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Deciphering the Transnational Poetics in Wing Tek Lum's *The Nanjing Massacre: Poems*

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Abstract: This article examines the transnational poetics embedded in Chinese American poet Wing Tek Lum's 2012 collection *The Nanjing Massacre: Poems*. Borrowing from Jahan Ramazani's concept of transnational poetics, I show how a transnational perspective reveals the cross-cultural content and formal experiments in Asian American poetry. I examine Lum's intercultural representations of two groups of people: Japanese perpetrators and comfort women. Lum's poetic construction of Japanese perpetrators explores ordinary Japanese soldiers' mentalities, adapts Japanese folklore, and engages with Japanese verse haiku. Lum's portrayals of comfort women reveal how the women have been reduced to objects and symbols of national humiliation, and I argue that his juxtaposition of the Nanjing Massacre with other historical traumas emphasizes universal, war-inflicted sexual trauma. Lum's representations of Japanese perpetrators and comfort women work together to undermine nationalist uses of Nanjing Massacre history memory and instead emphasize transnational war traumas and gender oppression. Situated at the intersection of Asian American poetry studies and studies of the Nanjing Massacre, this article hopes to push beyond narrowly US-bound models of criticism for Asian American poetry and highlights how Lum mobilizes an intercultural way of approaching the Nanjing Massacre.

Keywords: Nanjing Massacre, Wing Tek Lum, transnational poetics, Asian American literature

In 2012, Chinese American poet Wing Tek Lum published his second collection, *The Nanjing Massacre: Poems*, which consists of 104 poems written over fifteen years. The book is the first English-language poetry collection focusing on the Nanjing Massacre and was awarded the 2015 Creative Writing: Poetry Award by the Association of Asian American Studies. Comprising five parts, this collection begins with the Japanese army's invasion of Nanjing and moves to the apocalyptic scene after the battle, filled with voices of multiple Chinese victims, survivors, foreign bystanders, and Japanese perpetrators.

Lum's poetry engages in vibrant transnational dialogues with history writings and public memory of the Nanjing Massacre from Mainland China, the United States, and Japan, where the Massacre has gradually evolved into a globalized emblem of World War II trauma that consistently shapes public consciousness and historical identities. In Mainland China, mainstream historical discourses aim to weave a unified and nationalist historiography of the Nanjing Massacre and either cast Japanese perpetrators and comfort women as flat stereotypes or simply muffle their voices in popular historical and cultural narratives. In Japan, though a group of Japanese intellectuals, activists, and former soldiers call for re-examining Japan's wartime atrocities in Asia, the Japanese government has adopted benign representations of the wartime Japanese state by downplaying or even effacing thorny historical issues like the Nanjing Massacre or comfort women. In the US, the government has ignored the Nanjing Massacre for several decades, and its historical memories circulate almost exclusively within the Asian American community, which has used the history of the Nanjing Massacre to work through their own agendas within the US racial hierarchy. Lum's poetic imaginings are among a group of Asian American writers' attempts to strengthen the cultural dimension of Asian American identity by reconfiguring historical memories of the Nanjing Massacre in today's transnational context. This article considers how Lum's transnational engagements with traumatic historical memories from China, the US, and Japan avoid reinforcing national animosities and repeating the gendered binaries of conventional national patriotism. Lum breaks down rigid stereotypes and gives voice to silenced stories, thereby challenging,

subverting, or complementing the existing Nanjing Massacre narratives and simultaneously enriching the transnational imagination of Asian American poetry.

In this article, I examine the transnational poetics embedded in Lum's *The Nanjing Massacre*. In *A Transnational Poetics*, Jahan Ramazani challenges the national construction of contemporary poetry in English and foregrounds transnational poetry that consists of "hybrid, interstitial, and fluid imaginative constructs" (24) and that "overflows national borders, exceeding the scope of national literary paradigms" (xi); he explains that these poems can "exemplify the potential for generative intercultural exploration" (31). In this article, my use of the term "transnational" bears some similarities to Ramazani's view of "the poetic imagination as . . . a nation-crossing force that exceeds the limits of the territorial and juridical norm" (2). By "transnational," I refer to the following aspects of Lum's poetry: the nation-crossing thematic concerns, borrowed from Japanese or Chinese literary tradition and languages; inspiration from various archival records, secondary history books, and art exhibitions; and interplay with existing Nanjing Massacre narratives.

I begin by tracing the unusual memorialization trajectory of historical memories of the Nanjing Massacre and comparing the transnational literary imagination of the massacre with the current literary portrayals of historical traumas in contemporary Asian American literature. Borrowing from Ramazani's concept of transnational poetics, as well as referring to previous methodologies for critically approaching Asian American poetry, I suggest the value of incorporating a transnational perspective to probe the cross-cultural content and formal experiments in Asian American poetry. I approach Lum's transnational poetics through his intercultural representations of Japanese perpetrators and comfort women. Lum's poetic construction of Japanese perpetrators explores ordinary Japanese soldiers' mentalities, adapts Japanese folklore, and engages with Japanese poetic verse haiku. Lum's portrayals of comfort women of different nationalities reveal how the women have been reduced to objects and symbols of national humiliation, and I argue that his juxtaposition of the Nanjing Massacre with other historical traumas emphasizes universal, war-inflicted sexual trauma. In my view, Lum's

representations of Japanese perpetrators and comfort women work together to undermine nationalist uses of Nanjing Massacre history memory and instead emphasize transnational war traumas and gender oppression. Situated at the intersection of Asian American poetry studies and Nanjing Massacre studies, this article hopes to push beyond narrowly US-bound models of criticism for Asian American poetry and foregrounds how Lum approaches the Nanjing Massacre from an intercultural perspective.

