MUSIC, POLITICS AND MEMORY:
JAPANESE MILITARY SONGS IN WAR AND PEACE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

MUSIC

DECEMBER 2011

By
Sarah Jane McClimon

Dissertation Committee:

Ricardo D. Trimillos, Chairperson
Frederick Lau
Byong Won Lee
Jane Freeman Moulin
Christine R. Yano

We certify that we have read this dissertation and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

_____

Chairperson

_____

_____

_____

_____

ABSTRACT

Sixty-five years after the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Japanese military song inhabits a contested area between remembering and forgetting the past. I examine *gunka* to understand its meaning in historical and contemporary context. Based on archival and ethnographic research, including interviews, music lessons, participation in *karaoke*, and attendance at shrine festivals and war song performances, I explore the ways that music informs collective identity and memory in the postwar period. After introductory statements in Chapter One, Chapter Two considers the history of military music from the Meiji Restoration through the end of the Asia-Pacific War, looking at the development of music in the military and public schools in the early period and through a variety of media during the Asia-Pacific War. While the definition of *gunka* is malleable and changeable over time, Chapter Three defines *gunka* and related wartime popular genres, illustrating major characteristics through musical examples. Lyrics played an important part in national mobilization, so Chapter Four considers a major theme in song lyrics—the expected roles of soldiers and civilians in wartime. After Japan's surrender in 1945, *gunka* remained in various forms. Chapter Five examines traces of *gunka* in the postwar era through media and the everyday soundscape. After a consideration of factors that influenced Japanese views of the war, I examine *karaoke,* comic books, songbooks, films, records, concerts, and the worldwide web to explore the second life of *gunka* in a country without a military. I transcribe and analyze four postwar recordings of popular *gunka* by entertainers Morishige Hisaya and Misora Hibari. Chapters Six and Seven

provide ethnographic data on *gunka* activities in the early twenty-first century. Chapter Six explores private communities that sing *gunka.* These communities are multigenerational and have mixed gender, with heterogeneous political beliefs. Chapter Seven examines staged *gunka* performances, including annual concerts and a large-scale *gunka* event associated with Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. I examine the repertoire of these events to elicit the ways that participants remember and forget elements of the past. I transcribe one song in live performance and examine its performance practice. I contrast public musical behavior (*tatemae*) with private feelings and activities (*honne*). Chapter Eight considers conclusions. Selective memory and contentious personal feelings—glorifying the past military and mourning the dead—characterize *gunka* activities in the post-war soundscape. Musical remembering evokes personal loss and victimization, as well as the idealization of a past Japan. *Gunka* activities reveal a nation with multiple, contested views of the past war and its music. A postlude considers my identity as a researcher and ethical implications for the work, including the challenge of representing sensitive Japanese memories from an American point of view.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for this dissertation was possible through a Japan Foundation Doctoral Fellowship, a FLAS summer grant for study of Japanese language, and a Minae and Miki Kajiyama Scholarship. Thank you to the University of Hawai‘i Graduate Student Organization for a travel grant to present at the Music of War Conference April 2008, and the University of Hawai‘i Center for Japanese Studies for a travel grant to present research at the Society for Ethnomusicology 2007 Annual Meeting.

In the United States, many people provided assistance. First, I would like to extend my appreciation to my dissertation committee, for assistance in the dissertation as well as mentoring me over the past decade at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. My dissertation advisor, Ricardo Trimillos has been incredibly helpful, encouraging, and generous with his time, and his teaching has influenced me in profound ways. Professor Moulin provided extensive feedback on the draft, and professors Frederick Lau, Byong Won Lee, and Christine Yano have helped me in countless ways during my graduate studies and the writing of this dissertation. Professors Mari Yoshihara, Geoffrey White, Kakuko Shōji, Robert Huey and many others assisted me when developing this dissertation, my overall views of Japan and my style of scholarship. Thank you to Barbara B. Smith for her encouragement of my work.

Mahalo to my fellow graduate students at University of Hawai‘i, especially in the departments of music and Asian Studies. Justin Hunter helped me copy historical sources, Sawa Senzaki checked a Japanese language research proposal, and Masaya Shishikura helped with translations, and Yumiko Enyo provided assistance reading

Japanese historical materials. Earl Okawa at the Japan-America Society introduced me to former members of the Japanese Imperial Navy. Masashi Shamoto taught me much about *gunka* that he learned as a child in wartime Japan.

I am grateful for the many kinds of support that I received in Japan. Yamada Masashi provided Japanese language tutoring and assistance with translations. Thank you for being generous with your time and expertise. Thank you to the Unabarakai and Kōhikai members, in particular Yoshida Jirō. Tanaka Shōri gave me *karaoke* lessons and shared his knowledge and experience singing in Ginza for the past sixty years. Members of Yōsoro Kai, including Captain Takiguchi have taught me much about Japanese Navy history and culture. Members and staff of Otakebi Kai, especially Ms. Ōzaki, have taken an interest in my work. Iwao Nobuo and Matsuoka Setsuko provided personal insight about *gunka,* and Ms. Hareyama at Keiyū Byōin taught me about *gunka* in a care home setting.

Students, faculty and employees at Tokyo University of the Arts (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku*) have encouraged me in many ways while I was a research student there. My gratitude goes to Professors Tsukahara Yasuko (my research advisor in Japan), Uemura Yukio, Tsuge Gen'ichi and Yasuda Hiroshi for their encouragement. Many librarians in Japan assisted me immensely, especially at International House Japan (head librarian Hayashi Rie), the Japan National Diet Library, Tokyo University of the Arts Library and Tokyo University of the Arts Music Research Center. I extend my thanks to the Osaka Municipal Band for permission to study a historic band arrangement of "Echigo-jishi."

Thank you to the community in Matsudo City, Chiba Prefecture for welcoming my family, especially the Shimoshio, Hieda, Terajima, and Nakajima families. The staff at

Shin-Matsudo Kita Hoikusho took wonderful care of my son while I wrote much of the dissertation. I also received support from the Bangladeshi and American communities in Japan, and the foreign student community in the Tokyo area. To the many people who have talked about *gunka* with me, *dōmo arigatō gozaimashita*.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My husband Rahman and son Noah have been very patient during the writing process, while giving me inspiration and joy. My parents have provided financial and emotional support, as well as assistance editing the dissertation. They also instilled in me a passion for music, travel, and learning that has led me on this wonderful journey.

Minasama ni taihen osewa ni narimashita.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

LIST OF SONG TRANSLATIONS

Preface: Conventions for Romanization, Names, and Translations

This dissertation follows the modified Hepburn system for Romanization. I write Japanese names with surname first for people living in Japan and writing in Japanese. For Japanese writing in English or living in English-speaking countries, I write names following the English custom, with given name first.

Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter One. Introduction: The Hidden Presence of *Gunka* in Contemporary Japan

Project Statement

The soundscape of contemporary Japan is filled with diverse musical styles, including popular, folk, Western classical, world music, and traditional Japanese music. While most people of the postwar generation (born after 1945) encounter little musical evidence of the military past, the music of Japan's military engagements in Asia and the Pacific during the early twentieth century lives on in individual performance and consumption and a few public performances. People sing military songs and wartime popular songs at *karaoke* bars, and near shrine gates. In addition, until just a few years ago, the music streamed in front of *pachinko* parlors (pinball-type gambling establishments) enticing potential customers to come inside.

This dissertation explores why music written over sixty years ago for a war long past retains a place in unofficial, rather than official, public culture. I argue that the genre has moved from public performance to the private sphere, adapting its original military purpose to an anti-military society and remaining meaningful to Japanese people beyond boundaries of gender, wartime experience, and age. I show how the music lives in communities of the wartime and postwar generations—at military festivals and commemorations, in military bars, and in virtual communities online. I also examine the postwar life of *gunka* in some areas of the media, despite its near absence in public, national narratives of the past.

Gunka (Japanese military song) inhabits a contested area between remembering and forgetting the past. Songs describe topics such as fighting on the battlefield, sending

a son to war, and waiting for a father's return. This research examines *gunka* to understand its meaning in context, past and present. During its production and mass dissemination leading up to and during the Asia-Pacific War, *gunka* served a cultural function in the creation of nationalist and gendered discourses. Songs valorized soldiers and civilians and encouraged their participation in the war effort. Through songs, men learned to fight and suffer on the battlefield for the benefit of women—especially mothers and wives—and children at home. Military songs were a key element in creating support for government discourses of masculine strength and female virtue from the Russo-Japanese War in 1894 through the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945 (see Chapter Four).

Gunka developed along with Meiji efforts to modernize the nation. In the late nineteenth century, European bandleaders assembled the army and navy bands, composed early patriotic songs, and worked with court musicians to compose the national anthem. As the Japanese military began campaigns throughout Asia from the turn of the century until 1945, *gunka* glorified the battles, soldiers, women, and families who "fought" on the home front. Combining traditional Japanese musical elements (phrase structures and scales) and classical poetic topics and techniques with Euro-American march structure and style, *gunka* supported a brand of nationalism that exploited nostalgia for a past Japan and admiration for military progress on the world stage.

The function of *gunka* changed in response to drastically shifting political circumstances. Today its status is tenuous in light of the contentious views of Japan's wartime past. The genre of *gunka* in contemporary popular culture, individual music making, and communal memory has constantly changed its meanings over time to benefit

various personal and national interests. People remember and forget the war through musical performance and silence in different spheres of contemporary Japan.

Review of the Literature on *Gunka*

The genre of *gunka* now includes a wide range of song styles, with lyrics concerning a variety of topics. The majority of *gunka* are marches that were an important part of training, battle preparation, and even voice training. Most of the early *gunka* recount victories in Russia, China, and the Pacific, while songs of the late Asia-Pacific War often lament the deaths of soldiers in battle (see discussion starting on page 12). The composers and lyricists also represent diverse backgrounds: they include the early European band directors in Japan, Japanese army generals, ordinary low-ranking soldiers, professional popular song composers, and even civilians competing in newspaper song contests. Junko Oba distinguishes three types of official military song by source: 1) official *gunka* printed in army and navy songbooks for use by the soldiers, 2) military-themed school songs (*shōka)* with war-related topics approved by the Ministry of Education, and 3) propaganda songs approved by the state and distributed by the mass media. Songbooks and recordings that are readily available in archives and libraries illustrate all three categories of song. Oba further describes *senji kayō* (wartime popular songs), songs that addressed war themes but were not approved by the government. While not technically *military* songs since their providence was from the entertainment industry rather than the wartime military government, scholars and *gunka* enthusiasts consider *senji kayō* to be a part of the *gunka* genre today (Oba 1997:48-9). These variables show that while all war-related material now falls under a general descriptor, "military song," *gunka* comprise a diverse group of pieces that served different purposes

by various agents during wartime (the Russo-Japanese War, Sino-Japanese War, and Asia-Pacific War) and that continue to evoke different meanings long after war's end.

Yasuda Hiroshi, a scholar of early Western music in Japan, divides *gunka* into three musical styles: *shōka* (public school song) style, hymn style, and military march style (Yasuda, pers. comm., March 2009). The connecting thread that defines the three styles as a single genre is the subject matter—regardless of style, the lyrics are connected in some way to war or the military. Yasuda notes a widespread feature of Japanese "Western influenced" songs; they tend to have four unique phrases, sometimes with related motivic sources, but rarely repeat phrases. The AABA form typical of Euro-American folk songs and children's songs is rare in Japanese early hymns, educational songs and *gunka*" (Yasuda, pers. comm., 2009).

