

Fusion and Crack between Cultural Policy and Placation Policy in Manchukuo

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the propaganda and intelligence policy of the Manchukuo government, and its new policy on art and culture after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War.¹⁾ In doing so, we focus our attention on the activities of AMAKASU Masahiko and MUTO Tomio, who took the lead in the crafting and implementation of these policies. By attempting to interpret Manchukuo from the perspective of cultural history, this paper will also shed light on the role played by the mass

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1) About the propaganda and intelligence policy before 1937, please refer to following-my article about the situation before 1937 KISHI Toshihiko, Information Propaganda policy in and commemoration events in Manchukuo, in HIRANO Kenichiro eds, The acculturation of society and culture in China during the Sino-Japanese period, Toyo Bunko, March 2007.

media in an imperialist country.²⁾

We note that Manchukuo placed importance on the construction of a political culture to provide its population with amusements and culture of its own and to control the mass media.³⁾ It is within this *magnetic field*, where those supplying and receiving the political culture coexist, that the image of the state of Manchukuo took shape gradually as an arena of complex mixtures of various relationships that even embraced diasporas such as Russians, Jews, and Tatars, who would enter it at the borders.

The relationship between AMAKASU Masahiko and MUTO Tomio, the two pillars of Manchukuo's propaganda and intelligence policy, dated back to the time when AMAKASU, the director of the General Affairs Division of the Concordia Association(*Kyowa-kai*), appointed MUTO, then counselor at the Legislative Bureau of the State Council's Management and Coordination Agency, to serve concurrently as chief of the Concordia Association's Propaganda Section. Subsequently, the two continued to work as a team, jointly spearheading Manchukuo's propaganda and intelligence policy. Their shared ideas were epitomized in the policy document released on March 23, 1941, entitled the "Guidelines on Art and Culture(*Geibun Shido Yoko*)," which emphasized that the integration between propaganda activities

2) For a study that drew inspiration from Edward W. Said's pioneering study on the relationship between culture and imperialism Orientalis, New York : Pantheon Books, 1978), applied Said's analytical framework to an analysis of Manchukuo's history, and pointed out the importance of placing that history in the perspective of the history of mass media, see Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire : Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998).

3) Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History : Essays* Berkeley : University of California Press, 1989.

and creative activities in art and culture should be the guiding principle for Manchukuo's propaganda and intelligence policy.

2. The Outbreak of the Sino Japanese War and the Reshuffling of Propaganda and Conciliatory Organs

1) Centralized Management of Information and Propaganda Activities by the Propaganda & Intelligence Board(*Koho-sho*)

In 1937, when Manchukuo began to implement the second phase of the nation building program, including, in particular, the Five Year Industrial Development Plan, it simultaneously carried out a radical administrative reform program with the aim of merging and consolidating existing government offices. As part of the administrative reform, the former Information Board was reorganized into the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, which was to take charge not only of information-related activities, but also more broadly of the state's general propaganda activities. Under the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, an Information Section was created as a third section in addition to the existing Supervisory and Propaganda Sections, and it was charged with the tasks of gathering and organizing information. The word "information" here was used in the sense of information on disinformation, communist propaganda, anti Manchukuo activities, heretical missionary activities, and public opinion and public sentiment toward the government and its policy measures. Under Article 22 of the State Council's Regulation, which was promulgated on June 5, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board was given charge of the following

matters pertaining to : (a) the supervision of Propaganda & Intelligence organizations ; (b) planning for propaganda and pacification activities ; (c) the liaison and control of propaganda and pacification activities ; (d) the implementation of important external propaganda activities ; and (e) overall information. The rational behind bringing these matters under the jurisdiction of the Board seems to have been to do away with overlapping duties among various intelligence and propaganda organizations, and to bring such activities under the more efficient and more intensive unilateral control of the Board.⁴⁾

In this way, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board became the government office that unilaterally controlled all information, except for that dealing with military secrets and espionage activities, and on crimes. Furthermore, the first Propaganda & Intelligence liaison meeting was convened on 27 July 1937 to strengthen horizontal connections among the central organizations engaged in Propaganda & Intelligence activities, and it made decisions on how to carry out Propaganda & Intelligence activities in liaison with the activities of organizations in areas such as printed materials, motion picture, religion, and fine art, as well as with outreach activities aimed at various ethnic groups, and maneuvering operations to counter disinformation. It was also decided that Propaganda & Intelligence offices at the provincial and county levels should be strengthened. According to a chart labeled, “Information Organizations at the Province, Municipality, County and Banner Levels and the Chain of Command among Them,” as of July

4) Manshukoku Tsushinsha(Manchurian News Agency), ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, otok 5-nen ban*(The Current Situation of Manchukuo, Kotok 5 edition ; facsimile edition), Tokyo: Kress Publication, 2000, pp.55-56.

1937, at the provincial government level, it was the deputy chief of each provincial government who assumed overall responsibility for the handling of information, which was usually carried out by four sub sections under the General Affairs Section (i.e., General Affairs, Propaganda & Intelligence, Information, and Motion Picture Sub sections) under the direction of the Section Chief. At the municipality, county, or banner level, it was the mayor, deputy mayor, or head of county or banner who stood at the apex of the chain of command for the handling of information and Propaganda & Intelligence activities that stretched, in the descending order, from chief of the General Affairs Section who served as the chief official in charge of Propaganda & Intelligence activities, to the chiefs of other sections who served as chief Propaganda & Intelligence officials, to the chief of the General Affairs Sub Section who served as the supervisory Propaganda & Intelligence official, and the chief of the Propaganda & Intelligence Sub Section who served as the Propaganda & Intelligence official. Furthermore, these officials at various levels kept in touch with and coordinated activities with local organizations including local branches of the Concordia Association, agricultural cooperatives, commercial industrial trade unions, labor associations, educational groups, and charity organizations. The officials who actually undertook the Propaganda & Intelligence activities were commissioned or appointed, often through voluntary applications, to paid non permanent posts as special Propaganda & Intelligence officials or Propaganda & Intelligence officials. At the street or village level, the post of chief Propaganda & Intelligence official was

held by the street or village chief, and the post of Propaganda & Intelligence official by the chief of the General Affairs Section, assistants to the street or village chief, heads of neighborhood communities, as well as by school principals, directors of populace education centers, local elites, and outstanding members of local branch of the Concordia Association. Furthermore, within the settlement units (*pai level*) that constituted the tail end of Propaganda & Intelligence activities, their officials were selected to suit the situation of the neighborhood concerned.