I. History and Memory of the Nanjing Massacre

The Nanjing Massacre was a brutal episode in modern Chinese history. It refers to more than forty days of mass murders committed by the invading Japanese troops on Chinese prisoners of war (POWs) and civilians, beginning after the fall of the Republic of China's capital city, Nanjing, on 13 December 1937. From December 1937 to the restoration of order in February 1938, the Japanese army carried out numerous acts of killing, looting, and raping inside Nanjing. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, known as the Tokyo Trial (May 1946 to November 1948), estimated that around 200,000 people were killed and approximately twenty thousand Chinese women were raped during the six weeks after the fall of Nanjing (Yoshida 51). The judges of the military tribunal, held in Nanjing by the Kuomintang Government, ruled on 10 March 1947, that "the Japanese military killed more than 300,000 Chinese between December 12 and 21, 1937" (Yoshida 181). The issuing of the death toll of the Nanjing Massacre later triggered what Joshua A. Fogel calls the "numbers game": the Chinese government and historians claimed a death toll of more than 300,000, while some Japanese historians argued that only one hundred people were killed and few women were raped (6).[1]

With the establishment of 13 December as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Day by China's National People's Congress in 2013, the Nanjing Massacre was undoubtedly configured as the cultural symbol of the Sino–Japanese War and continues to have a significant impact on the relations between China and Japan. It has become a high profile, contested site where the government, public, and scholars of China,

Japan, and foreign countries are fighting for their own versions of historical memory. The current heated debates and controversies surrounding the Nanjing Massacre inform domestic politics, foreign diplomacy, history, social media, and cultural productions. Though it took place more than eighty years ago, the Nanjing Massacre haunts the World War II memories of the Asia-Pacific region.

Unlike the Holocaust and other massacres and genocides, the Nanjing Massacre faced a long period of national amnesia after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. It resurfaced in the public memories of the Chinese people in the 1980s. Why was the Nanjing Massacre invisible in China's official discourse and historical textbooks for several decades? The unusual trajectory of the memorialization of the Nanjing Massacre in China was intertwined with the tempestuous domestic politics and changing foreign diplomatic policies of the post-1949 PRC. According to historians Jeffrey C. Alexander and Rui Gao, after defeating the Kuomintang Government and winning the Civil War in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) focused on identifying the US-backed Kuomintang as the greatest enemy of the Chinese people and deliberately downplaying the Nanjing Massacre because "to have focused on the 1937 massacre of Nanjing's Chinese population—that included members of all classes, and a large dose of Kuomintang militia as well—would have defined the victims in the wrong way" (127). Similarly, Takashi Yoshida observes that, from 1945 to 1971, "the Communist government, which sought to foster an image of national pride and strength among its people, perceived no advantage in preserving the [Nanjing] massacre in Chinese national memory" (70). In addition, Chinese historian Liu Yanjun suggests that the Chinese government's policies shaped ordinary Chinese people's memories of the Nanjing Massacre in ways that twisted the event to fit the CCP's version of national history (22). For example, Daqing Yang notes that an article published in Chinese national monthly *Xinhua Yuebao* in 1951 called attention to the "faithful collusion between the Japanese and the Americans" during the Nanjing Massacre, and that this was part of an official rhetoric to boost national hatred against the US in the Cold War context (54).

Starting from the mid-1980s, after the death of Chairman Mao and the implementation of the Reform and Open-up Policy, the Chinese government started to nationalize the Nanjing Massacre histories in patriotic education and political propaganda, marked by the construction of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum in 1985. Beyond the program of domestic patriotic mobilization for a more unified national cultural identity, the Nanjing Massacre memory boom also served China's diplomatic retaliation against Japan's repeated denial of the Nanjing Massacre in their history textbooks. Parks Coble observes that "Beijing's stress on nationalism as an ideological prop for one-party rule" precipitated the surging memory of Chinese victimhood, with the Sino-Japanese War as a focus (396).[2] From the 1980s to the present day, numerous public memorial sites, public memorialization activities, history books, films, literary works, and art works inspired by the Nanjing Massacre have emerged in China, contributing to positioning the Nanjing Massacre as a national symbol of China's victimization by imperialist invasions.

II. Blossoming Nanjing Massacre Literature in America

The Nanjing Massacre has been widely commemorated by diasporic Chinese communities, especially the Chinese American communities who have organized various Nanjing Massacre memorialization activities. Perhaps the most influential and controversial book about the Nanjing Massacre is Chinese American writer Iris Chang's 1997 nonfiction bestseller, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, which has gained international attention. Over the past two decades, Chang's book has electrified memories of the Nanjing Massacre and given rise to numerous historical, literary, and cinematic narratives on this topic around the world. In the "Notes" section of *The Nanjing Massacre*, Lum acknowledges that his reading of *The Rape of Nanking* moved him and inspired his Nanjing Massacre poems.

Lum's poems are among the current blossoming of Chinese North American writers' literary imaginings of the Nanjing Massacre, which include Shouhua Qi's *Purple Mountain: A Story of the Rape of Nanking* (2010), Marjorie Chan's drama *A Nanking Winter* (2009), Ha Jin's

Nanjing Requiem (2011), Yan Geling's *The Flowers of War* (2012), and Timothy Liu's poetry collection *Don't Go Back to Sleep* (2014), to name a few.[3] This unusual literary phenomenon of North American writers' fascination with the Nanjing Massacre has attracted the attention of some literary scholars, as it complicates our understanding of the Nanjing Massacre's interplay with diaspora, ethnicity, history and memory, and postmodernism, as well as debates about Chinese nationalism. Surveying the contemporary North American literary works on the topic of the Nanjing Massacre, Pin-chia Feng directs attention to the double positions occupied by these diasporic Asians, pointing out that "they may count as insiders due to ethnic background or familial history; they are also outsiders because of their temporal and geographical distance from the historical event" (77). Though admitting the possibility of political motivations behind such writings, Feng acknowledges that these "diasporic representations constitute an important part of intergenerational memorialization" of the Nanjing Massacre (77). In a similar vein, focusing on Jin's historical novel *The Nanjing Requiem*, Te-Hsing Shan highlights Jin's sublimation of history into literary representations and praises his endeavour to help "produce a literary representation of that neglected tragedy" (27). Graham J. Matthews compares Yan's original Chinese story and its English translation *The Flowers of War*, demonstrating that Yan's Nanjing Massacre narratives "signal crucial cultural attitudes towards postmodernism at a time when China seeks to forge a clear national and cultural identity within the globalized world of the twenty-first century" (660). The first scholar to explore English poetry portraying the Nanjing Massacre, Gayle K. Sato, discusses Lum's autobiographical, intersubjective mode of witnessing that "created the possibility of active mobilization to oppose war" in his Nanjing Massacre poetry ("Witnessing Atrocity" 223).

