Speciesism, Part II: Tezuka Osamu and the Multispecies Ideal

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Although the rhetoric of *sengo* or "postwar Japan" encourages the articulation of a resolute break between prewar and postwar Japan, postwar manga and animation do not abandon the speciesism seen in wartime manga and manga films. On the contrary, speciesism, that is, the translation of race relations into species relations, becomes more prevalent in the postwar era. Postwar manga and animation refine, intensify, and redouble the wartime aspiration of "overcoming racism" by summoning and implementing (often in the context of war) a multispecies ideal, which often takes the form of a peaceable kingdom in which different populations (species) coexist productively and prosperously. The continuity with wartime speciesism is particularly evident in the works of Tezuka Osamu, who is usually acknowledged as the pivotal figure in establishing new conventions for manga and television animation in postwar Japan. While this essay begins by exploring the continuity between wartime speciesism and Tezuka's interest in the ideal of a peaceable animal kingdom, it becomes clear that Tezuka remained wary of the multispecies ideal articulated in wartime manga and manga films. Here, however, the goal is not merely to point out sites of continuity or discontinuity between prewar and postwar Japan. Rather than using continuity or discontinuity to define

eras or objects, the aim is to proceed genealogically, to delineate the contours of a power formation associated with, and maybe impossible without, manga and animation.

TEZUKA, THE POSTWAR

Histories of manga usually place a great deal of emphasis on the works of Tezuka Osamu in the formation of manga as we know it today. Commentators commonly draw attention to the introduction of cinematic forms of continuity in Tezuka's manga, which helped to consolidate a stable set of conventions for conveying and sustaining action, perception, and emotion across panels. In this respect, within manga history, the works of Tezuka have come to play a role analogous to theories of the formation of a classical style in cinema in the 1920s. If we add to this the idea of manga as "comics that are easy to draw," we might think of Tezuka's manga in terms of the establishment of an easily imitable system of expression for producing imaged-based narratives.[1] Or, if you prefer to think of the continuity of action, emotion, and perception in manga less in terms of narrative and more in terms of interaction with characters, we might see his manga in terms of a stable and imitable set of conventions for making image-based character arcs or reader–character interfaces. In either case, Tezuka is commonly styled as the god or the father of manga on the basis of his formation of a stable, imitable system of manga expression.

Similarly, histories of anime that focus specifically on anime as a distinctive set of limited animation techniques developed largely in the realm of television production (*terebi anime*) see Tezuka Osamu as the originator of anime, starting with his establishment of Mushi Pro to bring the manga *Tetsuwan Atomu* to the small screen. Here a contrast with full animation, that is, animation that strives for a higher degree of fluidity and mobility in character animation that is associated with cinema and the big screen, becomes important. Commentators stress how Tezuka's work created a new set of conventions for animation, at once stable and readily imitable, which spawned a lineage (or lineages) of anime, distinctive from big-screen animations such as the feature-length films of Disney Studios, the *dōga* (literally "moving pictures") of Tōei Studios, and the *manga eiga* (manga films) of Ghibli Studios.

It is interesting that in manga histories Tezuka is often credited with introducing cinematic modes in order to stabilize manga expression, while in anime histories, he is typically credited with developing an anime system

of expression distinctive from cinema or cinematic animation. Yet we don't need to set these two paths of Tezuka in opposition. It is clear that Tezuka's works mark both a continuation of and a break with cinema—in other words, a transformation in cinema (understood as a stable set of conventions for action, emotion, and perception). Nevertheless, histories of manga and anime have tended to avoid the logic of transformation, insisting instead on a radical break between the prewar and the postwar, which is embodied in the figure of Tezuka.

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In recent years, especially in manga histories, signs of trouble with this historical paradigm in which Tezuka plays the role of godlike originator have increased, and the apparently stable ground beneath the historical emphasis on Tezuka has begun to shake and buckle, threatening to topple the exalted idol. As new materials from prewar and postwar Japan become more widely available, and as scholarly and popular interest in manga and anime history expands, we encounter a more extensive and less stable field of analysis, which has led to a reconsideration of Tezuka's primacy. Challenges to his ascendency are especially pronounced in the writings of Ōtsuka Eiji and Itō Gō, which I will discuss subsequently. But first I wish to signal that there is more at stake in reexamining the role of Tezuka in the development of manga and anime than broadening the scope of inquiry, correcting the historical record, or acknowledging the contributions of other creators to the formation of a distinctive set of manga and anime conventions.

Manga and anime histories have gravitated to the figure and the works of Tezuka for two reasons. First, Tezuka truly played a crucial role as an innovator and consolidator in both manga and anime production, and it is exceedingly difficult and probably impossible to bypass his contributions. Second, because a broader interest in manga and anime history is relatively recent, and because histories to date have often been rather informal, the histories of manga and animation in Japan have tended to rely on and to reproduce the entrenched paradigms for understanding Japanese history, rather than considering how materials such as manga and animations might allow us to rethink how we approach Japanese history or to invent new historical paradigms.

Among the most entrenched of historical paradigms for organizing Japanese history is that of a radical break between prewar and postwar Japan. Carol Gluck uses the term the "long postwar" to call attention to the

persistence of a seemingly intractable tendency, still in evidence some sixty years after World War II, to organize Japanese history around a rupture with wartime Japan. She writes, for instance, of "the original *sengo* [postwar] consciousness that wished and hoped for—although not necessarily believed in or lived—a history that could begin again at noon, August 15, 1945."[2]

Gluck's essay draws attention to a number of factors that encouraged this sense of a radical break with the wartime and a totally new beginning, factors that came into play immediately after the war under the American Occupation (1945–47). While the American occupiers of Japan, for instance, as well as progressive Japanese historians put history on trial, government leaders in postwar Japan continually announced the new driving out the old. And the sense of a radical historical break brought with it a new set of attitudes toward history. It encouraged the belief that history could begin anew, and, Gluck reminds us, it encouraged the idea that modernity had gone wrong in Japan but that it could be righted. It also invited a forgetting of Japan's imperial past, at least in the domain of official histories.[3]

With the establishment of *sengo* as *the* paradigm for understanding Japanese history, large divisions of history—that is, macrohistorical conceits—became gradually compressed into and distributed across the analysis of all manner of sociohistorical activities and events. Historical inquiry in postwar Japan has thus gravitated toward and selected those figures and events that mesh with the macrohistorical paradigm of *sengo*. The history of manga, for instance, finds a perfect fit with the *sengo* paradigm in the figure of Tezuka Osamu as the originator (or god) of manga, or of anime, or both. What Gluck calls the long postwar is repeated in the establishment of a radical break in manga and anime history by insisting on Tezuka as the origin.[4] The compression of the *sengo* paradigm into manga history has produced, as an analog to the long endless postwar, a long endless Tezuka. As a consequence, to look at Tezuka's manga and anime in light of their continuity with prewar (or wartime) manga and manga films forces an encounter with fundamental questions about Japanese history and modernity.

In his recent writings, for instance, Ōtsuka Eiji challenges the received paradigm of a break between wartime and postwar, precisely because he is concerned with what he sees as the resurgence of nationalism and the persistence of militarism in the contemporary world of manga and anime. He is openly and vehemently critical of recent attempts on the part of the Japanese government to make manga and anime into cultural heritage and to develop public policies for their production. Such concerns have spurred Ōtsuka not only to highlight the relation between wartime and postwar in his analyses of

Tezuka but also to challenge the idea of an unbroken, purely Japanese lineage for manga and anime. He writes:

> I should first point out that it is a mistake to view Tezuka Osamu's manga system of representation as originating entirely in Japan. It is not impossible to see manga in terms of a lineage that goes back to *ukiyoe* of the Edo period or comic animal art of the medieval period, but such a view of history ignores the "invented traditions" prevalent in so many of the introductory books on manga published in the late 1920s and early 1930s. With respect to stylistic innovations at that time, the reception of Disney is exceedingly important.[5]

In sum, Ōtsuka's concerns with the resurgence of nationalism in Japan lead him to emphasize the relation between wartime and postwar, which encourages him at the same time to situate these materials in relation to the history of Japan, both of wartime Japan in its conflicts with the United States and nations in East Asia, and postwar Japan at peace with the United States but complicit with American militarism in East Asia. His emphasis on the reception of (and reaction to) Disney provides a point of entry into this complex set of political responses and exchanges, for Disney signals for him, in a grand fashion, a history of Japanese relations with the United States.

While in this essay I too am concerned with the relation between wartime and postwar manga and animations, my concerns differ from Ōtsuka's in three crucial respects. First, where Ōtsuka relates militarism largely to cultural nationalism, my concern is with imperial desire. Which is to say, while the co-production of national values and military techniques is clearly part of the problem of empire, I see the process of political indoctrination into national values (national propaganda) as secondary to, and as a retrospective effect of, a process of desiring empire evident in popular culture. With reference to Japan's national empire, I see not only a process of excluding, "inferiorizing," and dominating others through the generation of a sense of Japanese solidarity and superiority but also simultaneously a process of including and celebrating others—the realm of pan-Asianism, the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and multicultural ideals. Too much emphasis has been placed on how so-called common people are passively duped or tricked into backing the nation and too little on how people come to desire empire, actively enough.

Second, because my context is one of engagement with anime and manga under transnational conditions, I am concerned with how the "desiring empire" associated with multiculturalism or multiethnicism, although at one

level specific to Japanese manga and animations, proves amenable to transnational circulation, production, and reception. I do not think it coincidence that the global boom in Japanese manga and anime not only happens with the rise of new information and communications technologies from the late 1980s but also corresponds with the open use of the term "empire" to describe our historical juncture and the desire for multilateral participation in imperial wars.

Third, while I am no more optimistic than Ōtsuka about the current situation, I nonetheless feel that, if we are somehow committed to empire in entertainments and media, however reluctantly or ambivalently, then we fans of manga and anime will need to work through these commitments and this material horizon rather than disavow them. Since this "work" will not begin with corporations, it should begin with fans. After all, who is better situated to appraise the situation?

