East of France, West of Russia: Cold War Europe and the Chinese Book

Die Helden vom Ly-Liang-Schan, Západní Nemecko Asie: what can the availability of and translations of Chinese books tell us about world history at any given moment? I first became interested in collecting Chinese books and translated Chinese and Japanese fiction when I lived in New York City, where I was an honourable mention for the Honey & Wax book collecting prize for my collection of Chinese books from the Chinese diaspora in New York City, examining the visual language of Chinese texts produced from mainland China, the US, and Britain. In the past year, I moved abroad for a job in France and have travelled much across Europe, including in Eastern and Central European countries under former Soviet occupation, collecting Chinese and Japanese literature translated to local languages.

The motivation for collecting these books is similar: no matter where I am, I am unconsciously drawn to books with oriental motifs, just as I am drawn to Chinese populations. Chinese people are everywhere — and everywhere bound by linguistic and cultural ties to the mainland and the tumultuous politics of the last half-century. In Paris, which is famous for its large Chinese immigrant population, most Chinese are from southern China and Chinese speaking parts of former French Indochina, which became the Republic of Vietnam in 1954; in Serbia, they live in the Communist style quarter “Blok 70,” encouraged to emigrate after former President Slobodan Milošević and his wife visited China in 1997. In France, most immigrants are from south China, whereas in Lithuania they come from the colder north, a region already suffused with the geographic and cultural influence of Russia, and inheritor of the one-time alliance between Soviet and Chinese communism. At the oldest Chinese restaurant in Vilnius, Lithuania, I met a chef from Heilongjiang who had immigrated to Lithuania to be a Russian translator, in the era when Russian was taught as a foreign language in Chinese schools.

I purchased books while I travelled, visiting “librairies,” “Buchhandlung” in German, “knjižara” in Serbo-Croat, “knygynas” in Lithuanian. About 40 in number, I selected them based on one sole criterion: their ability to illuminate a national publishing industry's attitude towards Chineseness at a particular political and historical moment. The collection exhibits various Chinese diasporas across Europe, the comparative history of European sinology, and ex-Yugoslavian, Baltic, Central European, German, and French publishing histories, through iterations upon texts that are altered in the context of translation. Certain texts are translated to many languages, but other Chinese or Japanese authors popular among one linguistic public as opposed to another: translations of Kobo Abe abound in Lithuania, but not particularly in Serbia or no more than any other Japanese author in French. What explains the popularity of Japanese but rather lack of Chinese literature translated by Serbian publishing houses in Belgrade? What Chinese books are available is to some extent a benchmark of national taste: certain prose and poetic works from China (socialist realism, for example) are more popular among certain linguistic communities (like those of the former USSR, which famously fused aesthetics
and politics), whereas classical works of poetry and prose — even sumptuous novels from the Ming and Qing dynasties — are more popular amongst French readers, who always held a view of a China as an ancient and exotic civilization with imperial mores.

At first, it was the novelty and aesthetic commonality of these books that attracted me. Yet over time, I noticed that most of the books that drew my interest came from the period of the 1960s to 80s. The collection focuses more particularly on comparing Western and European attitudes towards China and communism during the period of the Cold War. In these years, Europe experienced seismic shifts between democracy and communism. Within this time span, "communism" could be taken to be synonymous with China — despite the fact that Chinese literature that was non-political and dated from its long literary history was still published — to European audiences. Translations of Chinese texts tell of the disparities between Western democratic and former Eastern Bloc Europe through the Chinese book, an index of how they looked to the Asiatic and even further East.

