Mind and peace: The "democratic" info-technological determinism of Gu Junzheng's "The Dream of Peace"

GABRIEL F. Y. TSANG

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Gu Junzheng. "The Dream of Peace". Chinese science fiction. Democracy. Information technology. Peace.

Gu Junzheng (1902–1980) published "The Dream of Peace" in 1939, adapted from Edmond Hamilton's short story "The Conqueror's Voice". Junzheng's tale is highly scientific and includes many technical terms and ideas. It corresponds to the May-Fourth legacy of emphasizing scientific precision for strengthening the nation, but trickily excludes China in the information warfare between the US and "Easternmost Nation". Taking "The Dream of Peace" as a both national and personal allegory that reflects the ideas of democracy, *minzhu*, and communism in relation to represented info-technological determinism, one can discover that Gu's acceptance of techno-hierarchy, anti-concession, obscurantism, patriotic exclusionism, and absolute public control originated in his specific wish for peace rather than in democratic thought.

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Over two centuries ago, Immanuel Kant's *Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf* (1795; Eng. trans. *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, 2003) considered that China and Japan, to avoid potential invasion, "wisely restricted contact with" the Europeans (2003, 16–17). He could not foresee that a wave of modernization, caused by both countries' enforced opening to the West, would finally result in the outbreak of two Sino-Japanese Wars (1894–1895 and 1937–1945) and subsequent ideological warfare. On the one hand, modernization urged global adoption of democracy that might contribute to peacemaking. In a post-Cold War American context, Francis Fukuyama (1992) declared that "liberal democracy" could end history, an idea applauded by Bruce Russet (1993) who optimistically regarded democratizing conflict-resolving mechanisms as a crucial way to guarantee international peace; after all, democratic countries rarely wage a war against each other. However, Fukuyama (2016) modified his stance when the rise of "populist nationalism" started to turn "vetocracy" to the extreme in the United States, causing riots. On the other hand, according to scholars who are worried about the abuse of public control techniques, especially in relation to Donald Trump (expounded by Herbert, McCrisken, and Wroe 2019; Hassan 2020; O'Brien 2020), one can assert that modernization is diversifying the ways how internal and external wars are fought. Supported by theoretical and technical evolution, this development raises the possibilities of biological, electromagnetic, psychological, chemical and radiological wars – all in addition to conventional warfare.

In an age when wars, in the broadest sense, are omnipresent, it is pertinent to study an overlooked Chinese science fiction short story entitled "Heping de meng" ("The Dream of Peace"), (re)written by Gu Junzheng (1902–1980) in 1939. Contrary to Rudolf Wagner's belief, the story was not conceived as a Chinese original work (1981, 30), but represents a free adaptation from Edmond Hamilton's "The Conqueror's Voice" (1939), as Uehara Kaori discovered (2015).[1] Consequently, "The Dream of Peace" transplants a Western vision of absolute public control to a Chinese setting to deliver a firm rejection of superficial notions of how world peace can be achieved. The short story's emphasis on the ownership of information technology is prophetic and facilitates a reflection on the personal-national use of information in the post-truth era. In the following, this narrative, revolving around an American spy's triumph over the power of "Easternmost Nation" (Jidong guo), a fictional country, will be analyzed in light of the ideas of science, democracy, info-technological determinism, and communism.

THE SCI-REALISTIC "CO-AUTHORSHIP" OF TWO PEACEMAKERS: "MR SCIENCE AND MR DEMOCRACY"?

Right before the May Fourth Movement took off in 1919, Chen Duxiu's "Ben zhi zui'an zhi dabian shu" (In defense of our journal against accusations) established two prominent figures: Mr Democracy and Mr Science, whom he recognized as the only saviors of China against "all political, moral, academic, and philosophical darkness" (Chen 1919, 10–11).[2] After the Treaty of Versailles transferred the German concessions in Shandong to Japan instead of returning them to China, many Chinese intel-

lectuals embraced, practiced, and further developed the two personalized and undefined ideas for strengthening their endangered motherland. A mix of scientific and democratic progress then appeared as the ultimate way to achieve a kind of peace that is determined by the individual self instead of military superpowers.

