re-narrated, activating different lineages in order to recontextualize the present. Counter to secular time's understanding of a single, unified, and always forward-moving current of time, Yasuoka's texts partake in a heterogenous multitude of temporal flows that hold the potential to arrive at any number of presents.

Yasuoka, Ishikawa, and Bien's texts thus mark an implicit call to reconsider the subject of SF, both in the sense of its narrative points of view and thematic epistemologies, and in the sense of domestic SF's political and literary historical affiliations. Their implicit political provocations would be made into an explicit literary project by the New Wave and Feminist

science fiction movements that would gain traction in Japan over the course of the 1970s and 1980s. The New Wave movement's founding is generally attributed to Yamano Kōichi's founding of the magazine *Kikan NW-SF (Quarterly NW-SF)*²² in 1969, shortly after he published "Japanese SF, Its Originality and Orientations," examined in Chapter 1. While Yamano's critique of hegemonic SF was concerned mainly with a political understanding of originality and national literature, the three authors analyzed here transpose the New Wave's focus on "inner space" rather than "outer space" (i.e. subjective experience rather than objective exploration) to questions of gender, heritage, and literary history, making them legible as precursors to the movement. Their work shows how relaxing SF's rigid emphasis on empiricism, rationality, and other hallmarks of the developmentalist mindset of mainstream science fiction opens the genre up to a broader range of possible subject positions and genre identities that had up until then been largely silenced. Their attention to the sociology of SF – to its human-scale social relations and communities – finds complex resonance with the venue in which they were published, *Uchūjin*. As an active publishing venue, fan community hub, and media object in the SF publishing ecology in Japan in this moment, the fanzine was a platform from which a sustained discourse of community could be articulated in order to advance an assertion of identity for the genre. Let us turn now to a closer investigation of the magazine and its editor to identify the ways in which these assertions reinforced and diverged from those of the authors it carried.

²² See Tatsumi's discussion of Yamano and his debate with Aramaki Yoshio over the state of SF. Tatsumi, *Nihon SF Ronsō-shi*.

Uchūjin and Fan Space

In January 1965, editor Shibano Takumi published an essay in *Uchūjin* entitled “Will We Ever See a Pan-Pacific Convention?” (Han-taiheiyō taikai jitsugen ka?), in which he envisioned an iteration of the yearly global SF convention Worldcon that would bring together SF readers and writers from Japan, Australia, and the United States.²³ Building on Shibano’s conviction that there was sufficient fan engagement to justify such a convention, the next three years would see growing momentum behind “Pan-Pacificon” in *Uchūjin*’s pages. Shibano contributed periodic reports on the planning progress for the convention bid, eventually publishing a call for fan contributions of art and writing and taking pre-orders for tickets for the convention, which was apparently to be held simultaneously in Tokyo, Los Angeles, and Sydney. Finally, Shibano’s writing implies, the Japanese SF community will get the recognition it deserves after so many years in which the major science fiction awards reported in the magazine had contained no Japanese names.

In March 1968, however, a dejected Shibano reports that Pan-Pacificon will not be occurring after all. In his report, Shibano attributes the last-minute collapse of plans to, “insufficient PR at the convention site.”²⁴ As the location of future Worldcons is decided by an ad hoc committee formed out of attendees of Worldcon who hold membership in the World Science Fiction Society, Shibano’s implication is that, while a great deal of publicity had been directed at American sci-fi fanzines, the effect of that advertising on the actual attendees of Worldcon may have been less potent than if they had done more publicity at the convention

²³ Takumi Shibano, “Han taiheiyō SF taikai jitsugen ka?,” *Uchūjin*, no. 87 (January 1965): 27.

²⁴ Takumi Shibano, “Uchū no me - Pan pashifikon zasetsu no shinsō,” *Uchūjin*, no. 121 (March 1968): 28.

itself. In the short, exasperated announcement he asks, “Why could it have been that Pan-Pacificcon, which planned to bring together Tokyo and Los Angeles,²⁵ failed before the aggressive campaigning of the San Francisco Bay area during the vote at NYCON III? Where did the results of the PR we published in specialist fanzines disappear to?”²⁶

Behind these frustrated questions, we might read another: Where had he failed in understanding the social production of SF globally? The Pan-Pacificcon bid and its failure reveals much about *Uchūjin*’s imagination of SF and its community in the 1960s. If we were to distill Shibano’s questions even further, what is at stake is the question, “Who gets to have recognition within science fiction production and consumption? Who gets to ‘do’ science fiction, and who gets to see themselves within it?” Who, in other words, is the subject of science fiction, and how are they produced as such? We have seen above how this question was answered in the works of three authors published in the fanzine, but *Uchūjin* itself – as a venue for discourse, as a community pillar, and as a media object – provides further elaboration. *Uchūjin* presents a useful contrast with *SF Magazine* in how it constructs the genre of science fiction.

Fundamentally at issue within the magazine are different discourses of community and the image of SF that attends each. In contrast with *SF Magazine*, *Uchūjin* articulated a community that, more than passively consuming SF texts, played an active and eager role in molding the genre.

In Chapter 1, we examined *SF Magazine* as a similarly active media entity. We saw the ways in which the rhetoric of *SF Magazine* adopted many of the same hallmarks as that of *junbungaku* (pure literature). Through a discursive emphasis on *chisei* (intellect) and liberal scientific-rationalism, as well as through industry practices such as the yearly Hayakawa SF

²⁵ The participation of Australia in Pan-Pacificcon had faded fairly quickly from Shibano’s reports, implying that his idea was not met with much initial enthusiasm from Sydney.

²⁶ Shibano, “Uchū no me - Pan pashifikon zassetsu no shinsō.”

Contest awards, *SF Magazine* and its editor Fukushima Masami positioned SF as a high-cultural formation. The implied subject of SF as it is framed here would be the modern liberal intellectual, participating in a society informed by Enlightenment ideals of rationality and multipolar humanism.

Uchūjin, however, adopts a view of SF that hews more to popular cultural values of community, in which fan-consumers and author-producers are seen as two poles of a productive continuum rather than being qualitatively different. As we will see, the fanzine envisioned a different sociology of SF than *SF Magazine*, one which centered the fans and their activities as much as it did the literature itself. The case of *Uchūjin* is a lens through which the discursive field of community comes into clearest focus, and through which we can glimpse the ways that field worked both domestically and transnationally to draw and contest boundaries of what – and who – SF was. *Uchūjin*'s implicit worldview was premised on a kind of global village of fandoms, with each country's fan communities in conversation with one-another around the shared language of SF. The yardstick by which the magazine's editors measured the success or failure of its mission was in the successful staging of fan conventions like Pan-Pacificon that drew participation and praise from throughout the global SF fan community, but as the case of Pan-Pacificon makes clear, this effort would frequently end in disappointment. Though the magazine's community focus allowed it to skirt discourses of artistic belatedness in SF's genre development vis a vis their American counterparts, the persistence of a center-periphery framework for understanding the movements of SF would continue to frustrate their efforts at true equality in reception.

It is helpful here to understand the magazine itself as the space in which these ideas could take shape. By understanding the publication as a media object within a broader media ecology

(of SF, of magazines, of amateur publication), we will be able to see how the values expressed within and around *Uchūjin* are closely tied to the magazine as a platform. *Uchūjin* (whose title, which translates to “Space Dust,” is a homophone for the word “alien”) began its run in May 1957. Helmed by editors Shibano Takumi and Itō Norio (a prolific SF translator), the fanzine (dōjinshi) would come to be one of the biggest venues for SF publication in Japan. Generally published monthly throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, it transitioned into a quarterly or semi-annual schedule in 1973 until its eventual closure in 2013. The publication would carry short or serialized original works, critical articles, and translations of foreign works, and also devoted significant space to keeping abreast of SF fan club activities in Japan and abroad through informational news columns. The magazines were usually about 60 pages long, printed in black and white with a 2-color cover and selling for 100 to 200 yen throughout the decade of the ‘60s.²⁷ Figure 5, of the November 1961 issue’s cover, gives a representative example of the visual style of the publication during the decade. The magazines ran without advertising of any sort until 1969, when advertisements for SF-related products – especially other fanzines – began appearing.

²⁷ For reference, the average price of a bottle of beer during this decade was about 125 yen, a monthly subscription to the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper was between 390 and 580 yen, and the weekly juvenile manga magazine *Shōnen Sunday* sold for between 40 and 50 yen. Shirakawa, “Meiji-Heisei Nedan-Shi.”

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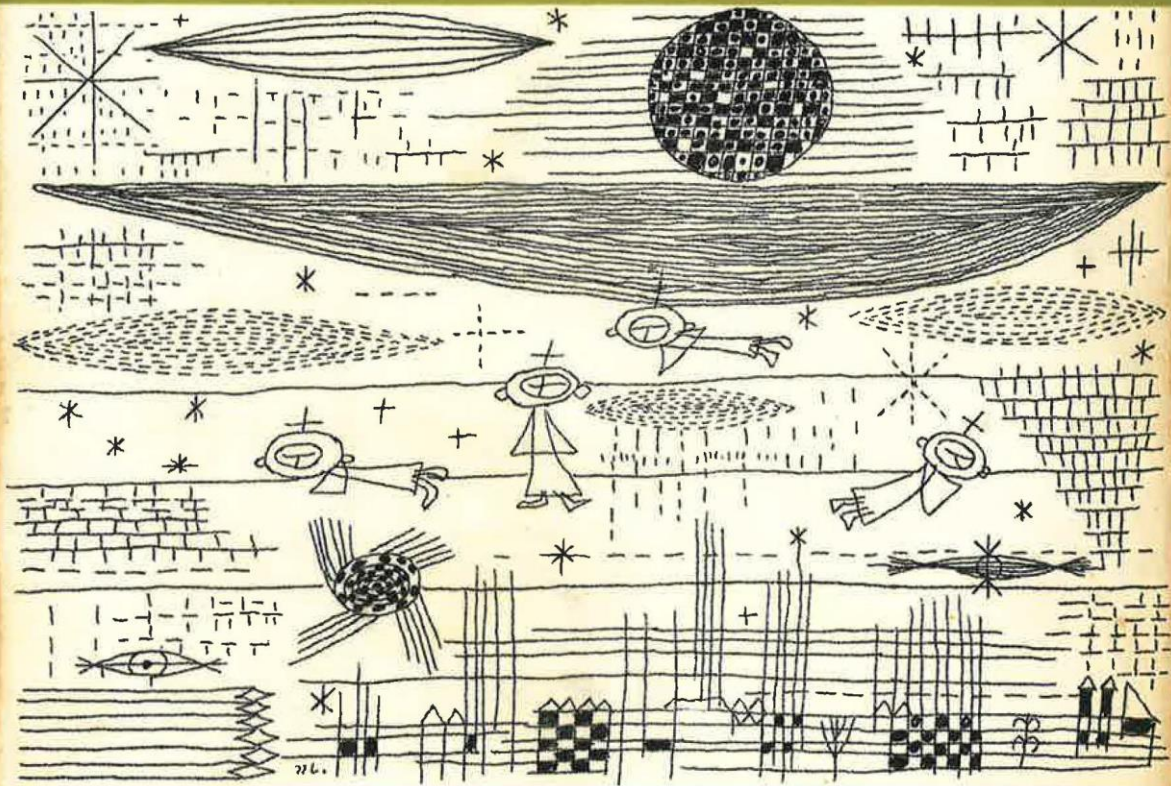
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Figure 5: Uchūjin's November 1961 cover. Source: Uchūjin no. 50 (November 1961).

The importance of tracking the fan community to the editors of *Uchūjin* cannot be overstated. The first major SF convention in Japan (MEG-CON) was organized to celebrate *Uchūjin*'s fifth year of publication in 1962, and the event was exhaustively recounted in the July issue of that year. Similar convention reports would be carried regularly as SF conventions proliferated within Japan and as contributing writers traveled to international conventions such as the annual Worldcon international fan convention. In addition, a regular column on "fanacs" (fan activities) documented the many SF fan clubs in Japan as they multiplied in universities and elsewhere. This column complemented the "Fanzine Review" column, which documented the numerous other fanzines in Japan and abroad, such as January and June, 1962 columns on the state of German and Argentinian fandoms, respectively. At the back of many of the magazine's issues appeared a list of new members to the kagaku sōsaku kurabu (Science Writing Club, the dōjinkai that published *Uchūjin*), making it easy for the community to track the growth of its own membership from month to month. While total membership numbers were not frequently publicized, in December of 1966, the group apparently numbered 343 members. As illustrated in the episode surrounding Pan-Pacifcon above, *Uchūjin* had taken up the mantle of de facto leader among the amateur SF community, and nurturing this community was obviously central to the magazine's mission.

This is not to say that, through its emphasis on fans, *Uchūjin* stood in binary opposition to the more textually focused *SF Magazine*. The two publications shared much in the way of both aesthetic views on what made a good SF text and their respective rosters of authors. Authors published in *Uchūjin* whose work was suitable to *SF Magazine*'s standards, such as longtime contributor Aramaki Yoshio, would make their way into the professional stratum of SF production. Similarly, well-known professional authors like Komatsu Sakyō would sometimes

contribute columns or stories to *Uchūjin* as guests of honor and featured columnists. Shibano himself was extremely active in the wider SF community, and frequently appeared in the pages of *SF Magazine*, where he would often contribute short stories and columns on fan activities that the professional magazine would not normally capture in great detail.

The fanzine's focus on community, however, meant that it was more receptive to alternative forms of SF expression coming from its audience. For example, in contrast to *SF Magazine*'s single-minded focus on conventional literature for its creative publications, *Uchūjin* saw both poetry and playscripts within its pages before the end of the 1960s, as well as a reprint of a *kayōkyoku* (early pop song)-style SF ditty that originally ran in the September 1965 issue of *Tentakuruzu*. While prestige and popular acceptance of SF was still clearly a goal of Shibano and the other contributors, for *Uchūjin*, that prestige was measured more by the activities of the SF community than by a "pure literature" notion of the text in itself. We might even say, with only slight exaggeration, that texts in the minds of the editors were only valuable insofar as they could become objects around which the fan community could gather.

More than just an openness to non-standard SF texts, *Uchūjin* sometimes actively contrasted itself with its industry counterpart, building prestige around the fanzine itself as a venue for high-quality SF that nevertheless was not deemed suitable for the professional magazine. "High-quality" here appears to denote texts that galvanized the burgeoning SF fandom in its formative period. In February 1967, for example, Shibano announced the beginning of the "Revival Special Feature" ("Ribaibaru tokushū") to celebrate the coming 10-year anniversary of *Uchūjin*'s founding. In his introduction to the series, which would run in the magazine throughout the year, Shibano begins by positioning his magazine as a pioneering force coaxing life out of an arid plain:

Just when the seeds we repeatedly scattered in the barren earth suddenly pushed up a sprout, it spread at once to the fans, then the pros, and again back to the fans like a flame, crashed ashore like a tsunami..... That this publication has survived up to now amidst this upheaval is enough to make one marvel (*fushigi ni omoeru*). In short, perhaps we could call it a ‘tradition.’²⁸

The fanzine here is half visionary, half benefactor of luck, but nevertheless stands at the forefront of SF’s spread in Japan. What’s more, Shibano’s characterization of that spread places its origins within the fan community; influence spreads from the fans to the pros, and then back again, in a feedback loop that can be traced back to the fan community over which *Uchūjin* claims stewardship. Though his metaphors are mixed, Shibano remains rooted in naturalistic imagery of wildfires and tsunami, phenomena which convey both vitality and power, and also a kind of inexorability. The spread of SF and the energy of its consumers are inevitable results of the forces of nature; *Uchūjin* in Shibano’s formulation can only ride the wave of SF in Japan, surviving through the force of experience and tradition. Shibano’s use of the term “tradition” is telling, as well: it frames the growth of SF fandom as one defined by social practice and ritual. What Shibano is articulating here is a definition of SF that is anthropological rather than aesthetic, defined by people rather than texts.