Unlike the positive, admiring responses of these American, Taiwanese, and Japanese scholars, Mainland Chinese literary scholars have expressed mixed attitudes toward these Nanjing Massacre literary productions. Commenting on Jin's and Yan's Nanjing Massacre fictions, Li Yongdong laments that "it is difficult to ask the Chinese Americans to write about the Nanjing Massacre from the perspective of 'Chinese people'" (172).[4]

Liu Guoqing expresses discontent with the way Chinese people are "despised, dwarfed, and demonized," as well as silenced, in these English fictions of the Nanjing Massacre (29). Liu Guoqing points out that the Orientalization of Chinese people "weakens the exposure and criticism of Japanese war crimes" in these works and, worse still, "degrades the East to the effect of promoting a superior image of the hegemonic cultural West" (29).[5] On the other hand, literary scholar Hu Chunyi highly praises these English literary works' portrayals of the Nanjing Massacre. He believes that Jin, Yan, and Lum move away from strong nationalistic sentiments and bring back the often-neglected memories of those foreigners who failed to be memorialized in Chinese official history (296). In my view, Li Yongdong's and Liu Guoqing's literary criticisms are in accordance with the contemporary Chinese official rhetoric that artistic renderings of the Nanjing Massacre should serve a patriotic, nationalist narrative. In their opinions, Jin's use of an American foreign missionary as the protagonist for a Nanjing Massacre literary narrative deviates from the purpose of emphasizing the suffering of Chinese people and praising valiant Chinese war heroes. On the other hand, some Chinese scholars like Hu Chunyi show more willingness to adopt a transnational perspective, acknowledging how these diasporic literary writings differ from China's domestic literary productions in terms of their multi-vocal representations of collective historical traumas.[6]

The scholarship on Nanjing Massacre literature has not yet engaged with Asian American literary criticism and tends to treat the Nanjing Massacre as a unique event entirely separate from Asia's other historical traumas. I suggest that writing about the Nanjing Massacre should also be positioned among Asian American literature that describes transnational historical traumas. In the past few decades, we have witnessed an increasing number of Asian American writers interweaving their immigrant narratives in America with transnational narratives portraying wars between Asia and the Western imperialists: Chang-Rae Lee writes about World War II in his 1999 novel *A Gesture for Life*, Jin tells the story of Korean War POWs in his 2005 novel *War Trash*, and Viet Thanh Nguyen's 2016 novel *The Sympathizer* focuses on the Vietnam War. These Asian American literary works exhibit strong traits of

transnationality, and they usually portray characters who struggle with their immigrant experiences in America and the nightmarish memories of the wars in Asia. Moreover, their works offer insights into the repressed or even distorted memories of marginalized people whose voices were previously buried or deliberately silenced in those patriarchal, Asian national discourses. Some scholars foreground how the lingering influence of the Cold War on US racial hegemony and its imperialist agendas in Asia helps to shape these Asian American literary works portraying transnational historical traumas. Jodi Kim reminds us that "Asian American cultural forms make visible the centrality of Asia" to the project of undergirding US global hegemony (6). Amy June Yumi Lee interprets Asian American literature of the Korean War in the context of the transformed racial order in the post-1945 Cold War period in the US, while Steven Belletto argues that "[Korean War] literature begins to work through the distance between state rhetoric of benevolent global intervention and a grittier if unofficial reality" (54).

I believe their discussions offer some insights into the flourishing Nanjing Massacre literary representations in the US. For instance, I mentioned earlier that a couple of Chinese literary scholars found Jin's *Nanjing Requiem*'s glorification of foreigners' heroic deeds an unacceptable attempt to Americanize the Nanjing Massacre; in my opinion, this is a simplistic understanding of Jin's tale. They fail to examine the racial tensions in the American missionary protagonist's struggle with the Japanese imperialist army. Foreign characters are sometimes forced to cooperate with the Japanese soldiers, as when they silently consent to the kidnapping of female refugees from their refugee camps by the Japanese, which fundamentally problematizes the very tale of foreigners-as-saviours-of-Chinese-people. In the case of Yan's novel *Flowers of War*, the 2011 English translation makes huge changes to the characterization of the Italian orphan Father Fabio, who grows up in China and finds himself unable to identify with either Chinese people or Westerners, which represents Yan's deliberate decision to approach the hidden issue of racial identity in a Nanjing Massacre narrative.

In my opinion, the enormous popularity among Asian Americans of writing and reading about the Nanjing Massacre suggests that Asian

Americans, who have been subjected to racial hierarchies and the racial fantasies of the model minority, aspire to enhance their understanding of their multicultural identity by directing attention toward the historical legacies of suffering. In the 1960s, amid the Civil Rights Movement and nationwide racial unrest, Asian Americans were labelled the "model minority"—a "racial group distinct from the white majority, but lauded as well assimilated, upwardly mobile, politically nonthreatening, and definitively not-black" (Wu 2). However, the myth of the model minority has denied Asian Americans' sufferings under the old racial hierarchies that, according to historian Laura Hein, "justified Western imperialism in Asia and denied US citizenship to Asians" (356). Moreover, the suffering caused by colonization and imperialism in the past century has been aggravated by transnational migration and the process of racialization in the US, where the important question of how to remember a history of pain aids in forging a close connection with Asia. Discussing the history of Japan's military comfort women, Hein highlights Asian Americans' interest in the topic and suggests Asian Americans co-opt Asian suffering as a way to consolidate and legitimize their racial identity in the diaspora/West, which also sheds light on Asian American writers' enthusiasm for writing about the Nanjing Massacre. I agree with Lisa Lowe that Asian American culture is a site where "the palimpsest of lost memories is reinvented, histories are fractured and retraced, and the unlike varieties of silence emerge into articulacy" (6). Despite studies of Asian American literature, films, legal documents, and war memorials, almost no literary critic has examined Asian American poems on topics of historical trauma.

III. Toward a Transnational Asian American Poetics

Compared to the flourishing criticism on Asian American fiction, Asian American poetry is often neglected. Dorothy J. Wang criticizes current scholarship for its tendency to "view Asian American poetry through a simplistic, reductive, and essentializing lens: as a homogeneous lump of 'nonliterary' writings by 'Asians,'" a tendency originating from the popular belief that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners within the US, with inadequate English writing skills (34). Given the marginal status

of Asian American poetry, it is unsurprising that few scholars pay attention to the Nanjing Massacre poetry produced by Chinese American writers. There are only two poetry collections that deal with the Nanjing Massacre: Lum's *The Nanjing Massacre* and Timothy Liu's *Don't Go Back to Sleep*. In China, poems portraying the Nanjing Massacre are even scarcer, and the most popular ones usually employ a lyrical, highly emotional and patriotic tone intended to both mourn the dead and address national humiliation.[7] One reason for the scarce scholarly attention to Nanjing Massacre poems is that poetry is generally considered inferior to novels in its representation of history. Indeed, Mikhail Bakhtin famously described poetry as unitary, subjective, and "monologically sealed-off" (296). On the contrary, though, Lum's poems reveal a panorama of the Nanjing Massacre by deploying multiple heteroglot voices as a mode of representation: his poetry contains voices from various groups of people, including Chinese soldiers, fatigued and hungry refugees, Japanese soldiers, foreign missionaries, reporters, comfort women, and doctors.

