

Demise of False Utopia: China's Post-socialist Transition in Han Song's *Red Star Over America* (2000)

Abstract

The sense of eeriness in Han Song's stories has made him a unique writer in the New Wave of Chinese science fiction. His "eerie" writings blend the imageries of both utopia and dystopia, thus blurring the boundary of "good" and "bad" places and creating a new form of utopianism that can account for the rapid social transition in China since the 1990s. This essay focuses on one of Han Song's earlier novels *Red Star over America* (2000) and will interrogate the utopia described in this story, namely the seemingly utopian China, governed by the omnipotent artificial intelligence Amanduo, through the scopes of Tom Moylan's "critical utopia" and Bakhtin's "adventure chronotope." In this way, the collapse of Amanduo reflects on the decline of the "top-down" elitist discourse in China, developed during the new enlightenment in the 1980s, whereas Tang Long's hesitant journey in the post-Amanduo world in search of a new order represents China's ideological transition during the post-socialist era.

Han Song, Eerie Stories, and Blended Utopianism

In the introduction of the recently published *Exploring Dark Short Fiction #5: A Primer to Han Song* (2020), the book's editor Eric J. Guignard compliments Han Song for his contributions to the Chinese SF New Wave.¹ He believes that "Han Song is lauded for works that bridge new developments in science and subjects of cultural and social dynamics with stories of dystopia, governmental conspiracy, and subversive horror, earning praise for his writing as 'absurdly dark,' while also reigniting a *science fiction renaissance*." (1, my emphasis) Compared to another Chinese new wave writer Liu Cixin, who is by and large of equal literary and socio-cultural significance in China, Han Song has received far less attention and recognition among anglophone readers. This limited visibility is largely due to translation, or the comparative lack of it. None of his ten longer novels, as of 2020, have been translated into English,² despite the handful of his short stories collected in the new book by Guignard. With a hope to amplify Han Song's influence in the domains of both literature and science fiction, in this article I will introduce one of his most well-known novels that remains untranslated, i.e., *Red Star Over America* (《火星照耀美国》, *Huoxing Zhaoyao Meiguo*), originally published in 2000.³ Upon my interpretation of the ambiguous metaphors in *Red Star Over America* that are carefully designed yet hard to understand because of Han Song's eerie writing style, I will also

contextualize this novel in China's political and cultural history during the 1990s, an age that saw the rise of a postsocialist discourse.

In this novel, Han Song envisions a utopian China that rises to become the superpower of the world, in contrast to the dystopian American wasteland and is centrally governed by an omnipotent artificial intelligence "Amanduo." Born in such a seemingly perfect society, the protagonist Tang Long is educated to become a professional *go* player, living under Amanduo's protection and supervision all his life. He is sent to the United States to play in an international *go* competition for a grand mission—enlightening and rescuing the American people by demonstrating the charm of *go*. However, the mission does not proceed well. During the competition, rather surprisingly, the "almighty" Amanduo suddenly collapses in on itself without warning, leaving Tang Long in the middle of a series of apocalyptic catastrophes caused by the absence of the utopian control. Abandoned in a post-Amanduo world, Tang Long finds himself in a quixotic quest across the American land. Looking for an alternative order to replace the "utopia lost," he comes across a number of possible ideas. These are mainly embodied by three characters, namely Suzuki, Newman, and Colonel Sam, yet none of the above succeed in truly bidding farewell to the past.

These characters are extraordinary because each of them has a destiny they are strongly obsessed with: Suzuki is always travelling and looking for a "Scepter" that he believes able to predict the future and can thus govern the post-Amanduo world, which, however, turns out to be nothing more than an illusion; Newman has a bio-engineered tail like a biological hard drive, in which the knowledge of history and culture is stored for future access; Colonel Sam wishes to create a new, hybrid language "Aikemai," and with this, he attempts to write his own rules upon the dystopian wasteland and make them universal. In short, Suzuki, Newman and Colonel Sam are all trying to build a new order after Amanduo's demise. But during the process, they are also disenchanted with their obsessive missions. They find that, while proposing new ideologies to replace Amanduo, they can never truly escape the lurking shadow of the lost utopia. In fact, despite Amanduo's ostensible malfunction, it is always present, and transfigured into an invisible form that few are aware of. Thanks to this ambiguity of the point where Amanduo ends, Suzuki, Newman, and Colonel Sam's beliefs in what they are pursuing can then be questioned, recaptured, and relocated. In line with this, we can also revisit the historical metaphors of China's postsocialist transition they have embodied, as well as the socio-political implications of their failed endeavors of making changes.

Prior to my detailed textual analysis of *Red Star Over America*, I feel it necessary to point out that translating Han Song's work is a daunting job, because of the complexity deriving

from the rich symbolic, metaphorical and, overall, political connotations endowed in his stories, which would always deny a simple reading. All his fictional descriptions in *Red Star Over America*, as mentioned above, are coupled with historical and discursive references. As I will argue later, the ostensible dichotomy of China and the US should be read not as the contrast between the two countries, but as the tension appearing in China's broad socio-cultural transition since the 1990s toward its post-socialist era. Further, the three fictional characters that Tang Long meets during his journey should also be perceived and contextualized with symbolic/historical meanings.

Meanwhile, translating Han Song's works appears difficult also because of his unique writing aesthetic. As Li Guangyi observes, "one can use refined language, magnificent imagination, or any number of other adjectives to describe Han Song's unique literary style, but no phrase captures Han Song's writing better than 'eerie'." (29) Here, Li's article is translated from Chinese by Nathaniel Isaacson, and the original Chinese expression of "eerie" is *guǐyì* (诡异). In fact, apart from "eerie," *guǐyì* can also be translated as "strange," "alienated," "bizarre," "grotesque," etc. But here, I choose to follow Isaacson's translation in order to set up a comparison between Han Song's eeriness and Mark Fisher's discussion in his book *The Weird and The Eerie* (2016). In a similar vein, Wang Yao argues that such a unique sense of "eeriness" in Han Song's writings, as well as his depictions of "the chaotic or deconstructed *chronotope*, the dark maze where history and memory intertwine, the grotesque ruins and tombstones [...]", indicates the absurdity and uncertainty hiding behind the changing façades of modernity—for instance, "progress of civilization" and "scientific rationality" (206, my emphasis). I will return to the "chronotope" in Han Song's stories later in this article, after my interpretation of "eeriness" per se, which Wu Yan believes to "[upend] practically all of the established rules governing [the] content [of canonical science fictions] and [to be] an important step forward for the 'nativization' of [Chinese] science fiction." (qtd. Jia 103)