In the literary arena, writers, editors, and educators responded to Tao Xingzhi's "marrying science with the public" movement (kexue xiajia yundong), initiated in 1931, with a mission that built on Chen Duxiu's "Defense". Regarded as "the starting point of modern science education" (Wang, Wang, and Ye 2020, 127), this movement was followed by Lao She's serialization of the satirical science fiction novel *Mao cheng ji* (Cat country, 1932–1933) in the literary journal *Xiandai* (Modern age), which inspired Gu Junzheng to "turn to popularizing science" (Li 2023, 115). Previously, Gu had already started to work as an editor for the scientific section of Commercial Press in 1923 and to translate Western popular scientific classics, such as Peter Christen Asbjørnsen's *Three Princesses* (1863) in 1929.[3] In addition, Gu published short pieces of scientific knowledge. Concerning science fiction, he completed his first work "Wu kongqi guo" (The airless nation, 1926)[4] and became most productive during the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1939, he founded the magazine *Kexue quwei* (Scientific taste, 1939–1942) with Liu Zhenhan, Li Zunquan, and Yu Zaixue, and, from 1939 to 1940, published four science fiction short stories (out of five in total): "Heping de meng", "Lundun qiyi" (The strange plague in London, 1939), "Zai beiji dixia" (Under the North Pole, 1939), and "Xingbian" (Sex changes, 1940). Although Uehara Kaori discovered that the former three works, published in a collection in 1940, were largely translated and adapted from American sources, unattributed by Gu (Edmond Moore Hamilton's "The Conqueror's Voice" [March 1939], Frederic Arnold Kummer's "The Invisible Invasion" [April 1939], and Ed Earl Repp's "Under the North Pole" [April–May 1939], respectively; Uehara 2015, 38–39),[5] one shall note that the process of plagiarizing and rewriting still facilitates the inclusion of Gu's unique perspective. This corresponds to Lorenzo Andolfatto's reading of earlier Chinese science fiction translation as a trope that could address the issues of "political reform through technological modernization", "epistemological readjustment via the implementation of foreign modalities of thinking", and "the reform and use of literature for nurturing society" (2019, 48). At the point of his writing "The Dream of Peace", the Sino-Japanese War had just entered a protracted stage prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941), which united the Chinese antagonists for the time being. The question is whether Gu Junzheng's text merely instrumentalizes science based on pragmatic concerns, or if it can also serve as a vehicle for democratic thoughts. From a simplistic perspective, Gu cannot be considered a representative democratic science fiction writer because most of his commercial publications appear apolitical and non-allegorical, largely unrelated to current affairs. For instance, in *Women de kangdi yingxiong* (Our resistance heroes, 1936), a collection of science fiction short stories, Gu included a six-page text entitled "Boli zhi" (Cellophane), where he explicitly discusses mere technicalities related to the material. Gu's texts contrasts with Gao Shiqi's eponymous short story "Women de dikang yingxiong" (Our resistance heroes), in which leukocytes could emblemize Chinese soldiers who

responded to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Moreover, Gu's "Shiguan zhong de xin bingqi" (The new weapon in test tubes) barely mentions Japan military aggression in the most general terms: "Japanese air raids on Chinese cities would result in the same outcome as the rebels' bombing of Madrid. They killed many innocent people with bombs and caused countless tragedies, but they will not make Chinese people 'kneel down' and beg for peace from them" (Gu 2000, 131).[6] Here, Gu's support for Chinese people's dignity is not connected to any technological notions of self-strengthening. Besides, the following paragraphs sharply jumps to interpreting the value of aircrafts in the Spanish war without mentioning China anymore.