Such concerns lead me to focus on militarism in relation to national empire and multiculturalism rather than in relation to Japanese nationalism alone. My point of departure is the continuity between wartime manga and postwar manga in the domain of "speciesism," that is, the translation of relations between races into relations between species, which I introduced in the first part of this essay in *Mechademia* 3. I will explore the postwar continuity with the prewar, yet my goal is not merely to demonstrate continuity or, for that matter, discontinuity. I aim to proceed "genealogically." Which is to say, rather than defining an era or an object, I am interested in delineating the contours of a power formation connected to, and maybe unthinkable without, manga and animation.

MULTISPECIESISM

In his diary, Tezuka describes his response to a manga film released in the last year of Japan's Fifteen-Year Asia-Pacific War, *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* (1945, Momotarō's Divine Navy), writing:

> My first impression of the film was that it seemed to have adopted elements of culture films, and even though called a war film, it had in fact taken on a peaceful form.[6]

Tezuka uses the term "culture film" or *bunka eiga* to explain the peaceful qualities of the animated Momotarō film. The term comes from the title

of Paul Rotha's book, *Documentary Film* (1935), translated into Japanese as *Bunka eiga-ron* (On culture film), leading to an association of documentary film with the German *Kulturfilm*. These were films primarily on science that had achieved some popularity in Japan. As Abé Mark Nornes remarks, the introduction of theories of culture film in Japan coincided with the increased government control over filmmaking, "ranging from intricate censorship mechanisms to nationalizing entire sectors of the industry."[7] The culture film became integral to the government control of cinema, and the 1939 Film Law mandated the screening of nonfiction *bunka eiga*.[8] At the same time, the government also exerted tremendous control over animation production, making manga films central to its series of "national policy films" (*kokusaku eiga*). Thus, when Tezuka refers to *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* as a culture film, he implies that the manga film recalled nonfiction films designed to cultivate appreciation for science and nature rather than to promote war—whence its peaceful form.

There were a series of Momotarō films in the 1930s and 1940s, but Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* was in many ways the culmination of Japan's wartime manga films, a visual and technical tour de force. This last wartime Momotarō film also expands on the logic of speciesism implicit in the previous Momotarō films. When Momotarō and his platoons of "Japanese" companion species (the film adds rabbit to the folklore convention of dog, monkey, and pheasant) arrive on an island in the southern seas, a variety of cute little "indigenous" or local animals—tiger cubs, monkeys, elephants, and others—eagerly assist with the construction of an air base. The film is a prime example of the difference between America's wartime speciesism and Japan's. Where American wartime propaganda commonly depicted the Japanese enemy as a dehumanized savage animal to be hunted down and exterminated, Japanese wartime speciesism, geared as it was toward visions of pan-Asian liberation and coprosperity, expanded on the logic of companion species, offering scenarios of species engaged in playful rivalry or cooperative endeavors. Alongside Momotarō with his awe-inspiring ability to produce cooperation among different kinds of animals, there were other heroes in the world of manga and manga film, such as Dankichi or Mabo (Maabō), boys who pursue their adventures in the company of an animal friend or friends, companion species.[9] There were also comical military animal heroes such as Norakuro the Stray Black Dog and Sankichi the Monkey.[10]

This emphasis in Japanese manga and manga films on heroes with animal companions, animal heroes, and animal cooperatives finds counterparts in European, American, and Chinese animation. Yet, taken as a whole, Japanese

> IN EFFECT, *MADAGASCAR,* LIKE *JANGURU TAITEI,* STRIVES TO IMAGINE THE INTERACTION OF SPECIES BEYOND THE LOGIC OF SOCIAL DARWINISM.

wartime animations take the trope of companion species to its logical limit, which is especially evident in the Momotarō animated films with their emphasis on Japanese animals befriending local animals of other environments. Simply put, Japanese wartime speciesism headed toward "multispeciesism," which we might think of as a specific form of multiculturalism related to the Japanese effort to envision a multiethnic empire.

Like multiculturism, multispeciesism is an abstraction that organizes actual flows and practices, and at the same time is continually discountenanced and thrown into crisis by them. My discussion of the abstraction of multispeciesism is not an endorsement of it as an ideal, nor do I claim that the Japanese empire attained this ideal or generated successful ways of coding its flows of peoples and practical relations to them. In drawing attention to the multispeciesism of prewar Japanese manga and manga films, I aim to call attention to the existence of modern Japanese thinking about what we today call multiculturalism, for three reasons.

First, this is a lineage that was deliberately suppressed after the war, with the approval of a Japanese regime eager to forget the horrors of and ignore responsibility for the Fifteen-Year Asia-Pacific war. With encouragement on the part of the American Occupation, the postwar regime reconstructed Japan as a mono-ethnic nation, by stripping Japan of its imperial holdings, "repatriating" non-Japanese living in Japan, and generally discouraging any recollection of empire and its end (the atomic bombs). It is important then to counter this postwar indifference vis-à-vis Japanese efforts to envision a multicultural empire. Second, and more important in this context, we cannot understand the transnational reception of anime and manga, unfurling into a recognizable boom in the 1990s, without consideration of the genealogy of multiculturalism, evident in wartime multispeciesism. In fact, in my opinion, the current transnational popularity of manga and anime is due in part to multispeciesism. Multispeciesism not only builds multiple species/peoples into its characters and stories but also promises a different way of thinking about multiculturalism (at a time when that abstraction is in deep crisis). Third, while I am less optimistic than Donna Haraway about the forms of desire associated with companion species, I do agree with her that the cyborg is a subspecies of the companion species.[11] Consequently, my emphasis on the politics of multispeciesism is, by extension, a critique of discussions of cyborgs that introduce an insuperable divide between the personal and

political, dwelling on identity formation and technologies of the gendered self without any consideration of the social character of desire.

Now, multispeciesism makes a frequent appearance in Tezuka's manga, in a form reminiscent of wartime manga and manga films, as multispecies cooperatives and peaceable kingdoms based on animals living together in playful rivalry for the sake of coprosperity. It is surely not a stretch to conclude that what Tezuka saw as the "peaceful form" in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei*—that which invited him to see in it an appreciation of science and nature reminiscent of the culture film—was closely related to the film's vision of a multispecies ideal. For instance, in his manga *Janguru taitei* (1951–54, Jungle emperor), later adapted into television animation (1965–67) and shown in North American syndication as *Kimba the White Lion,* Tezuka follows the trials and triumphs of a lion cub who, although captured by human hunters and nearly exiled from Africa, eventually assumes his rightful place as emperor and strives to improve the lot of all animals.[12] Note that Leo is not merely king of a country but *taitei,* or emperor, of a jungle empire. The terms "emperor" and "empire" feel appropriate in the context of *Janguru taitei,* because this political entity comprises many species. Leo is not merely king of the lions but emperor of many species of jungle animal. In other words, Leo's empire is a multispecies cooperative, and the manga and anime offer images of different species engaging in playful rivalry or harmonious cooperation reminiscent of the jungle scenes in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* (1:164–65). There is a sense of musical harmony and symphonic cooperation (Figure 1).

To achieve cooperation among species, what is to be avoided above all is competition and war among them, and, as is generally the case in Tezuka's works, the manga *Janguru taitei* is haunted by questions about the circumstances under which animals of one species may eat those of another. In this respect, Tezuka anticipates the problematic that courses through recent animations for children in the United States, such as the first *Madagascar* animated film (2005), in which a group of New York zoo animals (lion, zebra, hippo, giraffe), transported to Africa, have to figure out how to survive without eating each other. After all, lions tend to hunt and kill zebras. In effect, Madagascar, like Janguru taitei, strives to imagine the interaction of species beyond the logic of social Darwinism. The key phrase of social Darwinism (survival of the fittest) is sometimes translated bluntly into Japanese as a brutal hierarchal conceit, "the strong eat the weak" (*jakuniku kyōshoku*), which effectively yokes the idea of "nature red in tooth and claw" to that of survival of the fittest. Other recent American animations address this question—how can different species cooperate as friends beyond the frame of
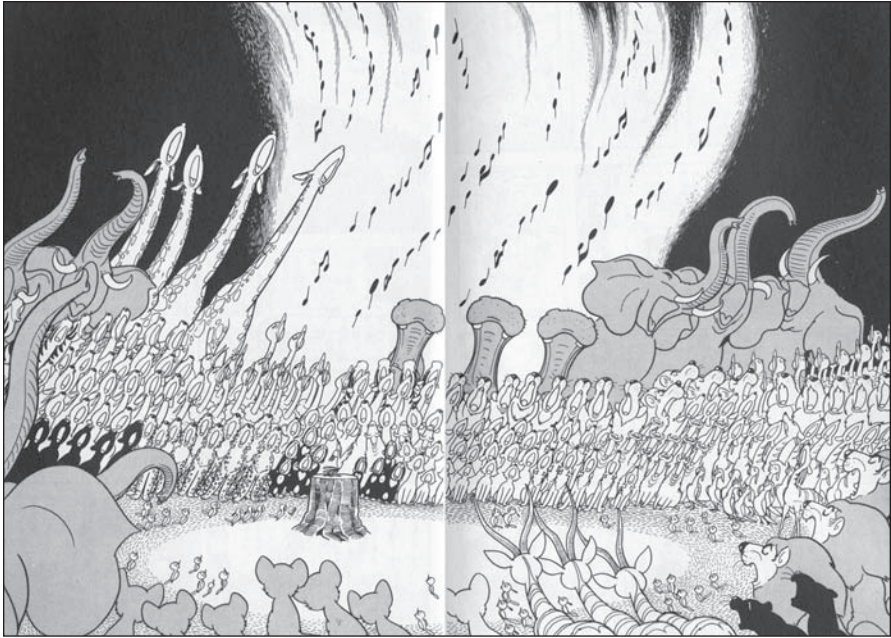
FIGURE 1. In this scene from *Jyanguru taitei,* the various species of the jungle gather in a peaceful circle of harmony.

social Darwinism? In addition to *Madagascar,* there are digital animations made for children and general audiences such as *Ice Age* (2002), in which the saber-tooth tiger gradually befriends a member of a "weaker" prey species, and *Bee Movie* (2007), which explicitly and comically superimposes species interactions and race relations with its rhetoric of species exploitation and civil rights.