What really matters in such a sense of "eeriness" is an attempt to construct a scenario of difference, alternative, change and transformation, indicating a release "from the mundane" and an escape "from the confines of what is ordinarily taken as for reality." (Fisher 13) In *The Weird and The Eerie*, Fisher distinguishes the nuances between the two sub-genres (even though they are often overlapping), with the former, "the weird," being constituted by a presence "of that *which does not belong*," and may "exceed our capacity to represent it." The eerie, on the other hand, "is constituted by a *failure of absence* or by a *failure of presence*," that is, in other words, "the sensation of the eerie occurs when there is something present when there should be nothing, or is there is nothing present when there should be something." (61,

original emphasis) In line with Fisher's definition, Han Song's writings usually stand on the boundary of the weird and the eerie, showing the aesthetic and narrative features of both genres that in many ways could lead to horror, unpleasantness, estrangement and the uncanny. They also indicate the features Fisher proposes for the stories of the weird and the eerie—"a fascination of the outside, for that which lies beyond standard perception, cognition and experience," and the detachment from the everyday urgencies that "can give us access to the forces which govern mundane reality but which are ordinarily obscured." (13) Through creating such a space beyond "mundane reality," where a certain form of contemplation is developed upon pain and uneasiness, Han Song has managed to blend the representations "of hope and despair, utopianism and its dystopian reflection, and nationalism and cosmopolitanism." (Song "After 1989" 8) Such a mixture can be considered essential to the on-going new wave of Chinese sf, a sf "renaissance" that Guignard believes is "reignited" by Han Song and his "dark" stories.

Therefore, this "blended" utopianism, the combination of both utopian and dystopian spaces embedded in his "eerie" writings, has provided Han Song with a unique standpoint to critically inherit the enlightenment intentions that were initially employed by the May Fourth activists—most representatively, Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Lu Xun (1881-1936), among others, in the early twentieth century when Chinese sf just started to take shape. During that period, utopianism and related fictional utopian imaginations were frequently adopted in early Chinese sf works (which was then called *kexue xiaoshuo*, i.e. 'scientific novels', emphasizing the "scientific" much more than the "fictional" side of sf), especially in Liang Qichao's *The Future of New China* (*Xin Zhongguo Weilai Ji*, 1902), Wu Jianren's *New Story of the Stone* (*Xin Shitou Ji*, 1905), etc. (see Isaacson's *Celestial Empire*). In these stories, a utopian version of a futuristic and historically progressive China was commonly constructed by these enlightenment intellectuals against the chaotic reality in China, presenting "a pseudo-ethnographic mapping of the collision of internal and external pressures that faced Chinese society" (Isaacson 4), and therefore aiming to use sf as a vehicle to promote the public awareness of modernity and rationality.

This utopian vision motivated by the enlightenment optimism was revisited in Chinese sf during the late 1970s and early 1980s. It expressed hope towards a modernized, industrialized socialist utopia, but was later suffocated in the anti-spiritual pollution movement. Chinese sf has seen a brief revival from 1978 to 1982 (or more broadly 1976 to 1983), which is sometimes referred to as the Chinese Golden Age. After the Cultural Revolution, Chinese intellectual elites enjoyed a much freer and more dynamic political and cultural atmosphere. This allowed

for a collective cultural and political introspection on the previous “dark age,” when literature and other forms of artistic production had mostly been rendered as the propagandas for the Maoist mission for Class Struggle. This intellectual movement was termed “the New Enlightenment,” bringing forward “a universalistic high culture of humanism and modernism” (Zhang 103) and thus a “top-down” elitist intellectual discourse, resembling that of the May-Fourth movement in the early twentieth century. In such a period, sf writers such as Zheng Wenguang (1929-2003), Tong Enzheng (1935-1997), Ye Yonglie (1940-2020), and Wei Yahua (1949-) have all made their contributions to this “Golden Age” and Chinese sf. But meanwhile, also revived during the New Enlightenment was the pragmatic and instrumentalist expectation of sf as an educational vehicle of science-popularization, where Chinese sf was involved in a fierce debate against its legitimacy. Criticized for its very “fictionality,” Chinese sf was labelled as “spiritual pollution” during the “Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign” in late 1983 and early 1984, which had never regained its dynamism until the Chinese New Wave.⁴

Having gone through its interrupted history, utopianism is rejuvenated during the New Wave, only in a much more ambiguous and interrogative manner. Song Mingwei provides a convincing summary of the “variations” of utopia in contemporary Chinese sf:

Deeply entangled with the politics of a changing China, science fiction today both strengthens and *complicates* the utopian vision of a new and powerful China: it mingles nationalism with utopianism/dystopianism, mixes sharp social criticism with an acute awareness of China’s potential for further reform, and wraps political consciousness in scientific discourses about the powers of technology and the technologies of power. (“Variations” 87, emphasis added)

Such “variations,” in a way, have blurred the boundary between utopias and dystopias. In other words, they lead us to a different sense of utopianism, thriving on the ruins of the old one. As discussed above, the New Enlightenment discourse in China in the 1980s dwelled on “a system that was relatively stagnant economically and technologically” and on the “belief in a prosperous socialist utopia and the creation of a new socialist human being.” (Kinkley 20) Therefore, it was closely connected to elitism and high modernism. However, whereas such a discourse gradually collapsed in the following decade, the incoming trend of privatization and marketization during the 1990s and onwards not only configured a nostalgic mourning for the lost certainty and predictability that used to be projected by the socialist utopia, but meanwhile, it has also formulated “another utopian faith.” This is the one, according to Kinkley, in which “economic growth [...] would lead China to the best of all possible worlds.” (20-21) The ostensible nostalgia towards a fading socialist totality, as Zhang Xudong observed, “became

entangled with a utopian/dystopian fervor to embrace global capital and its ideology” (185) in the 1990s. This eventually resulted in complicated and critical expressions of how utopianism is conveyed in contemporary Chinese literature. Although these elements are also evident in “serious writings,” such as new historical and urban novels, they can always find spaces and voices in sf stories, and most notably, in Han Song’s works.