Shibano goes on to elaborate: “Starting in this issue, I decided to try to select from among the great works that slaked the thirst of the fans at the time [i.e. *Uchūjin*’s founding in 1957] those which faded into obscurity without being given the opportunity to appear in an industry publication, and to reprint them here.”²⁹ Despite not being deemed worthy for professional publication, Shibano nevertheless sees the works anthologized in the Revival Special Feature as “great works” that deserve recognition. This recognition is earned, moreover, thanks to the

²⁸ Takumi Shibano, “Ribaibaru tokushū kaishi ni atatte,” *Uchūjin*, no. 110 (February 1967): 28.

²⁹ Shibano.

texts' ability to "[slake] the thirst of fans," ensuring the survival of the budding community of consumers in the aforementioned arid plain. In other words, the texts gain their value *through* fan engagement, rather than *independent* of it through aesthetic distinction. Shibano references fan enthusiasm throughout the short announcement as the driving force behind the growth of SF production for the last ten years. In a characteristic bit of self-deprecating humor, he acknowledges that the special feature is meant to shore up the magazine's fortunes during a period of slumping submissions, but quickly turns the subject back to the fans and their relationship to *Uchūjin*.

While one could say that this is a project meant to take advantage (gyakuyō) of insufficient manuscripts [submitted for publication], it is my hope that members who have been with us for a long time, as well as our new readers, can take this opportunity to fully experience [jikkuri to ajiwatte] the ardor of fans from the dawn of the era.³⁰

While Shibano does not specify whether the era he has in mind is the dawn of Japanese SF or of *Uchūjin* specifically, the rest of the statement cited above, in which the landscape of Japanese SF was barren before the fanzine's arrival, makes clear that there is very little distinction between the two in his mind. Science fiction in Japan, in this formulation, is coterminous with *Uchūjin*. The fanzine, in turn, is held to be both the manifestation of the fan community as well as its guiding light.

Writing about the Taishō period and the creation of Kaizōsha's *Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature*, Edward Mack contends that that act of anthologizing served as, "reification of a conceptual space, in which distinct works were linked in a constellation of

³⁰ Shibano. It is difficult to say how seriously we should take this apparent tell on Shibano's part. Actual submission numbers are not given anywhere, and Shibano himself is consistently excessively humble for comedic effect. Thus, it is unclear to what extent *Uchūjin*'s selection process for stories to publish was driven by scarcity, and to what extent it was able to take its pick of submissions based on judgements of aesthetic quality.

literary value and national importance.”³¹ In other words, anthologies like the *Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature* concretize the concept called “Japanese literature” itself, calling into being a national literature in the body of a selection of specific authors and works. Science fiction, too, makes extensive use of anthologies to collect, value, and disseminate works deemed emblematic of some dimension of SF more generally. The “Revival Special Feature” serves a similar purpose. While not a bound anthology like Kaizōsha’s *Complete Works*, the article series nevertheless calls attention within the magazine to authors it deems valuable to the development of the genre of SF, reifying the genre itself in the process. The “Revival Special Feature” inaugurates an alternative canon, unrecognized by the mainstream professional publication *SF Magazine*, while also centering *Uchūjin* as a prestigious and valuable venue for such works, since all the “Revival” reprints were of works that had originally appeared in the magazine during its first decade.

It is therefore quite significant that the first author chosen to reprint in the fanzine was a woman, Mitsunami Yōko.³² The feature carried a small inset with biographical information about the author, as well as a photograph of her. Following some basic information about her age, educational history, and address, it is noted that Mitsunami is a single mother, that she was a member of the fan group (dōjinkai) from the first issue of *Uchūjin*, and that her style, which bears resemblance to that of *Amazing Stories*,³³ was rare among Japanese writers’ works at the time. Furthermore, the inset borrows the implied authority of another anthology when it notes that her story “The Golden Coral,” originally published in *Uchūjin*’s issue 46, had been included

³¹ Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature*, 93.

³² This is a penname of Morimoto Masako. The “Revival Special Feature” reprinted two of her short stories, “Seibo saigen” (“Return of the Holy Mother”) and “Kurenai no tōgenkyō” (“Scarlet Shangri-La”).

³³ *Amazing Stories* is an American SF magazine founded by Hugo Gernsback in 1926, the first dedicated SF magazine in the country. It became a center for the SF pulp movement in the United States.

in the collection *Bessatsu hōseki 3 tokushū: sekai no SF (Hōseki Supplement 3 Special Issue: World SF)* in 1964, where she had been the only female author featured. The Special Feature reprint series mimics the function of bound anthologies within *Uchūjin*'s monthly structure while also subtly reinforcing the value of anthologies to serve as markers of canonicity. For Shibano to choose Mitsunami as the author who would represent *Uchūjin*'s stature within the SF community at the start of this series demonstrates a very different proposition of who is encompassed by the term "SF" than the male-dominated professional sphere. Here women, and single mothers at that, hold just as much authority as authorial SF subjects as men.

Uchūjin's conception of its own relationship with its readership differs markedly from other SF fanzines of the time. A comparison with the short-lived magazine *NULL* provides an illustrative example. Originally founded in 1960 by Tsutsui Yasutaka, whose work I analyzed in Chapter 1, the first issues of *NULL* were filled entirely with pieces by Tsutsui and his immediate family. The amateur magazine published short stories by him, his brothers, and his father for the first year of its existence. It eventually incorporated work by authors outside the Tsutsui family and became a major community lynchpin for SF fans in the Kansai area of west-central Japan where Tsutsui was living at the time. The fan club that formed the magazine's readership held salons each Saturday to read and discuss SF works; these would continue even after the magazine ceased publication in 1964. We can note here the different implications of writers' salons and fan conventions like those hosted by *Uchūjin*. Whereas the former draws together a small number of like-minded authors seeking to refine their craft, the latter encompasses a much more capacious range of fan activities, including simple interpersonal socializing between fans. While *Uchūjin* saw value in fan socialization for its own sake, *NULL* clearly aimed more at the

“amateur professional” demographic of SF fans trying to break into professional publication as authors.

Tsutsui, who would receive his first publication in *SF Magazine* in 1963, clearly drew influence in how he envisioned his own fanzine from the industry publication’s understanding of SF, as explored in Chapter 1. For both, the value of SF lies in the text itself, understood as an expression of the author’s individual creative genius. Tsutsui framed the space of *NULL* as a kind of training ground for new authors to hone their craft and create ever more artistically refined works. While his specific definition of “artistically refined,” as indicated by his own works like “Rose-tinted Rhapsody,” may veer somewhat more toward Surrealism than that of *SF Magazine*, he nevertheless holds a similar understanding of aesthetic value arising from the text itself. His differences with *SF Magazine* might be likened to the differences between the literary avant garde and high literary mainstream: while each aesthetic carries its own set of values, they are both still encompassed within *junbungaku*.

Tsutsui’s pedagogical mission becomes even more obvious if we look at the second iteration of the magazine, *Neo-NULL*, which ran from 1974 to 1977. In the announcement of the magazine’s reincarnation, Tsutsui says that it will once again serve to foster new talent. This time around, aspiring authors are solicited to submit short-short stories, a selection of which will receive feedback and editing advice from Tsutsui and other professional SF authors within the magazine itself. This public editing process establishes a clear hierarchy within the pool of SF authors, in which Tsutsui and his peers are the arbiters of taste for what makes good SF. Their preferences are made public and explicit through the open feedback process, providing disciplinary instruction to other readers/writers. *NULL*, and later *Neo-NULL*, thus served as sites where the high literary aesthetics Tsutsui prized in SF could be reproduced and disseminated as

valuable. If Shibano saw *Uchūjin* as a kind of cheerleader and documentarian leading SF fandom, Tsutsui saw *NULL* and *Neo-NULL* as teachers bringing up properly trained writers.

In contrast, the community focus of *Uchūjin*, insofar as it did not maintain as rigid a definition of SF's "proper" textual features as *SF Magazine* or *NULL*, opened a space for different kinds of voices within its pages, such as the women analyzed above. In other words, *Uchūjin* provided a venue in which the questions of who SF was for, by, and of could be contested from the bottom up, rather than imposed from the top down. This affordance came as much from the magazine's relationship to its readers as from the convictions of the authors. In its focus on fan community, *Uchūjin* frames SF as more grounded in human relations than literary aesthetics, but while it therefore largely evades the developmentalist view of international relations implicit in much of professional SF publication, international relations are still taken as a critical measure of success for the genre. Whereas *SF Magazine* linked SF's genre aesthetics to Japan's national levels of technological development and thus a political-economic worldview based on the state as a whole, *Uchūjin* privileged personal connections and exchange as the basis of SF's political potential. The details of this become clearer if we examine two projects undertaken by Shibano at the end of the decade: the International SF Symposium and the establishment of the Transoceanic Fan Fund.

The International SF Symposium, the Transoceanic Fan Fund, and the Mutating Map of Global SF

An ironic twist to the Pan-Pacificon story of the previous section is that a transpacific SF convention *did* come to Japan, just two years after Shibano announced the failure of his Worldcon bid. As we saw in Chapter 1, 1970 saw the arrival of the International Science Fiction Symposium (ISFS) in conjunction with Osaka's Expo '70. A transnational group of SF authors convened in Japan for the event, which drew heavily on the Japanese SF fan community in organizing its programming. The ISFS was in many regards precisely the kind of event that Pan-Pacificon had intended to be, and it seemed to point the way toward a bright future for the global village of SF fandom. Japanese SF seemed to be on equal footing with its international counterparts, able to consider together the future of SF – which as Chapter 1 demonstrated was simultaneously understood as the future of the human condition. As evidence of this, on September 24th of that year, three weeks after the conclusion of ISFS, the national television broadcaster NHK would air a dialogue (taidan), filmed for the occasion, between Komatsu Sakyō and Arthur C. Clarke entitled “Views Toward the Society of the Future” (“Mirai shakai e no tenbō”).

The ISFS presents a useful case study of the ways the dominant social dynamics of SF – what I have been calling in this chapter the sociology of SF – reproduced themselves. Why was it that, not two years after Shibano's announcement that a transpacific fan convention would not be held, authors from around the world would gather in Japan for ISFS? A number of explanations could be offered, the most obvious of which being that the symposium was organized entirely by Japanese planners. With no need for the American-centric Worldcon

organizing committee's blessing (which had never approved a non-Anglophone site as of the year of Pan-Pacificon's failed bid), the SFWJ and Japanese SF Fangroup Association were free to hold the ISFS wherever they pleased. With more control over the planning process, the Japanese organizers could put together a convention that fulfilled Shibano's wish of bringing together fans from within and outside Japan.

While this explains the ability of ISFS to be hosted in Japan, however, it does not explain why the foreign guests chose to attend. To answer that question, it becomes necessary to look at the transcultural social forces to which SF was subject, as well as the wider socio-political context in which Japanese SF fandom was situated at the turn of the 1970s. While nationwide protests opposing the automatic renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty (otherwise known as Anpo) had once again rocked Japan in 1968 and 1969, by the summer of 1969 these had been largely quelled. Factional disputes within the New Left protestors, along with a bolstered police force opposing them, meant that the protests at the end of the decade were never able to gain as much momentum as the ones that had taken place ahead of the 1960 ratification of Anpo. By 1970, domestic political stability had largely returned to Japan, for better or worse, in a way that would make staging a multi-site, cross-country convention like the International SF Symposium easier.

What's more, as previously noted, 1970 also saw a major world exhibition come to Osaka under the title Expo '70.³⁴ The Expo explicitly drew on science fiction talent to envision its theme of "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" (*jinrui no shinpo to chōwa*).³⁵ Through the study group "Thinking the Expo" (*Bankokuhaku wo kangaeru kai*), which helped develop the Expo's

³⁴ The Expo's timing caused it to be criticized as a political distraction, a critique similarly leveled at the 1964 and 2020 Tokyo Olympics.

³⁵ Gardner, "The 1970 Osaka Expo and/as Science Fiction."

themes, the organizers involved Komatsu Sakyō as a sub-producer within the sub-theme committees. Other SF figures to be involved with Expo '70, either as producers or planners, included Hoshi Shin'ichi, Abe Kōbō, Fukushima Masami, Yano Tetsu, Tsuburaya Eiji, Tezuka Osamu, and Tanaka Tomoyuki, and a number of explicitly science-fictional films were screened as part of the exhibition.³⁶ Expo '70 attracted attention from around the world to Japan as an “information society” in its nascence, at the forefront of the newly minted research field of “future studies” (miraigaku), not to mention an active producer of SF.

Generous government support for the Expo '70 project, along with the architectural and artistic luminaries associated with the project such as lead designer Tange Kenzō, gave the event a great deal of cultural prestige. ISFS, in turn, tapped into some of this prestige by associating itself with Expo '70 in the early stages of its planning, as well as through the figure of Komatsu, who served as the planning committee chairman for the symposium. Komatsu's aforementioned roundtable discussion with Arthur C. Clarke on NHK bore a striking resemblance in its title (“Views Toward the Society of the Future”) to the common sobriquet for the Expo '70 grounds, “the city of the future” (mirai no toshi).³⁷ The programming for ISFS, too, emphasized SF's place as a leading intellectual formation that would help participants in the event think through large-scale social ills like pollution or nuclear destruction. Discussion panels such as “SF and Civilization” (SF to bunmei), in other words, reinforced the genre's deep connection with the emerging field of future studies and its overarching concern with utopian social planning.

Recalling the argument of Chapter 1, we could say that ISFS partook more in the discourses of post-racial intellect (chisei) found in *SF Magazine* than in the focus within *Uchūjin* on the plurality of the SF community. Gardner makes note of an interesting twist on this

³⁶ Gardner, 27.

³⁷ Gardner, 37.

discourse within the priorities of the Thinking the Expo group. He observes their emphasis on, “a relativistic, multi-polar humanism, which attempted to highlight the knowledge or ‘wisdom’ (chie) of Asian and African cultures in the first world exposition hosted by an Asian nation.”³⁸ Chie is closely related to chisei conceptually, and while this may seem to indicate that Expo ’70 would unite discourses of intellect/wisdom with increased representation of racial diversity, Gardner shows that, “elements of critique and warning regarding the ‘Progress and Harmony of Mankind’ in the expo,” including documentary photographs of atomic bombing victims, “were actively suppressed by government officials.”³⁹ Multi-polar humanism, it seems, was only permissible insofar as it did not upset the status quo.

By the same token, ISFS’s international attendance would seem to open the way for a more nuanced discussion of national, racial, ethnic, or gendered difference within the SF community, but the symposium itself opted to avoid such topics. If we assume a view of SF that actively sets aside questions of embodiment through the discourse of chisei, the decision makes sense: a major point of publicity for the gathering was that guests from both sides of the Iron Curtain would be present, and no less a writer than Hoshi Shin’ichi in no less a publication than the *Yomiuri Shinbun* would use this as a way of promoting an image of unity and peace for the event.⁴⁰ Much like Expo ’70, the symposium – concluding with its multilateral joint statement from participating authors – suggested Japan as the meeting place where distinctions of American or Soviet, white or Asian, could be put aside. Yet in looking toward a disembodied utopian future, the International SF Symposium minimized the multiply bodied present of SF

³⁸ Gardner, 29.