The Nanjing Massacre has five parts and an epilogue. Each part focuses on a specific temporal and geopolitical location. Though pieces of creative writing, these poems are not mere flights of imaginative fancy. In the "Notes" section, which consists of approximately ten pages, Lum demonstrates that he has undertaken careful archival research and refers to various secondary resources. For example, in Part Four, referring to historical writings such as the diaries and letters of foreigners, Lum offers nine narrative poems that depict the atrocities, negotiations, and sexual crimes that occurred inside the Nanjing International Safety Zone. However, unlike Jin, Lum is not restricted to historical resources and experiences of the Nanjing Massacre; he also draws inspiration from visual and literary works that focus on other war traumas. Lum's Nanjing Massacre poetry exceeds any specific nationalist frame and follows a transnational flow of interpretation to produce multi-angled representations of traumatic moments.

Wang summarizes two polarities that exist in contemporary criticism of Asian American poems: critics' discussions of avant-garde poems that "overwhelmingly tend to ignore race by focusing exclusively on formal

properties or other themes in the writing" (30) and mainstream poetry critics' "fetishization of racial and ethnic content and identity" (31). The poetic mode prevalent in contemporary Asian American poetry is what Charles Altieri defines as the "images of content" mode—"testimony to typical conditions in first- and second-generation immigrant cultures and . . . difficult[y] [in] maintain[ing] self-assurance and sense of belonging within much of mainstream American society" (72). Such a scenic autobiographical ethnic mode, argues Altieri, is exactly what prevents talented Asian American poets from "develop[ing] the full cultural possibilities available within the multi-cultural nexus that the poets inhabit" (74). In a similar vein, Timothy Yu also recognizes this "talented but trapped" Asian American poetry-writing mode, describing it as a "commodifiable ethnic individuality" that arises from "the minority writer's desire to lay claim to a voice . . . [and] attempt to portray history and personal experience . . . [, as well as] the minority writer's assertion of identity and authority" (423). Altieri and Yu express concern about these autobiographical Asian American poems, which they argue fail to provide "fresh cultural energies or fully challenge mainstream values" (Altieri 73).

Altieri and Yu's surveys of contemporary Asian American poetry fail to take into account those poems with transnational themes and elements. As a result, their poetic criticism resides within the national border. What marks Lum's poetry as different from poems written by other Asian American poets, such as John Yau or Marilynn Chin, is that the content of his poems shifts from immigrant experiences to a transpacific re-imagination of historical traumas. Coincidentally, both Altieri and Yu value Chinese American poet Yau's avant-garde poems as a promising way out: Yu points out that Yau's "playful, puzzling use of identity and ethnic signifiers complicates the straightforward presentation of an Asian American self" (424), while Altieri notes how Yau transforms "the Poundian tradition's understanding of Chinese poetry[,] . . . bridging Asian and Western culture while insisting on his partial freedom from both" (83). The attention to rhetorical devices and cross-cultural elements in Yau's poetry, which one finds in Yu's and Altieri's criticism, has influenced my analysis of Lum's Nanjing Massacre poems. In the

discussion below, I focus on linguistic and rhetorical forms and intercultural influences, which "foster an aesthetically attuned transnational literary criticism" (Ramazani xi) that sets Asian American poetry criticism free from national boundaries.

Since the publication of his first poetry collection, *Expounding the Doubtful Points* (1987), Lum has been considered a representative poet writing about the experiences of the Hawaiian Asian American community.[8] According to Sato, Lum's switching of attention toward the Nanjing Massacre is not surprising, as Lum's earlier Honolulu poems "establish a precedent for the method through which the Nanjing poems are created and endowed with their critical and ethical capacity for looking at images of atrocity" ("Witnessing Atrocity" 214). Sato argues that the autobiographical witnessing in Lum's Nanjing Massacre poems creates a contemplative space in which readers are connected inter-subjectively to the narrators in the poems without any geopolitical and historical boundaries. Such a mode, Sato argues, "demonstrates the vital role of the literary arts in critical memory work" (214).

The Nanjing Massacre begins with Lum's personal memorialization of his deceased mother—"What I learned from your college annual"—in which he recollects his mourning thoughts by flipping through an old family album. In this poem, Lum traces back to his mother's girlhood in Shanghai before her immigration to Honolulu, mourning her classmates who stayed behind and died during the Sino-Japanese War. In my view, the chilling epilogue poem "A Young Girl in Cheongsam," which is based on a photo that Lum found in James Yin and Shi Young's book *The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs* (1997), echoes the prologue poem. The first stanza portrays a young Chinese girl forced to sit in her cheongsam and pose for the camera: "She grimaces, eyes downcast / her face is near black" (Lum, *The Nanjing Massacre* 218). The poor girl's agonized facial expression suggests this picture may have been taken before or after she was raped. In the second stanza, Lum associates the girl's cheongsam, which "so many other young girls also wore in those old days in China" (219), with the kind of dress his mother wore when she was young. Lum recalls photos taken during his mother's short stay with her cousins in Nanjing:

All the girls wear cheongsam,
some brighter than others,
some more distinctly patterned.
Their faces are smiling, even glowing. (219)

The happy, glowing faces contrast starkly with the violated young girl's frightened and painful facial expression. The poem suggests that Lum cannot help wondering whether his mother's cousins suffered the same fate as the young girl, as he asks, "How many survived the Rape?" Lum thought that this young girl could have been one of his aunts and even his mother if she had stayed in Nanjing. Lum's comparison of the Nanjing Massacre photos with his family album drags readers from a panoramic story of suffering back to a family story with a clear face and name. He asks the rhetorical question: What would have happened to my mother if she had stayed Nanjing at that time? Her immigration to the US not only protected her from becoming a casualty, it also enabled her son to re-represent the event through poetry that connects her stories to photos in the family album and the historical archive documenting the Massacre.