In this way, the blending of both utopian and dystopian imageries that Han Song encodes in his eerie writings can be considered a “critical examination of the utopian ideal itself” (Fitting 147) and an interrogation on the flaws those “utopian” societies themselves may have retained. This “critical examination” has been elaborated by Tom Moylan with a term “critical utopia.” According to Moylan’s remarks in *Demand the Impossible* (1986), the central concern in the critical utopia is “the awareness of the limitations of the utopian tradition, so that these texts reject utopia as blueprint while preserving it as dream [...] the novels focus on the continuing presence of difference and imperfection within utopian society itself and thus render more recognizable and dynamic alternatives.” (10)

This article now focuses on one of Han Song’s most representative utopias—that is Amanduo in his 2000 novel *Red Star over America*—as an example of Moylan’s “critical utopia,” which, through the sense of “blended utopianism,” helped “reignite” (Guignard) the current renaissance of Chinese sf. Thus, while analyzing the construction and destruction of the novel’s “garden-like” utopian society, I will argue that this story provides a fictional representation and a critical reflection of China’s post-socialist transition in the socio-cultural domain. Such a transition was invoked by the rise of mundane commercialism cultivated in the process of privatization and the resulting responsabilization of the subject. This led to the decline of the “top-down” discourse of the new enlightenment and of the socialist utopia, which stood for stability, certainty, central-planning, and state protection. Upon the ruins of the false utopia Amanduo, it seems a new order is gradually taking shape. But can this new order bring us to the “true” utopia? Or do we still have essentially the same thing, just disguised under a different façade?

Critical Utopia as Chronotope in *Red Star over America*

The utopian China depicted in *Red Star Over America* appears, at least on first impressions, like a “good place” indeed (that is, a “eutopia” in its etymological root). Set in the year 2066, a hundred years after the Cultural Revolution, China has become a gigantic “garden”:

Flowers bloomed all year around, trees cast their shades, a rainbow hung over the sky—every season would be manipulated as spring by the National Climate and Emotion Management

Bureau. People lived in the buildings outfitted with eco-intelligent systems. These buildings would expand along with the growing-up of the residents and therefore can provide them with spacious and comfortable living space [...] Everyone was guaranteed a decent and respectable job [...] There were no crimes, nor divorces. We didn't need to clone ourselves. People lived for a long time, long enough that many would willingly apply for euthanasia before the age of 120 to reduce the burden of the country. This was considered a sublime spirit of collectivism (234).

This “garden” is centrally supervised by Amanduo,⁵ a highly advanced artificial intelligence existing only in the cyber space as an omnipresent entity that, through the Internet, penetrates every corner of this garden society. Thanks to Amanduo, “the unevenness of information distribution between the developed and developing countries had been eliminated; slogans such as ‘democracy’, ‘liberty’, ‘equality’ and ‘justice’ were no longer floating in the air like bubbles.” It appears benign and kind, “like a sister-in-law [...] whole-heartedly taking care of [people’s] lives with its incomparable computing capability.” (10)

In contrast to the harmony, order, peace, and integrity than can be witnessed in the utopian China, those countries rejecting Amanduo’s supervision, most notably the United States, would constantly suffer from chaotic political disturbance, anarchic terrorism, and even civil war. For some readers, especially around the time when *Red Star Over America* was just published in 2000, when China-US relations were at a low point due to the United States bombing of the Chinese embassy building in Belgrade, this story might be read as a rather radical manifesto for the growing nationalism of Chinese people. But this is, by all means, an unfortunate misunderstanding,⁶ because it is this utopian, powerful and “harmonious” (Song “Variations” 90, 99n7) society of the fictional China that stands at the edge of its own downfall, while the dystopian wasteland of the United States brings forward a space for possible new orders.

In fact, although the names of various real places recur throughout the novel—be it Japan, Germany, Iran, South Korea, or many others, as well as China and the US as the most named—these places should be read in a “denationalized” manner. That is to see these places as a single, yet hybridly cluttered, time-space accommodating different social and ideological norms in China from different historical periods. This is illustrative of Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of “chronotope,” which indicates

the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature [...] In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the

movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterize the artistic chronotope. (84)

The quixotic journey in which the protagonist Tang Long is engaged thus formulates an “adventure chronotope [...] characterized by a *technical, abstract connection between space and time*, by the *reversibility* of moments in a temporal sequence, and by their *interchangeability* in space” (100, original emphasis). In this way, my reading of Han Song’s *Red Star Over America* is “country-less,” seeing those geographical and, metaphorically, political markers as the “spatial and temporal indicators” suggested in Bakhtin’s definition of chronotope. Or more precisely, the chronotope gradually mapped out through the protagonist Tang Long’s journey (departing from the utopian, Amanduo-managed China to the dystopian, Amanduo-rejecting US), and through what he has experienced on the American land—including the flood, the Suzuki gang, Newman’s friendship, and the American civil war on the side of Colonel Sam (I will discuss these elements in detail later in this article)—is a highly symbolized, highly “fused” (Bakhtin) representation of the (sometimes hesitant) social and cultural transformation in China, and China alone.

In this case, the ambiguous nature of the “garden” society under Amanduo’s supervision leaves us with a space for the “critical examination” of utopian imaginations suggested by Fitting and Moylan. “We have been under systematic trainings since [we were] two-year-and-half years old,” says Tang Long to his Suzuki gang friends, “to be a person of perfection, to be an expert in a certain domain [...] Scientists have developed games of all kinds to satisfy people’s desire, but my *go* teammates and I rarely played. This is because, in China, the most important thing is to study and work, to complete the job assigned by the country.” (Han 235) The sense of “planning” and “arrangement” is therefore very much evident in Han Song’s Amanduo. As Song Mingwei (“Variations” 87) observes, it can even be related to Jeffrey Wasserstrom’s description of contemporary Chinese politics as Huxley’s “soft” vision of authoritarianism that stresses “the depoliticizing effort of keeping people apart and providing them with distracting forms of activity and entertainment.” (Wasserstrom 2010: 110) For such reasons, Song Mingwei continues to claim that the garden society could provide “a strong sense of self-reflection supporting modern intellectual criticisms of China’s long tradition of authoritarian politics and culture,” and Amanduo, therefore, should be then regarded as “a completely efficient program for establishing centralist system to which each individual will voluntarily submit.” (“Variations” 88)