³⁹ Gardner, 38.

⁴⁰ The article, entitled “Reality Beyond Imagination” (“Sōzō wo koeru genjitsu”), ran in the evening edition of the *Yomiuri Shinbun* on August 27, 1970. This citation is drawn from Tatsumi and Nihon SF Sakka Kurabu, *Kokusai SF Shinpojiumu zenkiroku*, 16–19.

fandom. Voices such as those of Yasuoka and Bien who through their writing called attention to this multiplicity were not present at the roundtables of the ISFS. The suppression of critiques of Expo '70's liberal worldview and Hoshi Shin'ichi's equation of peace and stability with the effacement of difference suggest a sense that the social field of SF – or perhaps even the Cold War world system itself – might collapse if marginalized groups began demanding more inclusion or accountability.

Shibano's desire for a trans-pacific fan collective would materialize in other ways, as well, and through a close reading of his account of them, we can get a glimpse of the ways the dominant value hierarchies of SF played out on an interpersonal level. In 1968, the year following the defeat of the Pan-Pacificon bid at NyCon 3 in New York, Shibano undertook a 50-day tour through the United States, meeting with prominent figures in the American SF fan scene, as well as SF authors. There, in collaboration with "big-name fans"⁴¹ John and Bjo Trimble, Forrest J. Ackerman, and others, he established the Trans-oceanic Fan Fund (TOFF), a financial entity through which Shibano hoped to sustain international interchange between fan communities.⁴² One of the early major donations to TOFF came from a tongue-in-cheek fundraiser within the Japanese fan community from the "Chase Shibano Takumi Off to America Group" (Shibano Takumi wo Amerika ni opparau kai), spearheaded by author Ōmiya Nobumitsu. The group raised 158,428 yen and 85 dollars, in addition to sundry non-currency donations of goods such as a hanging scroll donated by Mitsunami Yōko. Shibano reports in his

⁴¹ This is a common, informal title assigned to fans such as Shibano or Trimble who undertake a great deal of organizational labor to put together conventions and fan meetings, present awards, or organize international visits like Shibano's. It is often abbreviated as "BNF," and creates a soft hierarchy of celebrity within the fan community through the figure of the professional fan.

⁴² Such financial arrangements have precedence in TAFF (the Trans-Atlantic Fan Fund), which was started in 1952 and served as a model for TOFF.

thank-you note to the donors that he donated almost all the money to TOFF.⁴³ Shibano's account of TOFF's founding and its activities would appear in a column almost every month for the better part of a year. Next to photos of Shibano mingling with the major names of American fandom and photos of some of those same figures visiting Shibano's home in Japan, he wrote about his experience collaborating with his counterparts in American fandom.

A key figure in these columns is Roy Tackett. A longtime collaborator with Shibano, Tackett was an SF fan who had been stationed in Japan during the US Occupation, apparently making the former's acquaintance at that time. Shibano goes so far as to deem him "The Discoverer of Japanese Fandom" (*nihon fandamu no hakkensha*), and the idea for Pan-Pacificon originally came out of correspondence between the two of them after Tackett had returned home to Albuquerque.⁴⁴ Tackett acted as a contact point in the United States for Shibano, facilitating introductions between him and the other "big name fans" in the US. Yet even here, we can see evidence of an implicit hierarchy that places American fandom and its luminaries the Big Name Fans in the role of gatekeepers of success for Japanese fandom. Shibano quotes letters from Tackett and the other organizers of Pan-Pacificon and TOFF in his report. "We're not going to invite a Japanese fan because we want to discuss SF with him. We're bringing him over because he's someone we know and we'd like to meet in person. Our goals are friendship and amity," reads a quote from Tackett. An LA-area organizer, meanwhile, says, "As for you yourself, Takumi, while you're very well-known among American fandom, we still couldn't say that you're a BNF [Big Name Fan]."⁴⁵ Shibano's activities within Japanese SF fandom over the

⁴³ This information and Shibano's note appear in a small fold-out note attached to the inside back cover of *Uchūjin*'s September, 1968 issue (issue no. 127).

⁴⁴ Takumi Shibano, "TOFF dai 1-gō repōto (1)," *Uchūjin*, no. 127 (October 1968): 15.

⁴⁵ Shibano, 17.

preceding decade or more are apparently not enough to verify him as a Big Name Fan; for that, he would need to be authenticated by representatives of American fandom.

Shibano's account of his flight to America with his wife Sachiko under the auspices of TOFF, then, is marked by anxiety. He discusses his worries that his English won't be sufficient, or that he will miss the Americans sent to meet him at the airport (if indeed they even come: he wonders whether Americans have a custom of meeting people at the airport) and get lost. While he characterizes the trip as a whole positively and expresses overwhelming gratitude to the Japanese and American fans who funded TOFF, the first installment of his report nevertheless betrays a fear that he might somehow not live up to expectations placed on him by each group as a kind of delegate of SF fan activity.

TOFF 第 1 号 レポート

(1)

柴 野 拓 美

HOW ABOUT THAT! WE ACTUALLY
MADE IT ON THE RIGHT DAY...
WITH ONLY A SINGLE DAY OF
REHEARSAL!

John Trimble



Figure 6: A cartoon by Bjo Trimble accompanying the first TOFF report. Source: Shibano, Takumi. "TOFF dai 1-gō repōto (1)." *Uchūjin* 127. 13.

When they land in Los Angeles, their first meeting with their American counterparts pictured in Bjo Trimble's cartoon in Figure 6⁴⁶ is a scene of dis-communication somewhat similar to that found in Bien Fuu's short stories discussed above. The Americans' strongly accented pronunciation of the Shibano's given names is rendered in katakana, as is Shibano Takumi's halting responses to them in English as introductions are made. Shibano notes that he couldn't remember how to say, "Thank you for coming to meet us" in English, and so, "I just kept repeating the same greeting as though it were the only one I knew."⁴⁷ While the scene is presented as humorous self-deprecation, its resemblance to the post-colonially tinged scenes of language barriers in "Saigo no mori" five years earlier brings to mind Bien's cautionary tales of alienation and exploitation, tales which, as we have seen, could be read as a warning to Japanese SF fandom itself. Even as Shibano undertakes his trip to bring together American and Japanese fan communities as equals, his report betrays the subtle ways in which the social dynamics that characterized SF production and consumption transnationally re-inscribed anxiety and a sense of inferiority on his part, despite his long years of experience working in Japanese SF production at the helm of *Uchūjin*.

As we have seen in this chapter, the realm of amateur and fan publication of SF, and fannish activity more generally, stood in stark contrast with the professional discourses surrounding SF in the professional venues we examined in Chapter 1, such as *SF Magazine*. Whereas both sides of the professional/amateur divide were interested in accruing prestige and status to the fledgling genre throughout the 1960s, the metrics by which that prestige could be measured and the means

⁴⁶ Shibano writes that Forrest J Ackerman, Fred Patton, Fred Hollander and his unnamed girlfriend came to meet them at the airport, along with Bjo and John Trimble and their two infant children.

⁴⁷ Shibano, "TOFF dai 1-gō repōto (1)," 25.

by which it could be obtained varied. For the Japanese fan community, represented here by *Uchūjin* and its editor Shibano Takumi, a flourishing genre was indicated by vibrant interchange between a large, active Japanese fan community and its American counterpart. At the same time, by consistently framing SF production and consumption in Japan in comparison to the United States, Shibano and his sympathizers found themselves in a race for equality that, by its own logic, could not be successful. However, voices within *Uchūjin* itself, especially those of women authors such as Bien Fuu and Yasuoka Yukiko, were articulating these problems along with epistemologies that offered a possible alternative to the American-centric norm. Through traditionally marginalized protagonists, stylistic experimentation, and appropriation of a wider field of global storytelling traditions, *Uchūjin*'s women authors, and Bien and Yasuoka in particular, offered a more broadly inclusive sociology of SF. By challenging dominant assumptions of who and what could be the subject of SF, these women offered a vision of Japanese SF that did not rely on an American-centric value system to judge its own success.

And yet, under the transnational conditions of the Cold War, the migration of SF texts, concepts, and authors within the Free World sphere, centered on the United States as its metropole, seemed an inevitable necessity for the survival not only of the genre, but indeed of entire industries. In the next chapter, we will turn to SF as it appeared in visual media throughout the 1960s. Visual SF – be it film, manga, or television – weaves through the advertisement pages of both of the magazines we have analyzed thus far, and as we will see, visual media were considered a core part of the genre's identity in Japan from its very earliest days. Following the success of *Gojira* in 1954 both at home and in the American market after heavy re-editing, SF movies came to represent one source of hope for a struggling domestic film industry. In short, it would not make sense to consider discourses of literary SF as independent

of those of visual SF, so let us turn now to science fiction as it appeared on the film and television screen.

Chapter 3

Mixed Media: Lines of Sight in the SF Image

In February 1967 the Japanese science fiction film industry was, in the eyes of the major sci-fi periodical *SF Magazine*, in mortal peril. In that month's issue, the magazine published a special roundtable discussion between its editor Fukushima Masami and frequent magazine contributors Oka Toshio, Ishikawa Takashi, Yano Tetsu, and Ōtomo Shōji, in which the participants discussed the dire state of the industry and (the article's title) "What to do About Japanese SF Film."¹ The general consensus among participants in the roundtable was that Japanese SF films were sorely deficient in comparison with those being imported from abroad, and that this deficiency may soon lead to the failure of domestic SF film production, and perhaps even SF as a whole. Yet just seven months before, Ōtomo had declared in the same magazine that special effects (tokusatsu) films were in no less than a golden age (hanjōki).² How can we account for such a drastic difference in *SF Magazine*'s evaluation of SF film in so short a time?

To be sure, larger media-historical shifts may have been part of it: Ōtomo's article mainly concerned tokusatsu TV programs like the wildly successful *Ultra Q*, which had debuted that year, whereas the roundtable focused on theatrical films. Television had become the visual medium of choice in Japan in the preceding years, especially in the lead-up to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, and its newfound prominence, coupled with financial mismanagement in the major film studios, left the latter industry under considerable financial strain. Circumstances had

¹ "Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka," *SF Magazine* 8, no. 2 (February 1967): 163–76.

² Shōji Ōtomo, "Tokusatsu terebi eiga hanjōki," *SF Magazine* 7, no. 7 (July 1966): 99–106.

become so desperate for the studios that they lobbied the Japanese government to intervene and subsidize the industry. We might therefore assume that the difference in tenor between Ōtomo's article and the later roundtable in which he participated might simply be due to their understanding of the different financial states of production for the big and small screens.

And yet, throughout the 1967 roundtable, little mention is made of economic woes or national media trends. Instead, what concerns the panelists is that the narrative conceits of many recent Japanese SF films were too simplistic and shallow, leading Fukushima in particular to fret that they might doom SF film – and the genre more generally – to a reputation of artistic immaturity and puerility. The roundtable discussion remains focused on matters of narrative refinement. Ōtomo's article on tokusatsu television programs, meanwhile, spends much of its time detailing the special effects techniques that were being developed at TV studios by the likes of tokusatsu luminary Tsuburaya Eiji. He frames tokusatsu TV as a cutting-edge art form spearheading development of new techniques and technologies of composite photography, scale model sets and props, and so on. While he does make note of the unusually high budgets allocated to tokusatsu TV programs, he frames them as evidence not of the financial success of the industry but of the impressive emphasis being given to technical research and development by producers and studio heads. The “golden age” of tokusatsu TV, in other words, is due to technical innovation, not economic success.

What is at stake in the discrepancy between the 1966 and 1967 articles in *SF Magazine*, then, is a larger question of, “What makes a good SF film?” Wrapped up in this question is the broader set of debates within the SF community during this period to the effect of, “What is SF?” that have been the focus of this dissertation. As the previous chapters have shown, the term “SF” was made to hold together a wide variety of disparate aesthetic, industrial, ideological, and social

elements – elements which constantly threatened to fly apart unless continuously reinscribed in discursive venues like *SF Magazine*. Whereas Chapters 1 and 2 focused their analyses on the textual and social dimensions of SF, in this chapter, we will examine the discourses of media that orbited the genre, as well as the divergent modes of identification that accreted there. The rapidly shifting Japanese media landscape of the 1960s meant that different media accrued different values, prompting concern on the one hand that hegemonic hierarchies of artistic value might be giving way to new formations, while on the other hand providing a venue for the visual potentials of the SF genre to find full expression.

Implicit in the discourses of SF media were a number of different models for being in relation to the SF image, which in turn suggest political ideologies that were often in tension with one another. At their core, these differences came down to the question of whether one understood SF film and television as being primarily narrative or technical media. As an examination of SF still and moving images will show, the genre's visual aesthetics pushed its viewers toward technological accelerationism and warfare, but also toward an openness to contingency. At the same time, human-scale embodiment serves to counteract the machinic gaze and thereby reinforce the liberal humanism of hegemonic SF narratives, as explored in Chapter 1. The SF image was polyvalent, and it invited its viewers to engage with it actively. Multiple, occasionally self-contradictory models of subjective orientations to the image were able to emerge as a result. These were models that were delineated in and communicated through SF images as implicit speculations on what an SF subjectivity might entail. In part a consumer identity and in part a set of ideological attachments, SF subjectivities as they were imagined on-screen and in discourses surrounding science fiction film and television were united in the fact that they were formed through media habits.

In order to illustrate the discourses surrounding SF visual media, I will first briefly review the media environment with(in) which those discourses took shape and were mobilized. With the broader industry context in mind, I then turn to a close analysis of a few representative film texts in order to ground subsequent discussions of how these sorts of films were received within the discourse communities we have already examined in the preceding chapters. Finally, I will consider alternative ways of theorizing SF's visual aesthetics and the implications they held for SF subjectivity toward the end of the decade. The media discourses of Japanese science fiction in this period make particularly visible the genre's relationship to commercialism and transnational capital, with all the promises and perils therein. We should therefore begin our analysis by considering the state of the industry in the years leading up to the two articles with which we began.

The Program to Encourage the Export of Film and the Kaijū Boom

By 1967, when the second of the above two articles was published, the media landscape to which it was responding had shifted drastically compared to even ten years prior. As noted above, market penetration of television in Japan had accelerated dramatically in the early 1960s, undermining the hegemony over visual news and entertainment formerly held by the vertically integrated film industry. The economic ramifications of the rise of television meant that the traditional film industry was now in competition not only with television studios but also with the numerous independent film production companies that had splintered off from the major studios as their fortunes waned. More than just economic competition, too, television had

captured the imagination of the viewing public in Japan in the span of a few years. With its focus on liveness and “actuality,” television proved itself to be eminently suitable to cover the spectacular mass political demonstrations occurring throughout Japan in response to the ratification of the US-Japan Joint Security Treaty (ANPO in Japanese). Student demonstrators staged these protests in such a way as to actively solicit the televisual gaze, so much so that Yuriko Furuhashi has re-dubbed this moment in Japanese history as “the season of *image* politics.”³ While SF film and television production was largely separated from the “political avant-garde” that Furuhashi describes as composing the “cinema of actuality,” the broader changes to how the moving image was understood in Japan during the decade – specifically the relation between moving images and the political zeitgeist of the nation – made themselves felt in the horizons of SF image discourses circulating at the time.