There is relatively little English scholarship on *gunka*; however, four ethnomusicologists and one group of popular music scholars have addressed the music in English. Junko Oba's master's thesis (1995) examines *gunka* in changing historical circumstances with detailed study of representative songs in their historical context, as well as the role of *gunka* in the postwar era. She also draws on her own experience hearing *gunka* sung at home, and incorporates extensive interviews with Japanese—soldiers, wartime civilians, and members of the postwar generation. She suggests that singing *gunka* does not necessarily imply support of the war; it often works as a means of group catharsis, a way of sharing the pain of the war experience that cannot be communicated in ordinary speech. Oba (2002) further probes *gunka* as a vehicle for remembering and forgetting the war. Oba's work has provided a solid basis for this study. This dissertation, coming fifteen years after Oba's thesis, incorporates the

situation of the early twenty-first century. In addition, in contrast to Oba's focus on individual interviews, I engage communities that create *gunka* in 2009-2010.

A team of popular music scholars led by Shūhei Hosokawa discusses *gunka* briefly in a survey of Japanese popular music styles. They note that most early *gunka* were meant to be sung communally and cite "War Comrade" (Sen'yū) as a representative song from the Russo-Japanese War that remained popular with veterans of later conflicts. Soldiers well after the Russo-Japanese War learned and loved the song, and continued to sing it up to the late twentieth century. Hosokawa et al trace the changing use of military song over a half-century. During the Asia-Pacific War, the songs were important to keeping morale on the home front. In the late twentieth century, most of the Japanese public associates *gunka* with right wing activists, who often broadcast the songs from their vehicles in public places during patriotic demonstrations (Hosokawa et al 1991:5).

Popular music specialist Linda Fujie locates *gunka* in the context of early twentieth century popular music scene (Fujie 1989), where *gunka* is one of the subcategories of *ryūkōka* popular song, along with Japanese pops, new music, and *enka* (popular music that uses traditional Japanese scales and vocal techniques, 1989:199). Fujie notes the importance of *gunka* and *shōka* public school songs in the development of early Western music in Japan. She also discusses the importance of the mass media in the dissemination of *gunka* in wartime Japan and cites "Roei no Uta" (Bivouac Song) by Koseki Yūji as an important example of a popular *gunka*.

Two other English language works address the content of *gunka* lyrics and their place in history. Satoshi Sugita's journalism thesis addresses the subject and lyrical content of *gunka*. He studies representative songs from each of five periods of

development and discusses them in their historical context. Sugita provides translations of these examples, and carries out a content analysis to determine the most frequent themes in *gunka*; he did not address musical features, however (Sugita 1972). Anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney examines the genre in its historical wartime context, illustrating its role in the militarization of the masses in her study of Asia-Pacific War *kamikaze* pilots. Through a survey of songs related to cherry blossoms, the Emperor and death, she argues that military song helped to aestheticize militarism and violence (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002).

Scholars writing in Japanese from the 1940s until the present day examine lyrics and historical functions of *gunka* (for example Horiuchi 1942, Horiuchi 1969, Tonoshita 2008, Tonoshita 2004, Tonoshita and Chōki 2008). Tonoshita and Chōki write of the role of the media, government, and various music groups in supporting both entertainment and propaganda through music. Other writers reflect on their personal memories involving *gunka* (Katō 1965, Sakuramoto 2005, Ogawa 2006). Hayashi Hidehiko, writing for the conservative Japanese think tank Peace, Happiness and Prosperity Research Institute (PHP Kenkyū Kai), argues that *gunka* should be respected as a work of art, not a remnant of wartime Japan, or a symbol of the now mostly marginalized right-wing (Hayashi 2008). The publication dates of the books mentioned in this section suggest three periods of national self-consciousness: the 1960s, the 1990s and the early 2000s. In postwar Japan, nationalist rhetoric has been strongest during the 1960s, coinciding with the Tokyo Olympics in 1964; coming less than twenty years after Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, the successful hosting of this world-class event was an incredible source of pride expressed in the Japanese media. The periods around

1995 and 2005 are significant because they coincide with the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of the end of the Asia-Pacific War, as well as economic problems leading to concerns about the decline of the Japanese spirit. This dissertation provides a closer look at gendered and nationalist elements and a detailed look at *gunka*'s new life in the twenty-first century that will be useful for those interested in the nexus of music, politics and collective identity.

The contemporary use of military song in peacetime shows semiotic flexibility, or what might be better seen as the layering of meanings in the collective memory: it serves simultaneously as a relic of the Asia-Pacific War, as a symbol of nationalism, and simply as a de-militarized, nostalgic way for individuals to remember their childhood. *Gunka* evokes wartime Japan, yet its meanings multiply in the present. Nearly erased from the airwaves and public performance during the post-war occupation (1945-1951), it remains in individual memories, but not in the national media. Powerful personal recollections of music are denied a respected place in the national musicscape, reflecting the tensions surrounding Japan's war memory. Indeed, *gunka* has a place in private (*honne*) music making, while it is rarely heard in public (*tatemae*). In postwar Japan, public war history and private memory are radically different, as I will demonstrate in the following chapters.

Nationalism and Emotion in the Production of *Gunka*

Many ethnomusicologists have examined ways that music supports nationalism by promoting nationalist messages often using emotion, religious beliefs and gendered norms. Ernest Gellner writes about the strong power of emotion to affect moods and to inspire patriotism when he reflects on his own emotional attachment to his folk music.

> I *am* deeply sensitive to the spell of nationalism…I do not think I could have written the book on nationalism which I did write, were I not capable of crying, with the help of a little alcohol, over folk songs, which happen to be my favourite form of music. (Gellner 1996:624)

Kelly Askew argues that nation-states are highly unstable and must be constantly reinforced through performance. Musical displays are an important way to make the nation tangible. "Indeed, the very tenuousness of performance—its susceptibility to modification, unrehearsed action, unanticipated response—renders it a powerful force" (Askew 2002:5). Military songs are an example of a forceful government attempt to reinforce the nation through performance. "Power thus not only requires performance, but indeed is itself more often than not an act of performance" (Askew 2002:8).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *gunka* singing created strong emotions that inspired desperate sacrifices for the newly created nation. Others have noted the strong connections of nationalism and religion, in particular the appeal to emotion and the use of fictive kinship. Thomas Hyland Eriksen describes nationalist discourse that often links members of a nation with gods, and family, thereby inspiring loyalty and sacrifice. Nationalism often supports cults of death, supporting sacrifice to an abstract but extremely meaningful symbol of the nation. Finally fictive kinship inspires people to fight for mothers, children, and brothers, all part of a metaphorical national family.

> "…nationalism can instill passions and profound emotions in its followers. It frequently draws on religion and myth for its symbolism, which is often violent in character…Like other ethnic ideologies, nationalism lays claim to symbols which have great importance for people and argues that these symbols represent the nation-state. Death is often important in nationalist symbolism: individuals who have died in war are depicted as martyrs who have died in defence of their nation. (Eriksen 1993:106)

All of these elements—fictive kinship, cults of death, use of emotions, and evoking of mythology—effectively mobilized the Japanese through songs.

As social and historical circumstances change, musical performance often changes; at other times, a continued musical practice takes on new meanings. Anthony Seeger writes of music and social identity, hinting at the myriad possible uses and abuses of music.

> …musical performances of a particular genre or style often are the hallmark of a given group. Musical performances are used by composers, performers, audiences, critics, governments, oppressors and liberators (in sum, all social actors) in ways that they find meaningful…Musical performance is thus part of larger social processes—among them oppression, resistance and the creation and affirmation of social identities. (Seeger 1994:12-13)

Music is important to local and national identities, often marking borders between groups. Martin Stokes describes the use of music in times of violence and war, especially among dominant groups to "enforce dominant categorizations" (1997:8). He cites military parades, with band and other military music in Ireland as part of a process that distinguishes British and Irish identities. Describing July 12 parades commemorating the Protestant victory over the Irish Catholics in 1690, he writes,

> The marches are aggressive occasions. It is impossible to disentangle the musical aspect of the parades from the militarism of the banners, and scarcely concealed displays of machismo and supremacism on the part of the marching musicians…The lambeg drums are as objects vital symbols of the pride and integrity of Protestant communities, but at the same time, as extremely loud musical instruments, they constitute an assault on the ears. No alternative thought is possible. The drums demand that people either march in time to them, or go away. (Stokes 1997:9)

Stokes also writes that music's potential for violence is equal to its much-touted potential for peace.

> This…runs against the grain of a Platonic strand in our thinking about music, in which music, understood at an extraterrestrial "essence", controls, regulates and harmonises social relations. Our informants too often tell us the same story, presenting to us in

> normative statements a world in which music and dance unite and bring together. Music and violence are thus doubly difficult to think of in the same breath. (Stokes 1997:10)

> [Musical processes] may be considered as a terrain of meanings somewhere between those invented and those provided by other "traditions" which professional musicians, instrument makers, media planners and their audiences have to negotiate. (Stokes 1997:11)

Unlike other wartime propaganda media such as textbooks and newspapers, the performative and emotive elements of military song effectively create group solidarity. Musical performance encourages embodiment of the message and musical qualities of a song; in the case of *gunka*, singing militaristic music helped people to embrace militarism. The repeated recitation of *gunka* lyrics embeds their message in the singer's consciousness in a way that speeches, political slogans or written texts do not. Group performance furthers patriotic messages of unity—singing together, especially in unison as is the case in *gunka*—literally creates unity, comradeship, and strength. Stokes writes that music's importance lies in what it does, not what it represents.

> …We might look first to what musics do, rather than what they are held to represent (the two not always being the same thing). Musics are invariably communal activities that bring people together in specific alignments, whether as musicians, dancers, or listening audiences. The "tuning in" through music of these social alignments can provide a powerful affective experience in which social identity is literally "embodied." (Stokes 1997:12)

Thomas Turino writes of a similar function of music, relating music to various emotional experiences to create "indexical relationships" that are often mobilized for political control.

> In spite of their rather unpredictable consequences, indices [musical meanings established by co-occurrence] are frequently harnessed for the construction of social identities in advertising, in mass political rallies and propaganda, and in ritual and ceremonies—because of their emotion-producing potentials and as pre-existing signs of identity. (Turino 1999:236)

Turino's semiotic approach to music is useful for understanding how music works to create identity and emotion, so I will briefly elaborate here. Turino uses a semiotic approach to explore the emotional effects of music: he argues that since music operates at the non-language level (firstness and secondness—involved with quality and energy rather than linguistic symbolism), it tends to generate emotional or energetic responses in the listener, "halting" the process of interpretation at higher—language-based—levels. He also discusses the indexical connections of music and personal experience. Music's co-occurrence with meaningful experiences creates strong connections in the memory. A military song might be associated with several, contradictory experiences. "One source for the affective power of musical indices is the fact that they are able to condense great quantities and varieties of meaning—even contradictory meanings—within a single sign" (Turino 1999:235). They may be associated with multiple and contradictory experiences over time. The meanings become layered, so that a performances of the song, evokes all of its meanings at the same time. A song might be a positive symbol of a person's school days if she sang it with classmates in school. The same song may take on negative connotations because she sang it when a sibling or friend left to fight in the army and later died overseas in battle. The same song may be associated with later political struggles or debates over collective memorials. Further co-occurrence might associate the song with military funerals, a memorial service for atomic bomb victims, or the blaring loudspeakers of a right-wing political truck. Over time, as the meanings become layered, it becomes impossible to untangle the conflicting emotions and memories involved; people often continue to use the symbols but leave their precise meanings

unsaid. Turino cites a similar example ("our song," linked to the experiences of a romantic couple) and then sums up the power of music to create emotional responses.