The next two sections of this essay closely examine Lum's representation of two groups of people—Japanese perpetrators and comfort women. I wish to highlight Lum's cross-cultural engagement with transpacific Nanjing Massacre narratives, his utilization of abundant historical records of the Massacre, his borrowing from or adaptation of Japanese and Chinese literary traditions, and his transnational concerns over war-inflicted sexual traumas.

IV. The Perpetrator's Voice and the Peach Boy

In the first and second parts of *The Nanjing Massacre*, Lum describes the Massacre from the perspectives of Japanese soldiers, a literary act that is unparalleled in any previous Nanjing Massacre literary work. In Lum's poetry, the perpetrator's voice vivifies and humanizes the Japanese invaders; thus, Lum further complicates the binary, oppositional dynamics between victims and perpetrators.

For a long time, in China, the examination of the perpetrators' inner worlds was unspecified and downplayed in cultural productions,

with most attention given to the victims and survivors of the Nanjing Massacre. More specifically, after the Sino-Japanese War (1937–45), popular Chinese anti-Japanese literary and cultural productions circulated a flat and stereotyped portrayal of the Japanese. As perpetrators, the Japanese were (and continue to be) delineated as a subhuman combination of sadistic, conscienceless monsters and killing machines that act with efficient lethalness. Any attempt to abandon this rigid, stereotypical portrayal of the Japanese perpetrators receives strong criticism and causes uneasiness among the Chinese public, especially regarding the sensitive historical issue of the Nanjing Massacre. For example, Chinese film director Lu Chuan's 2009 Nanjing Massacre film *City of Life and Death* triggered a heated national debate over its portrayal of a Japanese soldier who commits suicide because of his feelings of shame. Lu said he received numerous hate letters and verbal attacks from the Chinese public, who suggested the film twisted history. In Japan, starting in the 1970s, disputes between the Chinese and Japanese descriptions of the Nanjing Massacre emerged with the publication of Honda Katsuichi's serialized reports in *Asahi shinbun* in 1971 as well as diaries or testimonies given by a group of former Japanese veterans that offered the public insights into the untold stories of wartime Japanese soldiers whose memories have been deliberately suppressed by the post-war Japanese government.

Instead of following the popular rigid stereotypes, Lum uses his research on Japanese veterans' written and oral testimonies to venture into the Japanese perpetrators' inner worlds. In addition to referring to former veterans' testimonies, Lum also draws on the Japanese literary tradition; his allusions to the peach boy story of Japanese folklore, for example, sheds light on the motivations behind Japanese soldiers' atrocities and stimulates reflection on Japan's wartime nationalistic spirit. In his description of the after-battle scene, Lum resorts to the Japanese haiku in which his use of the caesura and employment of unspecified narrators blur their national allegiances.

In Lum's poems, the Japanese perpetrators speak for themselves, either justifying their atrocities or exposing their conflicted mentality in a confessional mode. The frequent uttering of "I" and "we" forge an

intimacy between the speaker and the readers; thus, readers are invited to glimpse inside the perpetrators' inner world. This creates an uneasy, ambiguous space of ethical contemplation. Throughout this poetry collection, the reader witnesses the transformation of the Japanese perpetrators' mindsets as the war progresses—from their longing to achieve fame and honour, to their sense of befuddlement and shame. The narrator of the poem "The Beheader" is a nameless Japanese soldier who recounts using a sword that carried his mother's spirit to ceaselessly behead Chinese war prisoners. As the killing process continues, the narrator experiences physical symptoms that register his revulsion and anticipate the memories that will haunt him: "I became flustered, out of breath, perspiring. / Wiping my forehead, I also wiped my tears" (Lum, *The Nanjing Massacre* 63). Following military orders, the narrator strikes again and again until his blade becomes bent. "Angry and confused," he questions whether his duty as an executioner is an appropriate way to honour his mother's spirit (63). In "Notes," Lum mentions that this poem was inspired by statements made by First Lieutenant Uno Shintaro in Honda's *The Nanjing Massacre* (1999). The historical context of "The Beheader" comes from a notorious contest between two Japanese Army officers, Toshiaki Mukai and Tsuyoshi Noda, to kill one hundred people via sword along their march to Nanjing. For decades, this event has been hotly debated among historians and widely publicized as a symbol of the imperial Japanese army's war crimes. In his book, Honda inserts Uno's detailed account as an eyewitness to this bloody contest; however, it is Uno's confessions that attract Lum's attention. Before his testimony about the killing contest, Uno confesses using a sword carrying his mother's spirit to behead Chinese POWs: "I took my . . . mother's Sadamitsu sword and paused before spinning around. . . . It was stark and horrible. . . . I tried to force a smile but I found myself in tears" (qtd. in Honda 130). Uno's straightforward confession inspires Lum to conjure a story of transformation: a young Japanese soldier transforms from a bellicose patriot who is eager to honour both mother and country by acting the part of a continual killing machine; eventually, his executions bend his blade and shake his faith in the justice of the war.

Lum's poems portraying ordinary Japanese soldiers touch upon the controversial question of why the Japanese troops, who were described as disciplined armed forces by the Western media, would commit such horrendous acts during the Nanjing Massacre. In the scholarship on Japan's war crimes in China, Chinese historians tend to blame the Japanese army's brutal nature for these atrocities, and, accordingly, Japanese soldiers are portrayed as murderous, inhuman war machines who have an inborn bloodlust. Mark Eykholt argues that two factors led to Japan's atrocities: first, Japanese military training created soldiers "who followed orders [and] ignored personal feelings"; and second, Japanese soldiers treated the siege of Nanjing as a form of retaliation for previous deadly battles (14–16).[9]

Unlike historians' straightforward observations, Lum turns to traditional Japanese folklore for subtler explanations. The poem "The Peach Boys" is narrated by an anonymous Japanese soldier before the attack on Nanjing was launched. The poem opens with a declaration of devotion to the Japanese Emperor:

> We were sent by Heaven
> to serve the Emperor.
> Raised by our devoted parents
> as peach boys. (31)

