

## Japan's Carnival War

Japan in the Asia-Pacific War years is usually remembered for economic deprivation, political repression, and cultural barrenness. Benjamin Uchiyama argues that although the war created the opportunity for the state to expand its control over society and mass culture, it also fractured Japanese people's sense of identity, spilling out through a cultural framework that is best understood as "carnival war." In this cultural history, we are introduced to five symbolic figures: the thrill-seeking reporter, the mischievous munitions worker, the tragic soldier, the elusive movie star, and the glamorous youth aviator. Together they represent both the suppression and proliferation of cultural life in wartime Japan and demonstrate that "carnival war" coexisted with total war to promote consumerist desire versus sacrifice, fantasy versus nightmare, and beauty versus horror. Ultimately, Uchiyama argues, this duality helped mobilize home front support for the war effort.

Benjamin Uchiyama is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Southern California.





# Japan's Carnival War

Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945

Benjamin Uchiyama

University of Southern California





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107186743

DOI: 10.1017/9781316899823

© Benjamin Uchiyama 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-18674-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



### Contents

List of Figures

|   | Acknowledgments  | X   |
|---|--|-----|
|   | Introduction   | 1   |
|   | The Circus Freak   | 1   |
|   | Writing a History of Total War                                   | 5   |
|   | Cultural Practice versus Cultural Ideology                       | 14  |
|   | The Idea of Carnival   | 16  |
|   | Carnival War   | 17  |
|   | The Five Kings of Carnival War                                   | 20  |
| 1 | The Reporter   | 23  |
|   | The Censor Becomes the "Effeminate Bookworm"                     | 27  |
|   | The Reporter Becomes the "War Correspondent"                     | 31  |
|   | The Thrills of Total War and the Crowning of the "Thrill Hunter" | 36  |
|   | The Speed of Total War   | 40  |
|   | Thrills and Kills  | 45  |
|   | "Tis the Season for the Fall of Nanjing!"                        | 54  |
|   | Wild Dancing in Ginza  | 61  |
|   | The Decrowning of the "Thrill Hunter"                            | 62  |
| 2 | The Munitions Worker   | 67  |
|   | Early Wartime Mobilization and Its Consequences                  | 70  |
|   | The Profile of the Munitions Worker                              | 77  |
|   | The Munitions Worker in Disguise                                 | 81  |
|   | The Munitions Worker Becomes the Industrial Warrior              | 89  |
|   | Conclusion   | 101 |
| 3 | The Soldier  | 105 |
|   | The Soldier Speeds Up  | 106 |
|   | The Military God Becomes a Sentimental Soldier                   | 109 |
|   | The "Humanity" of the Wakizaka Unit                              | 117 |
|   | "Heartfelt Comforts" from the Home Front                         | 121 |
|   | The "Comforts" of the Warfront                                   | 131 |
|   | The Crowning of the Returned Soldier                             | 136 |
|   | The Returned Soldier as Soldier-Freak                            | 144 |
|   | The Rage of the Returned Soldier                                 | 147 |

page vii



| vi |   | Contents   |     |
|----|---|--|-----|
|    |   | The Sorrow of the Returned Soldier                           | 150 |
|    |   | The Guardians of the Returned Soldier                        | 152 |
|    |   | Decrowning the Soldier                                       | 160 |
|    | 4 | The Movie Star   | 162 |
|    |   | Controlling the Movie Star: The Road to the Film Law         | 165 |
|    |   | The Film Law and the Registration System                     | 170 |
|    |   | The Movie Star in the New Film Order                         | 176 |
|    |   | The Case of Mito Mitsuko                                     | 178 |
|    |   | The Limits of Mobilizing Movie Stars                         | 181 |
|    |   | Conclusion   | 198 |
|    | 5 | The Youth Aviator  | 202 |
|    |   | The Tragic Kamikaze Pilot                                    | 204 |
|    |   | The Foundations of Aviation Culture                          | 207 |
|    |   | The Crowning of the Youth Aviator                            | 209 |
|    |   | The Youth Aviator as Consumer-Fan                            | 225 |
|    |   | The Youth Aviator Becomes the Kamikaze Pilot                 | 240 |
|    |   | The Kamikaze Pilot Listened to Jazz Before Killing Americans | 249 |
|    |   | Conclusion   | 253 |
|    |   | Gendering Carnival War                                       | 255 |
|    |   | Global Echoes of Carnival War                                | 258 |
|    |   | The Circus Freak Next to the Policeman                       | 261 |
|    |   | Ribliography   | 263 |