In Paris, I was most excited to discover a 1976 version of Lenin’s *The State and the Revolution*, issued by the Chinese publishing company Éditions en Langues Etrangères. Sino-French relations date back to the period of imperial China, when in 1700 CE the first French embassy took place via sea route, and French Jesuits were active in China. Intellectual centers in France, Belgium, and Switzerland are well known for studies of Sinology, and Paris was long time the intellectual centre for Sinology in Europe, where even German academics went to study. At the same time, cultural and academic exchange took place in the opposite direction, and was intimately bound up with politics: in the 1960s, many French translations of Chinese books came from or were co-published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, a publishing house founded in 1952 and controlled by the Chinese Communist Party to promote translations of Chinese literature, philosophy, and Marxism throughout the world. At the same time, French series like Gallimard’s “Connaissance de l’Orient,” created in 1956 for translations of Asian literature, together with *Témoins*, a book series dedicated to understanding totalitarian states, published studies of China, Russia, and Yugoslavia.
French translation (issued by Beijing company) of Lenin’s “L’État et La Revolution”

In Serbia, Lithuania, and Latvia, translators of Chinese literature were harder to come by, and dependent on the powerhouse of Russia, which always had geographic and linguistic ties to China. In Lithuania and Latvia, literary translations went first through Moscow, where Russian translators worked from the Chinese or Japanese to Russian, and then translated again to Lithuanian or Latvian, reflecting the linguistic and political ties of these countries to the Soviet Union, which occupied the Baltic states from 1940 to 1941, and again from 1944 to 1991. Similarly, Serbian translations were also taken either from Russian or from English. Serbian publishing was privatised in the transition from communism to capitalism after the death of Josep Tito in 1980. Some of the rarest and most aesthetically interesting books in the collection come from these moments of transition towards Westernization. Kawabata’s Snow Country translated in Vilnius converts Kawabata’s novel about two geishas into a romance that appealed to Lithuanian tastes, while Banana Yoshimoto’s Kitchen, translated to Serbian in 1995, renders the Japanese novelist’s tale into sensual Cyrillic; P. Velička’s translation of Zhou Libo, winner of the Third Stalin Prize, to Lithuanian bears the insignia of the Soviet era. Translations from these three nations in turn declined after 1961, when Russia and China split over applications of Marxism-Leninism.

“Svetimas Veidas” (“A Stranger’s Face”) by Kobo Abe in Lithuanian, and “Slepčeva Priča” (“The Blind Story”) by Junichiro Tanizaki in Serbian

Central Europe has its own story to tell. Czechoslovakia, satellite state of the Soviet Union from 1948 to the end of November 1989, was famous for its experts on modern Chinese literature, Jaroslav Prušek (Prague) and Marian Galik (Bratislava), through direct collaborations and the establishment of China studies in the German Democratic Republic, with which they were linked. Works such as Japonsko: Západní Nemecko Asie, the Slovak translation of a German book about how Japan faced similar aggressions as West Germany from America after World War II, and Lao She’s 1937
novel *Rickshaw Boy* (*Rikšiar*), about a poor rickshaw man in Beijing, reflect the Communist alignment of Czechoslovakia. In Poland, meanwhile, attitudes were positive towards China following World War II yet shifted drastically in the 1960s, when the image of China became associated with the Soviet Union.

Contrasting Franco-Chinese publications with Chinese texts in other national languages published from the 1960s to 80s demonstrates how tensions of democracy and communism within the epoch played out over the figure of the “red” East represented by China, until the fall of Mao in the 1980s and ultimately that of the Eastern Bloc, as the former Soviet republics and satellite states gained their liberations from Soviet rule. During the Cold War, each European nation articulated a particular stance and taste for Chinese literature that could be used as an arbiter both of cultural tastes and of attitudes towards communism, represented by China, at any given moment, all the while the relationship between China and Russia fluctuated as well.