"The Peach Boys" alludes to the popular Japanese folktale of Momotarō or "the peach boy," in which a strong and brave boy, Momotarō, who is born in a peach pit with the company of a monkey, a dog, and a pheasant, succeeds in defeating the ogres in the devil's land and returns with treasures. Carrying "a moral message about an ambitious boy who should be a model for all Japanese males," the peach boy story entered Japan's children's textbooks and became an important cultural tool for inciting nationalistic spirit during the 1930s and 1940s (Ohnuki-Tierney 129). The two lines "To this foreign land / to fight the ogres" indicate that the narrator, modelling himself after the legendary hero, considers China to be the devil's land and Chinese people ogres, thus justifying Japanese invasion of this foreign country (Lum 31). Chinese scholar Bi Xuefei interprets the peach boy's

transformation from an ordinary brave boy into a national hero as a reflection of Japan's imperialistic aim of territorial expansion (163). His helpers are no longer real animals bit animalized, advanced Japanese weaponry: "Our airplanes attack / like the pheasant. . . . Our cannons pummel their gates / like the monkey. . . . Our tanks streamroll inexorably . . . like the dog ready to pounce (Lum 32). In the original folktale, the animal helpers are friendly, warm-hearted, and humane, yet the animal similes evoked in these verses emphasize the cold, cruel, mechanical, and ominous war machines.

Among the wartime films and caricatures of the peach boy stories, Momotarō, or the peach boy, is depicted as "a youthful and strong embodiment of the new Japan"; meanwhile, Western imperialists such as the Americans "are presented as aging and feeble demons with a human face" (Antoni 166).[10] The belief in a homogenous nation stoked Japanese nationalism and invited a view of other nations as demonic others; as Klaus Antoni puts it, "the well-known ideological pillars of Japanese nationalism . . . assign the enemy to a diametrically opposed position and brands him as a 'demonic other'" (166). In the "Notes," Lum claims that his inspiration for writing "The Peach Boys" came from his reading of two books by John Dower exploring how this famous Japanese folktale had been used as propaganda to justify the invasion of China (225). In the poem, the Japanese narrator describes Chinese people in a biased and discriminatory way:

> mouths reeking of human blood
> lungs full of opium
> the women hobbling
> on dainty feet. (31)

These words evoke images of flesh-eating cannibals, and the "opium" and "dainty feet" signal the backwardness and barbarism of the Chinese people—the demonic foreign devils who are the enemies of the peach boys.

The poem "Haiku," comprised of five haiku, portrays a series of terrifying, catastrophic scenes faced by surviving soldiers after the bloody battle of Nanjing. A haiku often captures an image, or a pair of images,

preserving a specific moment in time. In the haiku entitled "BLOOD," Lum uses a dash to separate the poem into two parts: the narrator's discovery of blood and the relief that he is still alive:

> Splattered on my shirt
> this blood must be another's
> —I am still alive. (37)

The caesura, the major break that occurs after the second line, is a striking structural feature of the haiku. In the case of this poem, the dash is the caesura that causes readers to pause and meditate on who is speaking. Readers are invited to consider why the narrator would deem the blood belongs to another. Whose blood? However, Lum does not give a definite answer or further explanation and simply concludes, "I am still alive." Interestingly, the five haiku, which focus on survival and dying, are narrated by nameless soldiers, yet readers cannot determine whether they are Chinese or Japanese. In a discussion of the "person-unspecified" characteristics of Japanese haiku, Robin Gill comments that "the ambiguity that permits multiple readings is precisely what allows the Japanese haiku to be so full of meaning" (9). By blurring the national identities of the speakers, these five "person-unspecified" haiku could be read as a condemnation of war without announcing any national allegiances.

Lum's transnational poetic representation of the Japanese perpetrators, both in content and form, displays Asian American poetry as a cross-cultural heteroglossia, as a sonically rich site from which to challenge and complement the nationalist ideologies of both Chinese and Japanese historical discourses regarding the Nanjing Massacre. His lyrical exploration of ordinary Japanese soldiers' emotional worlds not only breaks down the popular, stereotyped representations of the Japanese army that circulate widely in China but also powerfully echoes the growing tendency of Japanese veterans to tell their stories in the face of the Japanese government's consistent refusal to apologize for the war. Lum's adaptation of the Japanese folktale of the peach boy lends an intercultural perspective to the convoluted debate over the motivation and justification for Japan's imperialist invasion of China. Lum takes advantage of the ambiguous nature of Japanese haiku by blurring the

national identities of narrators and offering a plurality of meanings for readers to contemplate.

V. The Comfort Women and Gender-Based War Crimes

Part Three of *The Nanjing Massacre* tells of the horrendous sexual crimes inflicted upon women during the Massacre, particularly focusing on the tragic experiences of the comfort women. In this section, I consider how Lum constructs powerful transnational poetic narratives of gender-based war crimes by referring to the historical records of comfort women from different national and racial backgrounds. In these poems, we witness how sexual war crimes have reduced these women to objects/things, or the living dead, and how, in addition, official discourses reduce these women to hollow symbols of national humiliation and stigmatization.

According to Peipei Qiu et al., "Japanese troops' sexual violence against, and enslavement of, Chinese women began soon after the escalation of Japan's aggression in China as early as in 1932" (22). They estimate that approximately twenty thousand Chinese women in total were forced to become comfort women (Qiu et al. 22). Su Zhiliang describes Japan's establishment of comfort centres as "well-organized and clearly-planned," serving Japanese army's alleged excuse of "boosting morale of soldiers, maintaining the military order and preventing rapes" (93). Yet the existence of comfort centres did not prevent massive-scale rapes as the Japanese army once claimed. As Qiu et al. note, "the institutionalized sexual violence within the military comfort facilities" may have even fostered sexual violence outside the facilities by promoting a culture of rape and formed "a spectrum of gender-based war crimes" (67).

Considered a highly sensitive issue in China, the comfort women occupy a paradoxical status in the official Nanjing Massacre narratives. As Chinese scholar Song Shaopeng explains, "the problem of comfort women is the product of both [a] national oppression system and gender oppression system" (137). Nationalistic and patriotic discourses tend to regard comfort women merely as abstract symbols of national shame and pain and ignore their actual stories, experiences, and suffering. What is more, comfort women have been ignored in official discourses because those discourses are reluctant to address the taboo of sexuality.