Under such a “submission,” under Amanduo’s meticulous “caring” for Chinese people, everything “will be smooth, trouble-less, and carefully arranged [...] People just need to enjoy their lives as always and complete the tasks that the country has assigned to them. Future will then come with no surprises. This is what happiness is.” (Han 92) This understanding of happiness, in a way, is utopian indeed. But from more critical perspectives, it appears it could be what Erika Gottlieb would consider a typical “classic” or “western” dystopia—“the destruction of the individual’s private world” (11)—or what Kinkley deems as “the danger of totalitarianism and mindless social conformism furthered by technological progress.” (13) Even more “critically,” the “utopian” Amanduo would, quite often, filter the information passed on to individuals, in this way keeping them in an “infant incubator.” (Han 94) The structure of the “natural” family has long been dissolved in the Amanduo society. New-born babies, mostly from the “test-tube,” would be raised in infant incubators and then assigned to non-genetic families. These incubators are filled with the beauty, pride or even “illusion” (94) that Amanduo creates and protecting them from the real yet miserable world beyond its reach. Tang Long realized during his truth-seeking journey that

although I am already sixteen years old, I have absolutely no idea of other cultures in the world. I inherited the genes of *go*, but not the knowledge that some foreigners are only interested in things like the horns on their head.⁷ Does it have more pragmatic utilities than the *go*? Amanduo didn’t reveal this to me, nor did my teachers in the army. (Han 99)

In this “garden,” there would be no surprises, no uncertainty, no change or any sense of newness. Everything seems in order under Amanduo’s supervision. But in this way, this garden created by Amanduo also forms what Bakhtin called the “idyllic chronotope,” where events are anchored around a little spatial world, which “is limited and sufficient unto itself, not linked in any intrinsic way with other places, with the rest of the world.” (225) Meanwhile, such a stability and predictability of the Amanduo-based society, also in Bakhtin’s words, foregrounds “the unity of place,” which

brings together and even fuses the cradle and the grave [...] and brings together as well childhood and old age [...] the life of the various generations who had also lived in that same place, under the same conditions, and who had seen the same things. (225)

As such, the “idyllic,” garden-like, harmonious society, where the forward impulse of time is constrained in a circle and therefore cannot encompass the sense of “becoming,” (Bakhtin 210) will never demonstrate a progressive tendency. The seemingly utopian China governed by the omnipresent Amanduo in *Red Star Over America*, when put under a closer interrogation,

appears more problematic. But still, it is through such an ambiguity that Han Song manages to blur the boundary of utopia and dystopia. Thus, in line with Moylan's "critical utopia," this ambiguity is designed to "reject utopia as blueprint while preserving it as dream," (10) and to provide a critical examination of the messages conveyed by the concept "utopianism" per se in contemporary China. In other words, as I will discuss next, this story can be read as a critical interrogation of the socio-political transition taking place along with China's market-oriented reforms, a process that Han Song attempts to criticize, question, challenge, eventually undermining the Leviathan disguised in a utopian façade. In fact, Han Song never hides away from such an endeavor, "in the context of technological civilization," to reveal the "cunning, meanness, and darkness in the Chinese people, a new ignorance characterized by information technology, rule of law, and wealth," (see Jia 106), and to critically engage with socio-cultural shift in China from a socialist utopia to a post-socialist "wasteland."

"Dismissed Class" and the Decline of False Utopia

As mentioned earlier, the Amanduo in *Red Star Over America*, as well as the utopian and harmonious society it makes possible, is never far from its own collapse. Han Song's utopian imagination can be seen as a way to revisit the Enlightenment and May Fourth utopianism all the way back to Lu Xun and Liang Qichao. Amanduo embodies a "parodied" vision of China's rise through the "political utopianism and technological optimism" (Song "A New Continent" 470-71) resurrected in the 1980s during the New Enlightenment movement. Meanwhile, its self-destruction foreshadows the tremendous historical rupture in China during the following decade, where the discourse of high modernism, "the 'enlightenment' consensus of the 1980s," was replaced by "the 'vulgarization' (*cubihua*) or 'secularization' (*shisuhua*) brought on by the commodification of culture in the market economy." (McGrath 32)

Consequently, such an ideological transition urgently demands a re-establishment of Chinese national identity and a proper cultural norm that could fit in the context driven by the market-oriented reforms in economic sectors. This transition has in fact forced a crisis upon Chinese intellectuals concerning their endangered social status. Since "the income differential between those employed within the state sector and those employed outside it grew exponentially" (Wang Hui 85), the privileges and social respects used to be enjoyed by Chinese cultural elites in the 1980s have been gradually transferred to those capital-holding "new-riches," who first embraced marketization. In response to this complex social transformation, left-winged intellectuals in the mid-1990s launched a nation-wide debate mourning the fall of "humanist spirit" or "the spirit of humanism" (*renwen jingshen*) and the loss of the grand

narrative framing the high-modernist quest for a socialist utopia. In June 1993, Wang Xiaoming, a leading scholar in humanities, published the transcript of his earlier panel discussion with his students on *Shanghai Literature (Shanghai Wenxue)* entitled “Ruins in the Wilderness: The Crisis of Literature and Humanist Spirit,” which was usually regarded as the beginning of this wider debate. As he confirmed the crucial significance of literature in delivering humanist spirit, he observed:

The crisis of literature today is already quite apparent. Several literary periodicals are losing their direction, the quality of new works is in general decline, and appreciative readers are growing fewer by the day, while those among writers and critics who realize they have chosen the wrong profession and “leap into the sea” [of business, xiahai] are ever more numerous [...] An all-embracing tide of “commodification” with Chinese characteristics is about to practically pull the literary world out by its roots. (63)

Such a warning, as noted by Zhang Xudong, against the “door-knocking” crisis of literature and humanist spirit demonstrates the “clichéd laments” (115) from those nostalgic for the falling high-modernist discourse. The transition towards vulgarization and secularization, one that was brought forward by people’s seemingly self-indulgence in commodity fetishism, indicates a radical historical and contextual rupture from the 1980s when intellectuals were considered the “mentors” of the mass public. While recalling the “top-down” power dynamic between elites and the public during the New Enlightenment, Cai Xiang rightfully yet regretfully pointed out “a bitter, sour fruit” cultivated in consumerism and mass culture, that is an unfortunate situation in which “the intellectuals’ identity as ‘advisor’ [*daoshi*] has already gone through its own deconstruction.” (Cai 47)