Index

277



## Figures

| 1.1 | I wo war correspondents as depicted in I ono                  |         |
|-----|---|---------|
|     | Theater's December 1937 "reportage drama" (repo               |         |
|     | dorama), "Shanghai." Source: "Yasumi Toshio saku, repo        |         |
|     | dorama Shanhai: Tōhō gekijō shiwasu kōgyō," Sunday            |         |
|     | - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·                       | page 35 |
| 1.2 | "Erotic Grotesque: Notes on Chinese Lewdness." Source:        |         |
|     | Inoue Kōbai, "Ero guro: Shina kōshoku sōshi," Chūō            |         |
|     | Kōron (October 1937): 350. Courtesy of Chūō Kōronsha.         | 50      |
| 1.3 | Final installment of the "Hundred Man Killing Contest."       |         |
|     | Source: "Hyakunin giri 'chō kiroku'," Tokyo Nichinichi        |         |
|     | Shinbun (December 13, 1937).                                  | 60      |
| 1.4 | "Warfront Romance: The Hundred Man Killing                    |         |
|     | Sublieutenants." Source: Kobayashi Hidetsune (art), Satō      |         |
|     | Hachirō (text), "Shi gashū zoku: Sensen romansu," Fujin       |         |
|     | Kurabu (February 1938): 33.                                   | 65      |
| 2.1 | The Factory Youth. Source: Cover, Shōnen Kurabu               |         |
|     | (March 1940).   | 71      |
| 2.2 | Yanagiya pomade advertisement. Source: Asahi Shinbun          |         |
|     | (January 6, 1943). Courtesy of Yanagiya Honten.               | 80      |
| 2.3 | Ginza Yutaka Barbershop advertisement. Source: Sutā: Eiga     | :       |
|     | to Rebyū (August 1939, gejungō). Courtesy of Waseda           |         |
|     | University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.                 | 88      |
| 2.4 | A labor recruitment poster created by the Welfare Ministry an |         |
|     | the Employment Association from the early 1940s. The slogar   | ı,      |
|     | alluding to the idealized industrial warrior, reads, "Labor   |         |
|     | Mobilization: Go! To the warfront of the home front. To heav  | -       |
|     | industry." Courtesy of Nagano Prefecture, Shimoina District,  |         |
|     | Achi Village Office, Community Activities Promotion Section   | . 91    |
| 2.5 | Yanagiya pomade advertisement. Source: Asahi Shinbun          |         |
|     | (February 8, 1944). Courtesy of Vanagiya Honten               | 100     |

vii



| viii | List of Figures   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 2.6  | The Munitions Worker. Source: Hayase Rōji (artist), in Katō Etsurō, ed., Zōsan manga shū: Zen Nippon seinen mangaka   |     |
| 2.7  | kyōkai daiichi sakuhin shū (Tokyo: Shinkigensha, 1944), 23.<br>The Industrial Warrior. Source: Miyoshi Noboru (artist), in<br>Katō Etsurō, ed., Zōsan manga shū: Zen Nippon seinen mangaka  | 102 |
| 3.1  | kyōkai daiichi sakuhin shū (Tokyo: Shinkigensha, 1944), 32.<br>Okada Sōji, "Hōdanka no Shanhai: Sento Shanhai tsūshin, dai  | 103 |
|      | isshin," <i>Kaizō</i> (October 1937): 372. Courtesy of the University of Tokyo Economics Library.   | 110 |
| 3.2  | "The Legend of Tank Commander Nishizumi," starring Uehara Ken. Source: "Nishizumi senshachō den," <i>Kinema Junpō</i> 732 (November 1, 1940): n.p. Courtesy of Waseda   |     |
| 3.3  | University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum. The cover of the 1939 Army Ministry pamphlet, "For the Sake of the Glorious Returned Soldiers" ( <i>kagayaku kikanhei no tame ni</i> ). Source: Rikugunshō jōhōbu, ed., <i>Kagayaku kikanhei no tame ni</i> (Tokyo: Rikugunshō Jōhōbu, 1939). Courtesy of the | 115 |
|      | National Diet Library.  | 137 |
| 3.4  | Self-portraits by Japanese soldiers stationed in South China, sent to <i>Heitai</i> magazine, 1939. Source: "Shijō hyōshi e tenrankai," <i>Heitai</i> 7 (August 20, 1939). Courtesy of Tōsui  |     |
|      | Shobō.  | 155 |
| 3.5  | Self-portraits by Japanese soldiers stationed in South China, sent to <i>Heitai</i> magazine, 1939. Source: "Shijō hyōshi e tenrankai," <i>Heitai</i> 7 (August 20, 1939). Courtesy of Tōsui  |     |
|      | Shobō.  | 156 |
| 4.1  | Before and after photos of the "Old Order" and the "New Order" for movies. Source: "Satsueijo no shintaisei," <i>Eiga no Tomo</i> (March 1941): n.p. Courtesy of Waseda University  |     |
|      | Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.  | 177 |
| 4.2  | Mito Mitsuko. Source: advertisement, <i>Eiga no Tomo</i> (September 1941): n.p. Courtesy of Waseda University   |     |
|      | Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.  | 185 |
| 4.3  | A visit to a Kyoto acting school run by Nikkatsu, Shinkō, and Shōchiku studios. The school became one of the prototypes for a national Japan Film School. Source: "Haiyū gakkō wo tazunete," <i>Eiga no Tomo</i> (August 1941): n.p. Courtesy of  |     |
|      | Waseda University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.  | 194 |