In his poetic portrayal of comfort women and comfort centres, Lum describes inanimate objects with sexual uses—such as condoms, a belt, or a chair—to delineate the horrifying phenomenon of comfort women being objectified as sexual tools for Japanese soldiers. Lum explains that his inspiration for writing the poem "Chair" came from a photo showing a chair with the caption "The Kaneda Unit of the Army Field Construction Company made this . . . after my design" (230). Accordingly, this poem is narrated from the perspective of an anonymous Japanese army doctor who promoted his design of a "perfect" gynaecological/sex tool—the chair. Written as a dramatic monologue, the speaker introduces his invention in minute mechanical and mathematical detail:

> The board for the back
> was set at a 45 degree incline
> . . . . . .
> On the front edge
> of the seat
> I nailed on horizontal dowels (Lum 125)

Boasting the chair as his contribution to the Japanese army, the doctor emphasizes that the chair is intended

> to make sure
> that those of us who were
> were up to
> their full fighting strength. (126)

Treating comfort women inhumanely as sex tools, the speaker explains that the purpose of the chair is to "check for sores / or telltale discharges" indicating sexually transmitted diseases, yet he implies his morbid intention for sexual molestations (125). During sexual crimes, a woman's "body is constructed as pure materiality, uninhabited by human consciousness or worth," as Ann J. Cahill explains; "the victim becomes a 'thing object,' morally similar to other inanimate entities" (130). Inside comfort centres, Japanese soldiers' rhetoric/language stripped the comfort women of their consciousness and labelled them "*Weianpin*" (comfort objects) (Qiu et al. 45).

The poem "Wonder" is comprised of just one interrogative sentence:

Do demon
women who
work in
the rubber
factories back
in their
homeland ever
wonder why
so many of
the condoms
they make
must be
shipped to
our country
for use
by their
men on us? (Lum 128)

In this short poem, each line consists of not more than three words, and the whole sentence has an objective clause connecting three consecutive actions: Japanese women's production of condoms in their homeland; the shipping of condoms to China; and the use of condoms by Japanese soldiers on Chinese women. Condoms link the actions of ordinary Japanese women and their Chinese counterparts, the "demon women" and "us." It seems that the anonymous narrator is condemning the Japanese women who produce condoms in factories. The narrator also suggests that the Japanese women might have some knowledge about the use of the condoms and yet continue to produce them for their departed husbands, lovers, brothers, or sons under the justification of patriotism.

After surviving relentless torture in comfort centres, comfort women faced further abuse after the war: their compatriots would condemn them for offering the enemy pleasures. At the end of the poem "Condoms," a comfort woman recounts her even more tragic life after the war:

We tried to go home
only everyone shunned us.
My son was proof
of my collaboration;
our enemy was in his blood
for all to see. (133)

This poem directs the reader's attention to the reluctance of comfort women to speak out about their suffering after the war because of the unjust, discriminatory accusations that they were collaborators who sold sex for money. Yoshimi Yoshiakis comments that comfort women "have lived with the physical and emotional scars in silence" that has been enforced by "patriarchal power and discrimination in their own countries" (1). Sarah Soh attributes the social abuse faced by comfort women in East Asia to "masculinist sexual culture" that "institutionalized everyday gender violence tolerated in patriarchal homes and enacted in the public sphere" (3). In 2017, the low-budget Chinese film *Twenty Two* (directed by Guo Ke), the first full-length documentary about Chinese comfort women, achieved huge commercial success. *Twenty Two* records partial interviews with twenty-two surviving Chinese comfort women who share their heartrending tales of rape, torture, and imprisonment during the Sino-Japanese War. The film unexpectedly stirred heated nationwide conversations among millions of Chinese netizens who admired the way the film gave voice to the women's repressed stories. Lum's comfort women poems echo growing public efforts to review, reconstruct, and reflect on the discourse regarding comfort women in China through a "synthesized framework of national politics and gender politics" (H. Li and Huang 19).

Lum's comfort women poems were inspired by his abundant research on multinational narratives, including history books, diaries, correspondences, personal memoirs, art exhibitions, photographs, and drawings. In the "Notes" section of the book, Lum mentions that "The Belt" was inspired by a striking illustration by Filipino comfort woman Maria Rosa Henson in her memoir *Comfort Woman*. "The Naked" tells the story of Korean comfort woman Pak Yongsim; Lum saw a photograph of her

during his visit to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum. "White Tiger" was inspired by his reading of the experience of a Dutch comfort woman in Indonesia, Jan Ruff-O'Herne, in her memoir *50 Years of Silence*. Lum's long poem, entitled "Rapes," explores the trope of rape and trauma on a global scale. Readers are confronted with five shocking stories of mass rapes that have taken place in the past century across the world: Nanjing in 1937, Berlin in 1945, Congo in 1960, Bosnia in 1992, and Rwanda in 1994. These famous historical events have been repeatedly reimagined through various artistic media over time. Gradually, these genocides and mass rapes have been transformed into "cultural symbols, national myths, and historical legends, their meaning and symbolic power often far surpassing their actual place in history" (Berry 4). The torture of rapes in war transcends space, time, race, and nationality and is an outcry against global belief in humanity. The rape of Nanking is not a singular historical tragedy, as one can see that this tragedy has repeated itself again and again throughout human history. The poem functions as a silent warning against ongoing, never-ceasing warfare across the world—enormous massacres accompanied by mass rapes. The desire to prevent such violence exceeds any particular national trauma, and to prevent reoccurrences we need to think beyond national identity.

By referring to multinational historical records, Lum's comfort women poems foreground how women, regardless of their nationalities, suffered extreme sexual crimes during the war and continued to face stigmatization and discrimination after the war, as their voices were silenced by nationalistic and patriarchal discourse. Lum calls for re-examining the suffering of these sexually traumatized women in transnational terms and placing the sexual crimes of the Nanjing Massacre among the other large-scale genocides and wartime rapes of the twentieth century.

VI. Conclusion: "Kanji" and Transnational Asian American Poetic Imagination

Lum's poem "Kanji" consists of four short sections, each titled with a Japanese *kanji* word—*onna*, *kan*, *go,* and *gokan*, respectively. Lum explains that his inspiration for this poem occurred during his reading of Kittredge Cherry's book *Womansword,* which catalogues and explores

the cultural values of Japanese society through deciphering the visual pattern of the *kanji* (228). The word *kanji* is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese word *hanzi*, which refers to Chinese ideograms or Chinese characters that are used in the Japanese language. The Chinese ideograms or pictograms represent meaning in a visually expressive way, often "mirroring the shapes of the things they describe" (Oketani and Lowitz 6). The poem "Kanji" has an ingenious, overwrought structure that connects four *kanji* words: *onna* means "woman" (女); *kan*, which depicts three women, means "sexual seduction" (姦); *go* means "violent or to force" (強); and when paired as *go* and *kan*, readers are presented with a new expression—*gokan*, which means "rape" (強姦).