2) Organizational Reform of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board and Stepped-up Liaison of Propaganda & Intelligence Activities

In February 1938, when the Sino Japanese War was in full swing and beginning to bog down, Manchukuo promulgated the “National General Mobilization Law,” even before Japan enforced a similar law of its own. As the system of national mobilization went into effect, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board carried out its external propaganda activities by placing high priority on presenting the accomplishments of the national defense and “the Five Year Industrial Development Plans,” consolidation and enhancement of the external information network consequent upon the strengthened ties among Japan, Manchuria, and China, and the international dissemination of anti-communist ideology through tripartite cultural exchanges among Japan, Germany, and Italy. As part of its domestic policy on newspapers and communications, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, consequent upon the dissolution of the Information Committee, took charge of giving guidance and instructions to local newspapers, and

ordered the Manchuria Travel Bureau, the Manchuria News Agency, and other organizations to prepare and distribute various propaganda materials. Furthermore, upon receiving a draft proposal submitted by the Manchurian Film Corporation (*Man Ei*) that called for permanently equipping each county government with a 16-mm talkie film projector, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board deliberated on it together with the Ministries of Public Welfare and Public Security, and the Concordia Association, and announced and implemented in November a “Plan for the Establishment of County, Banner and Municipality Motion Picture Corps” with the primary objective of carrying out educational and propaganda activities by means of motion pictures. The implementation of this plan paved the way for the formation of a Manchurian wide network of movie showing that would bring shows to every local city and village.⁵⁾ During 1938, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board held a series of exhibitions as a means of propaganda and pacification activities. More specifically, it sponsored exhibitions on themes such as “Wars without Weapons,” “Manchukuo's Rapidly Growing Strength,” and “the German Nazis,” and organized an Exhibition Steering Committee made up of representatives from government offices and special semi governmental corporations, charging it with the task of guiding and managing the exhibitions.

On March 22, 1939, MUTO Tomio, who was only 34 years old,

5) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, 6 (*Shōwa* 15-nen ban (Manchurian Almanac, 6 [1940 edition]), Dalian : Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha ; reprint edition : Shokuminchi Nenkan 6 (Almanac of Colonies 6), Tokyo ; Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, pp.41, 421.

took office as director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board. Having entered the world of judicature upon graduating from the Faculty of Law of the University of Tokyo, in 1927, MUTO became an official of the Manchukuo government in 1934, beginning with a position as chief of the First Section of the Ministry of Justice's Criminal Bureau, then as a councilor of the Ministry of Justice, and then to a position as counselor of the Legislation Board, the Management and Coordination Agency, during which time he met AMAKASU Masahiko, who was then director of the General Affairs Division of the Concordia Association, as pointed out at the outset of this paper. Subsequently, MUTO served successively in the posts of counselor of the Management and Coordination Agency, and manager of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board. During his stint as counselor of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, he was dispatched to Europe along with AMAKASU as a member of Manchukuo's Emissary to Europe. It was immediately after his return from this European tour that he was appointed director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board. The first thing he did following that appointment was to reform the Manchuria Film Cooperation, enlisting the support of KISHI Nobusuke, deputy director of the Management and Coordination Agency, to place AMAKASU into the post of its cooperation president.⁶⁾ MUTO and AMAKASU looked to Universum Film AG (UFA) in Germany as a model, visiting it on a group inspection tour.⁷⁾

6) Manshukoku Tsushinsha (Manchurian News Agency), ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 6-nen ban*(The Current Situation of Manchukuo, Kotoku 5 edition ; facsimile edition), Toyo : Kress Publication, 2000, p.60.

7) MUTO Tomio, *Watashi to Manshukoku*(Manchukuo and Me), Tokyo : Bungei Shunjusha, 1988, pp.18, 244~246.

Manchuria Film Cooperation was exempted from censorship by the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, and was allowed to plan and produce motion pictures based on its own judgment.⁸⁾ It also took measures to step up its control over the distribution of motion pictures. In May, it established within its Distribution Department a Development Section, charged with the task of establishing a network of traveling movie shows encompassing 66 spots along the route of the South Manchurian Railway that lacked movie theaters, to show movies on a regular basis, as well as elementary schools for Japanese children in Manchuria, 21 counties and banners in the outlying areas on the eastern and northern borders, settler villages with a combined population of more than one million, and Youth Volunteer Army Training Centers. Beginning in mid September, the new section began the task of establishing a total of 5,000 small sized link type movie theaters in 62 cities with populations of 10,000 or over. Furthermore, on October 1, the Manchuria Film Cooperation announced a plan to integrate the movie showing outlets through the abolition of the existing syndicated film distribution systems on a production company by company basis, and arranging programs on a theater by theater basis.⁹⁾

In the field of theatrical performances, the Manchukuo Drama Study Society, which had been established in 1935 with MUTO and AMAKASU acting as virtual advisors, took the initiative in August

8) YAMAGUCHI Yoshiko with FUJIWARA Sakuya, Rikoran : *Watashi no Hansho*(Li Xianglan : An Account of Half My Life), Tokyo : Shinchosha, 1987, p.133.

9) NichinichiManshu i Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, 6(*Showa 15-nen ban*), pp.419, 422~423.

1937 in appointing FUJIKAWA Kenichi to establish the Datong(Great Unity) Theatrical Company, merging the four existing theatrical companies, namely, the Swan Club(Koreans), the Sliver Bell Club (Manchurians and Chinese), the Silver Star Theater(Manchurians and Chinese), and the Russian Theatrical Company.¹⁰⁾ Operating with an annual subsidy of 10,000 yen contributed by the Kwantung Army, Propaganda & Intelligence Board, Broadcasting Station of the Manchuria Telephone and Telegraph Company, Xinjing government office, Ministry of Public Security, and South Manchurian Railway, the Datong Theatrical Company launched, at the end of August 1938, a program to have touring theatrical teams stage plays across the country. This program, which was of an unprecedented scale in the theatrical history of Manchuria, also constituted part of the propaganda and pacification activities. It is on record, for example, that during a period of one and a half months in January and February of 1939, one such touring theatrical team took part in the Final Punitive Action Against Bandits in Dongbian-dao as the Third Propaganda and Pacification Team.¹¹⁾ AMAKASU, as the president of the Manchuria Film Cooperation, also brought the Xinjing Musical Society into existence.