ADOPTING/ADAPTING A CHINESE-LESS STORY OF TECHNOLOGY

"The Dream of Peace" starts with the return of Xiaen Malin (Shane Marlin), an American agent, to his home country. Baffled by the public's support for friendship with Easternmost Nation, he realizes that Li Guer (Ligor), a scientist of the aggressive enemy, hypnotizes the public via radio waves. After tracking down Ligor through positioning techniques, Shane obtains control of the waves for propagating a military action against the enemy. To a certain extent, the manipulation, anti-manipulation, and counter-manipulation advance a kind of information warfare that suits its broad definition by Martin C. Libicki. Accordingly, modern warfare branches out into multiple directions, including intelligence-based, hacker-driven and cyber warfare (1995, 9–84).[7]

Figure 1: The first page of Robert Castle's (the pen name of Edmond Hamilton)
"The Conqueror's Voice" (1939, 34). Courtesy of Gabriel F. Y. Tsang.

Drawing on Hamilton's "The Conqueror's Voice" (Uehara 2015, 41), written before the United States' entry into World War II, Gu's version is largely a duplicate with most of the paragraphs directly translated from the original text. The main difference is that it supplements and elaborates technological and psychological ideas, such as "psychological suggestion" of the French Nancy School, shell shock, and the loop antenna (Gu 1939a, 82–85; 1939b, 107–112), and some are accompanied with graphs. For instance, Gu closes in on Figure 2 to explain that "the so-called loop antenna is just a large coil of wire around a wooden frame" (109).[8] Figure 3 illustrates that "when radio waves are emitted in all directions, electrostatic force lines function first. They are perpendicular to the ground, spreading outwards in bundles. Together with the generation of electrostatic force lines, magnetic force lines are produced in parallel to the ground" (109–110).[9] Such elaborations are typical for Gu's emphasis on "realist" representation for truly popularizing science (Wang 1996, 34).[10] However, all scientific speculation is embedded in a story that relates the conflict between the United States and Easternmost Nation, nominally excluding China. What is more, Gu did not adapt the nationalities of Hamilton's story to tell a localized story. This shows in Gu's reiteration of Ligor's message that "You, the American civilians, must keep a peaceful relationship with Easternmost Nation" (Gu 1939a, 81)[11] alongside the protagonist's reverse message that "the United States must never surrender to Easternmost Nation. The United States must keep resisting and fighting" (1939b, 119–120).[12] Shane Marlin, the American protagonist once mistaken by a Western scholar as a "Chinese hero" (Wagner 1981, 30),[13] stays at the central position of the narrative.
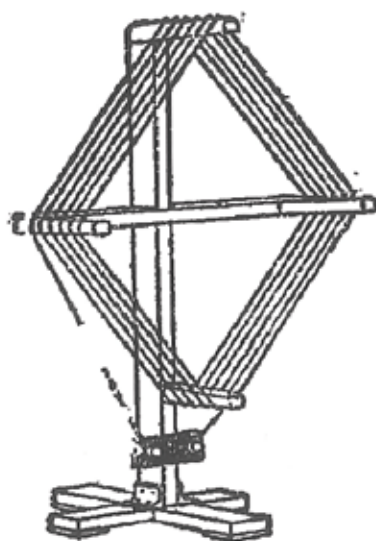
图二

