

***Mediating Zone in Colonial Propaganda: Medical Support Activities in Japanese
Film Projection Unit in Manchukuo (1932-1945)***

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Abstract

This research examines medical support activities in the film propaganda system in the former Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo. The focus is on *Junkaieisha*, that is the mobile film projection unit active in rural areas. This research reveals how a colonial film propaganda project was aimed at the ordinary people in rural areas, which accounted for more than 90% of total population, by combining medical support and film screening activities. The research also aims to clarify how the Japanese authorities organized the medical support activities with film screening to provide a tangible experience of modernity as well as a visualized image of modernity to ordinary people. This study analyzed the data from internal publications of the Manchukuo government, and PR magazines, *Manshu Eiga*, published by the Manchurian Film Association.

These sources were examined to establish the context of medical support for the projection tours while the films themselves were subjected to this detailed experience of modernity. The research discovered that medical support activities in the film propaganda campaign in Manchukuo could modify the representations of screened films in audiences' mind, which created a mediating environment where colonial ideology intended to conflate the meaning of modernity and colonialism in audience's mind. This suggests that context helps determine the reception of film text and the correlation between modernity and colonialism.

Keywords: *Junkaieisha*, *Junkaishinryo*, colonial medicine, Japanese film projection unit, propaganda.

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Introduction

The Treaty of Portsmouth, signed with the end of Russo-Japanese War in 1905, ordained that the spearhead of Liaodong Peninsula, the Kwantung Leased Territory ruled by Russia, was to be transferred to Japan. Afterwards, in 1932, one year after the Manchurian Incident, Japan's Kwantung Army occupied northeastern China and founded the puppet state of Manchukuo. In order to govern the multiethnic minorities in this land, the Japanese authorities had to enact the propaganda methods tailored to the multiethnic groups. On the basis of the data of Manchukuo's population composition collected by Manchukuo central government, the total population in late 1939 is 39,454,026, while only 2,868,668 lived in cities (Ichikawa 1941). In other words, there were more than 90% people living in rural areas. Moreover, these residents included not only the Han Chinese, but also other ethnic groups, such as Korean, Mongolian and Russian. These multi-ethnic illiterate people had no knowledge of modern or scientific equipment and technology. Therefore, implementing an efficient propaganda campaign had taken much thought for the Japanese authorities [Kaneko 1939].

Drawing from the propaganda experiences of Manchukuo Concordia Association, to these illiterate people in rural areas, print media, such as newspapers and pamphlets, mostly could not be understood; ideological lectures were not interesting enough to attract audience; plays or radio receivers could not be widespread due to financial constraints; and only films were the most popular and impressive propaganda method [Okita 1939]. Consequently, pertinent questions that emerged in the aftermath involved: how the films should be utilized as the main propaganda method in rural areas with the illiterate target audience, and how to use the anticipated influence of the propaganda for Manchukuo's ideology.

Medicine delivery and medical support activities were also believed to be among the most effective propaganda methods (Report of Tsuboku County 1934). Film screening and medical support activities were both utilized as methods for attracting more people in the early stages of the propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, the system of film screening and institutions that organized the medical support activities in rural areas were constructed based on the institutions' own aims.

Medical support activities is not a premediated part of film screening; however, in this paper it is assumed that medical activities may modify the representations of screened films in the audiences' mind. This is because medicine, as a kind of tactile science, is invariably acting as an instrument of diffusing the experience of modernity and colonialism in history (MacLeod 2001). The same could be said about propaganda film, which is another kind of visual and acoustical science. Moreover, regarding the relationship between science and colonialism (Pyenson 1985), science was, firstly, an instrument of colonization, but later it became also a matter of interest of the colonized themselves.

In rural areas of Manchukuo, the film screenings accompanied by medical support indicate a brand new technique of propaganda and illustrate a structure of imperial science transplanted in the colonial country. This paper focuses on the detailed historical facts of film screenings, and medical support activities and institutions in an attempt to examine the facets of imperial science fostered by colonialism. The

following sections will discuss the viability of further discourse analysis of the aforementioned propaganda activities as well as the films in rural areas of Manchukuo.

Literature Review

This study sheds light on the interaction between different propaganda practices in Manchukuo's rural area to clarify how Japanese colonial authorities used the concept of modernity as a propaganda method which Manchurian people had never experienced before. In contrast to previous research about the colonial medicine policies and the historical practices of colonial medical propaganda, this paper applies an interdisciplinary approach to verify the interactions between medical propaganda and other propaganda methods. Moreover, the review of previous research on medical activities in Manchukuo's rural areas, as well as on the film industry in Manchukuo, has also been included. Hence, the literature could be divided into three aspects: medicine/science and colonialism, a case study of Manchukuo's medical activities, and a case study of Manchukuo's film industry.