For many elite critics in the 1990s mourning for the loss of “humanist spirit,” it is precisely “the phenomena that surface with the rise of the great tide of the market economy and business: money worship, the sacrifice of principle for profit, the loss of ideals, the disintegration of ethics” (Zhang Zhizhong 176) that should be blamed for the fading of the moral and technological utopia projected by socialism. For others, however, this mourning was merely nostalgia for the period of new enlightenment, when “liberal-humanist intellectuals believed that history had a message for *them* to deliver to the Chinese nation.” However, later on in the 1990s they realized that “[this] message was instead delivered to the market-place by joint forces of the state and global capitalism” (Zhang Xudong 116, original emphasis). Han Song, a senior journalist working for China’s Xinhua News Agency, who has witnessed enough

confusions, uncertainties, sufferings and struggles resulting from such a historical rupture, has been using his sf stories as social archives, recording what needs to be recorded.

Therefore, *Red Star Over America* should rather be read as a documentary of this transition, mapping out the historical trajectory of China embodied by the protagonist Tang Long, in search of an alternative to replace the collapsing utopia—i.e. Amanduo in this story. This embodiment of China's historical transition is implied in the name "Tang Long" (唐龙) itself, which, unlike Amanduo—having no literary meanings—is highly loaded with historical connotations. The "Tang" Dynasty (唐朝; 618-907 C.E.) is widely regarded as one of the most powerful periods in China and thus usually used to indicate China's historical prosperity. Meanwhile, "Long" (龙) refers to the legendary and sacred animal the Chinese dragon, which is usually taken as the symbol for emperors. During Tang Long's journey, he is frequently referred to as "*Longzi*" (龙子, son of dragon) in various occasions and in this way expected to be the key leading to hope and future, to restoring order from chaos with his *go* playing skills: "he is *Longzi*—a descendant of the dragon." (Han 378)⁸ But unfortunately, Tang Long fails to evoke hope and future, nor does he manage to find the alternative in the absence of utopia—he even loses his ability to play *go*, a profession that is supposed to be his life-long job arranged by the collapsed Amanduo. In this case, Tang Long's historically connoted name sets up an interesting contrast with his chaotic experiences after the demise of Amanduo.

There are no explicit reasons why Amanduo must come to an end, yet it can still be comprehended through more subtle clues. The omnipotent artificial intelligence Amanduo, self-evolving based on the hyper-advanced Internet to which most 'civilized' people are interconnected, is considered "the First Life" or "Heart of the World." (Han 10) In this way, it manages to create a sense of "centrality" where civil affairs and people's lives in this seemingly utopian society are centrally planned, arranged and supervised—a "centrality" made possible by the extensive penetration of the virtual space and by "the super-intelligent system beyond human's control and imagination." (Han 81) It seems have accelerated the social development, but at the same time, and more importantly,

Amanduo had created a huge amount of information entropy. It tore the world apart, step by step leading us to the eventual "heat death". The world of the Internet, of the so-called "dream society", would cool down even before we can notice [...] People were increasingly clinging to the digital, non-human system. Everything, even emotions, was digitized, constructed through zeros and ones, and every problem could be solved via the Internet. (81)

In other words, the collapse of Amanduo is an inevitable consequence of its intrinsic conflict between the high-level “centrality” it strives to provide, and the “fragmentation” resulted from the gradual accumulation of individual, scattered, and fragmented information and digitized data. It is, therefore, over-loaded, and “as an intelligent entity, Amanduo went schizophrenic.” (80) Here, I would risk over-interpreting to relate Amanduo’s schizophrenia to Fredric Jameson who uses the same term to refer to the postmodern subject’s detachment from time and history, and to the postmodern condition where people constantly live among the fragments of “now” and “here.” It is fairly evident in *Red Star Over America* that, exactly through Amanduo’s unsuccessful attempt to accommodate both the “top-down” logic of elitist or high-modernist central management and the “bottom-up” impulse developed upon the soaring weight and visibility of the public voice empowered by market and capital, there lies “the effacement [...] of the older (essentially high-modernist) frontier between high culture and so-called mass or commercial culture.” (Jameson 2) In this case, it is not just a coincidence to find out that such a dichotomy made of the two contrasted discourses could account for the debate of “the humanist spirit” during the mid-1990s in real-day China.

According to my earlier discussion, this debate eventually dissolved since the nostalgic appeal for restoring the disappearing humanist spirits gradually lost its charm over the proliferation of economized market calculation and the rising voice of the mass public. “Class is dismissed,” as Cai Xiang declared with melancholy (47), and so was the socialist utopia based on centrality and totality. The sense of certainty, arrangement, “top-down” management, and the comfort of living in a “honey jar” (Han 37), an “infant incubator” (94), a “garden” (234), and generally, a “harmonious society” in Song Mingwei’s words, are all gone along with the demise of the false utopia created by Amanduo, leaving an ideological void that urgently calls for other alternatives. In this way, Tang Long’s initial elitist and educational mission to “save the souls of Americans,” (28) who are not covered by Amanduo’s arms turns out to be in vain. This apparently should not be understood as an “Occidental” colonialism because the word “America” in this story is coded as an adventure chronotope with other meanings: the power of mass public rising in the post-socialist age. In fact, it is exactly in such an absence of Amanduo and in the retreat of centrality that Tang Long finds himself in confusion, uncertainty and in a position where “for the first time ever, [he] would have a feeling that the future is not in [his] control.” (17) Rather reluctantly at the beginning, Tang Long, as the embodiment of China, is forced to take on a journey to conceptualize the post-Amanduo world.