These shifts would have long-lasting consequences on the Japanese popular media landscape. Tanikawa Takeshi alerts us to the fact that Japanese popular culture as we know it today might not have existed were it not for the influence of science fiction.⁴ Faced with the above financial crisis, the Japanese film industry turned to the government for support in the mid-1960s. Out of this arrangement came the Program to Encourage the Export of Films (Yushutsu eiga shinkō sochi), administered by the Bureau to Encourage Japanese Film Exports (Nihon eiga yushutsu shinkō kyōkai), which would disburse a total of nine billion yen over five years between 1966 and 1970 to support the production of films deemed “suitable for export” (yushutsu tekikaku). As Tanikawa notes, with the fairly recent success abroad of *Godzilla* (*Gojira*, 1954, Honda Ishiro dir.) freshly in mind, a significant proportion of the films supported

³ Furuhashi, *Cinema of Actuality*, 2.

⁴ Here and throughout this paragraph, Takeshi Tanikawa, “Nihon eiga yushutsu shinkō kyōkai to yushutsu-muke kontentsu: seifu shikin katsuyō ni yoru kaijū eiga seisaku to sono tenmatsu,” in *Sengo eiga no sangyō kūkan: Shihon, goraku, kōgyō* (Tokyo: Moriwasha, 2016), 45–83.

by the Program were science fiction monster movies (*kaijū eiga*). These films were judged to be suitably “modern,” as well as easy to understand for foreign audiences with short attention spans, and thus received substantial subsidization from the government. This led to a glut of science fiction films produced in the mid- to late 1960s as studios sought funding through the Program: 35 were produced between the spring of 1966 and the end of 1968. Though the Program ended in 1970 after criticisms that the money was being misappropriated by the studios,⁵ the result was nevertheless that Japan became one of the leading producers of science fiction films in the world, and that science fiction became one vessel of the government’s hopes for the success of Japanese cultural production globally.

To give a sense of the kinds of SF films funded by the program, let us take a closer look at two that received government support: *Uchū daikaijū Girara* (1967) and *Konchū daisensō* (1968), both directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui for Shochiku Studios. Despite being produced by the same studio and sharing a director, cinematographer, and some cast members, the two films are markedly different in tone and themes. Two of 15 total films produced by Shochiku to receive program funding, they received a total of 251.3 million yen according to Tanikawa. A third SF horror film produced by Shochiku during this period, *Kyūketsuki gokemidoro* (1968, Sato Hajime dir.) was submitted for consideration for program funding but ultimately denied. As a studio, Shochiku was much better known as a producer of family dramas like those of director Ozu Yasujirō, so its presence among the recipients of funding for SF horror and monster films comes as something of a surprise. While the studio was far from the most prolific producer of SF films that received program support, the fact that it produced these three films with the aim of

⁵ Tanikawa notes, for example, an interview in which Yamazaki Gan, the screenwriter at Nikkatsu Studios responsible for *Gappa: The Triphibian Monster* (*Daikyōjū gappa*, 1967, Noguchi Haruyasu dir.), claimed that, thanks to government support, the budget for the film was ten times the norm, but that studio executives used the money to pay off real estate debts instead of using the funds for the film.

securing funds corroborates Tanikawa's conclusion that SF blockbusters were seen as one way to access potentially lucrative international markets. Together with one other film – *Kyūketsu dokuro sen* (1968, Matsuno Hiroshi dir.) – these would be the only SF films Shochiku would produce, suggesting a brief moment from 1966-1968 when the genre seemed attractive and marketable enough to the studio to cause it to consider pivoting away from the domestic dramas that had been its mainstay.

Uchū daikaijū Girara is a fairly straightforward tale of the Earthly invasion of an alien monster, Girara. An international science team, sent to Mars to investigate the disappearance of other research teams and sightings of UFOs, returns to Earth carrying an alien spore that mutates into the towering, destructive Girara and rampages throughout the Kanto and Tohoku regions of Japan. In the background of this narrative, a parallel story of a love triangle between captain Sano, Lisa, and Michiko plays out, with the tense prospect of interracial romance between Sano and Lisa eventually resolving to the more conservative pairing of Sano and Michiko, with Lisa confiding in the white project lead Dr. Berman that she has resigned herself to the outcome. Throughout, the film is conspicuously upbeat, backed by an up-tempo score resembling samba music and with Girara's destruction of large swaths of Japan getting fairly minimal screen time. The will-they-won't-they story of the Lisa-Sano-Michiko love triangle seems just as narratively weighty, if not more so, than the 12-story, solar-powered lizard chicken laying waste to Tokyo. In short, in addition to hewing somewhat closer to Shochiku's bread-and-butter topic of romantic drama, *Uchū daikaijū Girara* also embodies the racially and sexually conservative trappings of mainstream SF in Japan like that against which the authors examined in Chapter 2 were implicitly rebelling. Scientific reason triumphs, and the outside threats (alien and woman alike) are contained. Notable is the parallel drawn between Girara and Lisa at film's end. Girara is not

destroyed, but rather shrunk back down to its dormant spore state, sealed into a container, and then blasted out to the far reaches of space aboard a rocket. Similarly, no climactic, violent confrontation ever occurs between Lisa, Michiko, and Sano. Instead, Lisa simply walks off morosely with Dr. Berman – possibly returning with him to wherever he flew in from in the opening scene of the film – while Michiko and Sano stand gazing toward Mt. Fuji. There is no explicit strife; Lisa simply goes away.

Konchū daisensō, released a year later, is in many ways the polar opposite of *Girara*, and it might therefore be seen as emblematic of more “mature” SF in the vein of Komatsu’s apocalyptic tales of the fate of humankind. An American B-52 bomber carrying a hydrogen bomb crashes near the Anan archipelago, islands whose tropical scenery and American military presence would surely evoke Okinawa to contemporary viewers. Two apocalyptic conspiracies unfold from this crash. On the one hand, the jingoistic and secretive American Colonel Gordon searches desperately to recover the lost atomic bomb before news gets out of its disappearance and causes America to lose face in the Cold War battle of reputation. On the other, the conniving femme fatale Anabelle, having developed a nihilistic hatred of all humankind after her experiences as a prisoner in Auschwitz, is creating new breeds of venomous insects, a cloud of which were responsible for bringing down the B-52. Her hyper-advanced insects have somehow become psychically active, seeking to destroy humanity rather than allow nuclear proliferation and war to end all life on Earth. At the center of these two plots is Jōji, an insect collector who has been assisting the Tokyo-based entomologist Dr. Nagumo as well as (unwittingly) Anabelle, with whom he is involved in an extramarital affair. Nagumo becomes the hinge connecting the American military to the scientific mystery of the insects. The film ends with a repentant Jōji martyring himself to save his pregnant wife Yukari from the insects that were set loose through

the death of Anabelle. Yukari flees the island on a small boat just before Colonel Gordon remotely detonates the bomb as a last resort measure to keep it out of enemy hands. Yukari, alone on her tiny motorboat, appears to be destined to be the sole surviving human as nuclear conflict and ecological judgment day both threaten the genocide of all human life.

Whereas *Uchū daikaijū Girara* was a largely optimistic cinematic romp, *Konchū daisensō* takes a darker turn, positing Cold War polarization and ecological destruction as spelling the ultimate doom of the human race. Uniting both is a charged theme of interracial romance (Lisa and Sano, Anabelle and Jōji), but I would argue that, more than a fear of miscegenation, it is the Cold War system itself that makes the difference between utopia and dystopia in these films. Any hint of real-world political divisions is entirely absent from *Girara*, whereas it is precisely American pigheadedness with regard to their constant paranoia about “Red agents” on Anan that leads to nuclear annihilation. The Cold War is not an overdetermining factor in Shochiku’s SF thematics, however. Rather, it is one of a number of different symbols of human division more generally.

The war in Vietnam was another popular visual symbol of humanity’s inability to come together, and journalistic photographs are used in brief, symbolic montages in both *Konchū daisensō* and the third film with which Shochiku applied for Program funding, *Kyūketsuki gokemidoro*. This latter film also begins with a plane crash, but this time, the plane in question is a Japan Air passenger jet, brought down by an apparent flyby of a UFO. Surviving the crash is an Agatha Christie-esque assortment of character archetypes, each with their own secrets. One of these is an Army widow (incidentally played by Kathy Horan, who also played Anabelle in *Konchū daisensō*)⁶ who had been on her way to claim the body of her husband who was killed by

⁶ Interestingly, *Gokemidoro* is the one film out of the three presented here that chooses not to overdub its English-speaking cast in Japanese. Horan’s lines in English are either recapitulated in Japanese by another character (in a

a napalm explosion in Vietnam. Opposition to the idea of war is her defining feature as a character, and she is killed by the vampiric alien symbiote Gokemidoro after she picks up a rifle that was carried by the political assassin that is the alien's host. Splitting the difference between the alien invasion of *Girara* and the prophecies of self-inflicted extinction of *Konchū daisensō*, *Gokemidoro* positions war and human division as making us weak and unable to resist destruction at the hands of the alien invaders. Thus, when the pilot and flight attendant protagonists of the film finally appear to escape the assassin/alien that has been stalking them since the crash, they find themselves wandering into a dead city where all of the human inhabitants have already been killed by the aliens. As with the ending of *Konchū daisensō*, human extinction seems inevitable, and our protagonists doomed. Like much SF of the decade, Shochiku's films present a stark choice to the human race: unite or die.

Such geopolitically inflected melodrama had of course been present in *Godzilla*, the film to which many of the Program-funded monster movies could trace their lineage. As is by now well-known, the titular monster is awoken by American nuclear testing in the Pacific, and one of the central moral questions in the film is whether or not the "Oxygen Destroyer," an allegory for nuclear weaponry, could be used against it without risking another round of global arms races and proliferation. Giant monsters as international crises were a staple of SF film both before and during the period in which the Program to Encourage the Export of Film was active.

manner somewhat resembling Han Solo's one-way interpretation of Chewbacca's speech in *Star Wars*) or, in a few key instances, subtitled in Japanese. Horan's character's relatively marginal status to the overall plot of *Gokemidoro* in comparison with her leading role in *Konchū daisensō* may be one explanation for this difference, but this point is also interesting insofar as *Gokemidoro* was the one SF horror film of Shochiku's *not* approved by the Program to Encourage the Export of Films. If the goal of the Program was to make films that would appeal to a certain idea of foreign audiences' tastes, one would assume that English-language dialogue would be a point in its favor. Tanikawa does not list a clear reason for the film's rejection by the Program, so it is impossible to know whether dialogue language played a role in the committee's decision.

Not all kaijū films were as highly received as *Godzilla* in the science fiction discourse community, however. We have already briefly introduced two articles from *SF Magazine* which took up the state of Japanese film and television during the Program's period of activity. Closer scrutiny to the rhetoric in each of these articles will help us better understand how SF screen media was being positioned in relation to other parts of the contemporary media ecology, namely print media. While films like *Uchū daikaijū Girara* and *Konchū daisensō* were multivalent texts that could encompass a variety of values, the two articles I will analyze in the next section are emblematic of some of the most common discourses around screen media in the SF publishing world.

SF On-Screen and In Print: The Transmedia Movements of SF

Film and other visual media were a major source of content for the SF print industry from that industry's inception in Japan in the mid-1950s. From the very first issue of *SF Magazine* in 1959 there appeared a regular column on the latest in science fiction television and film. This informational column was frequently supplemented with in-depth articles and roundtable discussions of the latest goings-on, technical developments, and cultural significance of the film and television industries as they pertained to SF. Even before the national government got involved in subsidizing the movie industry, SF film and literature were already mutually productive. The 1961 "Science Fiction Contest" (kūsō kagaku shōsetsu kontesuto) in *SF Magazine*, which I discussed in Chapter 1, is a prime example. The contest served two functions: on the one hand, it was meant to encourage more Japanese writers to pen SF stories

for an audience hungry for works by domestic authors;⁷ on the other, it served as a means for personnel from Tōhō Studios to scout for a work that could be adapted into a new screenplay – the contest’s top prize was the opportunity to work with studio representatives on an adaptation of the winning story for the big screen. Tōhō was the most prolific producer of SF and kaijū films across the decade, and Tsuburaya Eiji, Tanaka Tomoyuki, and Fujimoto Sanezumi – the special effects director, producer, and executive vice president at Tōhō Studios for *Godzilla* – served as judges for the first three Science Fiction Contests in 1961, 1962, and 1964. Science fiction and film, in other words, existed in a mutually constitutive feedback loop, with literary works meant to serve as the inspiration for new films, and the flashy special effects of the latest SF films shown off in sci-fi magazines to fire the imaginations of their readers and (perhaps more importantly) their writers.

Attention to audiovisual media was not limited to professional sci-fi publications. In the fanzine *Uchūjin*, announcements of new SF-related radio and television programs and movies regularly occupied the news columns by which SF fans had kept themselves up-to-date on the genre since *Uchūjin*’s founding. In other words, consuming SF film, television, and radio alongside fiction was seen as the default for SF fans like those reading *Uchūjin*. SF manga was equally present in these magazines, with works by Tezuka Osamu published in *SF Magazine* and advertisements for the activities of the Ishinomori Shōtarō⁸ fan club appearing in *Uchūjin*. Thus, when we speak of science fiction in Japan, it makes more sense to think of it in fundamentally

⁷ This desire is reflected in letters sent to the editors of *SF Magazine* and printed in its monthly fan letters column. See, for example, “Terepōto.”

⁸ Ishinomori was the creator responsible for a number of highly successful science fiction manga such as *Cyborg 009*, as well as foundational tokusatsu television programs like *Kamen Rider* and *Himitsu Sentai Gorenjaa* in the 1970s, when that subgenre of television expanded rapidly in popularity. While he is better known by the name Ishinomori, during the period I examine here, he still went by the penname Ishimori.

transmedia terms, encompassing both literary and visual media, rather than as a genre that gives primacy to literature, film, or any other single media form.

With these transmedia movements in mind, we can return to the two articles from *SF Magazine* in more detail to understand how different ways of viewing SF screen media allowed for such markedly different evaluations of them from the critics. Ōtomo Shōji's July 1966 article presents a short overview of the history of tokusatsu TV programs – that is, programs that make heavy use of special effects techniques like scale model sets, composite photography, and monster and superhero suits in the manner of *Kamen Rider* or *Ultraman*.⁹ Ōtomo was a film critic and mainstay in the pages of *SF Magazine*, authoring a column on SF films almost every month during this period. Listed among the various SF television programs produced since the mid-1950s that Ōtomo enumerates in his survey are a number of well-established SF literary authors providing original concept treatments (*gensaku*). Komatsu Sakyō, Hoshi Shin'ichi, Fukushima Masami, and Yano Tetsu all appear as contributors to various TV projects, and manga artist Tezuka Osamu appears frequently both through adaptations of his manga and through penning original concepts for the small screen. From the film world, special effects guru Tsuburaya Eiji (of *Godzilla* fame) appears throughout the article at the head of his production company Tsuburaya Productions, which worked on an array of tokusatsu television alongside its film work. Film studios like Daiei, Nikkatsu, and of course Tōhō all similarly had SF television projects in-progress as of the article's writing.

The article is titled “On Tokusatsu TV's Golden Age” (“Tokusatsu terebi eiga hanjōki”), a designation earned in Ōtomo's eyes by the wild success of Tsuburaya's new series *Ultra Q*, which earned a 26.5% viewership ratings share on its premiere on January 2nd, 1966. These

⁹ Ōtomo, “Tokusatsu terebi eiga hanjōki.”

numbers would continue to rise over the course of its run, topping out at 39.4% for its March 27th episode, just over one percentage point below the unprecedented success of *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s highest ranking episode, which ranked at 40.7%.¹⁰ *Ultra Q*'s warm reception, coupled with the increasing number of studios and networks producing and airing tokusatsu programs, signals for Ōtomo an exciting moment of potential for the genre. Also mentioned as evidence of this success are a number of attempts by Japanese studios to sell their tokusatsu programs overseas, especially in the United States. Indeed, a number of tokusatsu TV shows from this period were licensed for distribution in the United States, often undergoing substantial re-editing for the American audience. Nevertheless, the distribution of Japanese SF television in the United States is taken by Ōtomo as a sign that Japanese SF TV is standing toe-to-toe with its American competitors and circulating as a cutting-edge art form.