> The multiple, sometimes conflicting, objects creating the interpretant by multivocal indices are not usually processed, at least initially, in terms of symbolic concepts. Rather we are moved to react in a visceral way because of the very complexity and incoherent form of the objects presented. (Turino 1999:235)

Donna Buchanan, in her discussion of professional folk ensembles in a changing Bulgarian context, also suggests ways that musical response becomes complicated, by addressing "intersecting process": the chronological tracing of musical practice over time; the politically driven reshaping of musical tradition; the locational discourse where music and musicians move from periphery to center; and the discourse of genre and social function, where musical traditions are reinvented for contemporary needs (Buchanan 2006:xvii). The development of *gunka* over the past hundred years integrates similar historical, political, locational and functional processes. This dissertation aims to create a multilayered work that addresses these various processes and how they intersect. Study of *gunka* and its work both in Japan's wartime past and in contemporary remembrance illuminates the connections of music, emotion, and nationalism during changing social circumstances.

Music, Nation, Gender, Place: Topics in *Gunka* Lyrics

Gunka were written for various audiences, both on the battlefield and on the home front, as well as those living in peacetime Japan; this allows for a fascinating mix of imagery in their lyrics. *Asahi Shinbun* Journalist Satoshi Sugita studied the lyrics of *gunka* to better understand the most frequently addressed topics. He cites seven: bravery and morale, nation, hostility, death, sentimentalism, emperor, and justice (Sugita 1972:21). I would add loyalty to this list. These topics become motivating factors for

soldiers on the battlefield and ways for people on the home front to imagine the wars far away. Sentimental portrayals of heroic actions on the battlefield were popular with those on the home front as they imagined distant battlefields.

Certainly these topics are important, but song lyrics describing place, Japan's history, and gendered behavior also strongly supported the war effort at home; these topics deserve in-depth examination. Many song texts included references to places: most frequent were Mount Fuji (symbol of Japan and a former sacred site according to Shinto belief), the landscape of mountains and sea, and Kudan (the area in Tokyo where the Yasukuni Shrine, dedicated to Japan's war dead, is located). History is evoked in several ways: some *gunka* used classical poetry for nationalistic purposes. The lyrics of the national anthem "Your Reign" (Kimigayo) were taken from ninth-century imperial anthology, the *Kokinshū.* The lyrics of the well-known hymn-style *gunka* "If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba) is a direct quotation from the *Man'yōshū,* Japan's earliest poetry collection, dating from the eighth century. Also, songs commemorated national history, especially in honor of the 2600th anniversary in 1943 of Japan's founding by Emperor Jimmu, called "Kigensetsu."

Gendered behavioral ideals were often inscribed in song lyrics. Songs such as "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" (Dōki no Sakura) praised loyalty to male cohorts in battle. Other songs praised fathers for protecting their children at home in Japan by fighting overseas "Father, You were Brave" (Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta). Morris Low described masculine ideals during wartime Japan, finding a mix of older samurai values (*bushidō*) and Western military ideals of heroics and sacrifice (Low 2003, Nitobe

1969). Other discussions of masculinity in military contexts are also relevant (Goldstein 2003, Hoganson 1998, Tengan 2002).

Images of females were equally important. Women were likened to the cherry trees. Songs such as "Flowers of Patriotism" (Aikoku no Hana) praised them for giving their sons to fall like cherry blossoms. They were the women who honored their sons at the Yasukuni Shrine in songs such as "The Mother at Kudan" (Kudan no Haha, see transcription in the appendix). Women in wartime Japan, much like women in many national struggles, symbolized the honor of the nation and gave men the motivation to fight (Enloe 1983, Enloe 2000, Goldstein 2003, Nagel 1998, Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989). Naila Ceribašić (2000) provides a case study of the use of song lyrics to create images of men (brave soldiers) and women (mothers and sweethearts on one side, whores on the enemy's side) in the Serbo-Croatian War of the mid-1990s. The exaggerated gender stereotypes portrayed in European and American wartime music are remarkably similar to those used in Japan, although wives are more frequently evoked than girlfriends. This gender exaggeration in war song discourse supports Goldstein's assertion that gender roles, while quite diverse across cultures in peacetime societies, take on remarkably similar male and female roles during war in order to motivate the participation and support required of the war system (Goldstein 2003).

Enka, a Japanese popular song genre that uses traditional Japanese scales and vocal techniques offers many parallels to *gunka*. Its lyrics often include symbols of the nation through the description of place (an idealized hometown—*furusato*—that has become a symbol of the "true" Japan) and past (nostalgia), real or imagined kinship and national gender ideals (songs evoking mother). Fans and music producers claim that the

emotions in *enka* are uniquely Japanese, part of a collective imagined community and collectively remembered past.

> Popular discourse on enka, this expression of the "heart/soul of Japanese" (*nihonjin no kokoro*), ascribes to it a nationalistic ideology. An affinity for enka is said to run in the (Japanese) blood; those who dislike it have allowed themselves to be seduced away from their own Japaneseness…enka has become the nation's emotional "preserve." (Yano 2002:184)

While *gunka*'s messages are more direct than *enka*, both reinforce the same cultural logic connecting mothers, sons, city and country in one intimate, imagined Japan.

Music and Fascism: Germany, Italy, and Japan

To understand the meaning of *gunka* today, it is necessary to study the production and use of the music in its original context—wartime Japan. While the study of musical use in wartime Japan is still limited, scholars such as Tonoshita (2008) examine aspects of the wartime the context of *gunka*. In Europe, historical musicologists have examined music in authoritarian Germany and Italy and provide some useful frameworks for examining the Japanese case.

Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines fascism as:

> A political philosophy, movement, or regime that exalts nation and often race above the individual and that stands for a centralized autocratic government headed by a dictatorial leader, severe economic and social regimentation, and forcible suppression of opposition. (2003:455)

It is unclear whether or not Japan was a fascist country. Scholars of Japan such as Tansman et al (2008) have argued that Japanese politics displayed elements of fascism that were similar to Germany and Italy, including the emphasis on race and nation, and the existence of an authoritarian centralized government. Even if government actions differed from Germany and Italy, as part of the Axis powers, Japan looked to its allies in Europe for models in political organization and musical control.

Various musicological publications address the relationship of music and fascism, providing comparative studies to the case of Japan. Some of the main concerns of these authors are: 1) the effects of racism on music and musical activity, 2) the support of conservative, Romantic-style music, and opposition to modernism and jazz, 3) control of musical institutions, including musicians organizations, broadcasting, publishing and education, and 4) the variety of individual reactions to fascist control.

Racism

In Germany under the Third Reich, music of the Aryan race was supported while music of Jewish composers, performers and publishers, and music of the United States and other enemy countries was suppressed and later banned (Levi 1994). The Berlin Academy of Music engaged a process of creating a "people's community" through Nazi control that is representative of other musical institutions in Nazi Germany. From 1933, the "Law to Rehabilitate the Civil Service Profession" supported the firing of instructors who were objectionable on grounds of race or political affiliation. Jewish instructors and administrators, and later, Jewish students were dismissed. The discourse of preservation of so-called "pure" German music was a key element in musical policy of the time (Dümling 1993:479). By "pure," the Nazis preferred classical music by German, non-Jewish composers, and excluded music written by non-Germans.

Japan, in contrast had a more subtle racist cultural policy. Government discourses overlooked non-ethnic Japanese, rarely actively persecuting them. In the Japanese colonies, cultural supremacy was assumed, so that government policies encouraged Japanese language, music and culture were encouraged, and suppressed local languages, musical practice and cultural activities.

Regulation of musical style

The Reich actively discouraged modernism in music (Levi 1994). Opera was an important element in the agenda of the Third Reich; Wagner's operas were performed with support of the Reich. The Nazi party supported other classical genres, especially symphonic and choral music (Levi 1994). The Nazi party used military music such as marches to a limited extent, but the radio directors apparently used classical, light classical and popular music to draw an audience. Unlike Japan, where military music was broadcast heavily on the radio, likely because it supported the high status of Japan's modern military, German leaders drew on its legacy of classical music as a source of racial superiority and pride.

Tambling (1996) discusses opera in Italy and Germany, revealing the complicity of composers, performers, and audiences of opera in the growth and power of fascism. He explores the rise of a "culture of fascism" by examining nineteenth century romantic operas. In both Germany and Italy, classical music was symbolic of a glorious national culture, and it serviced of political propaganda alongside obviously patriotic styles, such as national hymns and marches.

Control of musical organizations

In addition to racist policies at the Berlin Academy of Music, other changes in school activities in Germany reflect the political and militaristic outlook of the time, including the addition of political science classes, a May Day Parade, and a mandatory meeting to swear allegiance to Hitler (Dümling 1993:477-79). The Nazi regime attempted to censor musical activities, with varying degrees of success. Various

bureaucratic divisions struggled to exert control over musical activity, mainly the ministries of education, culture and propaganda (Levi 1994).

The Japanese government had similar struggles over musical control. Between 1941-5, NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*, Japan's National Broadcasting Company), the military-controlled Cabinet Information Bureau, and the Japanese Ministry of Communication negotiated control of radio broadcasts. The NHK producers cooperated with the government authorities and soon censored their own broadcasts, deleting questionable material before the censors reviewed it and had a chance to suppress it (NHK 2002:65).

Military music was a key training element of the Hitler Youth Movement in Germany. Songs served as vehicles for political slogans (Kater 1997). The use of music for political indoctrination closely parallels the use of music in wartime Japan. Youth groups (*seinendan*) were important in both Japan and the occupied territories, especially Micronesia (Konishi 2001).

Tonoshita Tatsuya (2008) describes the various uses of music in Japan during the period of 1930-1945. Discussing the control of musicians through various musicians' unions, he traces the use of music through the recording and broadcasting industries. Tonoshita and Chōki (2008), critical of the governmental role in music and broadcasting during the war, discuss the question of wartime responsibility in the post-war period. While many of the institutions and musical activities in Japan and Europe were similar, the musical forms and styles were often quite different because of widely diverging musical histories.

The radio was a crucial propaganda tool in wartime Japan. Between 1937 and 1940, radio ownership increased from three million to five million households. The slogan "defense for all, radios for all" supported a major campaign to reach the entire nation via the airwaves (NHK 2003:58). Government propaganda campaigns encouraged people to leave their radios on at all times to keep abreast of developments in the war effort.

Several military and patriotic songs regularly rode the airwaves. The national anthem, "Kimigayo" played before important announcements. The hymn-like "Umi Yukaba" preceded the announcement of the military dead. When the special attack forces departed on their suicide missions in the last months of the war, the radio played a song written especially for them, "Ah, Kamikaze Tokubetsu Kōgekitai" (Ah, the Kamikaze Special Attack Force!) (NHK 2003:68). Military songs played an important role in wartime broadcasting, encouraging support for the war, even as defeat became inevitable. Although government control was sometimes inconsistent in Germany, Italy, and Japan, music was an important part of political control in all three countries, and music supported authoritarian messages in all three countries.