As 1940 began to unfold, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board carried out an organizational reform to further boost its control over the propaganda and pacification activities. To begin with, it adopted a

10) Manshukoku Tsushinsha ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 6-nen ban*, pp.63~64, 477.

11) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, p.426 ; Manshu Nichinichi Shin- bunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, 7 (Showa 16-nen ban (Manchurian Almanac, 7 [1941 edition]), Dalian : Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha ; reprint edition : *Shokuminchi Nenkan 7*(Almanac of Colonies 7), Tokyo : Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, p.427.

councilor system under which the Propaganda & Intelligence and Enlightenment, Local Affairs, Information, Newspaper, Broadcasting, and Motion Picture Sub sections were transformed effectively into action oriented bodies which, under the leadership of their respective councilors, would carry out the execution of public relations and propaganda activities and the gathering of various information. Furthermore, in January, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board established the Japan Manchuria Propaganda & Intelligence Liaison Council as a means to strengthen liaison with various organizations active in or related to public relations activities. To be convened on an ad hoc basis, the Council consisted of members including the Deputy Director of the Management and Coordination Agency, Director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, Deputy Minister of Public Security, Deputy Minister of Transportation, and representatives of the Concordia Association, on the Manchukuo side, and representatives of the Kwantung Army, the Kwantung Leased Territory Government, Embassy of Japan, South Manchurian Railway, and Manchurian Telephone and Telegraph Company, on the Japanese side.¹²⁾

Around the same time, a plan was in progress to establish a Manchuria Association of Magazine Editors through the mediation of editors of the magazine *Keiyu*, the organ of the Police Officers' Association. On March 9, 1940, the association was finally able to celebrate its inaugural meeting, with the following individuals sitting on its advisory board : chief of the Kwantung Army Press Corps,

12) *Manshukoku Tsushinsha* (Manchurian News Agency), ed., *Manshukoku Gensei*, Kotoku 8-nen ban(The Current Situation of Manchukuo, Kotoku 8 edition ; facsimile edition), Tokyo : Kress Publication, 2000, p.92.

chief of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, chief of the Concordia Association's Propaganda & Intelligence Section, chief of the Public Security Ministry's Censorship Section, chief of the Ministry of Public Welfare's Education Department, and Director General of the Propaganda & Intelligence Association.¹³⁾ However, on December 21, the Manchurian Propaganda & Intelligence Association was disbanded in order to bring all the organs of public opinion under unilateral control and guidance, with the result that the newspapers and the news agencies which had been controlled and guided by the Propaganda & Intelligence Association since 1936 were now placed under the direct supervision of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board.¹⁴⁾

Furthermore, May 24 saw the establishment of the Manchuria Performing Art Association as a joint stock company with investment from three companies(the Manchuria Telephone and Telegraph Company, Manchuria Propaganda & Intelligence Association, and South Manchurian Railway), and Japanese Manchurian business leaders. According to its “Prospectus of Establishment,” the newly established company defined its purpose as “to guide and control the world of entertainment business in Manchuria and facilitate its healthy development, as well as to provide the masses, including those living in the outlying hinterlands, with healthy amusement, and thereby con-

13) Ibid., p.501.

14) Some of the Propaganda & Intelligence Association's activities such as the mediation of and distribution of newsprint, liaison and coordination concerning managerial affairs, and the promotion of mutual friendship among members were taken over by the Manchuria Association of Newspapers that had been established on January 16, 1941. See Manshukoku Tsushinsha (Manchurian News Agency), ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 9-nen ban*(The Current Situation of Manchukuo, Kotoku 9 edition ; facsimile edition), Tokyo : Kress Publication, 2000, pp.484 and 503.

tribute through performing arts to making the spirit of national foundation fully known and understood by the people, and to raising overall cultural standards.” Its main proposed activities were to distribute theatrical performances of plays, produce various theatrical performances, manage performing theaters, propagate dramas, and train performing artists and entertainers. The plan for its first year of operation put priority on : (a) acquiring dramas and performing arts ; (b) production and distribution of dramatic plays and entertainment shows ; (c) organization of theatrical and performing art companies ; (d) reorganization of play scripts ; and (e) securing theaters and halls for staging plays and shows. Zhao Pengdi became president of the company, and MIURA Yoshiomi its vice president.¹⁵⁾ The establishment of the Manchuria Performing Art Association was epoch-making in the sense that with the birth of the company, performing arts, like newspapers, motion pictures, and broadcasting, were transformed into means to serve the public relations and educational activities of the state of Manchukuo.

3. Combination of the Art and Culture Policy with Propaganda Activities

- 1) Expansion of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board and Announcement of the “Guidelines on Art and Culture”

Given the facts that the efforts to prepare institutional arrangements

15) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, 7(*Showa 16-nen ban*), pp.425~426.

of Manchukuo had been proceeding well, that the ceremony to celebrate the construction of the capital had been held, and that the land plots attached to the South Manchurian Railway had been returned to the state, the next challenge confronting Manchukuo was the question of how to unite the population as members of a single “nation.” Indeed, the policy statement outlined the measures indispensable for “nationalizing” the population, or creating the audience for the “theatrical state” called Manchukuo.