Medicine/Science and Colonialism

In the 1980s, the studies focusing on colonial medicine mostly regarded western medicine as a means for the European countries to expand their colonies. When it comes to the 1990s, the scholars tended to observe the relationship between colonial history and medicine by interdisciplinary approaches such as cultural sociology or cultural anthropology. They used historical materials to analyze the physical and mental efficacy of colonial medicine as applied to the colonists and the colonized, which provides a new perspective for understanding the relationship between colonial medicine and colonial society. This paper carries on the accumulation of related research after the 1990s and intends to discuss specifically what methods colonial medicine used to physically and mentally influence the colonized in the context of colonial propaganda.

Manchukuo's Medical Activities

Previous research has focused on three dimensions: individual medical support activities in Manchukuo, individual medical institutions, and Manchukuo's colonial medical policy. Yilina (2007) suggests that *Junkaishinryo*(巡回診療) – mobile medical work teams active in rural areas of Manchukuo – were organized by six main institutions: Osaka Mainichi Newspaper (大阪毎日新聞, 1911-1945), Manchuria Medical College (満洲医科大学, 1922-1945), Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation (恩賜財団普濟会, 1934-1938: the predecessor of Manchukuo Red Cross Society), Manchukuo Red Cross Society (満洲国赤十字社, 1938-1945.), Zenrin Association (善隣協会, 1933-1945) and Kwantung Army (関東軍) [Yilina 2007]. Caijilahu (2013) emphasizes the function of Zenrin Association, active in the Mongolian area in Manchukuo [Caijilahu 2013]. Also, in terms of medical policy, Zhao Xiaohong (2008) states that the whole picture of Manchukuo's medical system consisted of medical technicians, medical facilities and medical administrative system in Manchukuo [Zhao 2008]. However, they overlook the diversity in the connections between the practical medical support activities and medical policies. This variety of measures to

implement medical support activities in practicality could not be found out only from materials of medical institutions or policies.

Manchukuo's Film Industry

Many researchers have traced the emergence of film propaganda system in Northeast China occupied by the Japanese back to the national company of Manchuria Film Association. They have mapped out the links between the Japanese authorities [Hu, Gu 1990], Japanese and Chinese filmmakers [Yamaguchi, 2000], which consisted of the Japanese and Chinese directors and actors in the Mantetsu Film Unit (満鉄映画班) and Manchuria Film Association (満洲映画協会), the representation of the film texts without discussing the contextual process of how these texts were produced [Nagayama, 2009] [Li, 2014]. These previous studies, however, fall short in painting the background of the film propaganda system and the interrelationship between the creation of film text and the discourse of filmmakers. They also don't show how the ideology was disseminated through the screened films.

Objectives

According to the historical materials, this paper attempts to clarify the historical fact that utilizing medicine and films in pacification-propagandist activities in rural areas was an efficient way to attract more people, contributing to the military action and lectures in explaining Manchukuo's ideology. The data analyzed include the sources from internal publications of the Manchukuo government, PR magazines, *Manshu Eiga*, published by the Manchurian Film Association, resources related to Kwangtung Army from Japan's National Institute of Defense Studies.

Thus, this paper also attempts to provide a pilot study in enhancing the understanding of Imperial Japan's propaganda in Manchukuo, especially in the rural areas, and its visual and tactile impact on the colonized.

The Construction of *Junkaieisha* (巡回映写): A System of Japanese Mobile Film Projection Units

This section firstly discusses the development of *Junkaieisha* in order to describe the contact zone (Pratt, 1992) with medical support activities that took place in mobile film projection units. *Junkaieisha* refers to a style of open-air cinema held by mobile film projection units in Manchukuo's areas without cinema buildings.

However, film projection was not the only activity of the teams of *Junkaieisha*. At the early stage of Manchukuo's foundation, medical support and the delivery of medicine and free food were used to attract more local people to attend the propaganda lectures as well as film projections. After the lectures, population censuses to detect the communists or gunfire performances by the Kwangtung Army were arranged. In fact, as a preparing stage of the population census and the gunfire show of Kwangtung Army, other activities such as phonograph broadcasting, poster shows, plays (芝居), and Kamishibai (紙芝居) were also organized to attract more audience. Everything was established to prepare for a military operation to eliminate the anti-Japanese forces.