Music and Memory in Contemporary Japan

Theories of history and memory also inform this project's study of the development of the military songs and their changing meanings. The ambivalence that many Japanese feel over the singing of military songs reflects the volatile nature of war memory in East Asia today. This creates problems with the question of how to pass on wartime memory to the next generation. In the case of these songs, the lyrics present questions about the meaning of their performance: do singers really mean the words that

they sing? Songs allow highly personal interpretations that support various personal and collective understandings of the past.

I explore *gunka* as a site of Japan's memory surrounding its early period of modernization and imperialism to better understand memories of wartime. Songs have become a focal point, along with other symbols such as the *hinomaru* flag, of an ongoing controversy over Japan's past imperialism. The passing on of military songs to future generations creates a question about representation, remembering, and forgetting of the dark aspects of the nation's history.

Music, Singing, and the Creation of Collective Memory

Music plays an important role in politics, community building and collective remembering. Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs writes of collective memory, "…it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories" (Halbwachs 1992:38). While Halbwachs and photography critic Susan Sontag emphasize the collective act of remembering by telling stories and viewing photographs, communal music making also evokes collective remembering. Sixty years after the war's end, songs of the Asia-Pacific War remain important sites of memory. Songs were a key element in the mobilization of the masses during the war. Their role in collective memory today is also important.

Singing war songs becomes an act of ritualized reenactment of the past and a powerful symbol of unity of voice. Because singing of songs puts people into a shared rhythmic and melodic space, a strong sense of unity results. Unison singing of patriotic songs creates an especially powerful sense of unity. The pleasurable aspects of singing, especially singing in a group, encourage repetition. When powerful lyrics support

government messages such as the sacredness of emperor or the glory of death, they become powerful sites of collective action and later collective memory.

Junko Oba describes her father's singing of patriotic songs with his friends and contrasts it with his silence over the war in general. She writes that these songs created a kind of group catharsis, as her father and his friends sang the songs while drinking *sake*. They did not discuss the war and the related hardships. However, the singing of patriotic songs was a way of breaking the silence around war memory, and mediating the space between silence and collective mourning.

> The *gunka* singing appeared to be rather spontaneous and arbitrary; it largely depended on the initiative of one individual. As the spirit moved one of the men to begin a *gunka* in a rather solemn tone, the rest of the men would join in either by singing or clapping along, making it a communal performance. Once this happened, the *gunka* singing would continue for a bit, but not too long; the repertoire of my father and his fellow singers was small and select. When they had finished several regular numbers and had nothing more to sing, the singing automatically stopped and people resumed their typical after-supper conversation about work, family, golf, fishing and so on. Although those who participated in this singing had experienced the war in their youth or childhood, as far as I can remember, the *gunka* singing did not spark the sharing of war memories or related topics in their after-dinner talk. Even if evoked in each individual's mind, such memories were never articulated in that context. (Oba 2002:225)

The final sentence is key—Oba's father and friends did not openly discuss war memories, although they were "evoked in each individual's mind." In this dissertation, I would like to explore some of these unarticulated memories.

Asahi Newspaper journalist Sugita Satoshi described a rather dramatic scene of elderly war veterans singing patriotic songs at the Yasukuni Shrine during *o-bon* season. The scene describes the power of singing war songs for former soldiers and sailors of the Asia-Pacific War. He writes,

> Across from the Imperial Palace moat on a moderate slope in Tokyo stands the stately century-old Yasukuni shrine (established in 1869). This sublime Shinto Shrine, the final resting place for two and a half million Japanese warriors who have perished in service, is the site of the Festival of Souls [O-bon Festival] held annually in July.

> On a summer evening in 1967, this researcher, who happened to visit the festival merely to be immersed in the festive mood, witnessed a bizarre group of people gathered to offer prayers in a dark corner of the tree-studded compound. They began to sing.
>
> The occasion, the researcher learned later, was "A Night to Dedicate War Songs to the Heroic Souls of the War Dead," and those in attendance were former soldiers and sailors who had survived the last war. As if hypnotized, with tears streaking down their cheeks, these men sang a dozen or so songs, before quietly dispersing into the dark.
>
> The ceremony was the researcher's first direct exposure to such songs sung by people who obviously had vivid moving memories of the actual war. Ever since then this researcher has greatly been intrigued by the lingering attraction of war tunes. (Sugita 1972:iii)

There is a tension in Sugita's viewpoint: he says that the event is bizarre, but later finds the songs to be intriguing, and attractive. Sugita's thesis title is "An Objective Study," showing his attempt to avoid personal judgment. Written in the 1970s by a Japanese journalist, it suggests some of the tension surrounding war memory in the 1960s and 1970s. The passage also reveals gaps in generational memory—Sugita writes of his difficulty comprehending the meaning of *gunka* for the war generation.

The *hinomaru* flag, political slogans, photos, and songs are ambiguous in their meaning, but are often loaded with personal emotion. Geoff White writes of the photographs of destruction at Pearl Harbor and the World Trade Center: "Whereas visual images of spectacular destruction…have become emblematic of those events…these images remain largely ambiguous in terms of moral or emotional meaning. They are 'empty signifiers' that require some form of narrative to fill in their human drama" (White 2004:296). It is the treatment of these images, symbols and songs that makes them important. They tell stories of those who evoke them, serving their own political purposes.

Sontag writes of the changing meanings of photos in a way that is equally applicable to poems and songs: "The photographer's [or composer's] intentions do not

determine the meaning of the photograph [song], which will have its own career, blown by the whims and loyalties of the diverse communities *that have a use for it* (Sontag 2003:39, italics mine).

While there has been a quickly expanding body of research on texts, physical spaces and media representations of the past, the research on songs and memory is still in an early state. Songs are an important means of collective performance, mobilizing groups for political, social causes and movements. Music also quickly evokes the past, often creating vivid recollections of the place where a song was previously heard or performed, similar to flashbulb memories discussed by Brown and Kulick (1982). Researchers have examined the uses of music in recollecting the Holocaust. Musical experiences, often singing, were vividly remembered by survivors, often associated with traumatic events, such as the loss of family members to the gas chambers (Moreno 2006:278-79).

Songs and singing are a crucial part of military indoctrination. Sontag argues that photos are a stronger mobilizer for a community than slogans. Group singing is another extremely effective way for a group to repeat and perform slogans, resulting in much more effective indoctrination than simply repeating slogans or painting them on flags. Nakazawa's *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima, Volume I* shows the author's own memories of various wartime symbols: the *hinomaru* flag, the rising sun itself, banners and sashes with wartime slogans, and many incidents of singing patriotic songs. Nakazawa detests the emperor system, and his depiction of symbols of wartime Japan protests the coercion of the masses during the war. In an interview with journalist Asai Motofumi, he said, "I think the emperor system is absolutely intolerable. Japanese still

haven't passed their own judgment on the emperor system. I get angry. Even now it's not too late [to change it]" (Asai 2007). The emperor's responsibility in the Asia-Pacific War remains a site of contention in Japan. The range and use of the wartime song quotations are relevant and worthy of further discussion because they reflect the central place of songs in Nakazawa's memory.

These songs support vivid memories of traumatic events that are multisensory—going beyond photos or written narratives. Sounds of wartime Japan link with feelings and images—the "tromp tromp tromp" of soldiers' boots (Nakazawa 2005: 1) and the frequent singing of war propaganda songs are just as powerful as the banners with anti-American and anti-British slogans, the *hinomaru* flag, and the rising sun, hovering over the fields and streets of Hiroshima. Nakazawa uses many famous *gunka* as part of the narrative of his memories of Wartime Hiroshima; two of the most important *gunka* are "Umi Yukaba" (If I Go to the Sea, Nakazawa 2005:109), and "Heitaisan yo Arigatō" (Thank You to the Soldiers, Nakazawa 2005:127). The frequency of war song quotations in the comic suggests that the singing of songs is a strong part of his memories of wartime Hiroshima. I discuss Nakazawa's memories further in Chapter Six.

Gunka can be read as texts, by examining the lyrics and printed music, as well as sound, through available recordings or contemporary performances. But the abstract elements of music create a problem for interpretation. Like other symbols, the problem is their relative "silence." Geoffrey White refers to flags and their fluid meanings: "The symbol's danger is its muteness, which allows each flag to be gathered together by the administration and claimed as its own belligerent charter" (White 2004:296). This passage refers to flags, objects with no inherent meaning of their own, but that have

changing, contested meanings, inscribed on them, reflecting the motives of those who appropriate them. But military songs are relatively "silent" as well. The lyrics refer rather battles, soldiers, or the emperor, but do not often provide coherent stories or justifications for war. Musical sound is by nature abstract, leaving meanings open to personal interpretation. A song's real meaning comes from the context of its performance. Soldiers sing them during military training, before battle, or for funerals of fellow soldiers, the song gains significance. These elements are remembered by people in different ways: by those who fought in the war, others who waited on the home front, and still others who imagined the war many years later.

In contemporary Japan, the singing of songs by various groups creates powerful imagery, even if the meaning and purpose of singing is unclear. Through *gunka* many singers are simply preserving historical songs that are part of Japan's past. At the same time, others cultivate *aikokushin,* a feeling of love for the country espoused by conservative Tokyo governor Ishihara (Ishihara quoted in Condry 2007:3), and still others remember and honor fallen loved ones. While *gunka* lyrics support imperial Japan, and the image of Japan's past military appeals to many fans, nostalgia plays a part as well—many long to return to their own youth, and an imagined past Japan. This dissertation explores these complex and contradictory meanings of *gunka* in post-war Japan.

Locating *Gunka* in the Context of the East Asian "Memory Wars"

The ambiguities surrounding the singing of military songs are part of the of East Asian "History Wars" and the "Textbook Wars." Particular areas of contention are the representation of Japan's aggression in East Asia, especially mass slaughter of Chinese in

Nanjing and other cities (the "Rape of Nanking"), and the evidence of systematic sexual enslavement of Korean women by the Japanese military (the "comfort woman" system). In the 1990s, the Ministry of Education approved some ultra-conservative history textbooks that downplay Japanese war crimes, but those have mostly failed to be adopted by local boards of education. East Asian debates about war history and Japan's wartime responsibility are extremely contentious today. Historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki discusses these debates in her book *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*.

> …I am impelled by the sense of a crisis in our relationship with the past—a crisis of history.
>
> This crisis expresses itself in a paradox. On the one hand, our age is one of immediacy and constant change…education increasingly stresses the relevance of contemporary topics and practical skills…history is on the decline in the curricula of many countries. The loss of historical consciousness is the theme of repeated laments…
>
> But the past refuses to go away. Indeed, in recent years there have been moments when historical consciousness has seemed to well up like magma from between the shifting tectonic plates of an unstable world order, threatening to overwhelm us… (Morris-Suzuki 2005:3)

How are these issues set into the 1990s in Japan, amidst economic troubles, globalization, diplomatic disputes in Asia, and the passing of the war generation? The fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of the end of the Asia-Pacific War are crucial events because they present the opportunity to remember and transmit the story of the Asia-Pacific War to the next generation. The 1990s and early twenty-first century saw a string of controversial events related to Yasukuni shrine worship, international disputes related to Japanese apologies for Asia-Pacific War crimes, and debates over the teaching of history in schools (see Chapter Six for further discussion). Against this backdrop of controversy over Japan's military and colonial past, the singing of military songs is part

of a larger collective effort to commemorate, interpret, and transmit history to the next generation.

Research Methodology

During my fieldwork in Tokyo from May 2009-January 2011, I conducted ethnographic and archival research to create a multilayered portrait of *gunka,* by studying its production, reception, and remembrance. Throughout the year, I conducted informal interviews, and conducted participant observation at war-related events, and military-themed *karaoke* bars. The Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo was an important site for *gunka* "spectacles" in the contemporary public scene.