環狀天線

Figure 2: The graph of the loop antenna in "The Dream of Peace" (Gu 1939a, 77).
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The absence of Chinese characters in the story seems to imply Gu's conviction that countries with stronger military forces and individualistic traditions are more likely to change the current international dynamics; conversely, China, the country under attack, is reduced to passiveness and political insignificance. Apparently, at the very moment of withstanding invasion, democracy (a sense of prioritizing Chinese individuals) appeared ill-suited to serve the mission of empowering China. In contrast, Gu embraced technology as an imagined panacea.
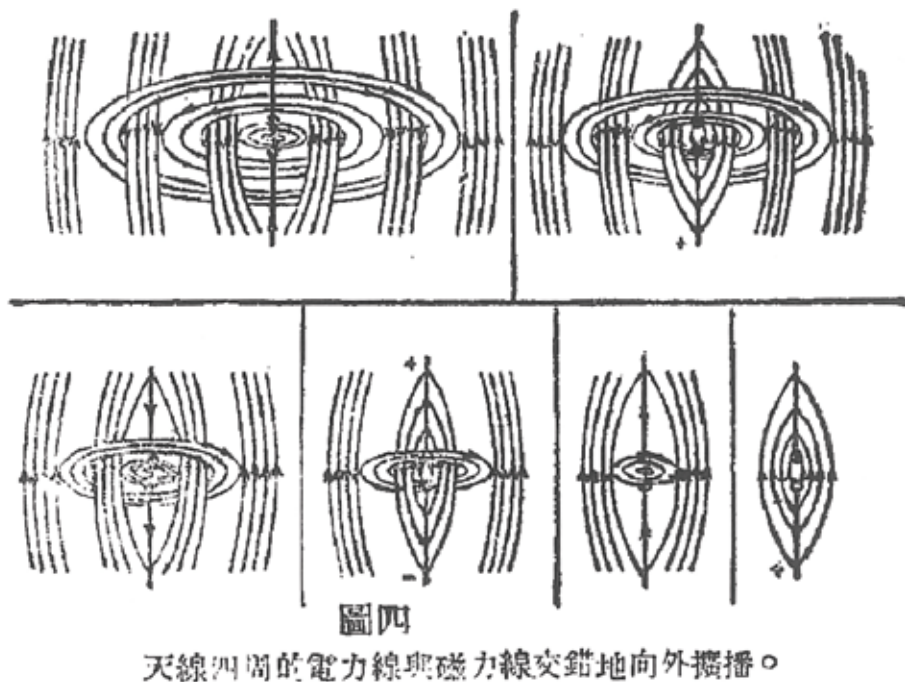

圖四

天線四周的電力線與磁力線交錯地向外擴播。

Figure 3: The graph illustrating electrostatic force and magnetic force lines in "The Dream of Peace" (Gu 1939a, 77). Reproduced with the kind permission of The Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.

INFO-TECHNOLOGICAL DETERMINISM FOR REALIZING *MINZHU*

"The Dream of Peace" serves as an allegory of democracy with Chinese characteristics, an interpretation that takes the cue from Gu's subtle political praxis. The text was written in a complex historical situation, when the Japanese invasion had temporarily halted the antagonism between the US-supported Kuomintang and the Soviet Union-supported Chinese Communist Party. As leftist, simplistic, nationalist, and patriotic literature dominated (against purely scientific, romanticist, and consumerist writing), such writing responded to Liang Qichao's famous notion: "Improving the governance of a collective must start from a revolution in the fictional arena" (1902, 1).[14] In reaction to this idea, the 1920s witnessed a revolution in fiction. Regardless of the moral issue, what motivated Gu Junzheng to claim a foreign story to be his own was probably an obscure idealistic sense that speculative fiction could unite the Chinese public in Shanghai during the "isolated island" period (gudao