5.1 Movie still from "You're the Next Wild Eagle," 1944. Source:

(September 1944): n.p. Courtesy of Waseda University

"Kimi koso, tsugi no arawashi da," Shin Eiga

Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum.

203



|     | List of Figures  | ix  |
|-----|--|-----|
| 5.2 | "Flight Uniform of Navy Aviators." Source: "Hikōshi no         |     |
|     | fukusō no hanashi 2," Kōkū Shōnen (November 1942): 83.         | 217 |
| 5.3 | "Latest Planes of the American Enemy." Source: "Teki           |     |
|     | Amerika no saishin eiki," Kōkū Shōnen (August 1943): n.p.      | 228 |
| 5.4 | Aviation badges and model "enemy planes." Source:              |     |
|     | advertisement, Kōkū Shōnen (November 1943): n.p.               | 231 |
| 5.5 | Cover of Mokei, March 1943. Courtesy of Japan Aeronautic       |     |
|     | Association Aviation Library.                                  | 233 |
| 5.6 | "Dreams of Young Engineers." Source: "Shonen gishi no          |     |
|     | yume," Kōkū Shōnen (July 1943): 66-67.                         | 236 |
| 5.7 | Captain Seki, leader of one of the first kamikaze units, is    |     |
|     | decked out in full aviator regalia complete with chronograph   |     |
|     | watch, fur-lined cap, and goggles resting on forehead. Source: |     |
|     | Shashin Shūhō 347 (November 15, 1944): cover. Courtesy of      |     |
|     | the National Archives of Japan.                                | 244 |
| 5.8 | The kamikaze pilot on the cover of Asahi Gurafu (June 25,      |     |
|     | 1945). Courtesy of University of Tokyo, Graduate School of     |     |
|     | Interdisciplinary Information Studies Library                  | 249 |



## Acknowledgments

My advisor, the wonderful and amazing Gordon M. Berger, shepherded this project from the beginning with great wisdom, foresight, and guidance. Brett Sheehan has been an invaluable and incredible mentor and now colleague. I would like to express tremendous gratitude to Paul Lerner, Clinton Godart, Sunyoung Park, and Grace Ryu. Many thanks to Anne McKnight, Joan Piggott, Philippa Levine, Deb Harkness, Karen Haltunnen, Steve Ross, Kyung Moon Hwang, Josh Goldstein, and Tomoko Bialock. Warmest thanks to Nadia Kanagawa, Luman Wang, Kevin Wilson, Dan Scherer, Michelle Damian, Sachiko Kawai, and Nobuko Toyosawa. The genesis of the project began as an A. M. thesis at Harvard University where Andrew Gordon, Timothy George, Harold Bolitho, and Dani Botsman were all incredibly generous and incisive in their feedback and counsel. At UC Davis, the wonderful Robert Borgen's seminar on memories of World War II in East Asia helped crystallize my interest in wartime Japanese history. I am forever indebted to Kyu Hyun Kim and Angela Young-mi Pak for providing years of mentorship, friendship, and bountiful meals.