I met with Japanese aged twenty to ninety years, some familiar and others unfamiliar with *gunka*. Of the members of the war generation, all of the several dozen that I talked with are familiar with military songs from their school education, from military service, or life on the home front. These include conversations with twenty members of the Unabarakai (Association of Japanese World War II naval pilots, Jirō Yoshida, public relations director), and organizers of memorial ceremonies for the war dead, participants at military bars and clubs, and older individuals that I was introduced to individually. During conversations with *gunka* enthusiasts or members of the wartime generation, I often shared songbooks of popular *gunka* as prompts to elicit memories of *gunka* and related life stories.

I studied *karaoke* singing with longtime professional singer Tanaka Shōri, born in 1935. He was extremely generous with his time and helped me to understand the spirit of the songs. I learned to sing eleven *gunka* and *senji kayō* (wartime popular songs). I performed these at various venues, in particular the veterans meetings of the Kōhikai (an

association for former naval trainees) and Unabarakai, but also with military-themed bars and informal *gunka* singing communities that I contacted. I learned which songs were nostalgic, surveyed individual song favorites, and received instruction on my singing style.

Figure 1. Singer Tanaka Shōri, the author, and retired navy Pilot Yoshida Jirō at Yūki, Ginza

I asked younger Japanese born after 1945 about their knowledge of *gunka* to determine its place in contemporary Japan. Many people born after the war were unfamiliar with *gunka* because it rarely appears in public. Others expressed a strong dislike of *gunka* and a related discomfort with discussing the topic. These discussions showed the ways in which *gunka* is imagined in the postwar era, and its complex presence (and sometimes absence) in contemporary Japan. I often used e-mail communication to follow-up conversations that I had in person. I cite some of these e-mail discussions throughout the dissertation.

I made some attempts to correlate political views with *gunka* singing. I did not solicit political views directly. Although it is considered rude to ask acquaintances about political views, I was able to feel out political views gradually, and some informants spontaneously volunteered their political opinions during discussion of general topics. During much of my participant-observation period, the United States and Japan were in disagreement over the question of the relocation of the American Base in Futenma, Okinawa. In addition, there was a re-evaluation of the fifty-year-old Japan-America Bilateral Security Treaty. As a result, interviewees were reluctant to speak to an American. Veterans at several events looked in my direction when they criticized the American military presence in Japan.

I visited archives, libraries and dealers of rare books to examine wartime-era songbooks. These helped me to better understand the musical and poetic style of *gunka*, its creation and dissemination. I studied the extensive songbooks, recordings, military music histories, and secondary sources at the Tokyo Diet Library, the Shōwakan Library and Sound Archives, the Japan Foundation Library, International House Japan (I-House Japan) Library, and the libraries and archives at Tokyo University of the Arts. I located original wartime and military songbooks at Kōga Bookshop in Jimbōcho, Tokyo as well as at the Yasukuni Shrine antique market held on Sundays. I was surprised to find many original military songbooks in markets and used bookshops. I believe that this is partly because of the mass-production of the songbooks for military and civilians over the course of the late Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa eras. It is also because as the wartime generation passes on, war-related memorabilia is not valued by children and grandchildren, so the relics make their way to antique markets and used bookshops, along

with other cast-off remnants of the past—old military uniforms, photographs, military training manuals and other records.

Along with my participant-observation, I studied the presence of wartime music in post-war popular culture—in film, fiction and non-fiction, comics, new songbooks, and audio releases—to better understand music's role in remembering the war. *Gunka* often appear in film soundtracks, television, and in public places. Their lyrics appear in novels as well as comics, and these traces tell a rich and varied story of personal memory, nostalgia, and grief.

Gunka have a surprisingly strong presence on the worldwide web, and I explored this to some extent. Many very detailed and well-maintained web sites provide information on individual songs and composers, and YouTube.com includes numerous recordings that have been digitized, together with historical film clips, archival photographs and lyrics, in Japanese and, sometimes, in English translation. These contemporary traces of *gunka* illustrate additional ways that the war lives through music in the national memory and imagination (Igarashi 2000).

At Tokyo University of the Arts, I consulted with musicologist Tsukahara Yasuko, an authority on the reception of Western music during Meiji Era Japan (e.g. Tsukahara 1993). I also received assistance from Uemura Yukio, an ethnomusicologist specializing in music of East Asia. I presented my work at a musicology seminar at Tokyo University of the Arts and received valuable feedback and encouragement from Professor Tsukahara and the students.

Major studies of *gunka* until now have been entirely by Japanese scholars. I am the first American to present in-depth field research on the genre.[1] My half-Japanese heritage allows me ready acceptance into Japanese communities. As a young American female, I am an outsider to the culture; however, people that I have contacted during fieldwork expressed enthusiasm for the project and appreciate the opportunity to share their memories of the Asia-Pacific War as they are mediated in song. Since wartime memory remains a sensitive issue in Japan, I have attempted to present the voices of my informants through conversations, musical activities and their own writings.

The following basic questions have guided my fieldwork: Who sings *gunka* today? Who listens to *gunka*? What sorts of communities form to create and consume this music of Japan's painful past? What songs have been selected, and which have been discarded? What reasons do people give for singing *gunka*? How does personal identity inform feelings toward *gunka*?

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation examines *gunka* as a genre, looking at its historical development, its musical characteristics, and lyrics. Then it explores *gunka* performances and communities in postwar Japan.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the production of *gunka* in historical context. I consider the development of military music from the Meiji Restoration of 1868 through the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. First, I survey the development of military music as an integral part of the modernization of Japan (1868-1926). I address

---

[1] Linda Fujie and Christine R. Yano, both Japanese-Americans, have conducted research on the topic, however.

the introduction of Western music with modernization, influence of European bandleaders, and the composition of early *gunka*. Next I consider the role of military music during the Asia-Pacific War (1930-1945). I focus on three aspects: first, the repertoire of military band performances, secondly, an examination of a representative wartime songbook, and finally, various media that promoted military music, in particular radio, propaganda films, and newspaper song contests.

Chapter Three describes the musical features of *gunka*. *Gunka* often display characteristics of patriotic song or laments for the war dead. After a basic definition and typology of *gunka*, I consider characteristics characteristic of most *gunka*. I consider the problems associated with formulating a *gunka* canon, resulting from the highly personal and independent remembering of the genre that resists a shared repertoire among *gunka* fans. Finally, I analyze several popular *gunka* to illustrate the diversity of military songs.

Chapter Four explores the roles of soldiers and civilians as expressed in *gunka* lyrics and music. Most *gunka* lyrics espouse masculinity and militaristic values to motivate soldiers and would-be recruits. Occasionally songs encouraged women to join the front as soldiers or nurses. In addition to military themes, songs implored women and children to support the war as civilians at home. Musical style also supported discourses on proper behavior—on the training ground, on the battlefield, and on the home front.

Chapter Five explores *gunka* in the postwar media and soundscape. Tracing the appearances of *gunka* during the American occupation of Japan from 1945-1952 and over the next fifty-five years, I show various clues to and traces of its existence. Characterizations of contested Japanese war memories by Philip Seaton and Franziska Seraphim are relevant here. Memories of the lost war have continually haunted

individuals, while discussion in public has been starkly limited. Various media, in particular *karaoke*, continue to support singing of wartime songs by individuals. Comics by Nakazawa Keiji often use songs to remember and critique the past militaristic state of Japan. Films occasionally exploit war song in their storytelling. Songbooks published in the postwar era further encourage individual singing of war songs. Internet discussion on *gunka*-related websites often debate Japanese war responsibility. Processes of recontextualization are at work in a country that renounces war in the constitution and no longer keeps a military.

Chapter Six examines processes of remembering *gunka* through late twentieth and early twenty-first century musical communities. It examines the places where *gunka* communities congregate: bars, shrine precincts, and private parties, in particular those associated with veterans. This chapter presents ethnographic data of several diverse *gunka* singing communities in Tokyo: 1) Unabarakai and Hikōkai veterans' groups, 3) Otakebi Kai 4) Navy Club Yōsoro, and 5) Music Saloon Chika.

Chapter Seven provides ethnographic data from several public and large-scale performances in and around the Yasukuni Shrine. I examine a festival for singing the song "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class." I also consider informal music making at the Yasukuni Shrine precincts, the Summer Festival at Yasukuni, and a semi-annual Military Song and Uniform Festival. Discussion of an additional festival led by the Self-Defense Force Band sheds light on the problematic relation of the Self-Defense Forces and their predecessors, the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy.

Chapter Eight suggests several conclusions. Most importantly, I found that the military songs have moved from the public stage into the private sphere in postwar Japan.

Secondly, small groups of people from the wartime and postwar generations collectively remember and re-imagine of the past. Third, revival of traditional gender roles is an important motivation for remembering military songs. Finally, there is a tension between nostalgia and irony in contemporary military song performance. I briefly consider the future of military song performance, and its possible erasure as the wartime generation passes on.

A postlude examines my research methods, personal identity, and challenges with research and representation in the dissertation. It aims to disclose complexities inherent in the dissertation.

Significance

The dissertation addresses intersections of music, politics, gender, and collective memory. The research is useful for various scholars both in showing the changing meanings of a musical genre, and in addressing the ongoing "memory wars" in East Asia from a musical perspective (Morris-Suzuki 2005:7-9).

Discussion of the songs illuminates ways that discourses of gender, history and place in song supported nationalism during wartime. They illuminate ways that the images of Japan helped to mobilize pride in the nation and supported imperialism. The study interrogates both the ways that the government and media used history and an imagined Japanese past to mobilize the nation, appealing to men and women to assume proper gender roles encouraged militaristic behavior with men serving as soldiers, and women as supporting the war effort on the home front.

History in Japan remains contested six decades after the war's end. Morris-Suzuki suggests that writers and politicians of the late twentieth century attempted to

"obliterate" the past (Morris-Suzuki 2005:8). The absence of the music from the public sphere suggests a similar move toward oblivion, but I argue that the music has moved from the public national space to a private and more personal one. Music facilitates understanding of the experience and remembrance of war by ordinary citizens. This study illuminates *gunka*'s changing roles in different political contexts, highlighting the dynamic and changeable nature of musical meaning.

Chapter Two. Education, Entertainment and Mobilization: *Gunka* in History

Introduction

Many nations have employed music as a powerful tool in war: to intimidate enemies, to coordinate movement on the field, and raise morale for soldiers and civilians (Ono 1997:4). Henry George Farmer, a historian of military music, examines the development of military music in Europe and argues that it is an important aspect in the development of European musical culture, although musical genres intended for religion and leisure command more attention in the musical histories (Farmer 1950:9). This is because of the relatively low status of military music in Europe, a status that is similar in modern Japan. Military music has also played an important role in Japan, which has borrowed military genres from other nations. Records indicate that Japan first used military music imported from China during the Heian period (794-1185); starting in the mid-19th century, it modeled its musical ensembles after British brass bands, even bringing important band masters from England to train the musicians (Ono 1997:1).