shiqi, 1937–1941).[15] Like his contemporaries Ba Jin, who completed the "Kangzhan sanbuqu" (Trilogy of the anti-Japanese war, 1940–1945) and Lu Xun who advocated for a popular literature of national revolutionary war, Gu supported the concept of "war for peace" instead of "concession for peace". Hereby, Gu's project contrasts strongly with Wang Jingwei's supposed "peace movement" (heping yundong) with its focus on negotiation and compromise.[16] Five months after Wang supported the Third Konoe Declaration, which allowed Fumimaro Konoe to unify China, Manchuria, and Japan through promises of friendship, anti-Communism, and economic subsidization,[17] Gu turned to Hamilton's "The Conqueror's Voice" for reverse unification. His adaptation was published in the journal *Zhongxue shenghuo* (Middle school life) under the sarcastic title "The Dream of Peace" and with suggestive national names. In his story, Easternmost Nation, modified from Hamilton's "Eurasians", probably refers to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the imagined community proposed by Fumimaro Konoe in 1940, rather than the Japanese Empire itself, as identified by some readers (such as Yang 2010, 51).[18] Conversely, its antagonist, the "United States", indicates the Western allied powers in general, whereas South America, marginalized in the story, may represent the anti-war sector of China. In the dialogue between Shane Marlin and his hypnotized supervisor, the American protagonist says regretfully: "Of course you know, the people of Easternmost Nation were the ones who first initiated this war, and the reason was that we did not agree to their demands of occupying South America" (Gu 1939a, 81).[19] Here, South America serves as a symbol of powerlessness, foreshadowing the fate of East Asia after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Alongside other countries of the Global South, China is not fortified and self-strengthened enough to confront aggressive superpowers.[20]

Behind the call to fight and resist, the final message of "The Dream of Peace", Gu nurtures his wish for tactical evolution that can achieve the best outcome for his nation. Placing his trust in a techno-hierarchy that authorizes only those at the top level to act, his story manifests a conflict between patriotic militarization and optimistic trust in diplomatic harmony. From the perspective of the protagonist, the former option is preferable, and only through reversive manipulation of hypnotic technology can he entirely shift the public mindset towards his ideal. Beyond the level of propaganda and bribery, which Shane presumes to be the true reason for his supervisor's sudden change of mind (Gu 1939a, 78), Ligor's electronic-psychological weapon can entirely determine the thoughts of other individuals. In other words, the personal will of the weapon owner can ultimately overwrite the voices of the majority. Ethically, this setting apparently has 3R problems (risks, rights, and responsibilities) that Mariarosaria Taddeo raised in her study "Information Warfare: A Philosophical Perspective". First, the final urge to wage a war definitely bears the risks of "potential increase in the number of conflicts and causalities" (2011, 107), as reflected in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; second, civil rights, individual liberty and privacy are "under sharp, devaluating pressure" (107) because the common people are deprived of autonomous thinking; third, although "the actions performed by complex, hybrid, man-machine systems on the battlefield" (107) are clearly portrayed in "The Dream of Peace", the effects of the omnipotent use of the hypnotic technology

are not. However, it is paradoxical that this kind of discourse was somehow ethically accepted in the Chinese context – for the sake of victory over the Japanese aggressors. Arguably, such acceptance is not rooted in the idea that "democracy comes after peace" (Welzel 2013) but in the way how Chinese intellectuals interpret the term "democracy" borrowed from the West.

There exist many contemporary studies on the differences between *minzhu*, the established Chinese translation of "democracy" (literally meaning "people-oriented"), and its Western equivalent (Helgesen and Xing 1996; Guang 1996; Hu 2018; Xie 2023). Significantly, democracy "has become the standard translation" of the term "people's power" (minquan) of Sun Yatsen's *Three Principles of the People* (Angle 1999, 64). Speaking as a contemporary of Gu, Chen Duxiu's treatise "Women yao zenyang de minzhu zhengzhi?" (What kind of democracy do we want?, 1932) can serve as a helpful reference. The treatise relates the idea of establishing a people-oriented government through universal suffrage as well as enabling freedom of speech, of religion, of publication, of assembly, and of association. Ironically, Gu's fiction delivers a much narrower sense of democracy and departs considerably from John Dewey's classical emphasis on the complexity of governance.[21] To challenge Wang Jingwei's prioritization of peace, Gu proposes a form of rule that is unflinchingly autocratic: only two characters are empowered by information technology, and one of them, Shane, acts as a spokesman for the author's judgment. Trickily enough, this autocratic form is an elitist and top-down variant of "democracy" mixed with the kind of self-strengthening determinism that Gu supported prior to entering the China Association for Promoting Democracy in 1951. As Chen Yishen illuminates, the Soviet Union consistently confused the understanding of democracy by turning its core from "by the people" to "for the people" (1994, 12), hereby embracing a dictatorial one-party rule and political tutelage (Fung 2010, 225). Gu might have nationalistically regarded "for the people" (a more teleological than constitutional approach) as a localized way of Chinese democracy even before becoming a member of the Communist regime. For instance, since information technology can mold the mindset of a collective, Shane single-handedly uses the hypnotic radio waves to advance his agenda. He neither shares access to this technology with anyone nor involves other people in the decision-making process regarding the disseminated information, even after the crisis. He just follows a nationalist default setting that prioritizes the dignity and wellbeing of his fellow citizens, rather than trusting in the value of collective intelligence and free will. Overall, although the "for the people" and "people-oriented" plots are not Gu Junzheng's original design, his duplication of an oversimplified approach to top-down rule addresses ideas and values that he regards as true, correct, and important to his readers and compatriots.