This multi-media model of *Junkaieisha* was legitimated by *The Outline of The Establishment of Junkaieisha Committee* (巡回映写委員会設置要綱) in 1941, which institutionalized *Junkaieisha*'s methods. In this document, "*Junkaieisha* is expected to be a driving force for the work of culture and ideology in a widely national range with the collaboration of Kamishibai (紙芝居), dramas (演劇), music and others" [Ishii, 1943, p.41].

To trace the origins of this multi-media system of *Junkaieisha*, the roles of the South Manchuria Railway Company (Mantetsu, 満鉄) and the Kwangtung Army are paramount. South Manchuria Railways Corporation commenced its own work of mobile teams in 1917 to provide the entertainment and welfare for its employees and residents in areas along railways, together with film projection, books and medicines (Yamaguchi, 2000, p. 226). In the meanwhile, the mobile film projection team of Osaka Mainichi Newspaper from homeland Japan came to northeastern China after the Manchuria Incident to carry out their business of school educational films' projection [Akagami, 2013, p. 259].

After the establishment of Manchukuo, several government departments such as Ministry of Culture and Education (文教部) [Manshukoku Eigakai Gaikan, 1934, p. 193], local Concordia Association (協和会) [Okita, 1939, p. 217], and the Ministry of Military (軍政部) [Gunseibu Junkaieisha-han no Hokoku, 1935, p. 79] also started their own projection teams with free films, medical support activities and free food. Target audience was broadened from Japanese people to the local residents and soldiers in rural areas. The mobile projection team acted with the protection of Kwangtung Army with a followed military operation. The concrete targets of Kwangtung Arm included "places with less social security" (「治安不良地域向け」), "countermeasures towards people with communist thoughts" (「思想匪対策」) and "segregation between people and enemies" (「匪民分離」).

Since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Manchuria Film Association organized and managed its own professional direct-managed film projection units in 1939 (Tsuda, 1944, p.80) with the support of local governments. Though MFA's independent film projection units only held film projections, as a part of the regular team of pacification work committee of local provinces, MFA's units also collaborated with medical support providers (that were also a significant part of team). In 1941, the abovementioned policy issued by Central Film Mobile Projection Unit Committee institutionalizes that film screening and medical support activities are supposed to be provided together with other visual media.

As previously stated, *Junkaieisha* is a combination of various media and activities instead of simply consisting of film screenings. Furthermore, *Junkaieisha* is also a complex case where it is difficult to characterize any sole medium in isolation from the historical context of other activities. Thus, in order to illustrate the essence of *Junkaieisha*, it is prerequisite to also focus on the other facets apart from the films.

The Role of Medical Support Activities in Film Screening Tours

This part aims to clarify the role medical support activities played among the multiple media, and how those activities were held together with other media events, which would provide a new understanding for the *Junkaieisha* from a different perspective.

As was mentioned before, mobile medical work teams were organized by six different institutions. However, based on analysis of the historical materials within this study, only four institutions' medical support activities were recorded to be combined with film projection. As shown in the following table, Manchuria Medical College, Manchukuo Red Cross Society and its predecessor Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation, Kwantung Army and local governments organized medical support activities which cooperated with the film projection activities of other institutions.

	Manchuria Medical College	Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation	Manchukuo Red Cross Society	Kwantung Army	Local Governments
Locations	Railway areas of Mantetsu	Religious Temple Fair (娘娘庙会, 喇嘛庙会)		Places with less social security (borders of the country, mountainous regions)	Places with less social security under their jurisdiction
Film Screening	Mantetsu's film projection units	Local governments' film screening with other media		Kwantung Army's film units	Local governments' film screening with other media or MFA's film projection units
Staff	Japanese and Manchurian	Japanese and Manchurian		Japanese and Manchurian (Japanese leader) or Manchurian (all team members)	Japanese and Manchurian (Japanese leader) or Manchurian (all team members)

These five organizations in this table took charge of different areas with respective goals. Firstly, Manchuria Medical University, established by South Manchuria Railway Company, worked on railway areas. This college organized mobile medical support activities 15 times within the period from 1923 to 1938. The first to the eighth was organized by Mantetsu, the ninth and tenth was under the management of Kwantung Army. Afterwards, this college took over from the eleventh activity (Yilina, 2009, p.208). Yilina outlined the routes of the mobile medical teams on a map, based on the reports of Manchuria Medical University's mobile medical teams (Yilina, 2009, p.234). The routes were parallel with the railways, which also matched the routes of mobile film projection units belonging to Mantetsu (Yamaguchi, 2000, p. 226). Besides the individual mobile medical work, the university also sent Japanese students to join the pacification teams (including film screening) organized by the local government to provide medical support for residents in rural areas [Toan Province Government, 1939, p. 134]. It could be assumed that both the medical support activities and film projection were parts of the entertainment and welfare work of Mantetsu or local governments.