Tezuka, however, is ahead of these animations, not merely in chronological terms but also in terms of the depth of his engagement with the problematic of multispeciesism. This depth derives in part from Tezuka's background in biology and medicine: he completed his training as a doctor even as his career as a manga creator began to take off, and in addition to manga designed as biology primers (such as *Manga seibutsu gaku,* 1956), questions about life, nature and species are a constant preoccupation in his works.[13] Yet the depth of his thinking about multispeciesism is not simply a matter of biological knowledge and scientific preoccupations; it also comes of his proximity to the Fifteen-Year Asia-Pacific War. Because Tezuka was born in 1928, the war spanned his childhood years; he was seventeen at the end of the war when he saw *Momotarō, umi no shinpei.* Tezuka cannot help but associate multispeciesism with war, and in particular associate it with interspecies or

race war. Consequently, his is not the feel-good "let-them-eat-sushi" or "prey-becomes-buddy" multispecies ideal of *Madagascar, Ice Age,* or *Bee Movie.*[14] Tezuka continually tries to separate multispeciesism (the ideal of multiethnic empire) from war, yet his manga tend to dwell on failure not success, and the multispecies kingdom is usually destroyed. Likewise those nonhuman creatures who strive for cooperation across species tend to die tragically.

For instance, in one of the sequences in *Aporo no uta* (1970, *Apollo's Song*), a manga in which a young man who delights in killing is gradually taught the value of love through a series of dream experiences, the young man is stranded on an island in the southern seas in the company of a young woman whom he learns to love.[15] The island is a peaceable kingdom in which animals live together without killing or eating one another. When the young man makes the grave mistake of killing a rabbit for food, the animals turn against him and, to teach him a lesson, injure the woman (35:100–101; Figure 2). As he nurses the woman back to health, he learns to respect the peacefulness of this multispecies cooperative. Oddly, as in *Madagascar,* the practical solution to the impasse of not eating other species is for the man to eat fish rather than "meat," a clear sign that multispecies cooperation has definite zoological limits. Yet, when it comes to thinking the relation of war and multispeciesism,

FIGURE 2. In this sequence from *Aporo no uta,* the animals of the peaceable island kingdom stand in accusation around the young man and his female companion, whom the animals have injured in retaliation for the man eating the rabbit's companion. It is as if the human has entered and broken the circle of animal harmony depicted in Figure 1, transforming into it in a theatre of operations.

it is the backstory for the existence of this peaceable kingdom in *Aporo no uta* that merits closer attention.

In a cave, the young man and woman discover the remains of a prior human inhabitant of the island, including his final testament. The remains are those of the head zookeeper of Hanshin Zoo in Kobe, who, during the "terrible and loathsome" (*imawashii*) war, received orders from the army to poison the animals. Unable to kill his animals, the zookeeper took two animals (male and female) of a number of species and transported them by boat to the island—a sort of wartime Noah's Ark (35:147). The animals seemed to understand the situation, and speaking from the heart to them, he succeeded in training them not to prey on one another. Thus, on the island, all distinction between beast (*kedamono*), bird, and human disappeared (35:148).

In this backstory for the island multispecies cooperative, Tezuka tentatively draws a line between war and multispeciesism, making sure that the peaceable kingdom stands in contrast to war and presenting the zookeeper's act as resistance to wartime atrocities inflicted on animals—the zookeeper becomes a "Schindler" for animals. In this respect, Tezuka's gesture is in keeping with the postwar Japanese imaginary wherein the focus on the horrors of war often provided a way to avoid rather than address the ideals associated with the wartime Japanese empire. War appears as an inexplicable drive to destroy, a descent into madness, a force of nature, or act of God—hence "resistance" can take the form of Noah's Ark, saving the species of the earth from destructive impulses of human nature. Because Tezuka indulges this view of war as a quasi-natural, nonhistorical force of destruction, he manages to dissociate the wartime imperial ideals of multispeciesism from the actual war. But then wartime manga and manga films had already begun the process of dissociation of the imperial ideal from the actual war, by displacing the codes of Pan-Asianism and the Co-Prosperity Sphere onto multispeciesism. This prior displacement helps Tezuka ignore, overlook, or "forget" the relation between war and multispeciesism. This is how multispeciesism in Tezuka appears, as in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei,* to take on a "peaceful form," although it is actually a "wartime thing" (*sensō mono*).

At another level, however, it is clear that Tezuka does not and maybe cannot forget the relation between war and multispeciesism. After all, war and peace (multispeciesism) always arrive together in Tezuka's world, as if they were somehow inseparable. While some of his manga end with indications of peace as a resolution to a warlike threat or military interlude, peace—particularly in its multispecies form—appears largely impossible in Tezuka. It is as if the peaceful empire of species were permanently foreclosed, as if to

overcompensate for the inability to separate it definitively from war. When the multispecies ideal makes an appearance, the peaceable animal kingdom is usually doomed. In *Aporo no uta,* for instance, the island turns out to be volcanic, and no sooner does the volcano begin to erupt than a rescue boat appears offshore. The two men who come ashore, however, will not listen to the young man's pleas to take the animals aboard; instead they fire on the animals. The young man and woman flee with the animals, and in the end, the volcano erupts, killing them all. Various forms of violence—war, human violence to animals, and natural forces (the volcano)—merge to assure that multispecies cooperation remains an impossible ideal.

This sequence from *Aporo no uta* is in effect the flipside of *Janguru taitei,* wherein the bid for multispecies empire proves more durable. Yet, looking at Tezuka's works as a whole, I would argue that *Janguru taitei* and *Tetsuwan Atomu* are somewhat exceptional in narrative terms in allowing for more durable interludes of multispeciesism and cooperation between species (both animals and robots). The durability of the imperial ideal might explain in part the popularity and exportability of *Kimba* and *Astro Boy* in the 1960s, as well as the appeal of Tezuka's lion emperor for Disney in the 1990s, in the form of *The Lion King* (1994).[16] On the whole, however, the impossibility of achieving multispeciesism, which comes of Tezuka's inability to dissociate it entirely from wartime empire, results in a tendency to embody a kind of "transspecies" potential in cute little nonhuman characters, whose suffering at the hands of humans repeats the sense of the impossibility of sustaining the multispecies ideal in this world and even in this cosmos (as interplanetary and intergalactic relations do not afford a solution either). Leo and Atom (or Kimba and Astro) are not entirely exceptions in this respect. In particular, the constant suffering of Atom at the hands of evil humans underscores the impossibility of actually building the peaceable kingdom on earth. But let me look at an earlier example of this embodiment of the transspecies potential in manga characters, one that had a tremendous impact on early postwar readers and paved the way for the later characters—Mimio the rabbit.

Mimio the rabbit plays a central role in two manga that appeared in print about the same time: *Rosuto waarudo* (1948, Lost world) and *Chiteikoku kaijin* (1948, Mysterious underground men).[17] In these manga, a human doctor has surgically endowed a rabbit with a human brain, producing Mimio, who walks and talks and thinks like a human. Significantly, however, giving a human brain to a cute little animal does not result in a creature with adult human capacities. The animal endowed with a human brain must be taught, and there are in *Rosuto waarudo* scenes of humans teaching the animals.[18]

These scenes make Mimio and the other talking animals appear rather like school children, unlearned yet potentially receptive to learning. In other words, the animal with the human brain is like a child, and its diminutive stature and cute features, together with its flexibility, receptivity, and manic energy, reinforce the sense that the talking animal is a special case of childhood. I will return to this dimension of the animal character in part 3 of this essay (to appear in a future issue of *Mechademia*), where I will characterize it as not merely as an instance of cute but as neoteny (an evolutionary retention of juvenile features). But first I would like to look at how the talking animal character becomes a test case for multispeciesism in Tezuka.

It is the inability of humans to accept the humanity of the talking rabbit Mimio that generates an aura of pathos around him, which in turn disposes the little rabbit to make greater efforts to win love and recognition from humans, especially from adults. (There is a general equation of human with adult: even though some children mistreat animals, and some adults befriend them, generally it is adults who mistreat the animals, and the manga thus divides adults and children in terms of their ability to accept Mimio.) Ultimately, it is the inability of adult humans to embrace different species, even when they so obviously display human qualities, that anticipates the unhappy end of the talking animal character. As Fujimoto Hiroshi of the Fujio Fujiko manga team indicates in his recollections of first reading *Chiteikoku kaijin,* part of the impact of these manga came of the death of Mimio:

> When we reached the conclusion, we were all taken aback! Mimio dies at the end! We were so involved with the Mimio character and then he gets killed off! We said, "He can't do it!" But he did . . . Tezuka introduced an element of tragedy for the first time to a *manga* for children.[19]

The tragedy of Mimio, however, comes not only from the sensation of losing a beloved friend (a companion animal) but also from the sense of the inevitable failure of multispeciesism in the actual world, the world of adult humans. In other words, the specificity of Tezuka does not lie in the production of cute little critters, even though he did excel at making them and gradually amplified the 1930s modalities of cute that are largely associated with Disney (despite the contributions of a range of cartoonists and characters). Nor does the specificity of Tezuka lie exclusively in his willingness to kill off his cute little nonhumans in order to introduce "reality" into manga in the guise of cruelty, tragedy, or death. Rather the specificity (and the genius, as it were) of Tezuka comes of his skill in embodying multispeciesism in

cute little nonhumans, in an attempt to find a way to think through or work through the legacy of Japan's multiethnic empire in a postwar era characterized by the ubiquity of war rather than the end of war.