THE DREAM/NIGHTMARE OF PEACE TOWARDS NATIONALLY AUTONOMOUS COMMUNISM

Within Chinese science fiction history, "The Dream of Peace" is significant for several reasons. 1) The short story revived the late-Qing tradition of satirizing the status quo through science fiction, a genre that was disrupted by the rapid growth of short scientific prose in the Republican period (Isaacson 2017).[22] 2) It further elab-

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orated the topic of hypnotic science, a topic first introduced by late-Qing writers (Jia 2019), to address non-martial weapons and relevant espionage. 3) Gu's fiction formed a sample of hard science fiction, which achieves credibility through the insertion of accurate, logical, and credible knowledge, such as expounding the brainwashing mechanism. This approach differs from Lao She's *Cat Country*, for example, where the functioning of the opium-like "mysterious leaves" (mi ye) remains elusive to the reader. 4) "The Dream of Peace" advanced a sense of scientific determinism, hereby contrasting with utopian socialism's lack of a positivist and empirical foundation. 5) The text advances a futuristic, elitist concept of peace that stands in opposition to more established ideological positions, including anti-war romanticism, class struggle-driven proletarianism, and Trotskyist eternal revolution. Concerning the fifth point, which is particularly relevant to the core idea of this article, "The Dream of Peace" is an equivocal title. It represents the illusion deployed by the enemies of Chinese nationalists (Japan and pro-Japan politicians) and also a goal to be achieved through scientific advancement. This is further addressed in Gu's modification of Hamilton's ending:

> Shane Marlin grinned wearily to himself as he turned the receiver off. America had awakened from a dream, indeed!
> It would only learn how dangerous and devil-inspired a dream that had been, when Shane took his prisoner back to Washington. But before he did that –
> He looked to Ligor's bonds. And then he stretched on a couch with a sign of contentment. In three minutes his snores shook the room. (Hamilton 1939, 45)

In Gu's version, the second paragraph above was deleted, which now reads:

> Shane Marlin turned the receiver off and grinned wearily to himself. America had awakened from a nightmare of peace!
> He looked to Ligor's bonds. And then he stretched on a couch with a sign of contentment. In three minutes, his snores shook the room. (1939b, 120)[23]

While leaving other passages unredacted, Gu found it important to emphasize that "America had awakened from a nightmare [not "dream"] of peace". This awakening not simply corresponds to the trajectory of idealistic search for a hero blooming in late-Qing fiction (Yeh 2015; in this sense, the male protagonist may be allegorically interpreted as a wanted "Chinese hero"), but also represents Gu's switch of the idea of peace. By eliminating moral judgment on individuals ("devil-inspired"), the author shifted the narrative focus to a collective's will (determined by one's will) about either being attacked by invaders or being saved through struggle. His identification of the American dream as "a nightmare of peace" implies that "a dream of peace" does exist and only exists after struggling through innovative approaches, instead of merely avoiding wars.