As a book collector, it is fascinating to me that the history of post-war Europe can be told through the Chinese book, and in the future, I see the collection expanding in unexplored regional geographies. In the time period represented here, the books straddle the Chinese or East Asian original at the base of the literature, the translation, and aesthetics that appeal to the readership at hand and serve the political uses of the times. The present conflict between Russia and Ukraine, as Euro-America and NATO again confront a challenge posed from the “autocratic” East represented by Russia and, to some extent, China, makes the project all the more urgent. As the borders — and interests — of East and West continue to come into conflict, it remains to be seen how the West will imagine the Orient.
Annotated Bibliography

France, Belgium, and Switzerland

Collection of short stories by Ding Ling (1904-1986), 20th century feminist Chinese author, who criticized gender inequality within the Chinese Communist Party and was condemned by Mao Zedong and party leadership; received the Soviet Union’s Stalin prize for literature in 1951, and was published by editor Editions Littérature Chinoise, Collection Panda, a publishing house was active from 1980 to 1999, publishing about 4 works per year destined for a Francophone public.

36 Chinese short stories of Pu Songling (1640-1715), celebrated writer of Chinese Qing dynasty, translated by Li Fengbai and Denise Ly-Lebreton, French sinologist who lived in China and taught at the University of Beijing after 1953; printed in the People’s Republic of China and issued by Éditions en Langues étrangères, where Ly-Lebreton worked as an editor and translator, including of *Œuvres choisies* of Mao Zedong into French, this book showcases the type of book translated by this publishing powerhouse based in Beijing to the French in the 1980s, which issued both ideological and classical Chinese literature.

10 short stories considered the most-renowned in China since the fall of the Band
of Four in 1976, rending tangible the social realities of post-Mao China; it represents another Chinese publishing effort to the Francophone public; in the same era, French translations of Chinese literature, even those sanctioned by Éditions Littérature Chinois, tended to publish more expressive and less ideological works in comparison with the Russian which supported socialist realism (see below).


Short novel by founder of “modern” Chinese literature Lu Xun (1881-1936) with pencil sketch by Tao Yuanqing, who often illustrated Lu Xun’s books; printed again by Éditions en Langues étrangères, Beijing and distributed by the Centre des Publications de Chine (Guoji Shudian), it shows another example of Chinese literature translated by this publishing company to French.


Lenin’s *The State and the Revolution* translated to French by Chinese language publishing company, first edition 1966; the text was translated based on existing French translations (“a été établie sur la base des traductions existant en langue française”) evidences that there were collaborative publishing efforts between communist Russia and China in this period, even in works for the French public.


Proustian autobiography by Qing dynasty writer Shen Fu (1763-1810) evoking life in marriage and nostalgia of voyages and marriage, translated by Belgian
Sinologist Pierre Ryckmans (1935-2014), who wrote under the nom de plume Simon Leys; one of the first intellectuals to denounce the Chinese Cultural Revolution and a fervent Catholic, he was unable to have a successful career in French academia, who sympathized more with the revolutionary aesthetics of Mao and were notably detested by the French theorists of Tel Quel in the 1970s; his Catholic-infused translations of Chinese literature represent another strand of Francophone sinological thinking in the 1970s and 80s.


Germany


Reprints of “The Sixteen Lohans” by Guan Hsiu (Xiu), famous for depicting the eighteen arhats particular to Chinese Buddhism, edited by Gerhard Pommeranz-Liedtke (1909-1974), German art historian who collected Chinese posters in the second half of the 20th century; publication by Insel-Bücherei, which published several Chinese classics in the 20th century, and which, unlike many other German publishing houses, survived all economic and political hazards of the two
world wars.


1st edition, one of 5000 copies; author, persecuted during the Cultural Revolution, wrote stories, reports, and essays about how the army in northern China dealt with war experiences and industrial development in reportage like manner; the text is valued for its realistic depiction of life in the army and found in the Gedenkbibliothek in honor of the victims of Communism, a Berlin library specifically dedicated to statecraft, Chinese and Soviet studies, and the literature and history of the GDR (German Democratic Republic).


Allegory of China under Japanese invasion in 1937 written by the authors in cyclical novel form, published by East Berlin publishing company tied to the Ministry of National Defense during the Cold War; more Chinese narratives like this one were available in East Germany rather than West as East and West German publication houses were divided before the fall of the Berlin Wall.
Poland


Chinese poetic classics such as Li Bai, translated to Polish by Kwiatkowski (1884-1961) who studied oriental studies at the Institute of Eastern Languages in Moscow, and served in Polish army against Germany; book bears symbol of swastika, but divorced from its signification of Nazism pre-WWII.