In fact, the very design of Mimio recalls wartime multispeciesism as articulated in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei*. While it is possible to see in Mimio the general impact of Disney (rather than, say, a specific Disney rabbit, Oswald) as well as Looney Tunes (Bugs Bunny), the design of Mimio immediately recalls the teams of little rabbit companion soldiers who so eagerly bridge the gap between humans and exotic indigenous animals during the construction of the airstrip in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* (Figure 3). Just as those rabbits assisted the contact between humans (Momataro) and local animals, so Mimio assists humans in their contact with alien species. With the death of Mimio, it is as if Momotarō's loveable animal companions, rather than triumphantly interacting with, and assisting with the liberation of, the exploited local species, ultimately had to die to prove the virtues of multispeciesism. This resonance between wartime and postwar companion species makes Tezuka's nonhuman cuties something of a paradox: isn't death for the cause of multispeciesism precisely how the Japanese war was articulated? Is this manga an endorsement of wartime multispeciesism, once again to the death, or is it a critical response to it?

> THE ANIMAL WITH THE HUMAN BRAIN IS LIKE A CHILD, AND ITS DIMINUTIVE STATURE AND CUTE FEATURES, TOGETHER WITH ITS FLEXIBILITY, RECEPTIVITY, AND MANIC ENERGY, REINFORCE THE SENSE THAT THE TALKING ANIMAL IS A SPECIAL CASE OF CHILDHOOD.

Embodying multispeciesism in cute little nonhumans (and making them suffer for it) does change things considerably. On the one hand, wartime multispeciesism has been transformed in Tezuka into a potential that is crossing through or traversing worlds that are structured by interracial and interspecies violence, that is, a cosmos predicated on social Darwinism. The abstraction of multispeciesism has been opened to multispecies flows and becomes a transspecies potential. In Tezuka's manga and animations, the transspecies potential acts as an affective force that hovers over and permeates the cruel Darwinist cosmos, revealing itself in tragic sacrifices that promise salvation rather than alternative ideals. For all its ambivalence, then, Tezuka's gesture does allow for an exposure of and critical response to the relation between multiculturalism and war, provided we acknowledge the continuity of postwar manga with wartime manga and begin to think genealogically.

Thus far I have stressed the Japanese wartime critique of social Darwinism as the genealogical point of continuity/discontinuity that continues to trouble and motivate postwar Japanese manga and animation. From this
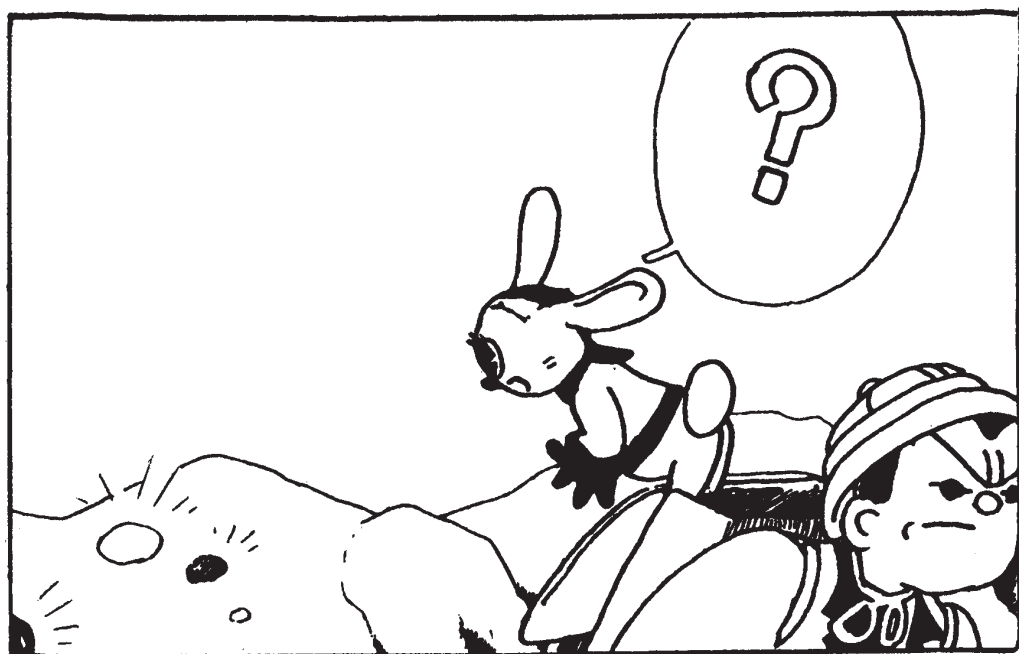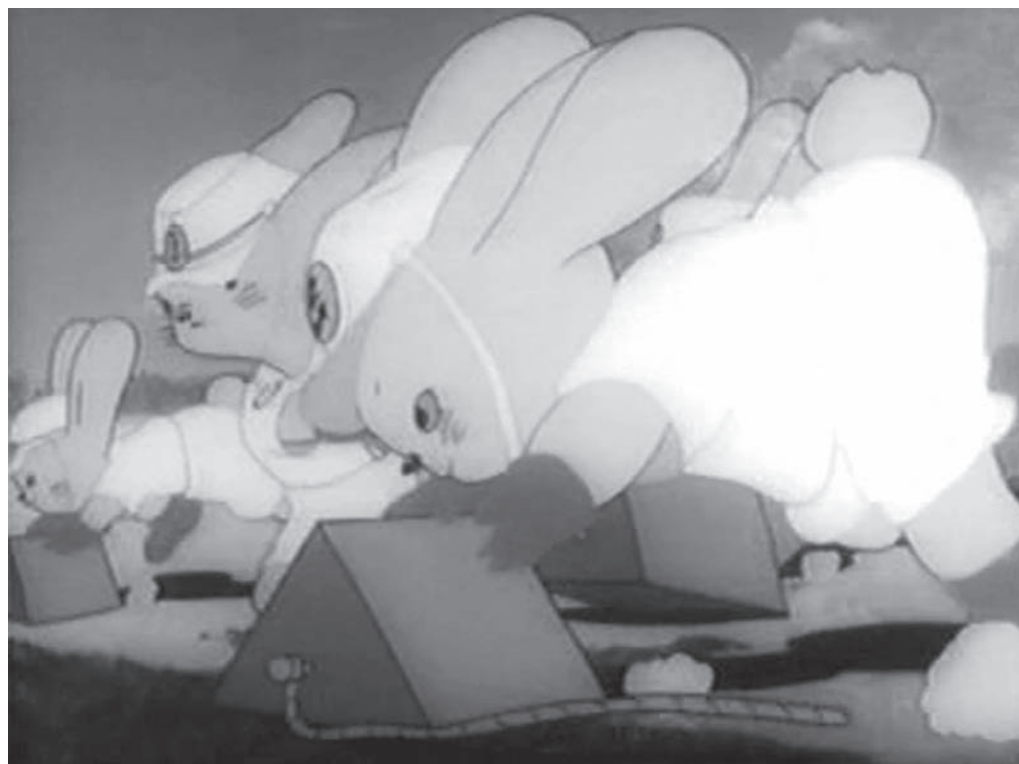
FIGURE 3. Tezuka's cute little rabbit Mimio in *Rosuto waarudo [above]* recalls the cute little rabbit soldiers who assist Momotaro in *Momotarō umi no shinpei [below]*.

point of view, Tezuka appears not as a godlike creator or moment of total historical rupture but as an innovative transformer of manga and manga films. We also begin to see that postwar Japan is not a "Japan after war" and thus not a "Japan at peace." Postwar Japan becomes a key player within the new military-industrial complex, and the prefix "post-" should refer us to the ubiquity and commercialization of war rather than its demise.

On the other hand, the embodiment of multispeciesism in cute little non-humans finds support in the materiality of manga and animation wherein the force of the technical assemblage tends to channel the dynamism inherent in the mechanical succession of images into animated animal characters. As is often the case in Tezuka manga, *Rosuto waarudo* includes a series of comic asides about Mimio and other talking animals, to the effect that "this is just like a manga" and "only a manga writer would turn animals into humans." Such nondiegetic remarks focus attention on the specificity of manga worlds vis-à-vis the generation of animaloid humans or humanoid animals. This relation between animal characters and the materiality of manga and animation demands greater attention.

In Part 1, I discussed how animation tended to "animalize" the human, while cinematic conventions tended to humanize the animal. Animation tended toward plasmaticity, encouraging violent deformations and radical transformations of character forms, while cinema, especially in nature documentary, tended toward photography conventions that spurred a subjectification of animals. Needless to say, cinema frequently turns to deformations, transformations, mutations, and "animalization," yet when it does, it tends to incorporate animated or "animetic" modes of expression in the form of special effects. This suggests that we might consider the increased use of digital animation in cinema, which some argue has made cinema into a subset of animation, in light of the genealogy of multispeciesism.[20] But that goes beyond the confines of this essay. I will return to the materiality of animation in Part 3, but suffice it to say for now, in Tezuka, it is above all the animal character that harnesses the force of the moving image, which promises to afford a relay between manga, animation, and cinema. As such, tensions become condensed into the animal character, in its oscillation between humanization and animalization, or between animaloid human and humanoid animal.

In sum, Tezuka's trick of embodying multispeciesism in cute little non-humans accomplishes two things: it opens the wartime codes of speciesism into a potential that traverses worlds, liberating its affective force, and it presents innovations in manga and animation techniques at the level of characters, which imply a shift in the relation between reader and viewer and

the image. Part 3 of this essay series will return to questions about how the materiality of animation and technologies of the moving image affect the deployment of animal characters in the works of Tezuka, but here I wish to address some more questions about speciesism in general, in order to situate the implications of Tezuka's dedication to a critique of social Darwinism.

SPECIESISM, POSTWAR REDUX

Translating racial relations into species relations is a gesture so common that we often take it for granted. With the proliferation in recent decades of science fiction films and television series that highlight the encounter between humans and aliens, we have become ever more accustomed to thinking social, political, and cultural difference in terms of difference between species. But what happens when species difference becomes an operative logic that sweeps across and courses through our experiences of cultural, ethnic, social, or political difference?