Scepter, Tail, Language, and Red Star: Restoring Order in the Post-Amanduo World

This post-Amanduo world, however, despite the chaos and anarchy as expected, is on many occasions haunted by the ghost and shadow left by the collapsing utopia. When Tang Long is cast off from Amanduo's protection and almost killed in the destructive flood,⁹ he is fortunately rescued by a group of well-armed teenager orphans under the leadership of Suzuki. Suzuki believes that the new order to be established upon the ruins of Amanduo can be identified through the "Scepter" that he and his gang-mates are looking for, a secretly developed device able to predict the future. "Whoever gets their hands on [the Scepter]," says Suzuki to Tang Long, "will know what will be going on in this world. Once our survival and apocalypse can be forecasted, there will be no need to fear the disasters in the future." (Han 123) Even though Amanduo has already demonstrated its irreversible tendency of self-destruction, Suzuki is still enchanted not only by the certainty, predictability, and the sense of promised future projected by a utopian entity, but also in the "top-down" logic of centrality. As the only one in his gang who has remained in occasional contact with the struggling and weakening Amanduo, Suzuki regularly holds "press conferences" (102) to selectively share the information he manages to collect from the remnant of the AI network. This process, in fact, has made Suzuki, not a revolutionary pioneer striving to create a new order as he firmly believes himself, but "an agent [or servant] of Amanduo," (119) who can only parody the past.

For Suzuki and his gang-mates, such a nostalgic remembrance of the past is considered "the new belief" (180) after the tremendous transformation they have just experienced, a new belief developed upon their hope that the Scepter might provide the sense of security used to be produced by the utopian Amanduo. Even more ironically, as they eventually manage to find the Scepter—"a stick, like a human thigh bone, of less than one-meter long, with a digital disc embedded in the middle and covered with a light-purple halo" (172) that they expect to be able to determine everything, and to lead them to a way out of the current chaos (173)—their belief turns out to be nothing but an illusion, a false dream that confines Suzuki in the nostalgia towards the fading utopia. As Tang Long observed,

Suzuki looked at the Scepter every day, wondering hard like a wall-facer.¹⁰ He told us that the Scepter was the only treasure to save the world after Amanduo's collapse. But it kept silent, which was a huge disappointment to him. *Suzuki was so bewitched by the past that he was supposed to be eliminated by the new era* (202, my emphasis).

"The future predicted by the Scepter has been broken," for which Suzuki, who does not admit the Scepter's failure, is turned into a child-like old man whose hair becomes grey (242).

Therefore, Tang Long decides to leave Suzuki, to continue his journey in search of Amanduo's alternative, and this time "did not need the Scepter to tell [him] about the future." (245)

Apart from Suzuki's implicit kinship with the past utopia, the other attempts to restore order among the chaos in the post-Amanduo world can be attributed to the other characters, Newman and Colonel Sam. Newman is an extraordinary character that Tang Long meets on his post-Suzuki quest, who stands out with two features—that is his "magical" tail that can disseminate historical and cultural knowledge to the public and, like Tang Long, the ability to play *go*. Song Mingwei ("Variations" 89) notes that playing *go* is said in the novel "to contain the ultimate means to peace and harmony" and for the protagonist Tang Long, it is in fact a life-long job assigned by the utopian Amanduo. Under such an environment of planning and arrangement, *go* is considered the embodiment of "calm, discipline, self-esteem and civilization" (Han 58), indicating the preferred utopian vision that Amanduo would have led to. It is also believed to be the only possible instrument to "save" those who are not centrally supervised and supposedly protected by Amanduo, to "educate" those who are not covered in the glory of the enlightenment utopia. Although an intrinsic impulse of resistance against such an "arrangement" can be found in Tang Long himself—"a strange and strong tension rising in [his] belly." This can be eased by the temporary decline of his *go* playing ability (Han 34)—it is still quite surprising for him to find out that *go*-playing, the vehicle to conduct the seemingly glorious, elitist, and educational mission of 'saving the world' assigned by Amanduo, is nothing more than a gambling game to win food for Newman (253). As described in the story, the great significance connoted in Tang Long's *go* playing ability is deconstructed by Newman's secularized, vulgar, and instrumental use of this skill. More importantly, Tang Long has a troubling feeling that Newman's way will become the new norm in the post-Amanduo world. "I felt jealous and unconvinced," says Tang Long, "however, the food caused my stomach to growl and I almost rushed to have a go at him" (253)—only stopped by his remaining pride as a former national *go* player for whom the game, as well as the spirit it connotes, used to be sacred.

In this way, the Lyotardian grand narrative to which Tang Long is originally attached through *go* playing is therefore dispelled, replaced by a pragmatic or utilitarian atmosphere in the post-Amanduo world to which Newman belongs. In other words, this post-Amanduo world indicates "a new condition" that Zhang Yiwu believes to be established upon "the end of the grand narrative of Chinese modernity" and "the crisis of mythological construction of knowledge based on the idea of enlightenment." (115-117) In this new condition, people's collective memories of history, of "the good old days of their nation" and "the past pride of

their civilization” (Han 260), are stripped away from the elitist and enlightenment context of Amanduo, converted into *cultural products* that are to be ruled under the market principles of competition and calculation—the products that Newman’s tail may provide. His tail is originally designed, by his bio-engineer father, as a prosthetic storage or a biological archive of knowledge and history, which is expected to become the basis of the post-Amanduo world. However, what can be extracted from the tail is by no means the restoration of the grand narrative. So long as they are affordable, the public will then maintain access not to the factual history, but to a stream of historical symbols—“numerous personae and events are floating within an agitating cloud [...] the harder [Tang Long] tries to look at them, the less meaningful they would be” (Han 261)—symbols that can be related to the Jamesonian pastiche or the Baudrillardian simulacra.

Unfortunately but unsurprisingly, Newman’s attempt to restore order in the post-Amanduo era through the knowledge and memories stored in his tail also fails. *The Anthology of Newman* written based on his “new conditioned” teachings (in Zhang Yiwu’s terminology), which in a way can be seen as “the source of authority in people’s thoughts, imaginations, understandings and beliefs” (Han 316), is eventually and literally “run over” (338) later in the story by military units during the civil war—the final part of Tang Long’s journey. After Amanduo’s death, although the fictional US government attempts to maintain its control over this country by electing a new president, numerous local military powers refuse to recognize it and rise with fire and violence. While Newman eventually dies along with the elitist spirit that he stands for, which proves unable to create the new order, Tang Long is captured by the army of Colonel Sam.