In Japan's modern period, starting from the Meiji Restoration of 1868, military music has been an important element for both the military and for civilians. In the military it supported training and fighting. On the home front, it provided education, entertainment and mobilization in support of war (Tonoshita 2008). This chapter describes the development of *gunka* and its use in military and civilian contexts from 1868-1945. I discuss three main periods of development. During the first period, 1868-1912, *gunka* developed in the context of military bands and public schools. In the second period, 1912-30, the size and activities of the military were scaled back, and very few

gunka were written. In the third period, 1931-1945, *gunka* supported a dramatic rise in militarism associated with the Asia-Pacific War. Beginning with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937 and continuing through the end of the Asia-Pacific War, the nation engaged in total war—a society completely focused on the war effort. In this chapter, I draw on representative songs that retained popularity in the postwar period as songs that were and are meaningful to people after their wartime utility has ended.

Military Music in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912

Military music in Japan developed one hundred-fifty years ago along with a modern military based on Western models. From the late Edo Period to the Meiji Era, *gunka* and military bands were a crucial part of musical Westernization. With the founding of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy bands in 1871, music enhanced the prestige of the military. *Gunka* and military bands supported the military in war and peace.

Musical Westernization in Japan began during the last decades of the Edo Period (1600-1868) and the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868-1912). This period of the middle to late nineteenth century is fascinating because of the speed with which the formerly isolated Japan adopted Euro-American science, technology, government, military organization, education and the arts. Music was a central part of educational and arts reforms. After the Meiji Restoration, foreign influence in military music came from two sources: band directors who worked as government employees in Japan and Japanese musicians who studied abroad in Europe. These pioneering musical leaders—Japanese and foreign—did much to develop the level of military music by composing marches and *gunka* in a hybrid Western-Japanese style. After the departure of foreign music directors

in the late nineteenth century, Japanese conductors assumed leadership and indigenized the band repertoire, introducing traditional musical features. During peacetime, military bands entertained at home and took part in tours and exhibitions abroad to enhance the nation's image as a modern, worldly power. International events enhanced the prestige of Japan as a modern nation and presented their imperial power along with a significant military on par with others in the Western world. During times of war, military songs supported Japanese military engagements abroad and aided military recruitment and mobilization of the home front. In wartime as well as peacetime contexts, military music has occupied a complex position at the intersection of modernization, Westernization, Imperial ambition and military strength.

Japanese military band repertoire developed and changed as part of the growth of Japan's modern military. But beyond the military, the bands participated in many key events in Japan's broad-ranging modernization. The bands played for many non-military occasions, such as the opening of the first railroad in Yokohama and the Japan-British Exhibition in London, 1910. Later in the war years, military band dispatches to the colonies and battle sites of Asia and the Pacific Islands supported the Japanese military's image abroad, and radio broadcasts of band music were an important part of propaganda. The Western-style military band in Japan, with its diverse choices of repertoire incorporating Euro-American and Japanese elements, shaped an image of Japan as modern and cosmopolitan, yet rooted in a mythical ancient past. Many Japanese marches feature melodies that became *gunka*.

Much of Japan's military music survived in various forms in the postwar era, after the abolition of the military. The survival of musical repertoire despite a dramatically

changed political and social context demonstrates that some works held meaning for people in and out of the military. It speaks to the integrity of the music beyond its military function. Bands continue to be popular in non-military settings, such as concert and educational settings. Beyond the national modernization project, military music continues to be popular to the present day, although its context has dramatically changed.

Beginnings of Japanese Military Music, 1868-1900

With the centralization of imperial power in Tokyo during the 1868 Meiji Restoration, increased contact with the military and economic power of Europe and the United States brought pressure to modernize the nation in the image of the West. The Japanese government began to modernize all areas of the government, and considered music a necessary part of the military for practical uses such as training and creating international prestige. With their European instruments, their powerful and aggressive sound, and formal military-style uniforms, military bands enhanced the impression of a modern military power. Starting in 1868, the Japanese government and some private companies hired European and American experts to help the nation modernize various scientific, technical, educational and cultural fields. The number of these foreign employees, called *oyatoi gaikokujin*, peaked around 1874-5, when the Meiji Government employed 530 foreigners, and private companies employed around 320 (Muramatsu 1995:22).

Foreign band directors were invited to instruct the early military musicians. Some of these foreigners were already in Japan as part of diplomatic delegations, while others were invited to Japan especially for the purpose of advancing modern band music in the new national project. Along with the newly created public school songs (*shōka*) and to a

lesser extent the adoption of Christian hymns (*sanbika*), military songs and marches had an enormous influence on the later development of Western music in Japan. Within a few decades these genres overshadowed Japanese traditional music in popularity.

Military music was some of the earliest European music to be influential in Japan and its effect cannot be overestimated. However, its original purpose was practical. Malm writes: "In all three cases [church music, military music and music in the schools] Western music was not acquired by the Japanese out of any special interest in its qualities per se, but rather as necessary parts of a Western-derived table of organization for the particular institution in question" (1971:259). Ono (1997), Hunter (2009), and Eppstein (1995) also write that Western military music was adopted because of its symbolic value of power, rather than from any interest in its aesthetic qualities as music. The Meiji Government slogan *waken yōsai* (Western learning, Japanese heart) was relevant to music. While Western music was fully adopted in the military musical instruments and musical style, Japanese elements remained, adding an element of indigenization to the Euro-American military music tradition.

The early band directors played an important role in the creation of a new repertoire of Japanese music. The most important and well-known development in repertory was the development of "Kimigayo," the national anthem of Japan. National anthems, as well as military bands, are important symbols of a modern nation. Irish band director John Fenton (1831-90), who taught music in Japan from 1871-7, suggested the need for a national anthem and court poets chose the poem "Kimigayo." Fenton composed a melody in 1870 that was played for some naval ceremonies, but it was not widely adopted. Malm suggests that it is difficult to sing and otherwise not solemn

enough to be the national anthem (Malm 1971:262). A decade later, the court musician Hayashi Hiromori (1831–96) set the poem to a new tune, based on the *ichikotsu* mode of *gagaku* court music. German band director Franz Eckert (Japanese Navy band director 1879-99) transcribed and harmonized the melody into its present form (Malm 1971:262-3, Komiya 1969:455).[2] This arrangement has been used for over a century as the de facto national anthem; it became the official national anthem in 1999 (Oba 2008:87).

French director Charles Leroux (1851-1926) led Japan's Army band from 1885 to 1889. Leroux, the "father of the Army band," developed the educational system of music by teaching *solfège* and music theory; he also developed the repertoire by composing new *gunka* and marches. He composed the *gunka* "A Band with Drawn Swords" (Battōtai, 1885), the lyrics of which describe the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. The poem first appeared in the poetic anthology *Shintaishi*. Toyama Masakazu (1848-1900), who studied at University of Michigan and taught at Tokyo Imperial University, wrote the poem. "A Band with Drawn Swords" remained popular throughout the following decades and well into the twentieth century. The early formation of the military bands was characterized by guidance of foreign employees, preparing Japanese musicians to adapt the music and develop it for their own use. The lyrics of the first half of verse one of "A Band with Drawn Swords" follow.

Song Translation 1. "A Band with Drawn Swords" (Battōtai).

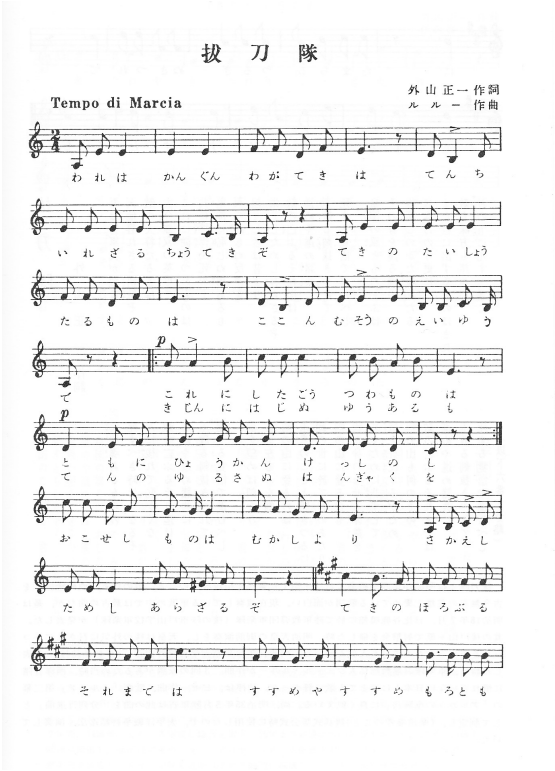
Ware wa kangun	We are the Imperial Army
Waga teki wa	And our enemy
Tenchi irezaru	Is the Emperor's enemy
Chōteki zo	Never to be pardoned by Heaven
Teki wa taishō	The enemy general is a hero
Tarumono wa	Unequalled in bravery

[2] See (Malm 1971:264) for three versions of "Kimigayo" and a translation of the text.

Kijin ni hajinu yū arumo	And his men are intrepid
Ten no yurusanu hangyaoku o	And fearless of death
Okoseshi mono wa mukashi yori	But since time immemorial
Sakaeshi tameshi arazaru zo	Plotters of treason condemned by Heaven never saw prospering times

(trans. Sugita 1972:24)

It is in the style of a slow French march with a heavy duple meter. Accents emphasize the down beats. The scale is A natural minor, a distinct contrast from earlier *gunka* that used Japanese pentatonic scales. The final section modulates to A major and ends in A major, an unusual feature of this march. The syncopated rhythmic motive further emphasizes the duple meter.



Musical Example 1. "A Band with Drawn Swords" (Osada 1968: 65).

Japanese Musicians Take the Lead, 1900-1912

During the late Meiji Era, foreign directors left the Japanese military bands and Japanese conductors took the baton. Many of these directors wrote original music for band, giving birth to distinctly Japanese military band music. Two of the most important

of these were naval band director Setoguchi Tōkichi (1868-1941) and Nagai Kenshi (1865-1940).

Setoguchi Tōkichi was born into a samurai family of Satsuma, in present day Kagoshima Prefecture. He moved to Yokohama and joined the Second Naval Band as a musician, later becoming a music instructor there. He wrote the "Battleship March" (Gunkan Kōshinkyoku or Gunkan Māchi) in 1900. The march remains the most famous in Japan today.[3] In 1917, he retired from the military, began teaching at the Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto University, and began directing amateur orchestras. He became well known again in 1937 for winning a competition by composing the music to "Patriotic March," which became one of the most popular *gunka* military songs at the end of the war. Many considered Setoguchi the "father of the march" (Tanimura 2000).

In many ways, "Battleship March" follows standard European march form. Setoguchi's march melodies are well balanced, with a classical European sense of phrase construction. The first strain has a melody in four parts: a a' a" b, with a repeated rhythm. It also uses counterpoint in the low brass. As is usual with marches, the second section has a more "expansive feel" than the first, with sustained notes in the melody. Because these marches often accompany singing, they incorporate more repeats than European and American marches, which have a standard form of AA BB Trio Trio AB. Japanese marches based on *gunka* usually follow the form AB AB Trio Trio AB to allow singing of verses, each of which incorporates the A and B sections of the melody.

---

[3] "Gunkan Kōshinkyoku" remained extremely popular at the end of the war and even to the present day, especially among those associated with the army. It is currently the Maritime Self-Defense Force's official march, and was until recently blared out of *pachinko* parlors as background music. The melodies are quite memorable and singable, which probably explains the march's continuing popularity.