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Book of poetry in Polish language inspired by China and specifically the myth of a Chinese motherland; Stolark was a Polish traveler, reporter, and poet who studied at the Sorbonne in Paris; from 1949-1952, he stayed in France where he had contact with Chinese students, but due to communist beliefs he stayed in Poland; the book demonstrates the influence of communism (associated with China) in Poland before attitudes became reversed in the 1960s and Poland wanted to distance itself from communist attitudes.
(Czecho)slovakia


Slovak translation of German study on the similarities between Western Germany and Japan in face of American imperialism after WWII; original German text was published by Aufbau-Verlag Berlin in 1954; while in Slovak, the text was published in Prague at the time before Czechoslovakia was divided and all publications were based in Prague.


Translation of Lao She’s novel *Rickshaw Boy*, about a poor rickshaw carrier in Beijing who fails to gain wealth despite a life of hard labour, critiquing traditional Chinese society from a naturalist lens; includes preface from the novelist written specifically for the Slovak edition — “I wrote this novel because I came in contact with many honest fellows like Siang and I felt for them… my thanks to the translator for his patient work in translating this imperfect work,” Beijing 1961.


“Bio-interview” of a Kuomingtang-era Chinese student written by Den Si-Hua, student of Tretjakov (1892-1937), born in Latvia under the Russian Empire, in the Russian seminar at Peking National University; the text, while in Hungarian, was published in Bratislava by a Czechoslovakian publishing house, perhaps for Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia.
Hungary


Hungarian translation of Chinese popular novel about marriage, based on German translation by F. Kuhn rendered in 1926, and Chinese edition published in Shanghai in 1904; shows the stronghold of German Chinese studies and wartime crossover of Hungarian and German wartime translation industries, as Hungary was occupied by Germany in 1944.


English title With Love and Irony, translation of Lin Yutang (1895-1976)’s sketches, essays, and satires, from editing and contributing to Chinese magazines and newspapers as well as American periodicals from his time in the United
States; translated directly from Chinese to Hungarian.


Classic Vietnamese novel translated from the English text *Lament of the Soldier’s Wife* published by Foreign Languages Publishing House in Hanoi, and French *Soliloque d’un exilé* in 1943; both the English (translated by Rewi Alley, who was a New Zealand-born writer) and French editions upon which the Hungarian text is based were rendered by Communists translators (Alley was a member of the Communist Party of China), suggesting international network of the translation and publishing of Communist texts, including communist Vietnam.

![Image of book cover and open book page]

**Lithuania & Latvia**


Translation of Japanese novelist Kobo Abe (1924-1993)’s *The Face of Another*, from Russian translation in 1969; back includes advertisement for series of Japanese novels in Lithuanian, speaking to the fact that there are notably more translations of Japanese than Chinese literature to Lithuanian.


First published in Russian in 1952, Soviet-era Lithuanian translation of Chinese writer Zhou Libo (1908-1979)’s *Hurricane*, wherein he describes his personal experience in the agricultural reform movement of liberated areas of North China from 1946 to 1947; Libo’s novel won the Stalinist Prize in the same year as Ding Ling (see French edition of *Ding Ling: Nouvelles des années trente*, Littérature Chinoise, Beijing, 1985); it demonstrates socialist realist taste in Chinese fiction.
in the USSR and former Soviet republics and therefore the “state narrative” of publishing, particularly because it belonged to the RSS Lithuania State Library, not a private publishing house like Vaga.


Novel *Snow Country* by Japanese writer Yasunari Kawabata (1899-1972); the first direct translation from Japanese into Lithuanian was published only in the early 1970s, predominantly accessed through German and Russian translations, as a result of the German occupation of Lithuania during World War II lasting up to the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941; this text in particular was rendered from the German translation, *Schneeland*, published by Carl Hanser Verlag München press, to Lithuanian, distinguishing it from Russian translations.