Colonel Sam is initially on the side of the government but later becomes an independent warlord. In Sam’s army, the sense of security that used to be provided by Amanduo has been transferred to a tank-like weaponized machine called “land whale” that would lead to a Darwinian discourse developed upon the law of jungle (Han 347). Here the shadowed specters of the utopian Amanduo seems to have retreated even further. When Colonel Sam points at those destroyed land whales, Tang Long is told that “their endings have already been destined at the beginning—they will die, so they have to die [...] Look at them. There is no difference between dead bodies, no matter they are revolutionaries or counterrevolutionaries.” (353) In this way, the centrality and the expectation of being arranged in the utopian Amanduo, as well as the “classes” taught by enlightenment elitists, have given their way to a new discourse, or a new “faith.” (361) It is one that welcomes or even encourages competitions and killings and winning, in which “those who act more like beasts will triumph.” (457)

This new discourse, namely “the environment of consciousness,” “a field guiding everything in the world where people’s behavior would implicitly surrender to its energy,” (355), is constructed through a hybrid language that Colonel Sam has specially designed. The language is called “Aikemai” (a meaningless transliteration like “Amanduo”), one that is “made of English, old-fashioned computer language, ancient Tibetan and Shanghainese.” (5) As it turns out, such a discourse cannot be more tempting for Tang Long. He has developed an intrinsic resistance against *go*-playing, and therefore also against Amanduo per se as well as the utopian China embodied by his name. He is changing, throughout the entire quixotic journey in the post-Amanduo world, yet it is here with Colonel Sam that Tang Long achieves his final transformation. Fully devoting himself to Sam’s war, to a discourse of killing, Tang Long forsakes his ability of playing *go*, “liberated from such a dark dungeon,” “giving up the ‘shell’” that has confined his will, embracing his “true birth,” and “living in a completely new way” (404-05, 430). Tang Long is no more, and upon his demise another identity is born—Blake Tang, for whom the old names such as *Longzi* that refer to the promising future under the utopian Amanduo have all become “decayed vocabularies” (415).

As Tang Long has eventually managed to complete his transformation from a life-long *go*-player to a true warrior in a competitive battlefield, from a utopia centrally supervised by Amanduo to a post-Amanduo world, it is still ambiguous whether Tang Long and China have really reached to their genuine liberation from the critical utopia that itself had been in collapse. The new order that Colonel Sam wishes to establish through the new, hybrid language Aikemai is doomed to be a castle in the air. Although Aikemai is created based on the fragments of several heterogeneous languages of the past, it is still designed to reach for totality, certainty and universality, to be “promoted to the entire solar system,” (Han 467) and to serve as the source of truth and knowledge. Unfortunately, in the post-Amanduo world that denied the Lyotardian grand narrative, where the language itself was considered “incommensurable” (Lyotard 66-67), Colonel Sam and his dream to become the prophet of the new order, not surprisingly, die when “attempting to connect past and future.” (Han 472).

In the end of *Red Star Over America*, however, it is the Mars, namely the “red star” as in the title of this novel, that “ascended to the midheaven, whose sword-like light shooting straight at our bodies,” (496) illustrating the future that China is heading for. Here, I must point out that through the novel title, Han Song intentionally parodies Edgar Snow’s 1937 book *Red Star Over China*, in which Snow’s firsthand interviews and observations of Mao’s communist regime have offered invaluable historical records regarding the early years of the Communist Party of China. Back then, the “red star” referred to a mystery of the rise of Maoism, as Snow

noted himself: “there had been perhaps no greater mystery among nations, no more confused an epic, than the story of Red China.” (35) In Han Song’s novel, however, the political connotation of “red star” is changed, indicating the emergence of a new order on the ruins of the socialist utopia that Mao had once conceived.

Throughout Tang Long’s journey, the red star, although only remaining in the background, keeps casting its charm over people in the post-Amanduo chaos, both living and dead—“it hung in the sky coldly and arrogantly, its reddish light shining on the corpse, brilliant and greasy, stained with blood, like grease-soaked plastic film.” (111) With such eerie imagery, every time the red star appears—such as when the flood hits the *go* competition, when Tang Long escapes from the Suzuki gang, and when Newman is killed—there would always be death and destruction. As an external system of values outside the chronotope made of the different fictional places in *Red Star Over America*, what the red star has managed to achieve is to destabilize both the Amanduo utopia and the post-Amanduo dystopia. This introduces a new set of rules upon the “wasteland” caused by the downturn of the old Leviathan enchanted with the pieces of *go*, the Scepter, Newman’s knowledge tail, and the language Aikemai.

Han Song does not demonstrate clearly what these new rules are. They have been encoded and symbolized in a new discourse brought forward by the aliens coming from Mars¹¹—a system called *fudi* (literally translated as “land of happiness” or “land of treasure”). According to Song Mingwei (“Variations” 90), “*fudi* is used as a metaphor for the land of the dead, referring to an afterlife of eternal rest or ‘happiness’.” Therefore, he went on to argue that in Han Song’s eyes, “China’s future remains uncertain [... and] becomes suspiciously inauspicious.” (91). Despite the alien (Martian) nature of *fudi*, the new order or new discourse it has prefigured seems not very much different from that of Amanduo. As *Red Star Over America* is generally written in retrospect as a memoir by Tang Long sixty years after his journey, through some scattered clues we could gradually realize that the old Tang Long, who has fully adapted to the *fudi* system, is “lying in [his] shell.” (5) This shell is the one that, as discussed earlier, he had invested so much in to break and escape six decades ago. For this time, however, it is not a shell made of *go* playing and the centrality projected by the utopian Amanduo, but rather another country-less chronotope to be interrogated and challenged. It could be over-interpreting to sketch the detailed structure of *fudi* just based on *Red Star Over America* since Han Song has provided little direct evidence and description on this. But still, wherever China is heading for in the end, whatever this *fudi* exactly looks like and however it is constructed, one thing is for sure—that the world of *fudi* is “future-less”: “people’s blind hopes for the future,” as Tang Long, in his later years embedded in the matrix of *fudi*, comments

on his journey sixty years before, “is the biggest mistake of those who lived in the pre-*fudi* era.” (Han 394).