Tokusatsu's sophistication is further emphasized by the high-end production equipment and techniques being developed and utilized by television production studios for their tokusatsu programming. In *Ultra Q*'s case, for instance, Ōtomo quotes Tsuburaya Production's Ichikawa Toshiaki as saying that the TV program would be filmed in the same 35mm as films made for theatrical release. Combined with the extra expenses of costuming, sets, chroma key composite photography, and extra time needed for filming, *Ultra Q*'s budget reportedly ran an average of five to six million yen per episode, or three to four times the budget for a standard television program. Ichikawa reports that they would like to rationalize the production process and lower costs for their next program, *Ultraman*, but seems doubtful that they will be successful given that, unlike *Ultra Q*, *Ultraman* was to be filmed in color.

¹⁰ Ōtomo, 99.

In terms of budget, *Ultra Q* was not unique; Ōtomo reports on many other series whose budgets ran from three to six million yen per episode, well over 50% of which usually went toward special effects and special photography. The effects desired for tokusatsu television led to a number of technological developments by the studios, especially new techniques of film compositing for television broadcast and methods of combining live action and animation in the same frame. The effect of these developments is that Ōtomo's discussion of tokusatsu television programs frames them not only as highly popular and entertaining, but also state-of-the-art in terms of image technologies. At the same time that they portray SF futures, tokusatsu programs stood at the forefront of the techno-scientific developments that would bring those futures to pass. SF screen media are here understood on the level of both content and spectacle, bringing the future to the screens of Japanese viewers in more ways than one. They are what Tom Gunning and André Gaudreault would call a cinema (or television) of attractions, an approach to film production and consumption that prioritizes film's capacity for "making images seen," its ability to draw in the spectator through cinematographic effects, which were seen as more important than the presence of a narrative.¹¹ We watch *Ultra Q* or other tokusatsu television, in other words, not (only) because we are interested in its story, but rather because we want to be impressed by innovative manipulations of the film image. This desire is reflected even in the name "tokusatsu TV" and its explicit mention of the "tokusatsu" special effects as the defining feature of the genre. In living up to these expectations, tokusatsu TV was seen as a thrilling success by the article.

As I will explore in greater detail below, this mode of being in relation to the image orients the viewer toward technical knowledge and appreciation, perhaps even positioning them

¹¹ Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions."

as the producers' peers if their understanding of the moving image is sophisticated enough. The pleasure to be derived from consuming SF film and television has less to do with the enjoyment of any particular text, but rather in being witness to how the texts materially instantiated science fiction itself and indexed, in a sense, Japan's historical progress toward ever-greater technological development and achievement. Tokusatsu television, for Ōtomo, charted Japanese television's upward trajectory in a progressivist understanding of media history. As his interest in the export of tokusatsu to the United States makes evident, national televisual development was always understood in a global context, vying for success with other national bodies of popular media. Contrary to Japan's geopolitical subordination to American interests,¹² tokusatsu television's popularity seemed to be an arena in which Japan might emerge as a world leader.

Not all critics were as optimistic as Ōtomo, however. Less than a year later, in the roundtable discussion "What to do About Japanese SF Films?" ("Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka"), the participants' tone was decidedly less sunny. Over the course of a wide-ranging discussion of recent foreign and domestic SF films, the critics involved – Fukushima, Oka, Ishikawa, Yano, and Ōtomo – discuss what they see as the problems plaguing the domestic SF film industry. Their conversation differs notably from Ōtomo's prior article in that they approach SF films as self-contained narrative texts first and foremost, without regard for the specifics of technical accomplishments represented by the films. Put another way, the critics' dissatisfaction with Japanese SF film – their sense that something must be "done about it" – comes out of their de-contextualization of the films from the broader media ecology in which they are meaningful at a variety of levels, both artistic and technical. Their standards of quality for SF films elevate narrative thematics over all else, severing the films' connections from the broader network of

¹² Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads*, 35–74.

other films and tokusatsu programs with which they were in dialogue at the level of spectacle and attraction.

The critics express a desire for SF films that take themselves seriously in terms of their narrative premises, which they often consider through the metric of production values. They compare many Japanese films disparagingly to works like *Fantastic Voyage*, saying that many Japanese SF films of recent years feel like hackneyed “monster of the week” movies, shallow popcorn entertainment that chases the latest fads in monster design without attempting to produce “something new.” While they credit this disparity to American producers taking SF more seriously as a platform for mature storytelling and investing in their writers rooms as such, we might also conclude that the lower quality of Japanese films was simply due to the financial precarity of the domestic film industry in general during those years – the very reason, in other words, that the Program to Encourage the Export of Films existed.

Tied up in their anxieties about the artistic quality of Japanese SF films in isolation were further concerns about how those films – and by extension, the genre – might be received. Ishikawa, for instance, recalls an aside in published correspondence between artist Higashiyama Kaiti and author Mishima Yukio in which they said that, while they would like to see *Godzilla*, they feel too embarrassed to enter the theater.¹³ The source of their embarrassment, the panelists conclude, is a persistent image of Japanese SF as being aimed primarily at children, a perception they attribute to the films’ relatively low artistic maturity and their producers’ lack of pride in their work. Unless Japanese producers start putting more effort (and money) into their films, they fret, SF may forever languish in the artistic doldrums of juvenile entertainment.

¹³ “Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka,” 169.

What makes for a “high quality” SF film, one that evidences pride on the part of the producers, in the minds of the panelists? Again and again, they praise films that “draw one in” (hikikomu), allowing total immersion and suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience. Practically, this centripetal quality seems to arise from a conceptual emphasis in the planning stages of SF film production. The roundtable constructs a system of values for SF film based on high-literary criteria of intellectual narratives and rich characterization, criteria under which actual films were painfully deficient. The participants in the roundtable criticize what they see as a trend in Tōhō Studios’ SF production pipeline in which film planning proceeds from a simplistic idea for a new gadget or monster design. Oka interprets this as an instance of the tail wagging the dog: the means and the ends of film production have gotten switched around, in his view, such that the special effects – whose rightful role is a means toward telling a compelling story – become the ends in themselves.¹⁴ Oka is identifying the same phenomenon as Ōtomo in the latter’s earlier article – that is, SF film as a cinema of attractions – but interprets it as a crisis rather than a success.

Ōtomo and Fukushima continue Oka’s line of thinking, linking the production-side emphasis on popcorn special effects entertainment to a more general crisis of creativity under commercialism. They first analyze film production as a process that blinkers creativity, with producers chasing safe profits with minor variations on proven concepts rather than taking financially precarious creative risks. Top executives in studios like Tōhō are not “idea men,” in other words, and prefer concretely profitable bases for their films. This problem is exacerbated further in the realm of SF television, where production must answer not only to the viewing audiences, but to network heads and sponsor demands. Fukushima bemoans the fact that, while

¹⁴ “Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka,” 170.

much higher production budgets overseas make this less of an issue for foreign programs like *Thunderbirds*, Japanese producers don't seem interested in investing money in SF ideas. Yano and Ōtomo agree: what money *is* invested in Japanese SF TV goes to special effects production values, not scripting. Thus, Japanese SF television is awash in monster programs without any interesting underlying stories.

The roundtable participants intriguingly connect the problem of SF film's insufficient literariness to issues of artistic freedom and the social stratification of film production studios. Their critique of SF film production marks a political divergence from Ōtomo's earlier article. Whereas he had positioned tokusatsu television as wielding political power precisely through international consumerism the year before, in this roundtable the problem with SF film is none other than consumerism and its deleterious effects on art. Fukushima, especially, laments the underlying value systems and political associations of SF film and television as being too commercial and not sufficiently artistic – not sufficiently in line, in other words, with the bourgeois high culture conception of SF that he was working to build through *SF Magazine*. The critics' anti-commercial stance toward SF art is reflected in the frequent targets of their ire: the top executives of film and TV production. Ōtomo in particular singles out what he sees as an exploitative contract system in the major film and TV studios. He criticizes executives "who have neither power nor imagination, yet they require awful contracts for the things they do produce."¹⁵ He claims this has a cooling effect on the creative talent of the production staff, who become discouraged by their lack of creative control as stipulated in their contract terms.

Elsewhere, Fukushima concurs that the lack of agency and latitude afforded to creatives in the studios has deleterious effects on the quality of SF visual media; even with a veteran

¹⁵ "Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka," 174.

screenwriter composing the scripts, he says, once the studio buys the script from them, it's out of their hands and is often badly mishandled by executives with no interest in or commitment to SF as a serious art form, ending up as schlocky children's entertainment (jarimono). He ruefully mentions that film treatments of Abe Kōbō's *Dai-yon kanpyōki*, Yano's *Jisatsu sensuikan*, Mitsuse Ryu's *Magura!*, and Komatsu Sakyō's *Nippon Apache-zoku* and *Esupai* had all been written, only to be shelved. Each of these authors had been published in *SF Magazine* (*Magura!* itself had been carried in the August 1963 issue), so presumably adaptations of their work to the big screen would help elevate Japanese SF film production in Fukushima's eyes. Instead, there is a fear that audiences whose first exposure to SF is through visual media (SF manga is also named as a guilty party) will bring mistaken expectations to literary SF, endangering the survival of the genre overall. In this analysis, the transmedia movements of audiences between literature, film, manga, and television discussed above threaten to destabilize or even destroy the genre rather than expand its influence. The SF cinema of attractions in Ōtomo's article, while perhaps laudable on its own terms, becomes a point of anxiety within the context of the contemporary media ecology as the competing priorities of different media forms produce different visions of what SF is.

Re-visioning the SF Media Mix

Fukushima's displeasure with the SF film industry springs from his particular understanding of the SF media mix in Japan at the time. While the term "media mix" would not enter wide circulation in Japanese until the 1980s, Marc Steinberg has shown how the corporate practices of

transmedia marketing that would later be designated by the phrase were already in place in the 1960s.¹⁶ However, whereas “media mix” is often understood to mean a force of convergent transmedia marketing in the service of a particular franchise media property, the case of SF complicates this model insofar as there is no single franchise or author that serves to organize the value-laden discourses surrounding the genre. Fukushima and the other roundtable participants are not concerned about the future of any one SF literary or film franchise; instead, their anxiety is attached to the genre’s definition and ideological associations. Rather than a diegetic figure like Atomu, the “character” around which the SF media mix coheres is SF itself.

The possibility of the media mix’s failure, then, carries more dire stakes for Fukushima as the editor of *SF Magazine* and as a proponent for the genre. While media mix practices surrounding a single franchise like *Tetsuwan Atomu* can be carefully and unilaterally planned by one studio or advertising firm, in the case of an entire genre, no such centralized institutional entity is present. The artistic, social, and political values assigned to SF might thus come into conflict with one-another. There is the danger of discordant reverberations when the values of the genre do not align from one producer to the next, and the different priorities brought about by divergent media forms only seems to exacerbate that discord for Fukushima. SF visual media are operating independently of literary SF and the values that ground them (e.g. a greater focus on visual spectacle and eye-catching gadgetry) often diverge from the ones that he promotes in his magazine. In his analysis, there is a chance that the media mix could fail on account of SF film’s low artistic value and take all of SF down with it. Rather than a force of media convergence, in other words, the SF media mix threatened to act as a *divergent* force splintering the social construction of the genre.

¹⁶ Steinberg, *Anime’s Media Mix* esp. 135-169.

If we read the anxiety in the *SF Magazine* roundtable as a recognition of the fluid interchange between literary and visual SF and as a concern about the ramifications of that transmedia feedback loop for how the genre had been defined up until then, we can understand the participants' valorization of a literary sensibility for SF as their attempt to discursively corral the shifting, unruly media ecology of the late 1960s. The proliferation of SF on film and on TV, especially in the midst of the Program to Encourage the Export of Film's subsidization of the former, meant that SF was reaching an audience much broader than the subscriber base of specialist publications like *SF Magazine*. Given that the participants saw the success or failure of each SF text as significant not only for the text in question but also for the genre overall – that is, given that they conceptualized the texts as part of an interconnected media mix – they would need to exercise control over much more of the media landscape if they wished to control the social construction of SF. By the time of the article's publication in 1967, however, the SF media mix had grown to a point where total discursive control was no longer possible.

Instead, SF was developing into a multiplicity of different aesthetic and ideological elements, which were nonetheless understood together as constituting “SF.” Steinberg describes a similar interplay between fragmentary still images and dynamically mobile animated images using the term “dynamic immobility.”¹⁷ Counter to critiques of Japanese limited animation as deficient due to the preponderance of moments of stillness in them, Steinberg contends,

Stilling the movement of animation allows the anime image to connect with other media forms, expanding in the 1960s toward the Japanese media mix.... The anime media mix, with its serial proliferation of commodities and its production of consuming subjects that glide easily between television program, comic, toy, and candy, is living proof that a different kind of movement – one that relies on still images and their transmedia communication – produces an expanded economy of return.¹⁸

¹⁷ Steinberg, 1–36.

¹⁸ Steinberg, 6–7.

Science fiction, in the same moment, can be understood using a similar framework. Aesthetic, thematic, and political tropes that critics saw as archetypical of SF as a genre act similarly to the dynamically still character image as a “media attractor” that “brings its surrounding media and things into alignment with its [character] image.”¹⁹ Relational intensities are built between these elements (what Azuma might call “moe elements”)²⁰ and then activated by SF texts and the discourse communities around them to animate the character of SF itself. As the SF media mix expanded its reach, its “economy of return” – the range of different combinations into which SF elements could be configured – expanded in turn.

As we have seen, the crux of the issue for the critics in the roundtable was, fittingly, the SF film image. Government subsidies and ambitions of foreign export meant that by 1967, the question of the SF film image held central importance to the “character image” of the transmedia genre. The two rhetorical positions of the roundtable and Ōtomo’s 1966 article on tokusatsu television represent two different ways of literally seeing SF film and, by extension, SF as a genre. Attending each of these perspectives were different ideas on how the SF image should be in the world, how it should gather and direct the viewer’s attention.²¹ Whether viewers are

¹⁹ Steinberg, 44.

²⁰ Azuma uses this term to denote discrete aesthetic “units” commonly used in anime character designs (e.g. a quiet and cool demeanor, cat ears, or a maid outfit). He contends that the recombinant uses of these elements across multiple characters and properties constitute a source of pleasure for visually-attuned otaku consumers. “Moe” refers to a state of affective excitation in reaction to these elements as their repeated use across similar character types ingrained affective associations with them (e.g. the “Ayanami Rei-type,” referencing a character from *Shin seiki Evangelion* who is stoic and reserved). While his attention is primarily focused on visual elements of character design, he reads them through Alexandre Kojève’s framework of “small narratives” in a way that I feel is compatible with narrative tropes like those employed in science fiction – and indeed, Azuma himself briefly mentions the formulaic mystery novel genre as an example of the database structure of moe elements. While perhaps signaling a less “animalized” consumer for SF film than Azuma’s archetypical otaku, 1960s science fiction film nevertheless seems to participate in the “grand non-narrative” stage identified by Azuma as immediately anterior to the database age. Azuma, *Otaku*, 34–58.