Let me cite three instances of speciesism that may help us to think about what is at stake in speciesism in general, drawn from the 1960s (roughly) to set the stage for further discussion of Tezuka:

- Pierre Boulle's novel *La planète des singes* (1963, *Planet of the Apes*), in which primates come to dominate the universe, and humankind is a mute subspecies;

- Gene Roddenberry's original *Star Trek* series (1966–69) in which human space explorers, under a directive not to interfere with alien cultures, encounter aliens who test their capacity to obey their prime directive; and

- Numa Shōzō's *Kachikujin Yapū* (Yapoo, the human cattle, completed in 1970) about a future world in which the distant descendents of the Japanese serve as "domesticatible" bodies that the rulers of a white matriarchal galactic empire reengineer into a variety of household objects to serve and pleasure them.

Of these three instances of speciesism, the first two proved internationally popular, subsequently spawned films, and inspired other series. In this respect, although geared toward children or "general" or "family" audiences, due to its international appeal, Tezuka Osamu's *Jyangaru taitei* might appear to be a more obvious fit with *Planet of the Apes* or *Star Trek* than *Kachikujin*

Yapū. Yet I wish to call attention to *Kachikujin Yapū,* for its impact was profound in the Japanese context, and its relentless and unflinching exploration of the dynamics of the desire for subjugation in the context of empire is unparalleled in science fiction.[21]

In these entertainments, speciesism predicates political and personal interactions on "species difference"—a set of seemingly irreducible and insurmountable biological differences. As such, speciesism calls attention to the interaction of populations, under conditions in which one population cannot biologically assimilate or blend with the other. There are two faces to speciesism.

On the one hand, even though the concept of species is subject to intense debate in biology, as such entertainments attest, the traditional definition of species—organisms capable of interbreeding and producing fertile offspring—remains generally in effect in the social imaginary. One consequence of articulating social difference at the biological level of species is that hybridity becomes exceedingly difficult and sometimes impossible, however desirable. By definition, species do not interbreed. In this respect, because it implicitly evokes a limit with respect to interbreeding (who can marry whom and with what results), speciesism also bears echoes of totemism and its organization of kinship relations, such as Lévi-Strauss described them.[22] Yet, where totemism, if considered biologically, constitutes an attempt to regulate interbreeding,[23] speciesism establishes barriers to interbreeding, and when tales of speciesism allow for interbreeding between species, the resultant offspring are commonly treated as torn between different worlds, between different clans and totems, as it were, physiologically, biologically, and psychologically.

In *La planète des singes,* for instance, some apes and humans learn to negotiate, that is, to speak with one another, and even to respect one another. But we do not see any signs of ape–human marriages with hybrid offspring who might ultimately erase the very basis for conflict. And the novel is framed by the disbelief of chimpanzee readers who discover an account of interplanetary travel written by a human: impossible to believe that humans possess the ability to write, let alone pilot spaceships! In the original *Star Trek,* in which the multiethnic and multicultural cast stands as evidence of how future humans have overcome racism, a great deal of attention nonetheless falls on Spock, on his status as hybrid, as half human and half Vulcan. Frequently, Spock appears literally, that is, biologically, torn between two possibilities. This is such an important trope of the series that, in one of the later movies, Spock's human mother remarks to him that he is, after all, *physiologically* half human.

It is as if all the problems associated with racism had merely been displaced onto species difference. Consequently, speciesism feels like an exceedingly inflexible form of racialism,[24] wherein the difference between peoples is articulated as *natural*—that is, biological—difference, at the very moment when cultural or ethnic differences within the human species have allegedly been overcome. *Kachikujin Yapū* confirms this bias whereby speciesism serves to intensify racialism and thus to promote racism: in this story, it is the discursive transformation of the Japanese people into a species (Yapoo) by white scientists and ideologues that provides the rationale for whites to reengineer the bodies of Yapoo to suit their whims.

This tendency of speciesism to call on racial thinking and racist practices serves as a historical reminder that racial divisions were frequently articulated as species divisions, as biological divides. As Robert Young points out, debates about race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century often centered on the question of whether different races could interbreed.[25] Those who initially argued that races could not interbreed changed their tack when confronted with evidence to the contrary; they then argued that, even if races could interbreed, the offspring would be infertile or degenerate. Equally disturbing, those who accepted the evidence that humans were one species often felt that the "lower races" should be bred with the "higher races" to improve the stock. Japanese novelist Natsume Sōseki cites one such encounter in his journal in 1901: "When talking with Brett this evening, he said that we had to improve the Japanese people. To do so, he said we ought to promote marriage with foreigners."[26]

In sum, on one level, speciesism appears to rely on racialism and racial "sciences," and even to reinforce thoroughly discredited ways of thinking about racial difference. If we recall that the first works of science fiction exploring the invasion of Earth by alien entities drew their inspiration from "yellow peril" discourses,[27] speciesism appears to be little other than a continuation of modern racialism and even racism by other means.

On the other hand, the postwar era was supposed to do away with racism or, at the very least, expose and challenge its presuppositions and operations. Precisely because scores of millions perceived World War II as a race war, the end of the war saw concerted efforts to put an end to racism, especially among the former Allied Forces. In November 1945, for instance, a conference was held in London for the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and about a year later, in 1946, UNESCO held its first conference in Paris under the direction of biologist Julian Huxley. The preamble of the UNESCO Constitution declares "the great

and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."[28] In other words, to end racism was to end war.

Of course, it is not so easy to put an end to racial thinking, and even though the initial statements delivered in 1945 underscore the role of racial prejudice in the war, with the Associate President Léon Blum speaking of the war in terms of "glorifying violence and propagating the inequality of races,"[29] there evidently remained some commitment to, or confusion about, the reality behind the concept of race. For instance, while many speakers expressed their commitment to combating racial inequality, their solution was to promote equality among races. In other words, they accepted the existence of races as such. The British prime minister, for instance, stressed "the world-wide difficulty that we all have to face—the education of backward races."[30]

Part of the confusion came of the fact that the term "races" carried a fluid series of connotations running the gamut from "peoples" or "nations" (cultural or ethnic difference) to "races" in the sense of biological difference. Before long, however, UNESCO indicated its awareness that the very idea of race, with its connotations of inherent biological difference, threatened to ruin its mission of promoting the fundamental equality of humans. By the time of its 1950 statement, "The Race Question," UNESCO had begun to challenge the very idea of race as a dangerous myth: "For all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage."[31]

It is in light of such efforts to discredit racism by casting race as myth and pseudo-science that postwar speciesism appears politically backward and socially awkward in its insistence on thinking cultural difference in terms of biological difference. In the wake of progressive antiracism, to dwell on racial differences between humans could only appear reactionary. Progressive anti-racism thus makes it difficult to explore the physical concreteness of racial discrimination. Part of the appeal of thinking race relations at the level of species, then, comes of its emphasis on physical, biological difference. The emphasis on species, on biological difference, imparts a sense of physicality and concreteness to racial discrimination, which threatens to disappear once racism is construed as an extension of myth or fantasy. It is difficult to grasp the actual cruelty and the real experience of racism if racism is cast as a matter of individual or collective ignorance. Consequently, the appeal of speciesism lies in the challenge that it poses both to reactionary racism and

to progressive antiracism, by staging an encounter between the human and the nonhuman as if to say, "Well, you think you're comfortable with difference, but what if you had to live with or work with some disgusting-looking species?"

In sum, in response to antiracist politics that tended to dematerialize racism, speciesism strives to give us a physical, visceral experience of difference. A universe formerly dominated by humans but now ruled by apes gives discrimination a physical charge that, say, a nation formerly governed by French but now ruled by Germans does not. And if Americans are intent on the idea of doing empire but getting it right this time (that is, without race war), what could provide a more concrete test of their sense of mission to coordinate the universe nonracially than a series of alien encounters? These species twists on racial politics present, needless to say, a thoroughly ambivalent gesture vis-à-vis racialism, but the gesture should not be conflated with racism or racial prejudice *tout court*.

> IN RESPONSE TO ANTIRACIST POLITICS THAT TENDED TO DEMATERIALIZE RACISM, SPECIESISM STRIVES TO GIVE US A PHYSICAL, VISCERAL EXPERIENCE OF DIFFERENCE.

At the same time that such instances of postwar speciesism clearly derive from and expand upon racialism (with a systemic mapping of physiological and biological difference onto cultural or ethnic differences, and vice versa), their "rematerialization" of racial difference by translating it into species difference also entails an effort to move beyond the logic of segregation altogether. Speciesism rematerializes racialism in an attempt to transcend segregation. Speciesism strives to imagine, apparently in all innocence, how apparently incommensurable populations might come to an agreement, learn to cooperate, and productively work together. In other words, even as speciesism reinforces "natural" divides between populations (a sort of hyperracialism), it strives to overcome racist segregations by evoking multispecies cooperation. The result is a kind of biopolitical multiculturalism, in the form of multispeciesism.

Multispeciesism is like multiculturalism in that it aims for diversity, yet it insists on distinct boundaries between cultures and makes cultural homogeneity on small scales a precondition for cultural diversity on a large scale. As such, multispeciesism is biopolitical in two ways: (1) it emphasizes biological boundaries, with a predilection for translating cultural and ethnic difference into biological difference, and (2) it thus introduces life into politics, and in effect, it makes life the basis for politics. As such, the crises of multispeciesism typically evoke the struggle for survival, the destruction

of entire worlds, or the threat of extinction of a people, a species, a planet, a world, or a universe. Frequently genocide is recast as species extinction, and racial domination as species domination, which implies a reduction of the human to what Agamben calls "bare life" or "naked life," or analogously, a reduction of sentience to "bare sentience" (a manipulable and exploitable sentience that falls outside the zones of law or religion).[32] In such scenarios it is life itself that is at stake, life that is dominated, exploited, reengineered, and threatened.