Research for this book was supported by a Fulbright-IIE grant, the Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, and the University of Kansas New Faculty General Research Fund. Yoshimi Shunya served as my advisor during a 2008-9 research year at the University of Tokyo's Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies and provided illuminating and penetrating analyses and comments. Several other Japanese professors also graciously gave very helpful advice on the trajectory of the dissertation: Furukawa (Nihon University), Inoue Toshikazu University), and Narita Ryūichi (Japan Women's University). My deep thanks and appreciation to the people at Kodansha for granting access to their library and archival materials: Inoue Kiyoshi, director of the Office of the President; Gokida Naoki, Editorial General Affairs Bureau Vice-Chief and Information Materials Department Director; Kanezawa Chiaki, director of the Company History Editing Department; and

X



### Acknowledgments

xi

Tomoe Sumi of Kōdansha America. At the Japan Aeronautic Association Aviation Library, Nakamura Yūko was always gracious and helpful in pulling out aviation-related materials. Watanabe Yui of Yanagiya Honten kindly assisted with image permissions and provided an excerpt of Yanagiya's company history publication.

In Japan, I was fortunate to get to know an amazing group of fellow graduate students: Ben Allen, Adam Bronson, Kuhkee Choo, Nikki Floyd, Kendall Heitzman, Nick Kapur, Annie Manion, Jennie Miller, Sarah Munton, Younjung Oh, Lisa Onaga, May-yi Shaw, Kari Shepherdson-Scott, Max Ward, Chingshin Wu, Ryan Yokota, and Kirsten Ziomek. Here's to more late-night izakaya dinners and bowling games, early-morning karaoke sing-offs, and heated discussions about the May 15th Incident!

I mercilessly subjected endless iterations of chapter drafts to two dissertation reading groups sponsored by the Huntington Library and USC's Visual Studies program. Jason LaBau, Michael Block, Jessica Kim, Andie Reid, Annie Manion, Jen Black, Gena Carpio, Sara Fingal, Sarah Keyes, Becky Cerling, Alyssa Ribeiro, Casey Riffel, and Ken Provencher helped make my dissertation so much better through muchneeded encouragement, feedback, and comradeship. I could not have asked for a more congenial and supportive group of colleagues.

At the University of Kansas, Eric Rath, Megan Greene, and Devon Dear were colleagues, mentors, and friends of the highest order. They especially made me feel so welcome at KU, and this book would not have happened without their support. I still cannot believe I was lucky enough to count as colleagues and friends Jenny Weber, Eve Levin, Jeff Moran, Tom Lewin, Tony Rosenthal, Kim Warren, and Mariana Candido. I am eternally grateful to Steve Epstein, who was and is an incredible senior colleague with inexhaustible wisdom, insight, and humor. I was spoiled by the brilliant Michiko Ito and Vicki Doll, who helped me find countless materials for this project. Amanda Contreras and Mary Strickell kept the history department running smoothly with lots of patience and good humor.

I finished the book manuscript at the University of Southern California, where I was welcomed back by so many kind history department colleagues. In addition to those individuals mentioned earlier, I must thank especially Jason Glenn, Marjorie Becker, Alice Echols, Richard Fox, Lon Kurashige, Lindsay O'Neill, and Edgardo Perez Morales. Lori Rogers, Sandra Hopwood, Melissa Calderon, and Simone Bessant, as always, were incredibly gracious and helpful in making my return to USC seamless. Jillian Barndt ably helped secure copyright permissions for the images. An earlier version of Chapter 2 appeared as "The Munitions



#### xii Acknowledgments

Worker as Trickster in Wartime Japan" in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 76, no. 3 (2017), 655–674, © The Association for Asian Studies, Inc. 2017, published by Cambridge University Press, and is reproduced with permission.

My gratitude is due as well to other Japanese history colleagues for their feedback at various conference venues: Mark Driscoll, Janis Mimura, Max Ward, John Person, and Aaron William Moore. Jeremy Yellen kindly read through the draft and gave very helpful feedback. I am grateful to Jordan Sand, Sheldon Garon, and Sabine Frühstück for their encouragement over many years.

Lucy Rhymer has been an exceedingly patient and supportive editor at Cambridge University Press. It has been a true pleasure to work with her. Lisa Carter provided splendid guidance on the production phase of the manuscript. Two anonymous readers provided outstanding and deeply constructive feedback. Responsibility for all errors, however, lies with the author. Last but not least, thank you to my parents and sister.