Lum begins the poem "Onna" by deciphering the visual pattern of *onna*, the *kanji* that gives rise to many gender-specific expressions with discriminatory meanings in Japanese; as Naoko Takemaru puts it, "many Japanese expressions for women . . . reflect prevalent gender stereotypes and bias in society" (4).

> ONNA
> is the written character
> for *woman*
> depicting a figure
> kneeling, crouching over
> her arms hanging downward
> crossed in front of her
> demure
> submissive
> close to the earth. (Lum 100)

Lum reads the pictorial, abstractive three simple strokes of the *kanji* *onna* (女) as a kneeling, submissive woman. Then, Lum evokes *onna* as the building block for the other two *kanji* words, *kan* and *gokan*, as he applies similes and metaphors to visualize each *kanji* for readers who are not familiar with the Japanese language: *onna* looks like a kneeling woman, *kan* is "like a pyramid," and *go* looks like "a bow[,] . . . a worm or insect" (100). In the final section, "Gokan," Lum completes this challenging word-play game:

GOKAN
pairs the two characters
together
now forming
the word combination *rape*
as if with this act
the victim
perforce becomes
even more
of her true self. (101)

In "Gokan," Lum initiates a series of actions—"pair . . . together," "now forming," "perforce becomes"—inviting readers to follow his rigorous instructions to complete a poetic experiment which asks them to form a strong visual connection among the four *kanji* words. In a literal sense, the *kanji* expression *gokan* (rape) thematically alludes to Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* and is in accordance with Lum's depictions of wartime rapes throughout his poetry collection. Considered in a translingual context, the poem "Kanji" references the patriarchal hierarchy embedded in the history of *kanji* language, reminding readers of the much broader, universal meanings of the gender-based discrimination and sexual violence faced by women in both the East and West.

Perceiving *kanji* as a cross-cultural linguistic legacy of both Chinese and Japanese language, Lum first localizes *kanji* in English poetry by visualizing the ideograms in common English similes and metaphors, and by cannily prompting English readers to finish his poetic experiment through a word-play game. Through this, Lum translocalizes *kanji* in the Asian American literary tradition while his Nanjing Massacre poems take a critical stance toward the cultural, social, historical, and gender values inherent in the representation of transnational war trauma. Lum's poetic experiments that blend Japanese folklore and verse forms with Chinese literary tradition and languages, as well as English poetic traditions, exemplify what King-Kok Cheung describes as the "effacing of boundaries" and "intersectionality" in contemporary Asian American literature (6).

Examining Asian American poetry from the perspective of transpacific displacement, Yunte Huang argues that the transpacific imagination enables Asian American literature to "maintain its subversive role in undermining the 'American' canon without risking the danger of segregating itself" (6). In this transnational circuitry of influence, literary acts help to create new ways of escaping the rehearsal of traumatic episodes that reinforce national animosities and repeat the gendered binaries of conventional national patriotism. Furthermore, transnational Asian American poetry's synthesis of multinational literary traditions renders Asian American literature a promising site for cross-cultural exploration that offers new possibilities for representations of history and memory.

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Notes

1 This essay does not engage in this controversial "numbers game" because I believe it distracts attention from the event itself.

2 For more information about the Japanese textbook issue, see Sneider's "Textbooks and Patriotic Education" and Nozaki and Selden's "Historical Memory."

3 Geling's 2012 English novel *The Flowers of War* is adapted from her 2006 Chinese novella *13 Flowers of Nanjing* (*Jinling shisanchai*). The biggest motivation behind the publication of the story in English was that the prominent Chinese film director Zhang Yimou adapted the story into a blockbuster film of the same title. In the 2012 English novel, Yan made numerous revisions related to her diasporic experiences in the United States; she acknowledged that her attendance at the Chinese American communities' organization of Nanjing Massacre memorial activities, and especially her meeting with Iris Chang, deeply influenced her writing (see Guang). For more information about the comparison between the original Chinese novella and the English version, see Matthews. The past twenty years have also witnessed some non-Asian American writings about the Nanjing Massacre, such as Galbraith's *A Winter in China* (2006) and Rundell's *Minnie Vautrin* (2011).

4 In this essay, Li Y. compares and summarizes the different narrative focuses of the Nanjing Massacre literature written by Chinese, Japanese, and American writers, and the relative nationalism in their writings. Li's criticism of Jin's *Nanjing*

Requiem focuses on Jin's use of a foreign missionary woman Minnie Vautrin as the protagonist of the story. Yet Li Y. ignores the fact that Vautrin's Chinese assistant Gao Anling narrates the story, and there are other Chinese characters that occupy the narrative focus.

5 Certainly, the privileging of Westerners in these literary writings is partially due to the way the Nanjing Massacre is memorialized outside China. That memorialization depends heavily on foreigners' diaries, letters, and news reports as testimonies.

6 See Hong Zhigang, who argues that Jin's and Yan's novels deliberately use foreigners as protagonists to acquire a broader universalistic view instead of a narrow nationalistic framework.

7 There is no poetry collection on the topic of the Nanjing Massacre in China. For more information about some Chinese language Nanjing Massacre poems, see Hongyi's "Yuan family's poems on the Nanjing Massacre."

8 For more discussion of Lum's *Expounding the Doubtful Points*, see Sato, "Island Influence," and Wong, *Reading Asian American Literature*, pp.74–75.

9 Historian Yoshida Takashi also hints that, in the 1930s, the Japanese army was fanning domestic hostility against China. The Japanese government utilized the police force to censor the press, eavesdrop in the street, and spread false news like "the Chinese soldiers and guerrillas were recklessly killing innocent Japanese civilians as well as combatants," which incited ordinary Japanese soldiers' hatred against the Chinese people (Yoshida 12).

10 Interestingly, according to Antoni, the 1943 Japanese film *Momotarō's Sea Eagles* depicts Hawaii, where the poet Lum was born and raised, as the "Island of the Devils," reflecting Japan's incitement of hatred against the Americans after the Pearl Harbor attack (166).

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