Book of ancient Chinese mythology, astrology, and folklore translated to the Lithuanian; reads “This is probably the first attempt to introduce the Lithuanian reader to the spiritual world of the Chinese nation. The publication shows the evolution of the mythical world from terrible monstrous monsters that still have a seal of faith in the crowds to... the tails of dragons or snakes until later, they are already quite anthropomorphic heroes like real historical personalities.” I found this book in a used bookshop in Kaunas, the former capital of Lithuania during the time of the Soviet Republic.


Latvian translation of Chinese novelist Lao She (1899-1966)’s dystopian satirical novel *Cat Country*, a critique of the Kuomintang's rule and political indoctrination in China of the Nationalist and Communist Parties alike, first translated to Russian as “Notes on Cat Town,” by Moscow editions “Nauka” in 1969; exhibits the dependence of Latvian Asian literature on Russian translations during the USSR era.
Collection of fantastical short stories by Pu Songling (1640-1715), first translated to the Russian in 1983 by Ona Survilaite before rendered to Lithuanian by Vilnius publishing house Vaga, based on Avenue Lenin, founded in 1945 as the Lithuanian State Publishing House of Fiction before privatized in 1994 and rendered a private company; it exemplifies the history of Lithuanian publishing — first Soviet sanctioned, then increasingly independent after Lithuanian independence from the Soviet Union in March 1990, the first of 15 Soviet republics to declare its independence from the USSR — as well as the Lithuanian taste for Asian fiction, preferring tales of the fantastic.

First published in Russian as *In Search of the Pearl Island* by Moscow Children’s Literature Publishing House in 1979, translated from Russian by Antonina Brivere, translation to Latvian by Illustrations Publishing House in 1985; it is not possible to trace this Vietnamese adventure tale popular in Latvian back to its source text in Vietnamese, except a similar translation is available in Lithuanian.

Soviet era biography of Chengdu poet Du Fu (712-770); contains Communist insignia, back page reading, “printing house of the Order of the Red Banner of Labor of the publishing house of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League ‘Young Guard’; suggests uniqueness of Chinese/ Marxist theory of history, reading, “in the East a special view of the human personality and human has developed, which is fundamentally different from the Western one… the Chinese biographer, unlike the Western biography, was almost not interested in the experiences of a person”; and was likely the possession of a Russian living in Lithuania or a Lithuanian reading Russian.

**Bulgaria**

Bulgarian translation of Japanese novelist Takeo Arishima (1878-1923)’s novel *A Certain Woman* by Vera Vutova, who studied at Moscow State University; the same text, based on the Russian translation, is popular in Lithuania; however, the Bulgarian translation was never taken from the Russian, as Bulgarian and Soviet publishing industries were not united, and Bulgarian sinological studies grew independently in the 1980s.
Ex-Yugoslavia


Translation of the teachings of Zen/Buddhist monk Hsi Yun (9th century CE), who lived as a hermit at Huang Po mountain, published by Grafos, renowned philosophy publishing house based in Belgrade which published select East Asian philosophical texts; texts from the publishing house are no longer in print due to the privatization of the publishing industry.


Translation of Junichiro Tanizaki (1886-1965), one of the “Big Three” postwar Japanese writers along with Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima’s “The Blind Story” translated by Milenković, who rendered several Japanese classics to Serbian; published by the MM Centar, formerly a center for promotion of Japanese culture in Serbia in the 1990s.

Japanese novel by Banana Yoshimoto (1964-present) translated from English by Ksenija Todorović, published by ex-Yugoslavian, Belgrade-based publishing house Enlightenment; the text is only in Cyrillic and not Latin script and reflects the continuing primacy of Cyrillic in Serbian linguistic politics, as distinct from other nations in ex-Yugoslavia who use predominantly Latin script; the text, like many other Asian texts in Serbian literature, is translated from English or Russian, due to a paucity of Serbian sinology.