Since maintaining internal peace was also the priority of the People's Republic of China, established in 1949, Gu's dream tallies with the communists' dream. Although "The Conqueror's Voice" was written by an American author, its sense of patriotism (such as its repetitive use of the words "traitor" and "patriotic"), propaganda, ideological control, and centralized management of information, directly adopted by Gu, corresponds with Leninism, which deeply influenced the formation of Maoist

practices (Li 2010). Gu's heroic story sets an authoritarian tone to support unifying the will of war-advocates and peace-keepers towards that of the decision maker, rather than allowing for a bottom-up led society, in which individual thoughts and people's intellectual contributions matter. It proposes a polar world order, in which superficially autonomous national subjects, especially the collectivists, express hatred for traitors and sneer at the opposite side's "fanatic quality of patriotism" (Hamilton 1939, 43; Gu 1939b, 116). To the enemies, inhuman treatment, even corporeal torture (Hamilton 1939, 44; Gu 1939b, 118–119) is permitted. Moreover, Gu's addition of scientific knowledge to the speculative fiction matches the Chinese leftists' introduction of the idea "scientific literature" from the Soviet Union, where Mikhail Il'in had emerged as the most prolific science communicator in the mid-1930s (Zhan 2014, 64). According to orthodox Chinese Marxism, advancement of productivity is a prerequisite of social development, as capitalism progresses into first socialism, then communism (Dirlik 1988). Therefore, Gu's import of Western scientific knowledge and its insertion into propaganda-like fiction with imagined manipulation of information techniques to unify internal and external wills for a productive outcome could be perceived to assist in the development of a democratic communism. Indeed, under Mao's reign, Gu acted as a leader in the China Association for Promoting Democracy (once acting as the member of its Central Standing Committee) as well as the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. To a certain extent, Gu's story equipped him with an insight into how information asymmetry sustains internal security through technical control and deprives the public of its right to know, an insight that also allowed him to survive in the People's Republic. Despite his inability to save others, he managed to dodge the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), a dream pursued by communist zealots which inflicted great suffering on Ba Jin and uncountable Chinese intellectuals. If we further consider Gu's "nightmare of peace" as a futuristic idea, when info-technological management over individuals becomes a global issue, the question is whether there will come a democratic Shane Marlin to awaken us from this "dream".

NOTES

1   Originally, Hamilton published the short story under the pseudonym Robert Castle.
2   "政治上道德上學術上思想上一切的黑暗。" Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Chinese are my own.
3   Other translated works include Jean Henri Fabre's *The Wonder Book of Chemistry* (1922), Otto Willi Gail's *Romping through Physics* (1933), and Bruno H. Burdel's *The Strange Stories of Dr. Ulebuhle* (1922).
4   As Ren Dongmei (2023), a scholar of Chinese science fiction, discovered, Gu Junzheng completed at least five science-fiction short stories. She found that "The Airless Nation", previously overlooked, was published in the first issue of the *Xuesheng zazhi* (Students' magazine) in 1926.
5   These works were all transformed by Gu Junzheng within two months after their publication. In the preface of Gu's *Under the North Pole* (1940), which is the collection of the three works later reprinted and retitled as "The Dream of Peace", Gu Junzheng barely mentioned the original names of five Western science-fiction magazines in English: *Amazing Stories, Thrilling Wonder Stories, Marvels-Science Stories, Science Fiction,* and *Dynamic Science Stories* (1946, ii). Without citing the sources of his

writing, he ambiguously stated, "The three fictional works I chose for this collection are the outcome of my trial" (iv). Thus, many scholars (such as Zhang and Shan 2017; Chen 2014) still deemed "The Dream of Peace" his original work.

6　"日本的空襲中國城市，與叛軍的轟炸馬德里得到同樣的結果。他們炸死許多的平民，造成了無數的慘劇，但是他們不會使中國人'屈膝'，向他們乞求和平。"

7　Libicki later narrows down his definition of information warfare to "the use of information to attack information" (2007, 20)..