²¹ I draw these ideas from Lamarre’s discussion of Heidegger and Miyazaki Hayao. LaMarre, *The Anime Machine*, 45–100.

watching SF films for their deep narratives or spectacular special effects is a question that hinges on different ways of being in relation to the image, different subjective orientations elicited by the mutable stuff of SF film. The genre's transmedia nature was mirrored by its multiple models of social being, folding media and identity alike into itself.

Though the media-crossing impulses of SF had reached a crisis point by 1967 for some critics, these same impulses are detectable throughout the canonical historiography of Japanese SF as put forward by these same critics. Manga historian Yonezawa Yoshihiro, for instance, frames the development of genre SF and the medium of manga as not only coeval, but co-constitutive. Each arose out of a fin de siècle urban boys' consumer culture fueled by adventure stories in publications like the illustrated magazine *Shōnen kurabu* and a burgeoning visual vocabulary of SF provided by early special-effects spectacle films like *King Kong*.²² Fukushima, Ōtomo, and others had been placing the origins of Japanese SF in the same historical moment since the very first issue of *SF Magazine*, as we explored briefly in Chapter 1. Like *SF Magazine* in the 1960s, *Shōnen kurabu* in the Meiji period dedicated a great deal of space to high-quality illustrations that would either supplement a narrative by appearing alongside the written text, or even enfold the narrative into captions and dialogue bubbles.²³ Yonezawa cites Noda Kōichirō,²⁴ who goes so far as to assert, "SF is pictures," (SF wa e de aru).²⁵

Even when not actually illustrated, early SF stories like those of Unno Jūza still exhibit a strongly visual sense. Yonezawa characterizes Unno as spending a great deal of energy describing the fantastical inventions that drove much of the interest of his stories.²⁶ Unno's

²² Yoshihiro Yonezawa, *Sengo SF manga-shi* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2008), 18–42.

²³ Yonezawa, 28–29 Yonezawa does concede later that *Shōnen Kurabu* would eventually be incorporated into the state propaganda project, with its emphasis on didacticism and imperialist education, during the Pacific War.

²⁴ Noda was also active under the penname Noda Masahiro.

²⁵ Yonezawa, *Sengo SF manga-shi*, 28.

²⁶ Yonezawa, 36.

schematic attention to detail serves as an early example of one half of 1960s SF's aesthetics, what Thomas Lamarre in the context of anime has described as an "exploded view."²⁷ This view – epitomized in assembly diagrams of mechanical apparatuses – encourages a lateral movement of the gaze across the surface of an image that lays bare all the inner material workings of a device in a de-hierarchized, distributed field. Otaku's data-driven viewing habits dissect the de-hierarchized anime image into its component parts, an act that Lamarre sees as a participatory mode of meaning making, in which, "the fan [is] a producer, assembler, or fabricator, who engineers as much as navigates his or her path within the manga/anime/game world."²⁸

A notable divergence from this theory of anime visuality, however, is that whereas the anime image is characterized by a de-hierarchized exploded view that arrays visual elements in a way that resists single-point perspective and Cartesianism, SF images of the 1960s make more frequent use of a *cutaway* view. A 1967 series of images carried in *Shōnen Kingu* magazine related to the British SF television show *Thunderbirds* provides a typical example.²⁹ In the upper left of one image, we see the specially modified Rolls-Royce used by the characters in the show pointed toward the center of the frame (Figure 7). Its front right corner (the one closest to the viewer) is cut away to reveal the plethora of special devices, weapons, and other apparatuses crammed inside the vehicle's engine compartment. A highly detailed technical diagram highlights the missiles, super-compact nuclear reactor, "light gun," and more that the car can bring to bear in the *Thunderbirds*' adventures. Next to it is a depiction of the "Jet Mole Tank," a massive movable drill on tank treads, as it burrows through the earth. Portions of the chassis behind the drill are cut away similarly to the Rolls-Royce to showcase the on-board computer,

²⁷ LaMarre, *The Anime Machine*, 103–206.

²⁸ LaMarre, 153.

²⁹ Images reproduced in a pull-out included in Yasutaka Tsutsui and Aritsune Tomita, eds., *Nihon SF ten: SF no kuni* (Nihon SF Daigakkō Shuppanbu, 2014).

liquid oxygen tanks, exhaust ports for the jet engine that powers the drill bit, and the crew as they sit inside the cockpit. Elsewhere in the magazine, we see a similar image of the Thunderbirds' base hidden inside a mountain. Liberal cutaways expose the various rooms, machines, and features of the underground base to the viewer's eye.

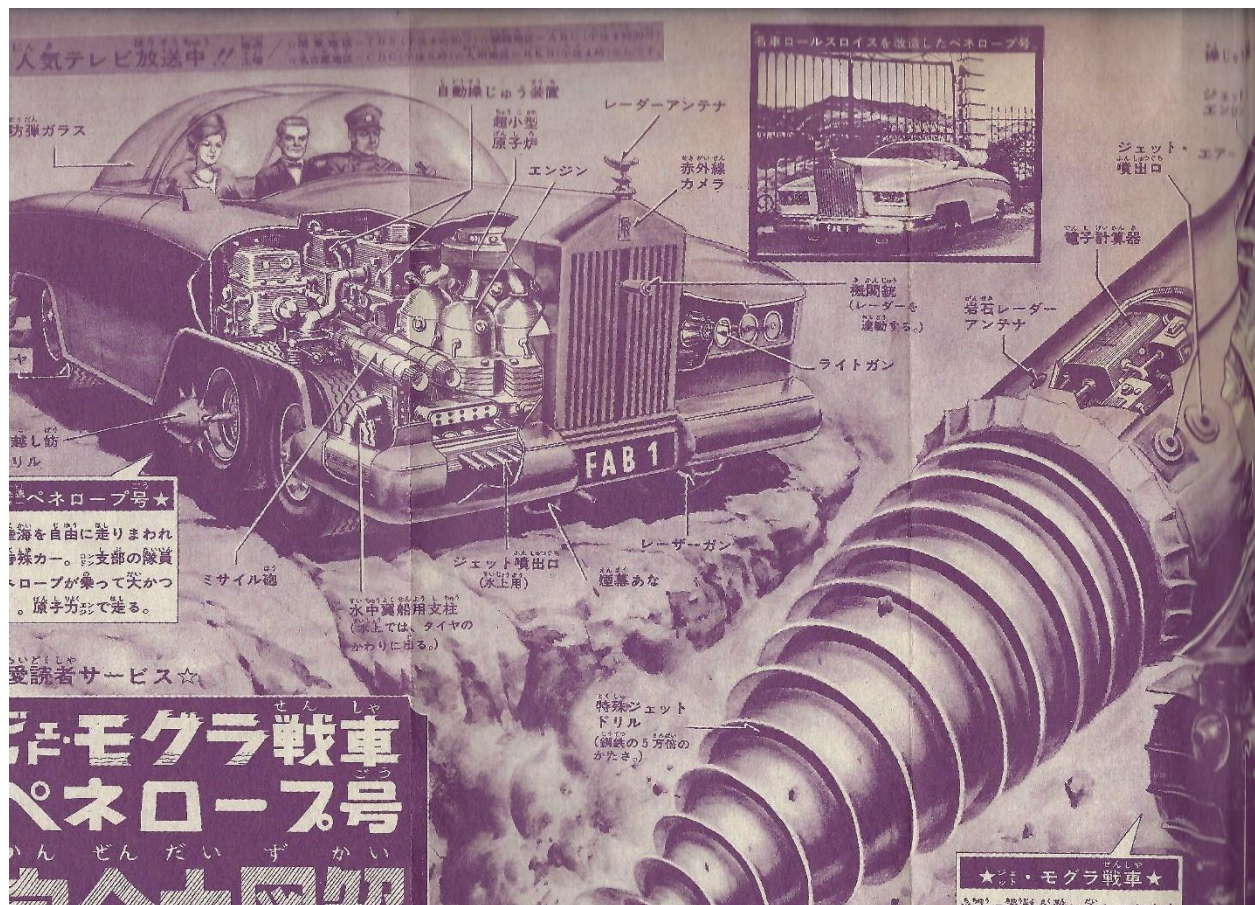


Figure 7: Cutaway views of the Thunderbirds' Rolls Royce and a portion of the Jet Mole Tank. Source: Yasutaka Tsutsui and Aritsune Toyota, eds. *Nihon SF ten: SF no kuni*. (*Nihon SF Daigakkō Shuppanbu*, 2014).

Like the visual character of SF writing itself, the cutaway view as a hallmark of SF images similarly extends back to the genre's Meiji-era pre-history. In the midst of rapid industrialization in the late 19th century, distinctions between humans and machines were growing increasingly hazy thanks to a functionalist episteme that saw both as equivalent pieces

of industrial production processes.³⁰ A scientific gaze dissected both the machines of modern industry and the human body, now understood as one kind of rational system itself, such that, “Precision machinery and the organic pathways of the human body are... held up as mutually legible and potentially interchangeable systems.”³¹ Cutaway views of modern automatons that put on display their internal workings, as well as satirical cartoons depicting workers hooked up to the mechanical apparatus of the nation-state, characterize the visual mode of this mutual legibility. Human-machine interchangeability was viewed with horror (disavowed to greater or lesser degrees) and occasionally played for grim humor and entertainment by “ero-guro nonsense” writers as the Meiji Period gave way to the Taishō and early Shōwa Periods. These writers included Unno and Yumeno Kyūsaku, who embraced the “mechanical uncanny” in their proto-SF detective fiction.³² Cutaways of the modern machinery of turn-of-the-century Japan reflect the concern with the material conditions of contemporary life that would continue to inform much SF in the 1960s.

An appreciative eye for technical spectacle furthermore links mid-century SF visual media to the proto-political stance of both Taishō- and Shōwa-era mass art. In her account of ero-guro nonsense art in Taishō Japan, Miriam Silverberg stresses the status of the urban media forms designated by the term as cheap entertainment associated with low-brow tastes of titillation and slapstick comedy.³³ Her analysis of ero-guro’s political potentials resonates with Gunning’s cinema of attractions in that both media formations were received as threats to the hegemonic bourgeois social order – a reception pattern that would repeat in the mid-century with

³⁰ Nakamura, “Horror and Machines”; Jacobowitz, “Between Men, Androids, and Robots.”

³¹ Jacobowitz, “Between Men, Androids, and Robots,” 50.

³² Nakamura, “Horror and Machines,” 6–12.

³³ Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*.

new cinematic genres like Pink Film.³⁴ The association of special effects spectacles with low-brow, masculinist sensibilities might give the lie to science fiction discourse's claims of high-brow egalitarianism and universal intellectualism, but it also points us toward a particular relationship between mass art and the artistic avant-garde noted in each case. Science fiction media fits into this 20th century genealogy of what might be called the "popular pre-avant garde," the phenomenon in which popular media texts take advantage of the shocks to bourgeois sensibilities offered by new media spectacles like those of film in order to draw in wide audiences, but only rarely systematize those shocks into a revolutionary politics.

Instead, the anti-elite sentiment coursing through the background of discourse about SF visual media – recall Fukushima's disdain for studio executives – pointed its audiences toward further consumption of SF products and stronger identification with the SF genre. Participation in SF fandom is premised on consumption. Whether by buying magazines, books, and film tickets or tuning in to the proper television broadcasting segments defined by networks and advertisers, to be an SF fan was to be always consuming SF products as a means of staying "up to date" on the shared language of SF. This is why Fukushima stops short of any radically anti-commercial critique of SF films in the roundtable; his recommendations are only to change the people at the head of film production, not change the structures of production themselves because he, too, is reliant upon continued consumption of SF literature as the editor of *SF Magazine*. Anti-commercialism is reduced to an aesthetic value like *Konchū daisensō*'s commitment to world peace, to be consumed primarily within established systems of textual production. Like the exploded views of anime, then, 1960s SF's cutaway views invite the audience into the image world, but the viewer's ability to actively shape that world in any kind of

³⁴ Silverberg, 22–25; Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions"; Zahlten, *The End of Japanese Cinema*, 25–95.

wider social sphere is attenuated by the broader political and economic conditions of SF production.

The cutaway view is thus distinct from the exploded view described by Lamarre insofar as it always re-captures the wandering gaze back within a material frame of reference. The exploded view serves to constantly destroy and remake the devices it depicts, with the distributed gaze of the viewer pulling things apart and putting them back together again in new configurations. Conversely, cutaway views present only a temporary disturbance to the sleekly modern surfaces of high-tech gadgets and machines that arose precisely out of the modern industrial processes of late 19th-century Japan that also produced mid-century SF's historical predecessors. Though we may be able to look at the inner workings of the Jet Mole Tank as though we had X-ray vision, its overall outline is kept intact in all its scalar rationality.

Cutaway diagrams of sci-fi gizmos and gadgets, therefore, conversely seem to come closer to the hyper-Cartesianism decried by Paul Virilio, against which Lamarre's theory of exploded projection in anime is constructed. This is a ballistic gaze, penetrating into the depths of a world from which it stands separate and apart, over and above and ready to seize and master. It is precisely the kind of inhuman, machinic gaze that provoked horror in Meiji writers and artists. Military technologies are thoroughly compatible with this view, since they share a logic of targeting optics organized around single-point perspectives that hold the world-as-object in hierarchical order. Is it any surprise that, under the peaceful surface of the Thunderbirds' Rolls-Royce, we find missiles, ray guns, and other weapons of war? If anything, the concealment of these weapons beneath the veneer of genteel postwar consumer products like a luxury car points to an even more insidious infiltration of contemporary life by military violence. No longer is ballistic perspective the sole purview of missiles and bombers; now it can emerge even outside

the war zone, on a Sunday drive. This is the central ambivalence behind science fiction's high-tech visual aesthetics in this period: despite the ethos, articulated by authors like Komatsu, of a liberal utopian project of pacifist science, the developmental logics of optimization that subtend that ethos turn instead toward war and conquest.

Yet, if the cutaway view is characteristic of SF still images, in motion these images present a different character. In films like *Girara*, we are treated to many shots of miniature spaceships jetting across a flat backdrop of space in a manner reminiscent of the relative movement within the distributed visual plane of the anime image. The three-dimensional nature of live action photography means that the image space cannot be as radically flattened and de-hierarchized as a 2D anime image can, but the sense of openness to contingency, of as-yet unrealized potential within the SF film image, is nevertheless similar to what Lamarre describes in the context of anime.³⁵ Owing precisely to the film's status as an SF text, this is a visual field in which UFOs and mutating monsters could enter the frame at any moment, and indeed they often do. Repeatedly throughout the film, flying saucers come from nowhere to bedevil the intrepid astronaut scientists, and then disappear again without ever being explained, and *Girara* itself shows up with almost no warning, despite being ten stories tall.

The particular sense of uncanniness that accompanies miniatures-based special effects photography in films like *Girara* also deserves closer scrutiny here. As we witness *Girara* stomping around Japan and eating power plants, we are meant to understand that it is hundreds of feet tall thanks to the inclusion of scale models of buildings and natural landscapes. Even still, however, the eminently humanoid structure of *Girara*'s body, the curious ways its skin folds and deforms as it moves, and the sense of weight imparted (or rather, not imparted) by its

³⁵ See his discussion of media artist Tabaimo's Japanese Commuter Train installation in LaMarre, *The Anime Machine*, 105–8.

movements reminds us that there is a human inside the suit. What is more, the physicality of the model buildings as they are toppled and thrown about *feels* miniature, toy-like. The buildings bounce across the ground, for instance, and scenery elements like the tree visible in Figures 8 and 9 remain curiously intact when Girara's lightweight, pliant foot comes down on them. Virilio decries ballistic optics because of their *inhuman* nature that rationalizes and accelerates the lifeworld to the point of uninhabitability for human beings. Conversely, what *Girara* demonstrates to us is the persistence of human scale.