It should be noted incidentally that on January 1, 1941, when the administrative offices of the national and local governments were streamlined and had their staffing reduced, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board alone was given greater functions and an increase in staffing. More specifically, included among various works transferred to the Propaganda & Intelligence Board from other government offices were : (a) external propaganda work from the Ministry of External Affairs ; (b) among the works of cultural administration, those pertaining to dynamic culture such as literature, fine art, music, drama, record albums, and books, from the Cultural Section of the Ministry of Public Welfare ; (c) the responsibilities for censoring newspapers, communications, motion pictures, and publications from the Police Department of the Ministry of Public Security ; and (d) the responsibilities for censoring broadcasting and news services from the Telecommunications Section of the General Bureau for Postal Service Administration, Ministry of Transportation. In addition to these tasks, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board also absorbed the functions of the Cultural Section of the Concordia

Association and the Advisory Council on Culture, with the result that it became an organ for unilateral control not only of propaganda and intelligence, but also of cultural administration as a whole. The Propaganda & Intelligence Board itself also underwent a structural reform, which added two new Subsections of Supervision and Censorship, in addition to the existing six Sub sections of Propaganda & Intelligence Administration, Local Affairs, Information, Newspaper, Broadcasting, and Motion Picture, with the result that the Board became the most prominent office within the Management and Coordination Agency, which was regarded as the heart of the state of Manchukuo.¹⁶⁾ On January 15, following the expansive organizational reform, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board induced almost all the publishing entities in Manchuria to form a Manchuria Book Publishers' Association, becoming involved in matters such as the control and distribution of printing paper, preliminary inspection of the contents of proposed publications, promotion and supervision of publications for sale, and control over the distribution of paper and publications.¹⁷⁾

The first thing the Propaganda & Intelligence Board undertook that year was to stake out a policy on art and culture. MUTO Tomio, Director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, had announced to a group of intellectuals and artists participating in the All Manchurian Conference of Intellectuals held at the Xinjing Japan Manchuria

16) Manshukoku Tsushinsha, ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 9-nen ban*, p.62.

17) Manshukoku Tsushinsha (Manchurian News Agency), ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 10-nen ban*(The Current Situation of Manchukuo, Kotoku 10 edition ; facsimile edition), Tokyo : Kress Publication, 2000, p.592.

Servicemen's Club House on March 23, 1941. This Conference of Intellectuals, as many as 150 people from various walks of life got together. A little more than 100 of them were intellectuals who belonged to the Manchuria Writers' Association, and the rest were cultured people active in various fields as writers, calligraphers, musicians, dancers, and cinema and theatrical people. At the conference, as was also pointed out already, MUTO Tomio announced the “Guidelines on Art and Culture” that was based on his own ideas and on those of his board. The guidelines' “Objective” defined the word art and culture (*geibun*) as follows.

“The concept of culture has a broad as well as narrow meaning. First, it connotes all forms of value creating activities, which human beings pursue with the purpose of perfecting their lives, and which include broadly politics, economics, industry, and transportation. Second, it connotes the manifestation of truth, goodness, beauty, and the sacred through the mental endeavors of human beings in sciences, morality, fine arts, religion, and the like. At present, however, the word culture is used in many different ways. In extreme cases, there are even those who use the word only in the sense of fine arts, which actually constitute a small part of its true meaning... Therefore, we propose to do away with this evil practice, by extracting from the concept of culture only the constituent elements concerning literature, fine arts, music, performing arts, motion pictures, photographs and the like, and collectively calling them by the unmistakably clear concept of *geibun*(art and culture).”

Defining the concept of “art and culture” to specifically connote “literature, fine arts, music, performing arts, motion pictures, pho-

tographs and the like,” the Guidelines specified that organizations of art and culture active in the fields of music and drama should be made up of musical bands, theatrical companies, and the like as their constituent members, while those in the fields of literature and fine arts should be made up of individual members. Later, government officials engaged in art and culture also came to be considered *geibunjin* (people of art and culture). Among the organizations that would actually carry out the art and culture movement, the Manchuria Association of Theatrical Companies was established on July 5. It was also reported that preparations for the establishment of the Writers Association, Artists Association, and Musicians and Bands Association were also under way, and that the Propaganda & Intelligence Board was planning to establish an umbrella organization tentatively named the “Art and Culture Association,” which would encompass these four associations as its main constituent members organizations. However, no new association was established in the field of cinema, where the Manchuria Film Cooperation was already in existence. The Art and Culture Association was planned as an organization to be charged with the task of liaising and coordinating among the Advisory Board on Art and Culture, an advisory organ of the government, and the various art and culture associations belonging to the Association and local branches of the Manchuria Writers Association. An important role in relation to these organizations and individuals active in the areas of art and culture was to be played by a *series of entities charged with the task of combining art and culture policy more closely with Propaganda &*

Intelligence activities, such as newspapers, the Manchuria Film Cooperation, Manchuria Telephone and Telegraph Company's Broadcasting Station, Manchuria Performing Art Association, Manchuria Talking Machine Company, and other public channels of information. Thus, the art and culture of Manchuria were claimed to be “a unique art and culture as they have been woven with the art and culture of Japanese as the warp and those of the indigenous races of Manchuria as the weft, while also incorporating the cream of the art and culture of the world.” “Well adapted to and very approachable to people of every strata and every race constituting the national population, ... and full of flexibility and affinity,” the art and culture policy by the Manchukuo government were expected to “strengthen the unity of the people and create a splendid national characteristic, ... and thereby contribute to the construction of the New East Asian Order and actively to the promotion of the culture of the world.”¹⁸⁾ MUTO explained the rationale behind emphasizing the art and culture policy in the following terms : “To be sure, the guidelines for the art and culture policy were appraised as comparable to the guidelines on economic construction set forth at the time of the state's foundation. Even though at present the art and culture policy emphasizes the need for a second, culturally oriented national foundation, the efforts at nation building have thus far continued to place top priority on the construction of physical buildings and structures. In the future,

18) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan 8 (Showa 17-nen ban)* (Manchurian Almanac 8 [1942 edition]), Dalian : Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha ; reprint edition : *Shokuminchi Nenkan 8* (Almanac of Colonies, 8), Tokyo : Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, pp.350-352. For a Chinese version of the Guidelines, see *Shenging Shiba*, March 24, 1941.

however, it is imperative that we proceed with spiritual construction in parallel with the promotion of art and science in general.”¹⁹⁾

In line with the “Guidelines on Art and Culture,” the four above mentioned associations were established one after another in the months of July and August 1941. First, on July 5, representatives of nine theatrical companies, including the Datong Theatrical Company and the Jilin Concordia Theater, met together under the auspices of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board and the Ministry of Public Welfare, and established the Manchuria Association of Theatrical Companies with the purpose of “creating and developing new performance arts, such as dramas, operas, and dances, while working hard together with all the member organizations in order to train and nurture the coming generations of performing artists.” On July 27, just over 70 novelists, poets, literary critics and other writers got together from across Manchuria at the call of Propaganda & Intelligence Board Director MUTO, with the resolve to launch the Manchuria Writers Association, and elected YAMADA Seitaro as the first president. This was followed by the establishment on August 10 of the Manchuria Musicians and Bands Association which, under the leadership of OTSUKA Jun, as chairman, and a nine member committee including ONOZAKI Hitoshi, pledged to strive to “raise the spirit of the national foundation by means of music, create a national music unique to our country and propagate and disseminate this music among the population, as well as to promote friendship among the members and