8　"所謂環狀天線，實在只是一隻大線圈，係用導線圍繞在一個木架上而成。"

9　"當無線電波向四周發射時，最初是發生電力線(Electrostatic force line)其方向與地面相垂直，一束一束地向外擴播，隨著電力線的產生，同時又生成了磁力線，其方向與地面相平行" (Gu 1939a, 109–110).

10　In a short memoir published on *Minzhu* (Democracy monthly), Wang Shizheng states that "at the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, Gu noticed that some of the foreign science-fiction works were based on fantasy rather than science. They discorded with the claim of popularizing science." Therefore, he "wrote 'The Dream of Peace', 'The Strange Plague in London', and 'Under the North Pole' upon scientific facts" (1996, 34).

11　"你們，美國的人民。必須同極東國和平親善。"

12　"美國決不能向極東國屈服。美國必須繼續抗戰。"

13　Starting from a misrecognition of Shane Marlin as a Chinese hero, Rudolf Wagner interprets the core idea of "The Dream of Peace" as "not merely the fantasy of a writer from a poor and undeveloping [the exact word used by Wagner] country, but a message encoded with a distinct tone of cultural superiority: the Americans may have more machinery, but the average Chinese has more morality, wit and common sense" (1981, 30).

14　"欲新一國之民，不可不先新一國之小說。" This statement was translated into English by Gek Nai Cheng as "If one intends to renovate the people of a nation, one must first renovate its fiction" (Liang 1996, 74).

15　It was a period when Shanghai had not been invaded by the Japanese force due to the protection of the Western powers.

16　Evidently, such political aims stand at odds with Gu's tongue-in-cheek remark that by writing popular science before 1949 he did not think of "saving the nation through science" but of "sustaining his family through royalties" (Gu Quan 2000, 293).

17　After Gao Zongwu explained the necessity of holding peace talks with Japan to Wang Jingwei and Jiang Jieshi on 31 July 1937, Wang Jingwei had increasingly counteracted against Jiang, the leader of the pro-war party (Li 2011, 117), and spread his thoughts of concessions through presses, such as writing "Heyi de keneng xing" (The possibility of peace talks, 1939) later included in the publication of *Xu he zhan wenti zhi taolun – Nanhua Ribao pinglun ji* (Continuing the discussion of the war-peace issues: The collection of the commentaries of South China Daily) in April 1939.

18　It shall be noted that, by quoting Sokichi Tsuda's insight, Taichiro Mitani remarks on the importance of the Japanese side's conscious effort paid to impacting Chinese intellectuals' understanding of nations (2018, 68). This probably includes the possibility of establishing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere directed by Japan.

19　"你當然知道，極東人首先挑起了這次的戰爭，而戰爭的起因，無非為了我們沒有答應他們佔據南美的要求。"

20　Both Hamilton's and Gu's texts use the word "South America" instead of "Southern America" or "Southern United States".

21　As Dewey wrote, "Democracy is a word of many meanings. Some of them are of such a broad social and moral import as to be irrelevant to our immediate theme. But one of the meanings is distinctly political, for it denotes a mode of government, a specified practice in selecting officials and regulating their conduct as officials" (2012, 85).

22　Subsequent satirical science fiction includes Si Yin's "Huoxing youji" (Travel notes of Mars, 1940), Zhou Lengjia's "Yueqiu luxing ji" (A journey to the Moon, 1941), Xu Deshan's "Tieyu di sai" (The gill of iron fish, 1941), and Xiongji's "Qiannian hou" (A thousand year later, 1943) (Wu 2022).

23　"夏恩把收音機關閉，暗自覺得好笑。美國確已從和平的惡夢中醒過來了！ 他望了望李谷爾的束縛，然後橫倒在一隻長沙發裡，滿足地舒了一口氣。不上三分鐘，他的熟睡的鼾聲，就已響徹全室。"

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