Figure 8: Girara's left foot (on the right in this frame) crushes a tree... Source: *Uchū daikaijū Girara*, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (Shōchiku, 1967).



Figure 9: ...which immediately springs back upright after the foot moves away. Source: *Uchū daikaijū Girara*, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (Shōchiku, 1967).

With almost no exceptions, sequences involving Girara feature no movement into depth by the camera. Instead, miniature fighter jets fire miniature missiles along hidden wires across the screen, tracing similarly lateral paths as the jets themselves. When ray gun-equipped tanks roll in to zap Girara, their beams are animated on screen as diagonal lines streaking up out of frame before we cut to a parallel shot of Girara taking their impact from off-screen (Figures 10 and 11). This brief combination of animation and live-action photography techniques recalls Lamarre's assertion that "animetic" tendencies need not be limited to anime, and that indeed, they tend to proliferate into special effects and (later) CGI techniques in live-action cinema. Their presence here, even if just for a moment, reinforces the sense of a multiplanar world in *Girara*, wherein the gaps between image layers are generative and might produce the unexpected at any turn. Girara itself, however, keeps this generative space grounded in a comprehensibly human scale.



Figure 10: Animated laser beams fired at Girara. Source: *Uchū daikaijū Girara*, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (Shōchiku, 1967).

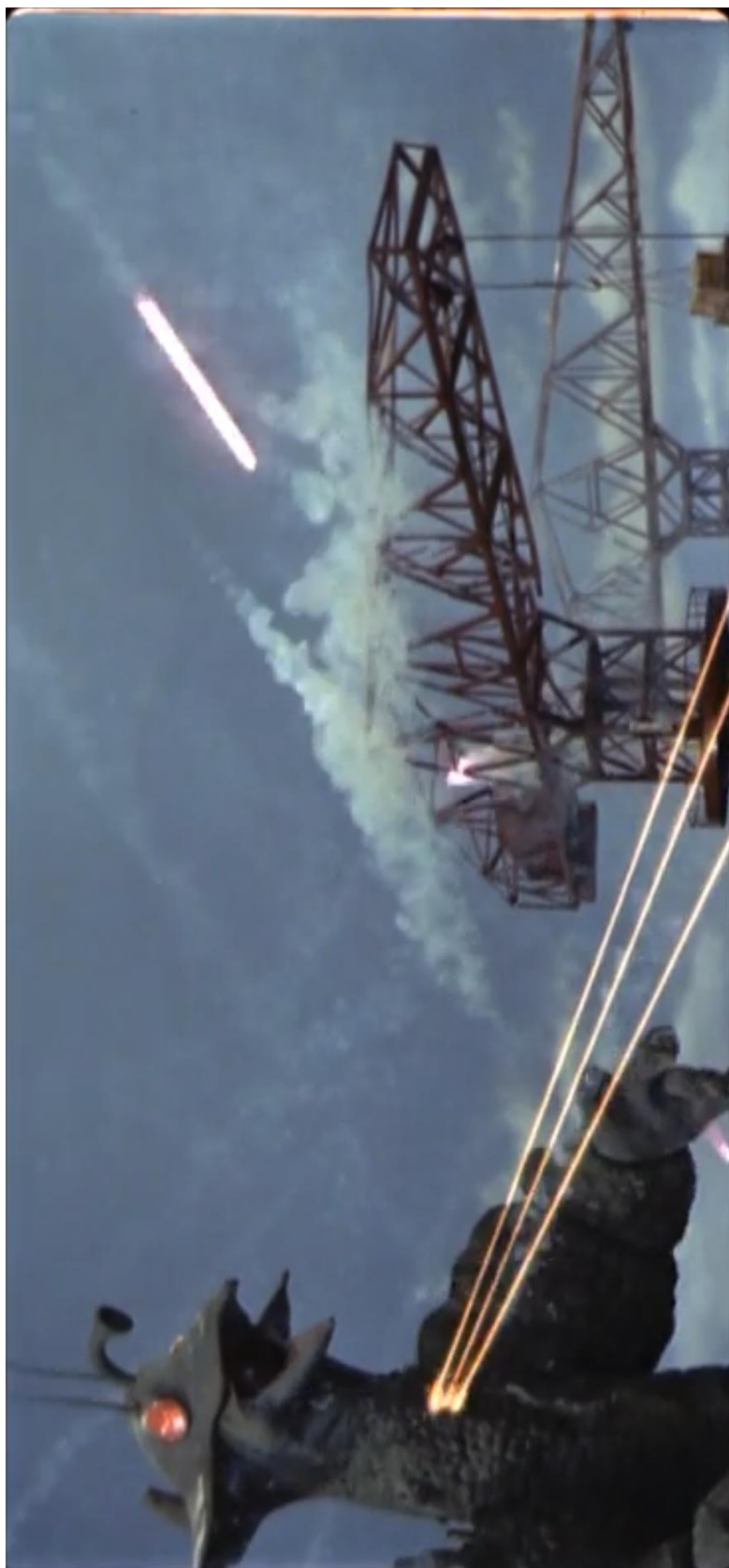


Figure 11: Girara is struck by the laser beams while a missile streaks past in the upper-right. Source: Uchū daikaijū Girara, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (Shōchiku, 1967).

SF film of the 1960s was caught in this ambivalent stance: technologically accelerationist on the one hand, bodily human on the other. This separation mapped on to a temporal division in critical orientations toward the genre and its role within Japanese society. SF might (as Fukushima hoped) point the way toward an enlightened futuristic social order equipped with techno-scientific expertise, or it might simply model the latest designs for toys for child consumers. The genre could either be a blueprint for tomorrow or entertainment for today. Ishikawa Takashi sums up this impasse at the close of the *SF Magazine* roundtable:

It's the old problem of whether SF is an instrument or a weapon (*gakki ka buki ka*). In other words, the idea that SF is an instrument meant to soothe and entertain people, as opposed to the notion that it must be a mighty weapon to bend society, a powerful hammer that crushes humanity's stereotypes. When I think about SF's connection with film from that point of view, its instrument-like qualities win out for me. Its effect as a weapon has to accompany that [quality], rather than be the driving goal from the start, or else it won't succeed very well in my mind.³⁶

Ishikawa here characterizes the SF film image as something that acts upon its audience, either to entertain them or to convey a message of social critique. However, this interaction could go both ways: active viewers engineer their own lines of sight through the image, potentially adopting multiple ways of being in relation to it. The multiple registers of (non)physicality on screen in an SF film like *Girara* invite us to ask: are we the scientists, the government brass, the military, or the monster? Do we live in the future that *Girara* depicts, or do we just play with it? What appears as an ambivalence in SF's aesthetics is in fact simply a range of values that SF embodies and that it invites its audiences to imagine for themselves. We could align ourselves with the high-literary narrative world of SF films just as easily as with the technical pioneers Ōtomo celebrates in his report on tokusatsu TV. The social function filled by

³⁶ "Nihon SF eiga wo dō suru ka," 176.

SF film and television, therefore, was a question of which potentialities in the image any given individual viewer activated. Visual text and viewer existed in a collaborative relationship in which the image provided different subjective affordances to the viewer, but it was nevertheless up to the viewer to decide which possibility to choose – whether to see SF film as a success or a failure, a technical innovator or a derivative stereotype.

SF's Social Media

The multiple paths of identification traced across SF images rely on a highly sensitive capacity for looking. In order to grasp SF television as a technical marvel, one first needs to understand the difference between 35-millimeter film and 16-millimeter, for instance, or to have a basic knowledge of image compositing and chroma key. Like the visually attuned otaku consumers of later decades, Ōtomo's article assumes an audience of viewers that understand how SF film and television images are assembled and composited piece by piece out of multiple image layers. These viewers are not expected to receive the SF TV image as depicting a holistic, visually and diegetically complete world. They are expected to dissect it and look at it as a body of evidence in support of the technical marvels of SF.

This fragmentary view of diegesis and narrative setting clashes with a modern literary sensibility like that articulated in the 1967 roundtable. For SF literature in the 1960s, and especially professional literature like that of *SF Magazine*, an immersive world was of paramount importance, and key to that immersion was a cohesive worldview premised on the classically modern grand narrative of technological progress and scientific discovery. Hence, the

participants of the roundtable felt that something needed to be “done” about Japanese SF film in order to make it more properly SF and thereby (in their view) better able to compete on the global entertainment stage. Despite their individual involvement as scriptwriters for SF film and television, the participants who identified themselves more strongly as literary authors nevertheless felt that the SF film industry was in need of rescue.

If we instead premise its social value on its technical qualities like Ōtomo did, however, SF film was wildly successful as a polyvalent visualization of the SF lifestyle. The much-maligned special effects focus on high-tech apparatuses and shallow monsters synchronized well with the cutaway view characteristic of SF illustration that encouraged a surgical eye toward screen images, dissecting them and seeking out evidence of the technological advances being made by the craft. Ishikawa’s metaphor of SF as an instrument is fitting here, for music played on an instrument can be both entertaining while also demonstrating technical mastery and innovation. On the other hand, melodramatic and ideologically charged narratives like that of *Konchū daisensō* performed SF’s function as a weapon, stridently criticizing the anti-utopian practices of warfare and human division in contemporary society. SF fans are invited to consume each of these levels of meaning simultaneously and to shift between media registers, textual venues, and subjective values along the way.

Thus, science fiction was capable of enfolding a transmedia assemblage at the same time that it delineated diverse models of subjectivity. The media-ecological character of the genre in this period was a key component that allowed these subjectivities to unfold. SF’s transmedia movement was not simply a matter of cinematic adaptation of a literary antecedent, nor of novelization of an ontologically prior film. It instead involves a re-thinking of the status of the text itself as a transmedia entity and thus a re-thinking of the individual’s own relation to the

text. The media mix of SF was both object and venue of debate as participants asserted what media-aesthetic elements ought to be “properly” included in the genre and what should be excluded as heterodoxy potentially harmful to its long-term survival.

If we return once more to the 1970 Osaka Expo and International Science Fiction Symposium that have served as the endpoint for the discursive fields of text and community that were the focus of the first two chapters, we will see once again how Expo '70 synthesized the dialectical divide within the mediatic discourse of this chapter. As has been previously noted in Chapters 1 and 2, Expo '70 took place simultaneously to the International Science Fiction Symposium, and the two events shared a number of personnel in the Japanese SF production community. These figures spanned both literary and visual SF and included Fukushima Masami and Tsuburaya Eiji, among others. If the Expo reinforced the textual discourse of SF by giving SF writers pride of place in visualizing the future of the nation, and if it reinforced the community discourse of SF by bringing together an international group of guests for the convention-like ISFS, it reinforced the mediatic discourses of SF by doing all of this as a transmedia spectacle of consumer lifestyles staged as entertainment for the public.

Despite their origins in 19th century colonial spectacle, Yoshimi Shun'ya has noted that by the postwar, international expositions had come much more to stand as spectacles of consumerism and had even begun to lose their dominance in this role to trade shows and TV commercials.³⁷ Osaka's Expo '70 stood as an exception to the general rule of the international expo's decline, however, drawing sixty million visitors during its duration. An embodiment of the split within SF's media discourses of the decade, it stood at the intersection of developmentalist state ambitions and postwar consumerism, packaged as an entertainment

³⁷ Shun'ya Yoshimi, *Hakurankai No Seijigaku: Manazashi No Kindai*, Chūkō Shinsho (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 220–21.

destination for its audiences.³⁸ Installations like the Mitsubishi Future Pavilion (Miraikan) – for which Fukushima and Tsuburaya had collaborated with Hoshi Shin’ichi, Yano Tetsu, illustrator Manabe Hiroshi, and Tōhō producer Tanaka Tomoyuki³⁹ – envisioned the future of the Japanese nation as the future of consumer lifestyles. A pamphlet distributed at the pavilion predicted a Japan 50 years hence (i.e. 2020) that would see a highly automated workforce and domestic space, a national shift from rice farming to dairy, and the popularization of underwater leisure sports and pastimes, as well as a host of other improvements in the life of the individual citizen consumer.⁴⁰

SF filled this prophetic role in negotiation with the desires of the state, a fact that curtailed its ability to engage with certain topics. We noted in Chapter 1 the fact that the ISFS tended to look toward an abstract future rather than a concretely political present in the discussions it hosted between the international grouping of authors that attended. The Expo itself saw similar issues of politically de-fanged installations. The central “Symbol Zone” area of the Expo featured a “Wall of Contradictions” that was intended to grapple with the darker sides of the Expo’s theme of “Progress and Harmony of Mankind,” designed by architectural critic Kawazoe Noboru; like the ISFS, these warnings were only tolerated in the abstract. Gardner notes that, “the Symbol Zone producers were compelled to remove from the ‘Wall of Contradictions’ graphic documentary photographs of corpses and keloid scars of Hiroshima victims... leaving a toned-down photomontage of mushroom clouds and urban destruction in its place.”⁴¹ While critiques of industrialization and global environmental destruction were

³⁸ Yoshimi goes so far as to characterize the Osaka Expo as part of a transition “From International Expo to Theme Park.” See Yoshimi, 249–56.

³⁹ Gardner, “The 1970 Osaka Expo and/as Science Fiction,” 27.

⁴⁰ “Mitsubishi miraikan: Nihon no shizen to nihonjin no yume” (Mitsubishi Group, 1970).

⁴¹ Gardner, “The 1970 Osaka Expo and/as Science Fiction,” 38.

tolerated, it seems that discussions of a maimed body politic were off-limits, given the more pointedly political criticisms that might follow from such a discourse.

This relatively conservative treatment of the human body, the tendency to treat its alteration or wounding as a thematic taboo, was mirrored by visual SF in the 1960s, making the genre a good fit for the sanitized prognostication about the bright future for Japan at the Expo. We have already observed, for instance, the racially and sexually conservative ending of *Uchū daikaijū Girara*, but even in the more sober *Konchū daisensō*, deviant or disruptive bodies are treated with suspicion and violent disavowal. Beyond femme fatale Annabelle – who threatens the possibility of extramarital miscegenation with the protagonist Jōji – there is the sole survivor of the plane crash that starts the film, a black GI named Charlie. One of the first victims of the psychic wasps bred by Annabelle, Charlie exhibits psychosis due to the insects' venom. He eventually escapes the hospital where he is being treated and stumbles about the area wildly firing his pistol. Indiscriminately violent, insane, and sexually predatory (he attempts to rape the nurse who had been treating him), Charlie's very existence threatens the island, and he is eventually shot and killed.

Elsewhere in the film deformations of the human body are only acceptable under strictly controlled circumstances. Dr. Nagumo, in an effort to understand the mysterious wasps, concocts a plan to allow himself to be stung in order to test the psychotropic effects of the venom. He has Jōji and Yukari tie him to a chair so that control can be maintained over him while he is under the effects of the venom, unlike in the case of Charlie. Also unlike Charlie, Nagumo's psychosis is short-lived and far less violent: rather than exhibit any aggressive or anti-social behaviors, he simply seems to enter into a trance. With experimental safeguards in place,

in other words, Nagumo's body never becomes uncontrollable, nor does it threaten the bodies of those around him.