However, "Battleship March" has a further Japanese twist; the trio incorporates the military ceremonial song, "If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba). This melody was written in 1880 by court musician Tōgi Sueyoshi, based on the *gagaku* court music mode *hyōjō* (Malm 2000:114). Its lyrics, from Japan's oldest poetic anthology the *Man'yōshū*, describe mounds of bodies, on land and sea that sacrificed for their "lord," but often interpreted as "the emperor."[4] The inclusion of "If I Go to the Sea" in the Trio section helped to popularize the melody outside of the military setting.[5] Since "If I Go to the Sea" is in duple time, with regular phrases, it fits as a march trio melody. However, its modal qualities and slow tempo give it an air of exoticism that certainly encapsulated the hybrid identity of the Japanese army during this period.

Song Translation 2. "Battleship March" (Gunkan Kōshinkyoku)

["Kono Shiro," (Toriyama Hiraku)]

1. *Mamoru mo semeru mo kurogane no*	1. To defend, and to attack, the great iron ship
Ukaberu shiro zo tanomi naru	It's a floating castle that we rely on
Ukaberu sono shiro hi no moto no	This floating castle, of Japan
Mikuni no yomo o mamoru beshi	We should protect the nation in all four directions
Magane no sono fune hi no moto ni	This pure iron ship
Ada nasu kuni o seme yokashi	Enemies of Japan we must attack.
2. *Iwaki no kemuri wa wadatsumi no*	2. The smoke of the coal flutters over the ocean
Tatsu ka to bakari nabi kudari	Just like a dragon flying
Tama utsu hibiki wa ikazuchi no	The sound of the cannons echo like a voice of thunder
Koeka no bakari doyo munari	The great voice of the cannon makes a loud noise
Banri no hatō o nori koete	Ten thousand miles over the rough seas, the ship sails
Mikuni no hikari kagayakase	With the light of the country shining

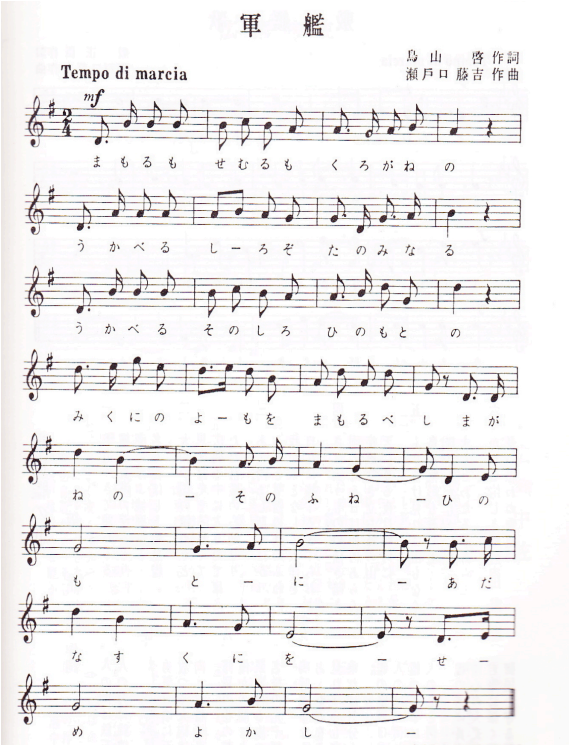
[4] Ōtomo no Yakomochi, credited as the editor of the anthology, wrote the poem.
[5] This melody is different than the 1937 setting by Nobutoki Kiyoshi that many sang to send soldiers to the front (see discussion on pages 55-6). In addition, the last line in the 1937 version is "Kaeri miwa seji".

brightly
(trans. by S. McClimon and M. Yamada)

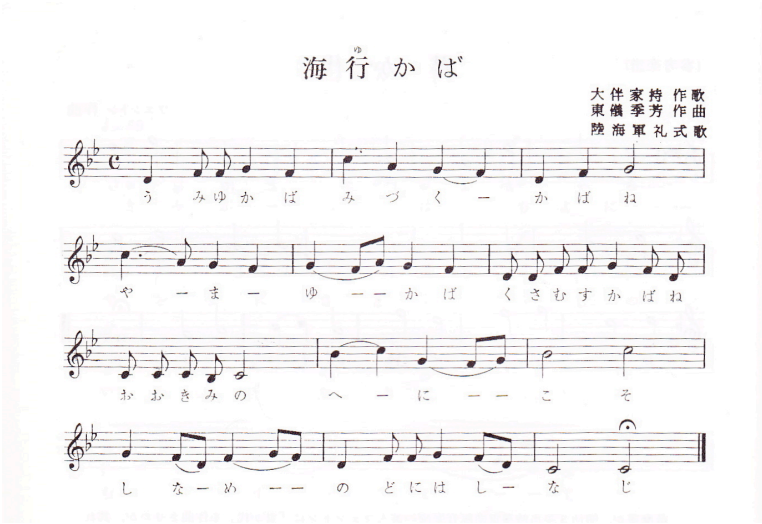
[Trio: "Umi Yukaba" (Ōtomo no Yakomochi, *Man'yōshū*)]

Umi yukaba mizuku kabane	Across the sea, corpses floating in the water
Yama yukuba kusa musu kabane	Across the mountains, corpses heaped upon the grass.
Ōkimi no he ni koso shiname	We shall die by the side of our lord.
Nodo ni wa shinaji	We will die peacefully

(adapted from Bradley 2003:38)



Musical Example 2. "Battleship March" (Osada 1968:137).



Musical Example 3. "Battleship March Trio: If I Go to the Sea," ceremonial melody (Osada 1968:56).

While "Battleship March" is probably the best known and best-loved military march in Japan, many other marches used *gunka* melodies, either in the first and second sections, or for the trio section. They follow a form very similar to other early twentieth-century marches: short introduction, first strain, second strain, trio, and *da capo*, ending with the second strain. Often the melodies for the first strain as well as the trio come from popular military songs. Examples include Leroux's "Rikugun Bunretsu Kōshinkyoku," (see previous discussion), as well as "Kimigayo March," which uses the melody of the national anthem as the first musical theme and that of the *gunka* "Kitare ya Kitare" as the trio.

Nagai Kenshi served as director of the Army Band from 1880 to 1915. A student of Charles Leroux, he directed bands during the Russo-Japanese War as well as at the Japan-British Exhibition in London 1910. Many of his *gunka* and marches are still popular today. In particular, his "Battles with Mongolia" (Genkō, 1892) and "Advancing in the Snow" (Yuki no Shingun, 1895) are popular at contemporary *gunka* singing events.

Gunka in the Meiji Public Schools

In addition to *gunka* and military marches, early *shōka* public school songs praised the military and its heroes. Meiji Era school songs were often part of studies of morality. These songs, often in a long, epic style, praised the heroic actions of military leaders. Educator Isawa Shūji (1851-1917) introduced modern music to Japanese schools along with the help of American educator Luther Whiting Mason. Isawa wrote the public school song "Come Soldiers, Come" (Kitare ya Kitare, 1893) which later became a melody in military marches, where it was called "Defense of the Empire" (Teikoku no Mamori).

"War Comrade" (1905) was originally a *shōka* that sings of two war comrades and praises the loyalty of one in taking care of his comrade during battle and after his death. The tragic song has remained popular for more than a century, often appearing on recordings or *gunka* programs today. During the Asia-Pacific War the military government prohibited its performance because it advocated assisting a fellow soldier in battle, which was against military code. However, many people continued to love its message of loyalty and friendship, singing it in the postwar era. (See discussion of the music of "War Comrade" in Chapter Three and analysis of two postwar recordings in Chapter Six.)

Other *shōka* describe battles of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, teaching of the bravery and high morals of military officers. "Lieutenant Hirose" (Hirose Chūsa, 1912) sings of the bravery and care of a Lieutenant for his crew. "The Meeting at Suishiying" (Suishiei no Kaiken, 1906) sings of General Nogi's meeting with Russian general Stoessel after a battle of the Russo-Japanese War. All of these *shōka* have

moved from the public school song repertory to become part of the *gunka* repertory. Few who sing this song realize their original status as school songs.

Gunka in the Taishō Era and First Years of Shōwa, 1912-31

The Taishō Era was a period of peace in Japan, bookended by wars preceding and following it. A disarmament agreement signed at the Washington Conference of 1921 forced Japan to greatly reduce its army—this included suspension of five of the six army bands. The Japanese Navy and Navy bands were largely unaffected by the disarmament policies (Tsukahara 2000:98-99). During this period, composers produced very few *gunka* because there were no wars to inspire the need. Japanese participation in the First World War was extremely limited. A few *gunka* were written for use inside the military, particularly for the Japanese Navy. These include "Battleship Duties" (Kansen Kinmu composed by Setoguchi Tōkichi) and "Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Friday" (Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin composed by Eguchi Yoshi), both songs that describe the importance of working hard each day on ship, on weekdays as well as weekends, in peacetime and war.

Song-writing Contests in the Asia-Pacific War, 1931-45

With the outbreak of the Manchurian incident in 1931 and the enormous strengthening of the military, production of official military music as well as war-related popular songs increased rapidly during the Shōwa Era. Song contests became an important avenue for the mass-production of *gunka* in support of the war. The earliest wartime song contests were in 1932, in response to the Manchurian Incident. Japanese engineers conducted a suicide bombing in 1932 by carrying a bomb into a barbed wire fence. Three soldiers who died immediately became national heroes in the newspapers.

In 1932, three newspapers held songwriting contests in honor of the "Three Human Bullets." Famous composers set the winning lyrics of each of the contests, but because of the overly nationalistic tone of the lyrics and unsingable melodies, none of them was popular with the public (Tsuganesawa 1999:74-5).

Other newspaper song contests produced songs that became popular with the public. These include "Bivouac Song" (Roei no Uta, second place in a contest, 1937), "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku 1937), "Father, You Were Strong" (Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta, 1939), all winners of contests sponsored by newspapers and the government Cabinet Information Bureau (Tsuganesawa 1999:76).

An important event in 1940 was the commemoration of the 2600th anniversary of the mythical founding of Japan by the first emperor, Jimmu. This event, *Kigensetsu*, was marked by many musical performances and celebrations. An important work was the song "2600 Year Commemoration of Foundation" (Kigen Nisen Roppyaku Nen), which was the winner in a contest sponsored by Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK, the National Broadcasting Agency) and a committee in charge of the Kigensetsu celebrations (Tsuganesawa 1999:76). Singing of *gunka* was a crucial part of national mobilization as the war progressed.

Nation-Building Through Songbooks

During the Asia-Pacific War, many songbooks supported mobilization efforts on the home front and battlefield. One representative example was *Saishin Nihon Gunkashū* (Most Recent Collection of the Japanese Military Songs), a 1932 songbook. The 147 songs, compiled and published by an anonymous committee, are patriotic in tone and are directed to the citizens of Japan in order to instill a love of nation and enthusiasm to

continue its imperial ambitions in Asia. This songbook advocates loyalty to the imperial institution, the glories of Japan's imperialism, the intensity of self-sacrifice for nation, and notions of masculinity and femininity embodied by work in the war.

Saishin Nihon Gunkashū appeared at a time when the military became more and more heavily involved in conflicts in Asia and the military-controlled government began to limit expression. From this time, *gunka* played an important role in pro-war propaganda, bolstering support for the long series of conflicts. A special committee for *gunka* studies compiled the anthology to increase support for the war.

The title page shows a band drum major standing proudly in a band uniform and holding a baton in the air in a confident pose. In the background, and partially covered by the drum major, hunched-over soldiers creep along a wire fence, in a startling contrast to the drum major in the foreground. These soldiers are the "Human Bullets," the widely publicized heroes of a suicide mission in the Russo-Japanese War. The two images capture the two sides of *gunka*: there are songs that rally good feelings for the wars and songs that tell tragic stories of sacrifice and death.