19) Unknown author, “Geibun Seisaku no Kakuritsu” (The Establishment of a Policy on Art and Culture), in *Manshukoku Tsushinsha*, ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 9-nen ba*, pp.134~136.

improve each other's skills.” Furthermore, August 17 saw the establishment of the Manchuria Artists Association led by ASAEDA Jiro as chairman and a twenty member committee including BABA Itoji, with the pledge to strive to “create and develop fine arts unique to Manchuria and disseminate and propagate them among the population, as well as to encourage the members to improve themselves by working hard in competition with one another.” Thus, in a short span of just two months, the four major art and culture associations, namely, the Manchuria Association of Theatrical Companies, Manchuria Writers Association, Manchuria Musician and Bands Association, and Manchuria Artists Association, came into being, with the chairmen and committee members of each of these organizations being appointed by Propaganda & Intelligence Board director MUTO. However, the quick way in which these organizations were established was not without any problems. For example, the Musicians and Bands Association left out organizations of classical Japanese music and classical Japanese dance. The Writers Association for its part failed to incorporate poets specializing in classical Japanese poems such as haiku, senryu (humorous haiku), and tanka(short Japanese poems of 31 syllables). Similarly, the Association of Theatrical Companies failed to include groups performing traditional dramas and professional theatrical companies. On the whole, the absence of Japanese cultural elements was conspicuous in consideration of the Guidelines' declaration that the art and culture of Manchurian would be created with “the art and culture of Japan as the warp.”²⁰⁾

The establishment of the four major art and culture associations in accordance with the “Guidelines on Art and Culture,” despite their respective shortcomings, led to the establishment on August 25 of the Manchurian Art and Culture Association as a liaison organization to carry out coordination among them. The Association's founding meeting unanimously adopted the “Prospectus of the Manchuria Art and Culture Association,” which had been drafted by the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, and which defined the Association's purpose as to “take charge of liaison work concerning the Advisory Board on Art and Culture, each of the art and culture associations belonging to the Association, and local branches of the Manchuria Writers Association.” Finally on September 10, the Advisory Board on Art and Culture came into existence as an entity to give the government advice on policy on art and culture.

In parallel with these developments, the Manchuria Performing Art Association, which had been established in the preceding year, was reorganized in September 1941, and NEGISHI Kanichi, a board member of the Manchuria Film Cooperation, was elected as its new president. His appointment to this post meant that the Performing Art Association had come under stronger influence from the Propaganda & Intelligence Board. In fact, the Performing Art Association, as if sweeping away the record of its poor performance in the preceding year, played an active role during 1941 in urging the associations of drama, opera, and dance in Manchuria to get together to establish the Manchuria Association of Theatrical Companies. Beginning in late

October, shortly following the establishment of the Association of Theatrical Companies, a “National Theatrical Week” was carried out, consisting of events such as meetings of dramatic readings, stage performances of plays, radio programs, study meetings, round table discussions, and lectures, all on the basic theme of stirring up the spirit of patriotism. At about the same time, the Art and Culture Association of the Kwantung Leased Territory was formed in Dalian, bringing non professional theatrical companies under its umbrella, and beginning to act in concert with the Association of Theatrical Companies in Manchukuo to make use of theatrical performances as a means of mobilizing the masses for all out war.²¹⁾

In addition to these, several other associations were also established one after another. The Manchuria Calligraphers Association under the leadership of Wang Guanglie as chairman was established on December 27, 1941, followed by the Manchuria Photographers Association with TERASHIMA Manji as chairman on February 21, 1942, and the Manchuria Craftmans Association with KOGA Satomi as chairman, on the following day.²²⁾ In this way, organizations of art and culture in Manchuria were united with those for propaganda activities. This meant that it now became institutionally possible for the Propaganda & Intelligence Board not only to control writers and artists, but also to mobilize them for propaganda operations. Toward the end of 1941, the First Art and Culture Festival was held for three days beginning on December 5.

21) Ibid., p.360.

22) Manshukoku Tsushinsha, ed., *Manshukoku Gensei, Kotoku 10-nen ba*, pp.593~595.

2) Preparations for the Decisive Battle and Stepped-up Control

As 1942 began, shortly following the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Manchurian Art and Culture Association stood at the forefront of the propaganda operations in preparation for the “decisive battle.” The 10th anniversary of the founding of Manchukuo on March 1 was also approaching. Various activities and policy measures began to be pursued toward the establishment of a system of total national mobilization, using the war and the celebration of the anniversary of the state's foundation as a convenient pretext. The celebration also marked a major watershed that ushered in the pursuit of a uniquely Manchurian art and culture. It was ardently asserted that works of art and culture of Manchurian style should not only be of technically superb quality, but should also be concrete manifestations of the way that art and culture could and should serve the state, while having the charms of Manchurianess.

On January 18, the Manchuria Writers Association held a Writers and Artists Patriotic Conference, taking the lead in making public both within and without the country its determination to fight the World War. Other associations followed suit, with each outlining a policy on how it would serve the state as an association of art and culture as the country was trying to cope with the current emergency situation and prepare itself for decisive confrontations. At the time of the outbreak of the Pacific War, for example, the Artists Association performed an impressive role by mobilizing its members to produce posters and comic strips. Both the Artists Association and the Photographers Association eagerly participated in the Kwantung Army's

winter exercise for press reporting held in late February, and in the study tour of a tank corps' exercises held in early April. Similarly, member associations of the Manchuria Art and Culture Association cooperated actively with a number of events planned to highlight art and culture in the service of the state : members of the Artists Association and the Photographers Association took part in a press delegation sent to report on colonizers' settlements ; and the Musicians and Bands Association fully cooperated in organizing music bands when the Concordia Association sponsored a Conference of National Mobilization for Asian Prosperity. Furthermore, in the course of preparing for and actually carrying out the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the national foundation, as will be discussed later, various member associations of the Manchuria Art and Culture Association collaborated, offering service to the state through art and culture in many different ways, by involving themselves in activities such as the writing of the new national anthem, making decisions on the lyrics and melodies of provincial songs, municipal songs, and songs of various public organizations, the production of posters for advertising national policies, and the production of cartoons explaining the national policy for coping with the current emergency situation, and participation in activities to enlighten residents in the hinterlands by means of cartoons and picture card storytelling. Moreover, a number of accomplishments, including the implementation of the National Theatrical Week on a nationwide scale, the implementation of various chorus festivals and music festivals, the participation of various associations in the execution of the First Art and Culture