It seems that Tang Long’s comments can remind us of the of Karl Mannheim’s dire warnings about the exhaustion of the utopian imagination of alternatives,¹² as well as the leftist concerns over the “end of history” declaration celebrated by Fukuyama’s followers (see Fukuyama’s *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1992). But in this case, Han Song is by no means an advocate for *fudi* in the story. Even though people’s hope for the future might be blind, even though the discourse of *fudi* as the replacement of Amanduo appears even more “critical” (as in Moylan’s “critical utopia”) than its predecessor, “even though it could be a trap, we still have to go for it.” (Han 394) It is exactly such an impulse towards the conceptualization of possible futures and alternatives that Han Song has proposed in this novel. It echoes with the Blochian principles of hope and therefore can be understood as the “utopian” impulse, which Jameson would believe to be one of the most needed energies in our late-capitalist society. Through Tang Long’s safari in search of a new order replacing the collapsing utopian Amanduo, we can also recognize the trajectory of the ideological and socio-cultural transition in the real China during the 1990s. This is a period that witnessed a momentum towards a post-socialist discourse and a competitive and economized environment of market imperatives, and eventually towards “a bigger thing beyond [Tang Long’s] country that is hiding behind the curtain and casting influence upon us.” (Han 181)

Post-socialist Transition in China: An Unfinished Project

Finally, let’s return to the latest book edited by Eric J. Guignard mentioned at the beginning of this article. In this collection, Guignard also includes his recent interview with Han Song, where he asks “[w]hat is the greatest praise someone can give your writing?” Han Song answers: “Bizarre, absurd, painful. Maybe.” (158) In fact, I would say Han Song is too humble in his response—he could omit the word “maybe.” The weirdness and eeriness in Han Song’s stories have already been widely accepted as his unique characteristics that open up the possibility of developing a special sense of “blended utopianism,” marked by the mixture of both utopias and dystopias and therefore blurring the boundary between “the real world and the fictitious world.” (Guignard 159) More importantly, Han Song’s utopianism is intentionally loaded with his political concerns, indicating the “political stake” that David Der-wei Wang observed from the Chinese New Wave (see Lyu 124)—namely the “science fiction renaissance” that Guignard believed Han Song would “reignite.” (Guignard 1)

From this perspective, *Red Star Over America* is a perfect example to demonstrate Han Song's blended utopianism and his political concerns. It is not a nationalistic narrative predicting the rise of China as a global power and the relative decline of the United States, nor is it a manifesto calling for a certain sense of Sino-centralism. Rather, under the Bakhtinian framework of chronotope, Tang Long's journey from the utopian society governed by Amanduo to the dystopian, post-Amanduo wasteland has documented the fundamental ideological and social transition in the real China during the 1990s. The "top-down" intellectual discourse of elitism and new enlightenment in the 1980s was under siege in face of the emergence of commodification and consumerism in the following decade, gradually giving their voice to the market and the mass public. Such a change is embodied in the collapse of Amanduo, as well as the "harmonious society" it creates upon the senses of certainty, totality, and central planning. On the ruins of Amanduo, the protagonist Tang Long has witnessed multiple endeavors to restore order to the chaos, but these endeavors, in one way or another, are all endowed with nostalgic and melancholic connections to the past utopia, and therefore all fail. At the end of the story, it seems that the rising "red star" might bring something new, something might be taken as a new order. But Han Song leaves it ambiguous. The order-seeking journey of Tang Long, and of China, during the post-Amanduo and post-socialist era, is far from finished—it has just started.

Notes:

¹ The term "Chinese SF New Wave" has been widely accepted to refer to the latest boom of Chinese science fiction since the 1990s. See Song Mingwei's "After 1989: The New Wave of Chinese Science Fiction."

² But we will be able to read Han Song's novels in English in short future. During an online seminar held by London Chinese Science Fiction Group in May 2021, Han Song told us briefly that his "Hospital" trilogy (2016-2018) is just about to be translated into English. See <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/vDozaEaRjrPRdy0F1wacdg>, accessed on 22nd May 2021.

³ Unless otherwise indicated, all translated quotes from the story in this article are mine.

⁴ For the historical records of Chinese sf during this period, see Wu Dingbo (xi-xli); for the New Enlightenment and the campaign against spiritual pollution, see Xu (197-234) and Sleeboom-Faulkner (67-76).

⁵ Amanduo is written as 阿曼多 in Chinese, a name that sounds like a transliteration from a foreign language but actually it does not have real meanings.

⁶ Such misunderstandings are not uncommon. According to Han Song himself ("Manifesto" 245), the manuscript of *Red Star Over America* was turned down by four publishers—all of them believing that the radical descriptions of both China and the US could cast negative influence on the real international relations, and that it could trigger

an even stronger round of nationalism among the Chinese readers. The story was eventually accepted and published by Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

⁷ During Tang Long's journey, he comes to meet an Irani boy who has horns on his head.

⁸ The term 'descendants of the dragon' or '龙的传人' (Long de chuanren) is a euphemistic synonym for 'Chinese people' that echoes largely with China's patriotism and nationalism.

⁹ When Amanduo reaches its termination, the coastal dam holding up the dangling sea level (a result of global warming) and thus protecting the city where Tang Long plays in the go competition is also destroyed, resulting in a catastrophic flood. It is at this moment that Tang Long loses all contact with his teammates, Amanduo, as well as everything that can bring him back to the past. Han Song does not make it clear why the dam collapses—it can be a side-effect of Amanduo's demise or an intentional attack of a terrorist group.

¹⁰ The phrase "wall-facing" or "wall-gazing" is related to Buddhism and, specifically, Bodhidharma, who in his meditation "always sat in silence facing the wall, so people called him the 'wall-contemplating Brahmin'" (see McRae 113). As recorded in the *Two Entrances and Four Acts*, traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma, "wall-facing" can be applied to "those who turn from delusion back to reality, who meditate on walls, the absence of self and other, the oneness of mortal and sage, and who remain unmoved even by scriptures are in complete and unspoken agreement with reason." (Red Pine 3) In fact, the "wall" can be understood as anything as long as it can offer a "focus" to the meditator (see Van Schaik 117-18).

In Chinese sf stories, "wall-facing" is widely and famously circulated thanks to Liu Cixin's *Three Body* trilogy, especially *Dark Forest* (2008), but it is also used here by Han Song to indicate the special connection between Suzuki and the Scepter, as well as the utopian connotations of predictability and totality hiding behind it.

¹¹ The novel title *Red Star over America* can also be translated as *Mars over America*.

¹² In his discussion about utopianism and its crises, Karl Mannheim claimed that "in the future, in a world in which there is never anything new, in which all is finished and each moment is a repetition of the past, there can exist a condition in which thought will be utterly devoid of all ideological and utopian elements," where man, trapped in a constant state of "matter-of-factness," is left "without ideals [and] becomes a mere creature of impulses." (Mannheim 1954: 235-36)

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