Within the film, bodily conservatism extends to a valence of the body-politic of Japan itself. Anan island, the setting of the film, is a place where threats to the national body are constantly in danger of erupting. The presence of the US military on the island brings to mind Okinawa, still under formal US occupation in 1968, and calls into question whether Anan actually *is* part of the Japanese nation. Its occupied status makes it into a dangerous contact zone, such that its nuclear annihilation at the film's end serves in one sense to purge the national body of its threatening ambiguity. Almost universally, the occupants of the island – American and Japanese alike – reinscribe these threats; Jōji is having an affair, Yukari's manager at the bar sexually assaults her, the jingoistic American military browbeats the local residents, and Soviet spies collaborate with Annabelle to steal American military secrets and potentially end all human life on Earth. The sole exception is Yukari herself, the only one to escape the island before its destruction. The shot that closes the film, of Yukari's weeping form in the tiny boat with a mushroom cloud rising from Anan in the background (Figure 12), reminds the audience of what is at stake in the film's critique of human division. The baby she carries symbolizes the Japanese nuclear family, the hegemonic formation of the contemporary body politic that the state implicitly promoted in its visions of the future at the Expo.



Figure 12: Yukari's forlorn boat in the lower-right of the frame is contrasted with the nuclear end of Anan in the background.
Source: Konchū daisensō, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (Shōchiku, 1968).

Perhaps the way Expo '70 best encapsulated the media discourses of contemporary SF, however, was the very fact of its experiential nature. Like the multiple pavilions (and different exhibits within pavilions) providing an array of experiences to Expo guests, SF's transmedia form encouraged movement throughout its media ecology, which simultaneously represented movement through a wide range of different possible subject positions. Just as visitors to the Miraikan could walk through special effects-laden exhibits that promised to show them the future of Japan's air, land, and sea⁴², the SF image promised to dissect the inner workings of futuristic technologies for viewers on the one hand, and let them trace their own paths across the image plane on the other. The stakes of these movements encompassed the question of contemporary subjectivity and what it meant to live an SF life.

These subjectivities entailed everything from scientism to liberal humanism to a simple fascination with technical spectacle and blockbuster entertainment, and they existed in the interstices of media and text, tied together by the discursive social force that delineated the textual universe of the genre and its community. As this chapter has demonstrated, however, the horizons of SF subjectivity were not unlimited. Due to SF film and television's imbrication with larger structures of postwar consumer capitalism and the financial state of the Japanese film industry at large, they were limited to "popular pre-avant garde" politics, leading to criticism from authors like Fukushima Masami that they were too thematically shallow and lacking an edge of social critique that he felt was necessary to SF's social role. The result was that a transmedia SF subjectivity was one whose conditions of possibility were premised on the *petit bourgeois* social structures already hegemonic in Japan in the 1960s.

⁴² "Mitsubishi miraikan: Nihon no shizen to nihonjin no yume."

What the case of SF film and television makes clear is that, in order to understand the genre in this period, we must treat media, text, and identity as co-constituting forces. Immanent to the SF image were diverse ways of being in relation to it, which became models for being in the world when taken up by the discursive sphere of SF fans and producers. Identity formations for these critics were defined, expressed, and contested precisely through media habits – habits, that is, of image production and image consumption. Circulating SF images were a milieu of SF discourse, and circulation *through* those images was one avenue of SF fans’ becoming. Genre, then, was the discursive force that held all of these elements together, delineating the conceptual field of “SF” at the place where media and identity overlap.

Conclusion: Toward SF's Futures

As the 1960s gave way to the 1970s and Japanese science fiction looked toward a new decade, the products of the last ten years' discursive universe around SF took off in a multitude of directions. The beginnings of this movement were already visible at the end of the 1960s in forms like Yamano Kōichi's polemical essay examined in Chapter 1. SF at the end of the decade was subject to what Tatsumi Takayuki has described as "The Explosion of Controversies" (*ronsō tahatsu jidai*),¹ and the following decade would see the rapid development of Feminist and New Wave SF movements in Japan. Whereas most of the salient discourses used throughout this dissertation could be found in just a few venues – primarily *SF Magazine* and *Uchūjin* – in the years following the end of the 1960s SF would diffuse itself more broadly in Japanese media and society, becoming at once more pervasive and less unitary in its appearance, social function, and discursive values.

For the Feminist and New Wave SF movements, these shifts could be understood as a reaction against the mainstream of Japanese science fiction as represented by *SF Magazine*. For Yamano Kōichi, conventional SF did not display enough "actuality," a quality arising out of nationally inflected political consciousness linked to a materialist awareness of Japanese society.² For Feminist SF – nascent in the 1970s and much accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s – conventional SF did not take seriously in its speculative futures questions of embodiment and gender that so fundamentally shaped society and individual being in the past and present.

¹ Tatsumi, *Nihon SF Ronsō-shi*.

² Yamano, "Japanese SF."

Continuing the work done by authors like Bien Fuu, examined in Chapter 2, Feminist SF authors such as Ōhara Mariko and Noa Azusa inverted categories of center and periphery, dominant and marginal, as a way of reconsidering not only the possible futures of society, but also their own position within SF production.³

At the same time, the transmedia presence of SF analyzed in Chapter 3 continued to expand. In addition to continued production of kaijū films, especially by Tōhō Studios, and tokusatsu television programs like *Ultraman* and *Kamen Rider*, science fiction anime and manga would grow significantly in popularity with the release of franchises such as *Uchū senkan Yamato* (Space Battleship Yamato, 1974-1975) and *Kidō senshi Gandamu* (Mobile Suit Gundam, 1979-1980). The spread of SF into anime was accompanied by the spread of SF fandom into what is today recognizable as the otaku community. SF fan convention screenings of science fiction anime and the fans that they gathered would become the seedbed for otaku fans who would later be more strongly identified with the media forms of anime and manga than the thematic content of SF that was common to many of those media texts.⁴ In many ways, the media bifurcation of SF production – literary and visual – would come to instantiate the two sides of Ishikawa Takashi’s dyad for SF’s function in the “What to do About Japanese SF Film?” roundtable, with literary SF becoming the intellectualist “weapon” aimed at reforming Japanese society, and SF film and anime taking on the role of “instrument.” SF anime – most notably *Yamato* – was also exported to foreign markets like SF films had been in the mid-1960s under the Program to Encourage the Export of Film introduced in Chapter 3.

³ For an extended analysis of how feminist SF brought together categories of “woman,” “alien,” and “monster” to push against patriarchal marginalization, see Mari Kotani, *Joseijō muishiki tekunogaineshisu: Josei SF-ron josetsu* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1994).

⁴ Journalist and early otaku commentator Nakamori Akio, in addition to popularizing the appellation “otaku” itself for the community, traced otaku’s origins to SF fandom of the 1960s. See Azuma, *Otaku*, 123 n.5.

I outline these developments not just out of historical interest, but because the discourses of 1960s SF that have been the subject of this dissertation give us tools with which to better analyze them. Understanding genre as the product of discourses exchanged between interested parties – what in the Introduction I called a “social theory of genre” – helps us see how later engagements with science fiction are not simply *uses of* its thematic tropes and textual aesthetics, but *negotiations with* those questions of text, community, and media that create science fiction’s field of possibilities. What’s more, these discourses help us read the above developments together in a way that they haven’t been in most studies. This conclusion serves as a short consideration, then, of what it would mean to look at contemporary Japanese popular culture through the lens of genre in general and science fiction in particular.

Science fiction has had profound implications for Japan’s interactions with the West at the end of the 20th century. American anxieties surrounding the success of Japan’s economy as the latter’s automotive and electronics industries began to pose considerable competition to their American competitors led to a new wave of Orientalist depictions of Japan as a nation of robots – what Ueno Toshiya has analyzed as “techno-Orientalism.”⁵ Across the 1970s and the 1980s Japan symbolically emerged from under the protective wing of the American occupation’s efforts to rebuild the nation at the end of the Pacific War as an American ally. Postwar reconstruction and the “economic miracle” of the high growth period across the 1960s shifted Japan’s relationship to the US from Cold War client state to economic competitor in the global market. In response, it was the metaphorical idiom of science fiction – robots, cyborgs, and the Terminator – that characterized the American techno-Orientalist gaze toward Japan in this period.

⁵ Ueno, “Japanimation and Techno-Orientalism.”

The techno-Orientalist gaze should not be understood purely as a unidirectional affair, with the United States unilaterally projecting inhumanity onto Japan when it felt its economic hegemony was threatened. Rather, as Ueno has shown, the image of the “Japanoid” – that is, the exaggerated sci-fi stereotype of Japan conjured by techno-Orientalism – became an object of consumption for Japanese consumers just as much as for their American counterparts. Tatsumi Takayuki has similarly written about the frenetic transpacific interchange of “Mikadophilic” and “post-Occidental” imagery in postmodern Japan and America, once again using science fiction to posit a “Pax Exotica” in which authors and artists in both countries freely exchange exoticist conceptions of each other and themselves.⁶ The image of Japan as a science-fiction nation, while tied to uneven international distributions of power, has just as often been appropriated by Japanese creators.

1960s SF allows us to add further historical and conceptual nuance to these generalized, zeitgeist-level characterizations of transnational “influence” on popular cultural production. At the same time, it complicates what is frequently analyzed as a zero-sum competition of soft power-driven international relations. Following on the tail of the economically-driven paranoia described above and the bursting of Japan’s bubble economy, characterizations of the cultural “Japanification” of the United States accelerated in the 1990s as popular subcultural exports – especially of manga and anime – began to swell and Japanese popular cultural products became more visible among American youth.⁷ At the same time, of course, the long history of American cultural influence on Japanese cultural production could not be ignored, both in the specific case of the Occupation’s role in reshaping postwar Japanese society as well as the much broader,

⁶ Tatsumi, *Full Metal Apache*.

⁷ McGray, “Japan’s Gross National Cool”; Roland Kelts, *Japanamerica: How Japanese Pop Culture Has Invaded the U.S.* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

endemic condition of American-style capitalism in Japan.⁸ What the case of Japanese SF has shown us, however, is the way in which Japanese authors and artists saw themselves as simultaneously part of a national tradition of SF and proto-SF production, but also a post-national community of liberal intellectualism. In most cases, Japanese SF authors saw themselves in conversation, not competition, with their foreign counterparts, and insofar as it makes sense to talk about a singular “goal” for the genre as laid out in its 1960s discourses, it would be for artistic inclusion rather than economic dominance.

This is not to say that all the value of studying SF is in better understanding the US-Japan relation. On the one hand, authors like Bien Fuu, with her penname’s reference to Điện Biên Phủ, or Mitsuse Ryū, with his visit to China in the summer of 1966, signal a much broader Cold War network of potential affinities that we might draw against the bilateral grain. On the other hand, the recent scholarly attention to otaku subjects and their media-ecological histories point us toward another useful intervention that SF studies could make into Japanese popular cultural studies, namely attention to the ways that different discursive fields produce these subjects even as they are themselves produced by them. Prior studies of the intersections between media and identity often focus very closely on the subject’s relationship to fictionality⁹ or to media infrastructures,¹⁰ but the case of SF demonstrates that these are always relations that proceed

⁸ Anne Allison, for instance, examines the Pokemon franchise as an example of Japanese postwar toy culture, the history of which she traces to the US military occupation of Japan and the specific cultural and material conditions created by it (e.g. the use of tin to make toys and the demand for toys styled after US military Jeeps). Allison, *Millennial Monsters*.

⁹ Saitō Tamaki identifies the “beautiful fighting girl” (sentō bishōjo) as a symptom of otaku subjects’ polymorphously perverse relations with fictionality, the result of which is that they are capable of sexual attraction to imaginary characters. Saitō, *Beautiful Fighting Girl*; Thomas Lamarre, on the other hand, has analyzed the ways that anime articulates multiple speculative modes of being in relation to the world in its very media forms. LaMarre, *The Anime Machine*.

¹⁰ Following up on his media theory of animation, Lamarre has further examined the formal relations of television animation’s dialectics of segmentation and flow to the development of Japanese televisual infrastructures as a whole. Connecting these to viewing habits of anime consumers, he unfolds an infrastructural theory that links otaku subjects into the apparatus of television itself. LaMarre, *The Anime Ecology*.

along more than one axis. While this dissertation focused specifically on discourses of text, community, and media, these are of course not the only possibilities for future studies of subcultural production and subjects, where discourses of (for instance) gender or politics might become more explicitly salient. Keeping the SF case in mind, however, pushes us toward a general methodological principle of reading discourses trans-medially in order to produce fuller accounts of the ways media habits produce and are produced by models of contemporary subjectivity.

Methodologically speaking, another key point of this dissertation has been its analytical focus on science fiction magazines as the spaces where these different discourses come together to create a picture of what “SF” signifies. This diverges from the norms of Japanese studies of science fiction, which in following the genealogical impulse of much of the SF discourse community have tended to create historicizations of the genre in broad socio-historical terms, punctuated by case studies of individual texts or authors. This dissertation has attempted to show the value in considering those elements of magazines that would be missed by such an approach: the advertisements, cover illustrations, informational columns, and letters from readers.¹¹ Taken together, these facets of magazines are what generate an understanding of SF as a specifically *social* genre and the magazines as social spaces. These are also key factors in understanding the discursive values within which texts were couched, the contexts in which they were produced and consumed.

The space of the magazine draws our attention to the ways that SF was linked into a broader media-social ecology, thus inflecting our reading not just of SF but of industries, corporations, or individuals that would appear to be outside of it. Even in so simplistic an

¹¹ In this, I have taken inspiration from Jennifer Prough’s close reading of shōjo manga magazines and the ways they produce imagined communities of readers and artists. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, 57–88.

observation as the fact that Pilot pens consistently advertised on the inside of the front or back cover of *SF Magazine* for almost the entire decade, we can begin to see a broader picture of the technocratic audience assumed for the publication, as well as the kinds of associations Pilot may have been trying to draw between itself and the rationalized future of Japanese industry and commerce. Alternatively, noting the preponderance of translated works in *SF Magazine* as compared with *Uchūjin* – or the fact that *SF Magazine* regularly published an issue that pointedly advertised itself as a “Japanese SF Special Issue” – similarly gives us insight into what Chapter 2 analyzed as the sociology of SF that would not be available from a singular focus on individual authors or texts in isolation. What results is a richer picture of the dissertation’s key discursive categories as they intersected within the contemporary Japanese media ecology of the 1960s, an approach that has broad applicability outside of this specific case, as well.

Japan as an “SF nation” would be an image that attended the country’s more recent successes at exporting its popular cultural products in the late 90s and into the 21st century. Tourist attractions like Tokyo’s “Robot Café” or the full-scale Gundam in Odaiba, the massive popularity of the Akihabara neighborhood famed for its density of anime stores and video arcades, or the success of pop idol band Perfume (whose performance style evokes android personae) point to an enduring image of Japan as a techno-utopia, a futuristic topos where the promises of SF might have already come to pass. This dissertation allows us to understand this image as a historical process that arose through active discursive promotion of SF as the quintessentially “contemporary” genre, as well as geopolitical, economic, industrial, and of course social conditions of possibility that converged in the 1960s, going so far as to shape Japan’s stance on the international stage with Expo ‘70. SF as ideology and as entertainment

product suited the needs of the Japanese state and cultural producers in the Cold War and after: liberal, consumerist, technocratic, and humanistic. Beyond this cynical, utilitarian view of the genre, however, was also optimism for the worldview that SF promoted, voices that pushed it toward greater inclusion of subjects marginalized by postwar liberalism, and hope for the speculative community of transnational science fiction production, consumption, and fandom that seemed to promise a way out of Cold War division. The many writers taken up by this dissertation all wrote with different answers to the question of, “What is SF?” but for each, the genre itself was as important as what they were using it to write. For each, SF was, in a sense, a way of speaking the future into being and trying to mold it into a brighter tomorrow.

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