Festival, and the establishment of the Xinjing Fine Art Laboratory and the Xinjing Musical Society can be regarded as fruits of the policy on art and culture. It is also noteworthy that, as part of efforts to enrich the contents of art and cultural activities, the broadcasting center was established in April with the purpose of nurturing a broadcasting culture specific to Manchuria; the focus of the broadcasting in Manchuria was fully shifted to the second broadcast, the Chinese language broadcasting channel targeted at the indigenous population, with an emphasis on programs that were meant to boost the war capability and raise morale, facilitate the enforcement of the labor public service system by broadcasting the idea that every single member of the country must work, disseminate and hammer home the idea central to the newly enforced National Conscription Law, that every single member of the country must fight as a soldier, and establish a style of art and culture unique to Manchuria.²³⁾

The largest event of the time was the ceremony to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the state. The Propaganda & Intelligence Board carried out propaganda activities in preparation for the ceremony, such as the creation of celebratory songs and new national dances, the issuance of commemorative postage stamps, the sponsoring of a contest for a commemorative symbol mark, the production of the “History of the Founding of Manchukuo” and other commemorative documentary films and story films, and the pre-

23) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan 11 (Showa 20-nen ban (Manchurian Almanac, 11 [1945 edition])*, Dalian: Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha; reprint edition: *Shokuminchi Nenkan, 11(Almanac of Colonies, 11)*, Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, p.428.

paration of materials to be distributed at memorial lectures, and in addition sponsored a large number of commemorative events, including the Grand Athletic Meet in Commemoration of the National Foundation.²⁴⁾ According to the “Plan for Holding a Grand Athletic Meet in Commemoration of the National Foundation” prepared by the Propaganda Section of the Kwantung Army's General Staff Office on April 7, the meet was planned to be held at a total of 29 places across the country in the period from late April until early May, with the purpose of prompting, in accordance with the spirit of national foundation, closer harmony among the different constituent races of Manchukuo ; the preparatory committee for the event was to consist of representatives of the Education Ministry of Manchukuo, the Educational Affairs Section of the Government of the Kwantung Leased Territory, the Educational Affairs Section of the South Manchurian Railway, the Education Board of the Fengtian Provincial Government, and higher educational institutions in Fengtian City ; and the Grand Athletic Meet itself was to be held under the auspices of the Manchukuo Athletic Association that was soon to be established, with the participation of students of junior high schools, vocational schools, and higher educational institutions, who would mainly perform mass games, and also compete in various athletic games. The Propaganda Section of the Kwantung Army's General Staff Office was scheduled to take charge of the nationwide Propaganda & Intelligence

24) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan*, 9(*Showa 18-nen ban* (Manchurian Almanac 9 [1943 edition]), Dalian : Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha ; reprint edition : *Shokuminchi Nenkan 9(Almanac of Colonies 9)*, Tokyo : Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, p.38.

campaign for the event, disseminating news about it through various means such as major newspapers and other public relations organizations in Fengtian, posters and handbills to be used around the country, handbills to be spread from airplanes over major cities such as Fengtian and Changchun, radio broadcasting programs, the shooting of films, and lectures. The public relations campaign planned at the local level also included, in addition to these, firework displays, the organization of music bands for the occasion, the organization of relief squads, and the observation of flag raising ceremonies.²⁵⁾ It is clear from the foregoing observations that events for mass participation, including athletic meets, were regarded as part of the means of public relations activities.

The following ceremonies were held on the preceding day in front of the Grand State Foundation Shrine and the Monument for Fallen Heroes of the National Foundation on September 14. The Ceremony to Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the National Foundation itself was observed on September 15. At 10 o'clock in the morning of this day, Emperor Puyi, clad in an Army uniform and wearing a medal of the Japan Manchuria supreme order on his chest, arrived at the site of the ceremony riding in a carriage, and read an imperial edict. At 11:26 a.m., Prime Minister Zhang Jinghui took the lead in giving three hurrahs, which were followed by the firing of gun salutes

25) MIYAKE Hikari, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, "Kenkoku Kinen Rengo Dandokai Kaisai Keikakusho Sofu no Ken" (Re : Forwarding of the Plan for the Grand Athletic Meeting in Commemoration of the National Foundation), 1942(The Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR), Ref. C01002996200, Showa 9-nen "Rikuman Mitsuzuri Dai 10 go" (Army's Confidential Files on Manchuria, File no. 10), From June 7 to June 8, 1934, National Institute for Defense Studies).

and by a flyby by the Manchukuo Air Force. At 11:35 a.m., the ceremony came to an end with the emperor's exit. From 3:00 p.m. of the same day, an official ceremony was held at the State Council's auditorium to commend 30,000 individuals for their contributions to the founding of the nation. On the following day, September 16, the ceremony celebrating the 10th anniversary of the national foundation started from 11:30 a.m. It began with addresses of congratulation by Prime Minister Zhang Jinghui and a number of others, was followed by the reading of an imperial edict by Emperor Puyi, and concluded with audiences with the Emperor. A celebration banquet followed immediately, with the Celebratory Dance and Music Company starting to play from 12:15 p.m. seven pieces of music including dance music, celebratory music, the Song Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the National Foundation, and the Song of National Foundation, followed by a performance by the Kwantung Army marching band of several famous pieces of music until 12:21 p.m., when Prime Minister Zhang Jinghui took the lead in giving three cheers for the Emperor, and then important government figures withdrew. The entire banquet lasted for just about one hour.²⁶⁾ As it was observed when the Pacific War was ongoing, the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the national foundation was much simpler than that of the first anniversary.