Furthermore, Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation and Manchukuo Red Cross Society focused on supporting the local governments' ceremonies, especially the Chinese and Mongolian religious temple fairs (Yilina, 2007, p.44) to implement their propaganda campaign with multiple other media. The religious temple fairs (Temple Fair of Goddess, Temple Fair of Lamas) could gather a lot of people with multi-ethnic backgrounds. The reports of local governments, which utilized the traditional ceremonies as propaganda events, record the schedule of all activities.

Event	Kamis hibai	Exhibiti on of Hygiene Knowle dge	Medical support activities	Film Projection	Other Propaganda Activities
Period	5 th -12 th July	6 th -12 th July	6 th -12 th July	6 th -12 th July	During the period for all activities
Organiz ers	Concordia Association, Department of Civil Affairs	Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation, Department of Civil Affairs	Fusaikai Imperial Gift Foundation, Department of Civil Affairs	Concordia Association, Manchurian Film Association, Department of Civil Affairs, Department of Xing'an, Department of Husbandry	Government Information Agency, Manchurian Cultural Association, Manchurian Telephone and Telegraph Company, Concordia Association, Wool Professional Association, Waseda Theatre Museum
Details	Providing materials, Dispatching professional clerks	Renting the apparatus, Dispatching professional clerks	Dispatching doctors, Delivering medicine	Dispatching technicians, Providing films	Posters of Propaganda, Photo Propaganda, Radio Broadcasting, Plays, Propaganda activities of local governments
Staff	One Manchurian	Three Japanese and a Manchurian	Three Japanese and a Manchurian	Six Japanese and Manchurians	A number of Japanese and Manchurians

This table illustrates an example medical support activities and media events at the Temple Fair of Daihanjyo (大板上廟会) in 1938 (Xing'an, 1938, p.184). The aim of making an exhibition on hygiene was to spread hygienic habits among the Mongolian residents, which contributed to eradication of sexually transmitted diseases. Medical support work and the delivery of medicine were considered as the most appropriate ways for deepening the Mongolians' gratefulness toward Manchukuo (Xing'an, 1938, p.186).

Position	Ranking	Name	Duty
Team Leader	Infantry Captain staff	Lian Rongchun	Lecturer, team leader
Member	Cavalry Lieutenant	Suzuki Noboru	Plan manager, team manager and liaison officer
Member	Medical Lieutenant	Liang Fengzhu	Manager of medical support activities
Member	Translator	Zhang Xiaoyang	Manager of equipment of film projection, film's explainer
Member	Employee	Liu Fengzao	Assistant for films and equipment
Member	Medical Sergeant	Wang Zunxue	Assistant of medical support activities and manager of medicine
Member	Medical First Class Soldier	Yu Huidong	Trivial duties for medical support activities

Additionally, this graph of Kwangtung Army's Intelligence team (特務班) illustrates an arrangement of medical support activities and film screening (Liang, 1939, p. 89). This team organized medical support activities and film screenings before the military operations in places with less social security, such as the borderlines of the country and the mountainous regions, which was aimed at making the residents and potential enemies feel friendly to the Kwangtung Army.

Lastly, local governments also concentrated attention on the places with less social security under their jurisdiction. They organized their medical units with the provision of medical materials and doctors from various institutions, and then rented films to screen with the support of local branch of the Concordia Association. After 1939, when Manchuria Film Association established its own system of mobile film projection units, local governments began to rent professional projection apparatuses and technicians from this national film company. This kind of propaganda activities, organized by the local government, was also implemented by medical institutions and Manchurian Film Association.

Delivered Medicines and Screened Films

According to the analysis above, medical support activities and film projections were organized and implemented almost simultaneously. This section attempts to analyze in detail how the medical support activities and film projections influenced the illiterate multiethnic residents in Manchukuo's rural areas. The assumption is that medical support activities in the film propaganda campaign in Manchukuo could modify the representations of screened films in audiences' mind, in which the colonial ideology intended to conflate the meaning of modernity with the meaning of colonialism.