The Allied Forces' postwar interest in multispeciesism—a nonhierarchical yet competitive coordination of populations that appear biologically incommensurable—presents a certain resonance with Japan's wartime speciesism as evidenced especially in manga and manga films that echo pan-Asianism and the Co-Prosperity Sphere. This is because multispeciesism in the postwar era likewise targets social Darwinism, at once translating and contesting the teleological social theory based on natural selection wherein "survival of the fittest" (already an unworkable reduction) generates the axiom "those who conquer are biologically fittest," and wherein hegemony becomes predicated on whatever passes for biological fitness. Multispeciesism pits itself against evils associated with social Darwinism, such as race war, genocide, and eugenics, and strives to imagine a nonteleological, nonhierarchical coordination of populations.

Resistance to social Darwinism not only became central to some lineages of biology, evolutionary theory, and philosophy of science and nature early in the twentieth century in Japan, but also played a crucial role in Japanese resistance to Western hegemony and modernity, which was frequently construed as founded in racial prejudice. For instance, the Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 demanded not only territorial control over former German colonies in East Asia and the South Pacific but also made a proposal for racial equality, which mandated equal and just treatment for all alien nationals of states without distinction on the basis of race or nationality. The rejection of both demands confirmed the impression among many Japanese that Western modernity and the global imperial struggle were predicated on racial inequality and social Darwinism. Thus the Japanese bid to "overcome modernity," that is, to overcome Western modernity, also included resistance to social Darwinism and racial prejudices that appeared so integral to Western imperialism.[33] This is why Japan's Fifteen-Year Asia-Pacific War could be couched as a war of racial liberation, of freeing peoples and nations of Asia from Western domination, and offering the vision of a new sphere of nonracial—that is, nonhierarchal—"co-prosperity."

Because Japan's defeat discredited such formulations, it is easy today to dismiss pan-Asianism and the Co-Prosperity Sphere as transparently ideological ruses to mask military and economic domination, exploitation, and destruction. It is easy, too, to demonstrate how one of the prime instances of multispecies cooperation in manga films, the sequence in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* of indigenous animals happily assisting Momotarō and his Japanese animal teams, is predicated on forms of hegemony and hierarchy. Multispeciesism is, in other words, easy to debunk. Yet, if I am not content merely to debunk and dismiss the multispecies ideal, it is because it is still with us, prevalent in family and children's films and in science fiction, evidently not so readily dismissed and not so transparent in its operations. In this respect, it is not a Platonic Ideal that preexists its expression but an ideal that arrives in its reiteration. Or, put another way, multispeciesism is a code or axiom that, by organizing flows, produces an ideal.[34] This ideal becomes more pronounced in the postwar era in response to the racial horrors of the "Great War." The ideal is that enemies, no matter how nonhuman in appearance, are not to be dehumanized or bestialized, that is, reduced to naked life forms, for exploitation or extermination. In addition, the multispecies ideal demands nonhierarchical cooperation.

In sum, in calling attention to multispeciesism, especially its prevalence in the postwar era as a "solution" to racism, I do not aim to debunk or embrace it as an ideal or ideology. What interest me are its side effects. I am interested in what happens when multispeciesism comes into play: because it cannot entirely code the flows that it evokes and addresses, it begins to falter and break down, to release other potentials. When speciesism at once evokes and bars racism, there arises a whole new realm of indefinable and uncontainable desires.

I have already drawn attention to how Tezuka, precisely because he does not feel comfortable with multispeciesism as a solution, inscribes it instead as a transspecies potential in cute little nonhuman characters whose delightful antics and human-inflicted suffering go hand and hand. In *La planète des singes,* some humans and apes begin to treat each other with respect, which suggests a degree of comfort with a multispecies solution. In particular, the human man feels strongly attracted to a female chimpanzee scientist who assists him. Likewise, in the first American film version of the novel, *The Planet of the Apes* (1969), apes and humans start to find each other physically attractive. Even though the film lingers somewhat predictably on the desirability of the white man, even here the multispecies ideal is breaking into a play of surfaces, evoking an eroticism that defies easy relation to biological or social

reproduction. The original *Star Trek* appears quite at ease with its multi-species ideal, yet Spock's hybrid character, frequently in physical torment, becomes the site of inscription of the violence of multispeciesism and a new potential of breaking with it. For instance, while Spock's general celibacy and lack of children feel like a distant echo of old notions of the infertile hybrid (a hyperrational emotionless mule), the consequent bond with Kirk and McCoy takes on an erotic charge that goes beyond the realm of everyday devotions and regulations (which slash fiction is so adept at locating and channeling).

Among these instances of 1960s multispeciesism, *Kachikujin Yapū* takes an unusual tack. Significantly, as in Tezuka, the multispecies ideal is barred but with greater intensity. I would hazard to say that Japanese fictions were less quick to embrace multispeciesism in the 1960s because memories of Japan's wartime multispeciesism lingered. In contrast, as John Dower points out and as I stressed previously, the former Allies, especially the United States and England, had largely articulated speciesism in the form of dehumanization and bestialization, rather than multispeciesism or companion species.[35] In other words, the Japanese faced difficulties with the multispecies ideal that the Allies did not.

In *Kachikujin Yapū,* racial difference is inscribed in resolutely physiological and biopolitical terms; populations designated racially as white, black, and yellow are subject to different forms of biological engineering that assures strict segregation and hierarchy. Under such conditions, a nonhierarchal coordination of populations is unimaginable. Oddly, however, the contemporary Japanese male protagonist, when transported with his white German fiancée to this future universe, comes gradually to enjoy his physical debasement and subjugation, finding pleasure in the excruciating biological engineering that transforms him into a piece of "furniture" for her pleasure. Thus, in *Kachikujin Yapū,* the entire galactic empire appears as an elaborate but necessary setup for the incitement of male masochism, for the proliferation of perverse pleasures, even as white supremacy stands exposed.

This is where speciesism forces a confrontation with something happening between (or across) species that cannot readily be reinscribed into racialism, codes of segregation, or the totemic regulation of populations; where the impulse to force an encounter with radical physiological difference beyond race spurs the proliferation of perverse pleasures. This has become such a common gesture that today we tend to count on speciesism to generate perverse situations that implicate transspecies potential. We do not bat an eye when faced with such eccentric species interactions as ABe Yoshitoshi's manga and animation *Nia andaa sebun* (NieA_7, 2000) in which aliens arrive on earth

and learn to live among humans; or Yoshitomi Akihito's *Blue Drop* (serialized 2004–2005), which explores the aftermath of a war between humanity and an alien race/species consisting of lesbian women; or *Keroro gunsō* (Sergeant Frog, manga begun in 1999, anime series in 2004) in which members of an army of humanoid frogs, abandoned on earth in the course of an aborted invasion, accommodate themselves to human life, accepting love and violence from their human keepers, while displaying classic *otaku* behavior patterns. As such examples attest, speciesism has today expanded beyond its initial emphasis on racial difference to embrace all manner of cultural difference— racial, national, ethnic, subcultural, generational, and so on. It has become a stupendous translation machine that shuttles every difference it touches into biopolitical difference, introducing life into politics at every turn.

As this massive species translation project has kicked into high gear across the world, it has become more and more difficult to assign a reference to species, to figure out what a particular species stands for. With wartime speciesism, and even with speciesism of the 1960s, it is still possible to read speciesism in terms of reference to actual peoples or cultures or nations, that is, in terms of representation and national allegory; it is still possible to insist that the meaning of speciesism lies in how it represents actual others of the nation or national empire. Yet always inherent in the translation of races or cultures into species is a movement away from referential and representational strategies. Thus speciesism forces us to think beyond the comfortable received framework of representation theory. If we wish to understand what is at stake in this now global translation machine that transforms cultural difference of every variety into biopolitical difference, we need to think not only in terms of allegorical representation (national allegory or racial allegory) but also in terms of biopolitical operations. Thus we return to the problematic of cute little nonhuman species, not merely as allegorical accounts of Japan or the United States but as biopolitical operations. Here, too, Tezuka's nonhuman characters are the benchmark.

BEYOND NATIONAL ALLEGORY AND REPRESENTATION THEORY

In *Chōjin taikei* (which Tezuka titled in English *Birdman Anthology*),[36] serialized in *SF Magazine* from March 1971 to February 1975 and subsequently published in two volumes in his collected works, Tezuka invents a future in which birds suddenly start to evolve, eventually becoming "birdmen" with

an intelligence equal or superior to humans, and entering into a full-scale "war without mercy" to exact revenge on the humans, the species that has treated them cruelly for so long. Composed of a series of stories recounting key events across the centuries in which the birdmen gradually subjugate, exterminate and replace humans as the dominant species on earth, *Chōjin taikei* explores the implications of race war by translating race relations into species relations, first on a global scale and then on a galactic scale.

> SPECIESISM HAS TODAY EXPANDED BEYOND ITS INITIAL EMPHASIS ON RACIAL DIFFERENCE TO EMBRACE ALL MANNER OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE.

In the early chapters, Alfred Hitchcock's 1963 film *The Birds* is clearly a point of reference, as the birds begin to turn against humans, learning to light matches and to set fire to human dwellings and then to entire cities. In the third chapter, in which the birds launch an aerial assault on the cities of Japan (94:28–29), the air raids of World War II provide a point of reference, and the imagery of the birds setting fire to Tokyo recalls the 1945 fire bombings of Tokyo (Figure 4), which included one of the most destructive bombing raids in history, killing more than 100,000, injuring tens of thousands, and leaving at least one million homeless.[37] Tezuka himself experienced an air raid as a boy in Osaka during the war, and such images of destruction occur frequently in his manga.[38] Yet rather than humans (Americans) wreaking mass destruction on other humans (Japanese), now it is one species (birds) intent on destroying another (humans). *Chōjin taikei* thus uses species war to expose the dehumanization implicit in the racial politics of World War II, wherein the enemy was construed as a beast to be hunted down and exterminated.