**Russian diaspora in Paris**


Found among Russian immigrants’ collections in Paris, Russian-authored study of aesthetics and history of Japanese “No” theatre approved for official publication by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Art History of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, and issued by Nauka, a publishing house for “Eastern”/Oriental literature based in Moscow responsible for many of the source texts to Lithuanian and Latvian, as described above.


Found in Librarie des Éditions Réunis, used Russian language bookstore in Paris among books owned by Russian immigrants (predominantly aristocrats) to Paris; Chinese military writer Feng Deying (1935-)’s socialist realist novel *Winter Jasmine* (1959) set during the Japanese invasion of China translated to Russia during Soviet Era; text exemplifies Chinese fiction published for Soviet readerships, as it was a novel heralded for socialist realism.

Back page speaks to Soviet era printing conditions, printed by “Red Proletarian printing house, Moscow, Krasnoproletarskaya, 16,” yet this publishing series issued largely Russian translations of Chinese poetic classics, not ideological works like Feng Deying’s novel.

*Italy*


Translation of Kawabata’s novel entitled *Capital City* in English, original edition in Japanese issued by Shinchosha, Tokyo, in 1962. Introduction on bookmark praises Kawabata’s writing for decadence and exploration of feminine psychology; speaks to association of Japan with luxury and Asiatic civilization, and China with political revolution.
1. *El Libro Rojo* by Mao Zedong (1976), published by Ediciones de Lenguas Extranjeras de Pekin — Book of Mao Zedong’s citations associated with his cult of personality, published by Éditions des Langues Étrangères, but for Spanish audiences. The earliest Spanish translation seems to date from 1976, although there is also evidence to suggest that an earlier version exists, because the Italian *Il Pensiero di Mao Tse Tung* (1967) was based partly on the Spanish. While *Don Quixote* was translated to Chinese, there seems to be a paucity of Chinese aesthetics in Spain before globalisation in the 1990s — and perhaps cultural uninterest in Asiatic aesthetics, in it of itself interesting. Mao’s Red Book was symbolic in the wave of socialist revolutions that occurred in Latin America in the late 20th century. I pose the question as to whether Chinese translations discoverable in a Spanish context can shed light on the history of communism and the Communist Party in Spain, a faction during the Spanish Civil War.

2. *Peking und Moskau* (1962) by Klaus Mehnert, published by Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart — Study by German intelligence on the Sino-Soviet relationship bringing in the politics of the Mongolian Republic, Albania (a close ally of China), and Serbia. The author was born in Russia in 1906, of German parents, and studied in Russian and German schools, as well as the University of California in America. As such, the study also sheds light on the intellectual historical relationship between Germany, Russia, and China. During the war, Berlin was the dividing line between Western and Eastern Europe, and publications were split into West and the Soviet occupied East; Chinese book translations from both sides can be compared to illuminate different attitudes towards communism in the East versus West.

3. Chinese translation of *The Young Guard* (*Qingnian jinwei jun* 青年近卫军) by Alexander Fadeev (1947) — Fadeev (1901-1956) was seventeen when he joined the Bolshevik party and fought on the side of the Communist regime against the White Army during the five years after the October Revolution in 1917. Once the PRC embarked on its drive to 'learn from the Soviet Union' in 1949, Fadeev became a household name in China. *The Young Guard* was translated in December 1947 by Ye Shuifu 叶水夫 (1920-2002), and published by the Epoch Press (*Shidai chubanshe* 时代出版社), a Sino-Soviet joint venture that specialized in translations of influential Soviet literature copy of this book. While my collection focuses on European books at the moment, I would like to add the Chinese perspective to bring context to Sino-Soviet publishing in the mid-20th century before the Sino-Soviet split, and eventually to expand my inquiry into the Chinese texts upon which the translations were based.