This part tries to justify this assumption by discussing the interaction between medicine and films in Manchukuo's rural areas as propaganda methods from the perspective of government as well as the propagandists. Firstly, a policy named (Propaganda for) Both Physicality and Mentality (物心両面) was issued at the

beginning of Second Sino-Japanese War, in 1937, meaning that the propaganda work should be fully organized and actualized not only by the mental method (film) but by the physical method (medicine) as well. Five months later, when the Second Sino-Japanese War occurred, it became necessary to spread the war ideology to the Chinese immigrants recruited by Manchukuo, who converged in Anto Province adjacent to Republic of China. The government of Anto Province chose the newsreel film as the main method. The newsletters projected for these “unenlightened” immigrants in rural areas indicated that “the Holy war started with the justice of Japan”. In this case, medical support activities were regarded as a supportive measure to improve the film propaganda’s effects. By establishing free mobile medical centers, medical support activities could be held twice or three times per week [Anto-sho no Jyutenken Jyunkaisennbu Kosaku, 1937].

Moreover, the local government generally organized teams with local officers, doctors from Manchurian Medical University, and professional film technicians from the Manchurian Film Association. In the case of Toan province in 1939, the jurisdictional area of Toan province suffered from shortages of food, the diffusion of fever and diseases of digestive system after a great drought. Toan province thus organized a welfare work team (福民工作班) with the following members [Government of Toan Province, 1939, p.134].

	Head	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member
Affiliation	Secretary Officer in the Provincial Government	Liaison from the Development Agency	Doctor (Temporary Employee) for Medical support activities	Student (from Manchurian Medical University) for Medical support activities	Student (from Manchurian Medical University) for Medical support activities	Clerk of the Toan branch of the Concordia Association for Propaganda and Pacification Works	Technician of Film Projection from the Manchurian Film Association	Technician of Film Projection from the Manchurian Film Association
Ethnicity	Han	Japanese	Han	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese

According to this table, except for two Manchurian members, most of the team members were Japanese. The target of this team in Hinsei County was a stronghold of the Chinese (Han) and Koreans. The team accomplished propaganda missions of film screening, distributing gifts and providing home healthcare. Film screenings were arranged at night while medical support activities in the daytime. The newsreel films described a famous leader of anti-Japanese forces in the rural area who surrendered to Kwangtung Army, as well as modern life of overseas countries.

What kind of medicines were delivered to residents in rural areas? How did doctors work on these propaganda medical activities? An official report from a local governments' medical team could be used to discuss these questions.

According to a paragraph from an official report from Tsuka province in 1940, the doctor summarized that "most people share the following common diseases. Disorders of digestive and respiratory organs, dermatosis and eye disease, and neuralgia caused by parasites. Since their bodies are the virgin land for medicine, appropriate medicine can heal them immediately." Then it depends on the doctors' decision which medicine would be delivered to the patients. In this case, based on the specific disease popular among the residents, this doctor decided to deliver digestive medicine, cold medicine, dermatologic medicine, and eye medicine all for free [Sugimoto, 1940, p. 54]. According to another official report, people in rural areas who thought that painful feelings should be a necessary part in life were shocked by the medicine's effects and the new kinds of feelings in their bodies.

Meanwhile, the residents who accepted the medical support activities could be also exposed to a visual shock of modernity through film projection. The films screened in rural areas include Manchurian films and Japanese films. The films gave a picture of Japan's great power and Manchukuo's beautiful future. According to the following list of educational documentary films screened in rural areas, the propaganda documentary films tended to emphasize Japan's power of modern technology and military, idealized Manchurian life in both rural and urban areas, as well as the knowledge of hygiene to evoke the audience's expectations of modernity (Wang, 2015, p. 85-86).

Production Year	Title of Film	Production Institution	Location and Time of the Film Screening
1935	Paradise New Manchuria (Rakudo Shin Manshu)	Film Unit of Mantetsu	Enkitsu County in 1939
1936	Shock Troops of Reclamation (Kaitaku Totsugekitai)		Anto Province in 1939
1938	Concordia Youth (Kyowa Seinen)	Manchuria Film Association	Enkitsu County in 1939
1939	Three Rivers (Sanga)		Sanga in 1940
1940	Imperial Manchuria Law of Conscription (Manshu Teikoku Kokuheihou)		"This will be screened in <i>Junkaishya</i> "
1943	Lice Are Awful (Shirami ha Kowai)		<i>"Films made specially for Junkaieisha"</i>
1943	Heroes of Mining (Tanko Eiyu)		

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study analyzes the interaction between medicine and film in terms of the propaganda for both Physicality and Mentality. In the historical context, medicine provides the experience of modernity to the audience's corporeal receptors, which is a physical impact. While the film visualizes the background of the experience of modernity, and the audiences receive visual stimulus by watching films. Moreover, regarding the audience's reception of the films, it is possible that this kind of impact is also going to transform into a mental impact.

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