In the wake of these iconic references to the end of World War II and the defeat of Japan, the manga continues to provide historical points of reference for its species war. It is as if *Chōjin taikei* were offering a history of postwar Japan in allegorical form. When the birds defeat Japan, for instance, the manga refers us explicitly and repeatedly to the American Occupation of Japan. While the Japanese government holds debates on how to deal with the conquerors, a professor appears who speaks the birds' language. Via the professor, the birds make an offer to Japan: if the Japanese allow the birds to use Japan as a base for their revolution (which amounts to the elimination of humans), the birds offer in exchange to let the Japanese live in peace. In response to this offer, the Minister of Foreign Affairs remarks, with a combination of irony and diplomacy, "Well, the Japanese have already provided for the establishment of [military] bases on [Japanese soil]." After all, he concludes, Japan has experience conniving with any number of countries (94:32–34).
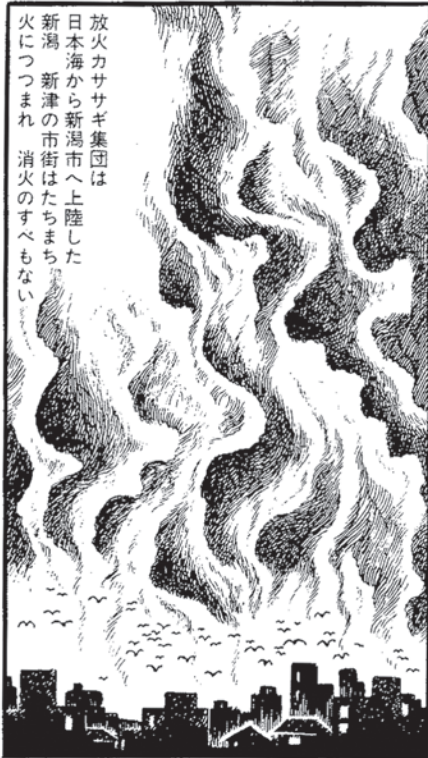
FIGURE 4. As the birdpeople in Tezuka's *Chōjin taikei* launch their aerial attack on the city of Tokyo, the imagery recalls not only Hitchcock's *Birds* but also the fire bombing of Tokyo by the Americans in World War II.

At this level, the manga is explicitly allegorical, inviting us to read the birds as Americans, and the humans as Japanese. This is national allegory. Subsequent episodes repeat this association of the "bird occupation" of Japan with the American Occupation of Japan. Chapter 8, for instance, tells of a talented human writer who sells his skills to the birds, writing brilliant political speeches for them and thus furthering their cause. As the writer becomes disenchanted with his role and sinks deeper into drink, he remarks, "I've unintentionally been doing PR for them with the humans. It's like skillfully teaching Americanism under the American Occupation" (94:89). Ultimately, when the writer resists, he ends up caged like a bird, under the supervision of birds.

With such references, Tezuka's manga exposes both the militarism of the Pax Americana and Japanese complicity with the American agenda. If the birds are Americans, the humans are the peoples within the American military-industrial theatre of operations—and Tezuka shows how the Japanese have betrayed their "species" to preserve an illusion of peace and prosperity. In the early 1970s, with a sense of the futility of protest against the powerful occupiers, such anti-American resentment is hardly surprising. The defeat of a second wave of widespread popular protest in Japan against the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (Ampo) not only resulted in the continuation of the American military presence in Japan but also effectively subordinated Japanese interests to American interests. More surprising is Tezuka's insistence on the complete failure of negotiation or coordination between species, between humans and birdpeople. The rare instances of mutual sympathy or understanding are invariably fleeting and ineffective, giving way to a brutal struggle to the finish. Multispeciesism proves unthinkable, and the birds ultimately eradicate the humans.

This is also where reading *Chōjin taikei* as national allegory clearly breaks down. There are signs all along that *Chōjin taikei* is not only an allegorical tale of Japan–U.S. relations in the postwar era. It is impossible to make birds neatly coincide with Americans, and humans with Japanese. After all, the birds are also invading the United States, and it is the future of humankind that is at stake. When racialized national relations are translated into species relations, there tends to be an escalation in the scale and stakes of conflict. What can initially be articulated, at least to some extent, in terms of national conflict and international relations cannot ultimately be explained by, or confined to, the national or international. With the translation of race relations into species relations, it becomes impossible to explain race relations historically, as world history or national history. Instead, racial conflict—indeed

race war—turns out to be inevitable, immutable, and eternal. Once the bird-people successfully eradicate humans, for instance, something like racial prejudice arises between different species of bird. Chapter 18, for instance, tells the tale of young lovers, a young birdman and a young birdwoman of different species who fall in love and dream of marriage. When their species object to their marriage they try to flee, but their fellow birdmen track and kill them (95:140–46). Speciesism and racism prove indiscernible, and the translation of race relations into species relations (and vice versa) makes it seem that violent segregation and hierarchies were fated eternally to reappear.

Specific instances of racism and speciesism thus appear mythic rather than historical—part of an eternal cycle of war and hatred of difference. *Chōjin taikei* thus turns from historical difference to mythic difference, and even Christ—or something just like him—makes an appearance among the birdpeople, as Pororo. This is a general tendency in Tezuka's manga: speciesism is conducive to a general transformation of historical events into mythic instances. As a consequence, it becomes impossible to read species referentially or allegorically. Species relations play out in vast mythic cycles. *Chōjin taikei* enacts this conceit in its narrative structure: the chronological scale is vast, and the manga offers vignettes that show us the development of the birdpeople at key moments. Each of the key moments adopts the contours of an iconic, generic or mythic scenario: star-crossed lovers, cowboys and Indians, Jesus and Mary Magdalene, for example. In this respect, *Chōjin taikei* is a harbinger on a reduced scale of the multivolume series deemed Tezuka's magnum opus, *Hi no tori* (*Phoenix*), on which Tezuka worked consistently throughout his career, from the 1960s till his death in 1989. Personal histories play out in accordance with a series of genres, icons, and generic scenarios, but in perpetuity, gradually taking on a mythic and cosmological dimension.

Yet speciesism in Tezuka does not simply result in a transformation of history into myth. His works do not merely mythologize historical conflicts. They often include a demystification or "demythification" of the very mythic cycles that they enact. In *Chōjin taikei,* for instance, it turns out that the evolution of birds into birdpeople has been engineered by the representative of avian species who presides over a sort of intergalactic council that oversees the course of development of diverse worlds. Allegorically speaking, this is an intergalactic version of the United Nations. The avian representative decides, as if neutrally, that the primates on Earth have evolved improperly. Feeling that the birds' turn has thus arrived, the avian representative sends bird feed to Earth that spurs the rapid evolution of intelligence among birds, which allows for their gradual triumph over the humans as the dominant species.

At the end of the manga, however, the council reviews the development of birdpeople on Earth, and another representative accuses the avian representative of having acted on the basis of an undue bias toward birds—in other words, the avian stands accused of species prejudice. Ironically, the accuser, a cockroach person, claims that it is high time to give the cockroaches of Earth their chance to develop and dominate.

If history appears to repeat itself to the point that it verges on mythic repetition, it is because myths about modernization are already at work behind the scenes. *Chōjin taikei* shows us a universe mired in its myths of development and evolution, doomed to repeat bad abstractions throughout eternity. Theories of evolutionary progress and teleological development prove to be nothing more than endlessly escalating form of racism. *Chōjin taikei* thus presents a satire of social Darwinism or the application of theories concerning the evolution of species to the social—the twisted logic wherein natural selection is couched in terms of "survival of the fittest" with the corollary that the victors in war have been "naturally" selected, are "naturally" superior or fitter.

In Tezuka, as in Japanese wartime speciesism, the enemy is social Darwinism or the teleological theories of evolutionary progress associated with Western modernity (and whiteness), yet Tezuka does not envision an overcoming of modernity in the manner of the wartime thinkers who pursued such a critique. In his manga, there is no social or political formation that stands as an alternative to linear and teleological progress, to social Darwinist modernity. Nor do his manga explicitly present an alternative nonlinear, nonteleological theory of evolution. This may come as a surprise, given Tezuka's background in biology and medicine, and in light of the postwar challenge to theories of race and social Darwinism issued by postwar biologists, and given the precedents for alternative ways of thinking evolution in Japanese biology. Yet I tend to think that the legacy of overcoming modernity in Japan (and the discrediting of pan-Asianism and Co-Prosperity) made Tezuka exceedingly wary of offering sociopolitical solutions to social Darwinism. In any event, in keeping with the general trend throughout his work, *Chōjin taikei* does not turn to multispecies cooperation as an ideal solution to the racism implicit in social Darwinism.

Instead of offering a way to overcome modernity, Tezuka shows how attempts at linear, teleological evolution (progress) go nowhere: rather than advance along the line of progress, such attempts result in endless repetition of the same generic tragedies. We can also read his critique of goal-directed linearity and teleology as an allegory for postwar Japan. Many Japanese commentators, both on the right and left, have suggested that postwar Japan is

characterized by a removal from history, or more precisely, from world history, because of Japan's postwar removal from war.[39] In other words, due to the lack of war and the persistent sense of defeat, the postwar in Japan results in an impasse in which events never bring about a sense of historical transformation. There is an endless serialization of the same, an endless postwar. While I think that there is something to be gained by reading *Chōjin taikei* in terms of an allegory of the postwar (especially if it allows us to rethink the postwar in terms of a linearity that short-circuits and turns into an endless loop),[40] reading manga as a representation of Japan leaves us trapped within the endless postwar, replicating rather than challenging representations of Japan. What is more, we will remain unable to explain the transnational movement of postwar manga and anime except in terms of a foreign consumption of representations of Japan or Japanese representations. This is where the materiality of animation and manga demands attention.

Notes

1. This is Jacqueline Berndt's turn of phrase (personal communication). The idea of the establishment of a classical film style is especially associated with David Bordwell. For an overview and critique of his conceptualization, see Miriam Hansen, "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism," in *Reinventing Film Studies,* ed. Christine Gledhill and Linda Williams, 332–50 (London: Arnold, 2000).

2. Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History,* ed. Andrew Gordon (University of California Press, 1993), 66.