- 3) Adoption of the “Guidelines on Art and Culture in a Time of Decisive War” and the Establishment of the Manchurian Art and Culture League as a Judicial Corporate Person

On December 8, 1942, exactly one year after the outbreak of the

26) *Shenging Shiba*, September 16 and 17, 1942.

Pacific War, Manchukuo adopted the “Outline of the Fundamental National Policy of Manchukuo,” a document that can be characterized as having laid out the government's fundamental policy for the first time. Composed of a total of five clauses, sub titled “Fundamental Policy”, “Guidelines on Politics”, “Guideline on Public Welfare” and “Guidelines on Economic Policy” the document declared at its outset that it should be the fundamental policy objective of Manchukuo to strive to “establish a national polity for national defense in accordance with the basic principle of the joint defense of Japan and Manchuria, and to devote the strength of the nation to the execution of the Greater East Asian War, and thereby willingly contribute by all means to realizing the Greater East Asian Co Prosperity Sphere,” and also to “promote education, which will help realize the epoch making development of industry and nurture the public attitude of hard work to make the nation thrive, and thereby improve public welfare, and nurture and replenish the national strength.”²⁷⁾

Approximately one year later, in November 1943, in view of the worsening environment facing art and culture, the Manchukuo government adopted, a set of “Guidelines on Art and Culture in the Time of Decisive War,” and disbanded all nine of the associations affiliated with the Art and Culture Association, establishing the Manchurian Art and Culture League as a judicial corporate party. The implementation of these measures seems to have brought to completion a system for

27) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan, 10(Showa 19-nen ban (Manchurian Almanac, 10 [1944 edition]), Dalian : Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha ; reprint edition : Shokuminchi Nenkan 10(Almanac of Colonies 10), Tokyo : Nihon Tosho Center, 2000, pp.36-37.*

mobilizing art and culture into a means of propaganda policy as envisioned by MUTO and AMAKASU, under which the Propaganda & Intelligence Board would take charge of overall supervision of policy, while the Art and Culture League would take charge of its actual enforcement. As it turned out, the League attempted to turn art and culture into means for fighting the all out war, by stepping up its control over the finances and materials necessary for mobilizing art and culture, and the processes of making and enforcing decisions.²⁸⁾ AMAKASU, who was elected the first president of the League, addressed the inaugural meeting as follows :

“There is no denying that art and culture by nature have some characteristics that transcend national borders and national differences. This is precisely why all forms of art and culture are regarded as important weapons of ideological warfare and also why they can prove so instrumental in nurturing the spirit of ethnic harmony. It should be kept in mind at the same time, however, that this particular feature implies the danger that they will be mixed up with unpatriotic and anti-national ones. Even though I think highly of the spirit of art and culture, and I look forward to an upsurge of critical spirit, as I have already pointed out, it goes without saying that there can be no prosperity of art and culture in the absence of prosperity of the state. In this respect, no art and culture that is not patriotic is worthy of the name. This is the hard reality of art and culture.”²⁹⁾

28) Ibid., pp.415, 420, 432, and 436-437.

29) AMAKASU Masahiko, “Geibunjin ni Nozomu : Kessen Geibuntaikai ni okeru Aisatsu” (My Hopes for People of Art and Culture : An Address at the Great Gathering of Art and Culture in Time of Decisive War), Geibun(Art and Culture), new year's issue, 1945, pp.35~36.

Thus, President AMAKASU introduced the concept of “patriotic art and culture,” emphasizing that all art and culture worthy of the name ought to serve the state. He handpicked the director general and department chiefs of the Art and Culture League himself and tried hard to produce an appearance that art and cultural activities as a means of propaganda were now under the strong, unilateral control of the League.

On the following month, for two days beginning on December 4, a National Conference of Artists and Writers of the General Meeting of Artists and Writers in Time of Decisive War was convened at the Xinjing Memorial Hall. The conference was participated in by as many as 300 artists and writers drawn from associations affiliated with the Manchuria Art and Culture Association, such as the Manchuria Association of Artists and Writers, the Artists Association, the Association of Theatrical Companies, the Craftsman's Association, the Photographers Association, the Musicians and Bands Association, the Music Composers Association, the Calligraphers Association, and the Dancers Association, as well as from friendly associations such as the Manchuria Tanka Poets Association and the Manchuria Haiku Association. The conference opened with addresses by New Director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, ICHIKAWA Satoshi (who had taken over from MUTO Tomio, who in an effort to expand the Board, had become Director of the Second Bureau, Information Agency of the Japan Cabinet), Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Education, and, Deputy Director of the Cultural Bureau of the Concordia Association. On the following day, the conference adopted

a declaration as urged by an urgent motion filed that day. The declaration reads partially as follows :

“As artists and writers who assume a role in the construction of a new culture, we must by all means pull together and nurture friendship among ourselves, strive within the country to create arts and culture based on the spirit of national foundation, mix with and cooperate externally with the cultures of the member countries of the Co-Prosperty Sphere, and thereby contribute to the construction of a Greater East Asian culture. There is, however, no denying that the decisive confrontations are taking on an increasingly pathetic appearance with each passing day, and the state of the war is indeed growing more serious than ever. We hereby resolve to sacrifice ourselves to bringing the Greater East Asian War to a successful completion by gaining a profound understanding of the current emergency situation, deeply reflecting on how we should behave publicly and privately, and devoting ourselves fully to our great mission as soldiers of ideological warfare...”³⁰⁾

While it emphasized the important role to be played by artists and writers in the Time of Decisive war, the Art and Culture Association, in fact, was beset with a number of problems, including its own deficient leadership, and difficulties in securing chances for activities for artists and writers, and difficulties in training and nurturing the younger generations of artists and writers. For example, a majority of fine artists in Manchuria had jobs outside their work as artists, and this fact made it difficult for them to be mobilized as professionals. This was not only the case with fine artists. Moreover, as the state of

30) Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha, ed., *Manshu Nenkan 1*, pp.413-414.

the war grew increasingly serious, the shortage of materials necessary for artistic activities also became pronounced. Taking the case of fine arts again, artists in Manchuria who had primarily relied on Japan for the supply of materials were hard hit as the Control Associations of Fine Arts and Craft Arts inside Japan came to face greater difficulties in adjusting the distribution of materials among artists in Japan's home islands, and became increasingly unable to think about the needs of fine artists in the colonies. The situation was much the same for the publishing industry, which was afflicted by a shortage of printing paper. On May 1, the two major Japanese language newspaper publishers, namely, Manshu Nichinichi Shinbunsha and Manshu Shinbunsha, were merged and a new company, Manshu Nipposha (Manchurian Daily News Co.), was established, ostensibly in order to make more effective use of newsprint and other materials. In the field of cinema as well, on August 21, the 7th anniversary of its establishment, the Manchuria Film Cooperation reorganized its movie showing arrangements to better suit the period of decisive war, and tightened its controls. However, these accomplishments merely reflected the worsening state of the war, and the situation surrounding Manchukuo never improved through to the end of the war. Thus, despite the Art and Culture League's determination to nurture "patriotic art and culture," its mobilization fell far short of its manifested objective of the efficient implementation of political propaganda.