3. While Carol Gluck indicates different registers of historical memory and history making, including popular culture, she does not speak specifically about manga or animation. For the most part, when commentators have addressed war memory in Japanese popular culture, the emphasis has fallen on war amnesia. Yet scholarship has largely dealt with canonical literature and film, and thus the sample has been relatively small, with a bias toward what is often called in Japan *junsui bunka* or "pure culture" in contrast to *taishū bunka* or "mass culture." Yet, as Matthew Penney argues, it may not be fair or even accurate to characterize Japanese cultural production in terms of war amnesia. Japanese mass culture or popular culture has consistently addressed the legacy of the war and frequently in critical terms.

4. In a recent exhibit on Yamakawa Sōji held at the Yayoi Bijutsukan in Tokyo (April 3–June 29, 2008), I was surprised by the insistence in the commentary about situating Yamakawa in the history of manga that his image-based narratives, no matter how cinematic in their devices, should be seen only as precursors to the full development of manga narrative by Tezuka. While it may in fact be apt to think of Yamakawa's "manga" more as illustrated stories than actual manga, what is striking is the insistence on preserving Tezuka's place in manga history as the actual origin, in light of which other forms are necessarily incomplete precursors.

5. Ōtsuka Eiji, "Disarming Atom: Tezuka Osamu's Manga at War and Peace," trans. Thomas LaMarre, *Mechademia* 3 (2008): 116.

6. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu taizen* (Tokyo: Magajin Hausu, 1992); cited in Ōtsuka Eiji, "'Bunka eiga' to shite no 'Momotarō umi no shinpei,'" (*Momotaro's Divine Navy* as culture film) in *Shingenjitsu* 4 (Tokyo: Ōta Shuppan, 2007), 115.

7. Abé Mark Nornes, "Pōru Rūta/Paul Rotha and the Politics of Translation," *Screening the Past* 7 (1999), http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/firstrelease/fr0799/MNfr7c.htm (accessed April 14, 2009).

8. Ōtsuka's essay, "'Bunka' eiga to shite no 'Momotarō umi no shinpei,'" cited earlier, explores the background of the film laws and their effect on culture films and animation.

9. Bōken Dankichi or "Adventurous Dankichi" was the boy hero of a manga (serialized in *Shōnen Kurabu*) who traveled to Japanese possessions in the southern seas, spreading the virtues of civilization in the company of his pet mouse, Karikō. Maabō (or Mabo) was a character, launched in a series of animated films by directors Satō Gijirō and Chiba Yōji, who frequently receives assistance from animal friends in resolving his problems. *Maabō no nankai funsenki* (1942, Record of Mabo's tough fight in the south seas) especially recalls *Momotarō umi no shinpei* in that a battalion of animals comes to Mabo's aid in attacking British warships.

10. For more on Norakuro the Stray Black Dog, see my "Speciesism, Part 1" in *Mechademia* 3: 75–95. Osaru no sankichi appeared as a monkey paratrooper in Seo Mitsuyo's animation of the same title.

11. As also noted in part one, in Haraway's essay entitled "Cyborgs to Companion Species: Reconfiguring Kinship in Technoscience," in *Chasing Technoscience: Matrix for Materiality,* ed. Don Ihde and Evan Selinger (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), Donna Haraway begins with the provocative thesis that "I have come to see cyborgs as junior siblings in the much bigger, queer family of companion species" (58–59).

12. Tezuka Osamu, *Janguru taitei,* in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū,* vols. 1–3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977). Hereafter when citing from this manga and others in this edition of Tezuka's collected works, I will cite volume and page numbers. To refer to the first volume and tenth page of *Aporo no uta* (which is volume 35 of the collected manga), for instance, I will cite thus: (35:10).

13. Tezuka Osamu, *Manga seibutsugaku,* in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū,* vol. 279 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984).

14. I am referring here to the solution to the problem of eating well, which in *Madagascar* becomes a matter of eating well without eating one's (animal) friends. The final solution is to eat fish, which are beautifully presented as sushi near the end of the film.

15. Tezuka Osamu, *Aporo no uta*, in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū,* vols. 35–37 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

16. For an account of the allegations of Disney borrowing from Tezuka's *Janguru taitei* for *The Lion King*, see Fred Patten, "Simba versus Kimba: The Pride of Lions," in *Illusion of Life II: More Essays on Animation,* ed. Alan Cholodenko (Sydney: Power Publications, 2007), 275–312.

17. In his afterword to the edition of *Rosuto waarudo* in his collected works, Tezuka recounts that he began work on it immediately after he had completed his first long science fiction manga *Yūrei otoko* (Ghost man) in his second year of junior high school. At age

twenty, he revised *Rosuto waarudo* and even began a newspaper serialization of it in 1947 (which he never completed). A complete version of the manga appeared in two volumes from Fuji Shobō on December 20, 1948. See Tezuka Osamu, *Rosuto waarudo shikaden,* in *Tezuka Osamu zenshū,* vols. 360–61 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982), and *Chiteikoku kaijin,* in *Tezuka Osamu zenshū,* vol. 253 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982).

18. One early sequence seems to parody the scene in *Momotarō, umi no shinpei* in which the young animals learn the first row of the Japanese kana syllabary (a – i – u – e – o): where the young animals in *Momotarō* show exemplary behavior, the animals in *Rosuto waarudo* are unruly and unrestrained.

19. Fujimoto Hiroshi, quoted in *Chiteikoku kaijin* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1994), 309–10; cited in Itō Gō, "*Manga* History Viewed through Proto-Characteristics," trans. Shimauchi Testurō, in *Tezuka: The Marvel of Manga,* ed. Philip Brophy (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2006), 110.

20. Both Lev Manovich, in *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), and Oshii Mamoru, in *Subete no eiga wa anime ni naru* (All film is becoming anime) (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 2004), make this argument.

21. For recent accounts of *Kachikujin Yapū* in English, see Takayuki Tatsumi, *Full Metal Apache: Transactions between Cyberpunk Japan and Avant-Pop America* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), and Christine Marran, "Empire through the Eyes of a Yapoo: Male Abjection in the Cult Classic *Beast Yapoo,*" in *Mechademia* 4 (2009): 259–73.

22. See Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicoson, 1968). Thanks to Marilyn Ivy for calling this to my attention.

23. Claude Lévi-Strauss speaks to this matter in his essay in *The View from Afar* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), in which he considers the possible genetic advantages of totemic practices.

24. With the understanding that it is impossible to draw a firm distinction, I use the term racialism in contrast to racism, with racialism referring to discourses and practices that presuppose or establish biological differences between races, and racism indicating practices and discourses intent on establishing a hierarchy between races on the basis of biological differences.

25. Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), chapter 2.

26. Natsume Sōseki, *Sōseki zenshū (Collected works of Natsume Sōseki)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974-76), 13: 43.

27. Tatsumi, in chapter 3 of *Full Metal Apache,* discusses the origins of science fiction in yellow peril literature. In "(Para-)Humanity, Yellow Peril, and the Postcolonial (Arche-) Type," Peter Button talks about the legacy of the parahuman in literature, as related to the yellow peril. *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 4 (2006): 421–47.

28. "Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation," 93. Documents found at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ulis/ Unesco_1946-1950.shtml (accessed September 2, 2008).

29. Ibid., 27.

30. Ibid., 22.

31. "The Race Question," http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001282/128291eo. pdf (accessed August 18, 2009), 8.

32. The definition derives from Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

33. There are many accounts in English of the wartime debates on "overcoming modernity" (*kindai no chōkoku*), but a good place to start is Richard Calichman's recent translation *Overcoming Modernity: Cultural Identity in Wartime Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

34. In this essay I am drawing on the definitions of code and axiom in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). They make a distinction between codes and axioms in that codes properly belong to the State and thus to archaic regimes that persist within capitalism, while axioms are characteristic of capitalism. Nonetheless, codes do not disappear from capitalism; they are at once mobilized and axiomatized. In this essay, with this exception, I refer to speciesism and multispeciesism in terms of codes rather than axioms, because I am not dealing directly with questions of modern capitalism but more with questions of the State. While there is not sufficient space to discuss the matter fully here, I nonetheless have included the term "axiom" as a reminder that these formations of speciesism and the multispecies code are subject to constant deterritorialization and reterritorialization, much as Deleuze and Guattari describe it in the relation between codes and axioms.

35. This is not to say that there were no instances in Japanese wartime cinema of the sort of bestialization of the enemy to which John Dower refers: Akira Kurosawa's *Sanshiro Sugata Part 2* (1945) is one notorious instance, which stands in contrast to *Momotarō umi no shinpei* of the same year.

36. Tezuka Osamu, *Chōjin taikei,* in *Tezuka Osamu zenshū,* vols. 94–95 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980).

37. Mark Selden, "A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities, and the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq," *Japan Focus,* May 2, 2007, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Mark-Selden/2414 (accessed April 15, 2009).

38. Tezuka so frequently comments on his experience of an air raid in relation to his depictions of mass destruction in manga that one can find references to it throughout his interviews, in the Tezuka manga biography (produced by Tezuka Productions), and in his essays. For a direct reference in relation to cinema, see the quoted interview with Tezuka in Ōtsuka, "Disarming Atom," 117–18.

39. See Sawaragi Noi's discussion of postwar Japan as a "bad place" in *Nihon— kindai—bijutsu* (Japan—modern—art) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998). Marilyn Ivy provides a fine account of the right-wing response to the idea of postwar Japan being stuck outside history in a deformed state due to the emphasis on its defeat to ground postwar history, in "In/Comparable Horrors: Total War and the Japanese Thing," in *boundary 2* 32 (2005): 137–49. Finally, I speak to a similar problem in the context of Ootomo Katsuhiro's *Akira* in "Born of Trauma: *Akira* and Capitalist Modes of Destruction," in *War, Trauma, Capital,* special issue of *positions* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 131–56.

40. This is in effect what Sawaragi Noi refers to in his emphasis on postwar Japan as a bad place or bad site. And as his prior work on "simulationism" makes clear, this bad place might be construed as a site where the teleologies of grand narratives fold back on themselves to produce self-referential loops. See the expanded paperback edition of Sawaragi Noi, *Shimyureeshonizumu* (Simulationism), Chikuma bungei bunko 14 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2001).