Moreover, at a roundtable discussion held toward the end of the war in January 1945 on the theme of "Envisioning Manchurian

Culture,” AMAKASU Masahiko stated as follows :

“In my view, building a country does not simply mean creating tangible institutions and structures. We can never build a country unless we also bring the people living there to perfection, or in other words, unless we first educate its population. What is crucially important in educating a country's population is to nurture people equipped with the virtues which are specified in the Guidelines on Art and Culture.”³¹⁾

But the aim of the measures indispensable for “nationalizing” the population, or creating the audience for the “theatrical state” called Manchukuo had been not succeeded in Manchukuo.

4. Concluding Remarks

In Manchukuo, the political system of the state made sharp turns twice, first in 1937 and in then in 1942, shortly following the outbreak of war. As it did so, it took on the characteristics of a system for decisive war or as one for total mobilization.

Change in the characteristics of the national political system were the observation of the ceremonies to cerebrate the construction of the capital and the abolition of extra territorial rights, and the outbreak of the total war between Japan and China. On that occasion, the Manchukuo government reorganized the Information Board into the

31) “Manshu Bunka no Koso-Zadankai” (Envisioning Manchurian Culture : A Roundtable Discussion), Geibun : Manshukoku Geibun Renmei Kikanho(Art and Culture : The Organ of the Manchurian Art and Culture Association), new year's issue, 1945, p.84. This work was supported by Grant in Aid for Scientific Research (A (No1820201) for Japan Society for the Promotion of Science(JSPS).

Propaganda & Intelligence Board in order to integrate its information or intelligence activities with its propaganda activities, and to have the Propaganda & Intelligence Board concentrate its efforts mainly on keeping track of public sentiment toward Manchukuo. Subsequently, the government went on to unify the administrative system within the country, while the Propaganda & Intelligence Board began to look for methods for controlling the means of propaganda in a way that would appeal to the eyes and ears. It was in 1939 that this search began to be made, as MUTO Tomio became Director of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, and AMAKASU Masahiko the President of the Manchuria Film Cooperation. These two individuals secured the power to dictate the Propaganda & Intelligence Board's activities, and played a key role in determining the propaganda policy of Manchukuo. Consequently, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board, in addition to supervising the two auxiliary organizations under its direct control, namely, the Propaganda & Intelligence Association and the Manchurian Film Corporation, placed under its control and guidance the Manchuria Broadcasting Corporation, Manchuria Travel Bureau, Manchuria Tourism League, and a series of cultural organizations in the areas of literature, drama, music, and fine arts, and stepped up cooperation with the Concordia Association and the Propaganda & Intelligence teams of the military in order to carry out its information and propaganda policy. Furthermore in January 1941, as part of the administrative reform, the Propaganda & Intelligence Board was re-organized into a gigantic organization given charge of information and propaganda activities, and began to pursue a policy on art and culture

that aimed to integrate propaganda activities and cultural activities.

In 1942, under the impact of the outbreak of the Pacific War at the end of the previous year, the government's policy began, with the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the national foundation planned for September, to prioritize the importance of total mobilization to cope with the state of war and prepare for the decisive battle, while emphasizing at the same time the need to build a uniquely Manchurian culture. The "Guidelines on Art and Culture," which were adopted by the Propaganda & Intelligence Board in 1943, were a political declaration of its intention to integrate art and culture into the government's Propaganda & Intelligence activities. In accordance with this declaration, four major associations—namely, the Manchuria Association of Theatrical Companies, Manchuria Writers Association, Manchuria Musician and Band Association, and Manchurian Artists Association—were formed, along with the Manchuria Art and Culture Association as an organization that would take charge of liaison work among these and other associations active in various fields of art and culture. Thus, the state's policy converged into the establishment of a mechanism of wartime total mobilization, with the Art and Culture Association mobilizing the associations and organizations under its umbrella for that purpose.

Looked at, however, from the perspective of individual writers and artists, the act of serving the state by means of art and culture was far from a fulfilling form of creative activity. Furthermore, as the shortage of supplies of materials grew ever more serious with the intensification of the war, the environment for creative activities began

to rapidly deteriorate. The arrangements that put the Propaganda & Intelligence Board in sole charge of administering the policy concerning art and culture also gave rise to questions from many quarters, with the result that institutional problems were left unresolved.

These organizational and social problems grew more serious under the increasing pressure of destitution. In an effort to break through the impasse, the National Conference of Artists and Writers of the Great Gatherings of Artists and Writers in Time of Decisive War was convened in December 1943 ; and in accordance with the “Guidelines on Art and Culture in Time of Decisive War” announced in November 1944, the Art and Culture Association was dissolved along with nine associations under its umbrella, to be replaced by the Manchuria Art and Culture League, a judicial corporate party which would unilaterally manage and control matters concerning art and culture. Given, however, the worsening state of the war, neither the bloated bureaucratic machine of the Propaganda & Intelligence Board nor the Manchuria Art and Culture League, which was charged with the task of overseeing various associations and many individuals, were able to tackle the objective of creating a new political culture of their own. At that juncture, the policy on art and culture, or the propaganda policy, with its purpose of creating a new nation, came to a standstill until the end of the War.

Key words : Manchukuo government, Sino-Japanese War, ANA-KASU Masahiko, MUTO Tomio, Cultural ploicy

주제어 : 만주국 정부, 중일전쟁, 아마카스 마사히코, 무토 토미오, 문화정책