Figure 2. Front cover of the songbook *Saishin Nihon Gunkashū.* In the foreground, a drum major leads a military procession. In the background, the celebrated "Human Bullets" carry a bomb into a barricade.

The format of the book suggests that it was written for people of all educational levels and social classes. The book includes *furigana*—pronunciation guides in syllabic *hiragana* script—for all Chinese ideographs in the songs as well as in the preface. This facilitates group singing, since there is little doubt about pronunciation. The use of *furigana* for the preface suggests an effort to be accessible, especially for less-educated segments of the population. The book's small size likely made it easy to distribute and use for group singing at various events. The book includes song lyrics without musical notation. Introductory notes provide the composer, lyricist and function of a song, for example for marching, specific national holidays, or for use in Japanese Army or Japanese Navy ceremonies. The audience for the book is broad in scope, including urban and rural citizens, young, old, male and female. All sang to imagine the nation and

remain loyal to it, and this created a willingness to happily sacrifice economic well-being and even the life of many sons, fathers and husbands.

The preface of the book presents information about the purpose, uses and meaning of the songs. First placing the book in the context of war with China, it praises the military, glorifies Japan and the emperor, and calls on ordinary people to do the work of singing as well as fighting for the nation of Japan. The beginning of the preface references the volatile political situation and the need to raise national spirits through song.

> Since the recent outbreak of trouble between Japan and China, Japan's dullness and stagnation needs to be revived, and the national spirit is in need of reawakening.
>
> The emperor's imperial army has had many active exploits in Asia. One should by fired up and burst with good faith along with a multitude (8,000,000) of comrades, and with love and good faith in the nation![6] (1932:i)

The preface evokes strong emotional response. The language is repetitive, full of set phrases that create a frenzy of good feelings and nationalist sentiment. Phrases and words such as "firm resolution," "courage," "high spirits," and "national unity" appeal to the emotions in order to support nationalism. The end of the preface builds intensity, with a rousing call to action through song.

> This is to say, the people of Japan should rise up and sing *gunka* proudly, in order to increase the power of the people's spirit with unparalleled strength of mind; this urgency must be made clear.
>
> The dynamic lyrics and inspiring and brave melodies will raise morale when sung alone and when sung in groups will encourage a fighting spirit. When sung, they create deep emotion and excitement, and when heard, they produce joy and pleasure.

---

[6] The translations from *Saishin Nihon Gunkashū* are my own. Thanks to Masaya Shishikura for his assistance.

> When these war songs are sung loudly, they stir up patriotism and a war cry will burst forth.
> …..
> Sing these *gunka* proudly to raise up the nation! These are the glorious songs of the emperor's nation of Japan![7] (1932, i-ii)

The arrangement of songs and choice of subject matter shows many different sides of the war effort. Important themes included adoration of the emperor, hopes for a great nation of Japan, a cult of death, stories of heroic people and acts, as well as anecdotes about life in the battlefield. Imperial activity is also a key element of the nationalist indoctrination, with many songs advocating the "protection" of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Korea.

Worshipping the Emperor in Song

Many pieces in the collection praise the emperor. The first song in the book is not a *gunka* in the strict sense, but rather the national anthem of Japan, "Kimigayo." The lyrics are short, and are derived from the *Kokinshū*, a poetic anthology of the 10th century. Its lyrics glorify the emperor and wish for his long reign. Other songs that praise the emperor include songs such as "The Emperor's Nation," "For You, My Lord [Emperor]," "March of the Imperial Army," and others. A series of pieces commemorate state holidays centered around the emperor. These include "Kigensetsu," "Genshisetsu," "Tenchōsetsu," and "Meijisetsu," all of which are names of holidays in celebration of the emperors' reigns, from the mythical first emperor Jimmu (reigned c. 660-585 BC, according to traditional accounts) to the Meiji emperor. Another song admonishes the people to "Protect the Emperor's Nation" (Mikuni o Mamoru). These songs contributed to a cult of the emperor as god, descended from Amaterasu, the goddess of the sun

---

[7] See the full translation in Appendix A.

described in the part-mythical creation story, *Kojiki* written around 680 AD. This choice of emperor as a major subject shows that *gunka* brought the combination of religion and emperor and nation to the general public in song.

Imperialism

The preface of the book *New Collection of Gunka* praised the army's progress in its overseas pursuits. Many *gunka* mention the locations of Japan's conquests, including Manchuria, Mongolia, China and Korea. Manchuria is the favorite theme, with *gunka* such as "Manchuria March," "Song of Manchuria and Mongolia," "Protecting the Future of Manchuria and Mongolia" and "Song to Defend Northern Manchuria." Other *gunka* mention Korea and Mongolia, such as "The Song for Guarding the Korean Boundary" and "Battles with Mongolia." These songs served to either bring news about the war efforts, or, more likely, to stir up pride in Japan's continued expansion through aggression.

Nation-Building

The late 19th century and Japan's rapid modernization created a desire to build a strong national consciousness. Many *gunka* use words that create a strong national consciousness. They include "Protect the Emperor's Nation," "The Peaceful Nation," "Shining Japan," "The Song of the Founding of the Nation," "Foundation March," "Spirit of Japan," and "Song for Flag Day." These songs are important, since a concept of a Japanese nation was new in a country where strong regionalism and a feudal society were the norm just a few decades earlier. The institution of the emperor in Tokyo and the control of the entire island chain from Okinawa to Hokkaido effectuated in the late

nineteenth century called forth a national consciousness that was exploited to encourage men to give their lives for this abstract concept.

The Japanese government used songs to create strong emotions that inspired sacrifices for the imagined nation of Japan. The irony is that Japanese *gunka* uses foreign music to inspire nationalism and love for Japan. Rather than using folk music as most nationalist leaders do, it uses European-American musical genre, showing the desire of Japan to emulate the West while fighting against it.

A Cult of Death

Many songs sang of a glorious death in service to the emperor and nation. Examples included "Sacrifice Your Life," "If I Go to the Sea," and "The Scent of Morning [of Cherry Blossoms]"[8]. The lyrics to "If I Go to the Sea" (provided earlier in the chapter as part of "Battleship March," see page 45) reflect the cult of death, and the devotion to the emperor held by many soldiers.

According to Thomas Hylland Eriksen, nationalism draws its power from symbols that resemble religious teachings and kinship patterns. He describes nationalism as:

> An ontology: that is a doctrine about the nature of reality…nationalism can instill passions and profound emotions in its followers. It frequently draws on religion and myth for its symbolism, which is often violent in character…Like other ethnic ideologies, nationalism lays claim to symbols which have great importance for people and argues that these symbols represent the nation-state. Death is often important in nationalist symbolism: individuals who have died in war are depicted as martyrs who have died in defence of their nation. (Eriksen 1993:106)

---

[8] Cherry blossoms usually bloom for a few days and then quickly fall and their beauty in their passing. They are a traditional symbol of the short, yet glorious life of warriors.

Warfare in the Japanese army was often brutal, as it used hand-to-hand combat and few technological advances. This meant the loss of many lives, and the army needed to convince the soldiers to embrace their fates rather than fear them.

> Fear of death is the most powerful disabler of warriors, so the Spirit boys turned this weakness into a strength by removing the possibility of death from their *issen gorin* [dime-a-dozen]'s minds. Instead, they taught a cult of death guaranteeing soldiers they would die for the emperor, figuring that a soldier who was ready to die transcended fear. This willingness, even eagerness, to die for the emperor would, it was believed, would provide a magic multiplier effect that would squash all enemies. Recruits were constantly told their lives were worth nothing compared to the glorified contribution they could make to their country by dying in battle for the emperor. (Bradley 2003:38)

Songs glorified certain death, diminishing the fear and resistance of death in soldiers and pilots.

Bidan: Stories of Heroic Deeds

Saishin Nihon Gunkashū (Most Recent Collection of Japanese Military Songs) includes four songs in honor of the "Three Human Bullets" described earlier. The book appeared just a few months after the major Japanese newspapers held song contests. These are the "latest songs" referred to in the title. The songs are "Song of Three Brave Combat Soldiers" (Nikudan Sanyūshi no Uta), "The Song of Three Brave Bomb Soldiers" (Bakudan Sanyūshi no Uta), "The Three Brave Combat Soldiers" (Nikudan Sanyūshi), and "The Children's Song of the Three Brave Combat Soldiers" (Dōyō Nikudan Sanyūshi). Other *bidan* (glorious stories of heroism), including "The Soldier's Wife" (Bujin no Tsuma), "Oh General Nakamura" (Ah, Nakamura Tai'i), "The Brave Sailor (Yukan Naru Suihei), and "Dispatching the Brave Soldier of the Second Division" (Daini Shidan no Yūshi wo Okuru). "Lieutenant Hirose," and "Lieutenant Tachibana" are examples of the Meiji Period stories of heroism that are included in this collection published several decades after their composition.

Concerts in Wartime Japan

During the Asia-Pacific War, music served as a recruitment tool at concerts, as well as for ceremonies when soldiers departed for war. The Army and Navy Bands travelled to various colonies and battle sites in East Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific Islands and performed military songs as well as classical music.

A look at the program of a band concert in China shows a wide variety of pieces performed (Table 1). There is, however, a strong emphasis on Japanese marches and *gunka*. The gradually deteriorating wartime situation created a need for more aggressive wartime propaganda with *gunka* on the part of the military bands. Below is a concert program for the Music Corps Dispatched to Nanjing, 1940-3.

Table 1. Program of a concert by the Nanking Tōa Kurabu (Nanjing East Asia Club), led by Army Director Yamaguchi Tsunemitsu. December 23, 1940.

"Aikoku Kōshinkyoku" (Patriotic March)	Selected by Cabinet Information Bureau; Setoguchi Tōkichi
Overture: "Egmont"	Ludwig van Beethoven
Gunka: "Tairiku Kōshinkyoku" (Continental March)	General Military Band Department
Gagaku: "Etenraku" (Music of Heaven)	Arr. General Military Band Department
"Hatenaki Deinei" (The Quagmire without Horizon)	Arr. General Military Band Department
"In a Persian Market"	Albert Ketèlbey
Battlefield Song: "Akatsuki ni Inoru" (Prayer at Dawn)	Arr. General Military Band Department
Xylophone solo: "Long Long Ago"	Arr. Rudolph Dietrich
Old Song: "Umi Yukaba" (If I Go to the Sea)	Nobutoki Kiyoshi
Nagauta: "Oimatsu" (The Old Pines)	Arr. Army Band
Jikyokka (Situational songs about the war): "Tsuki no Zangō" (Moon Over the Trenches)	Arr. General Military Band Department
"L'Arlésienne"	Georges Bizet

Kokuminka: "Kokumin Shingunka" (Song of the People's Advance)	Selected by the Army and Navy Ministry
Medley: Imonbukuro #7 (Comfort Bag for Soldiers)	Arr. General Military Band Department

(Nakamura et al 1970:238-9, trans. McClimon)

Many of the works in the program above are patriotic songs that the civilians of wartime Japan and Japanese colonies knew well. "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku), the first piece of this program, was likely a sing-along performance, along with "Continental March" (Tairiku Kōshinkyoku), "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru), and Nobutoki's setting of "If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba). The positioning of patriotic songs at the beginning and end of the concert also suggests that audiences probably participated by singing.

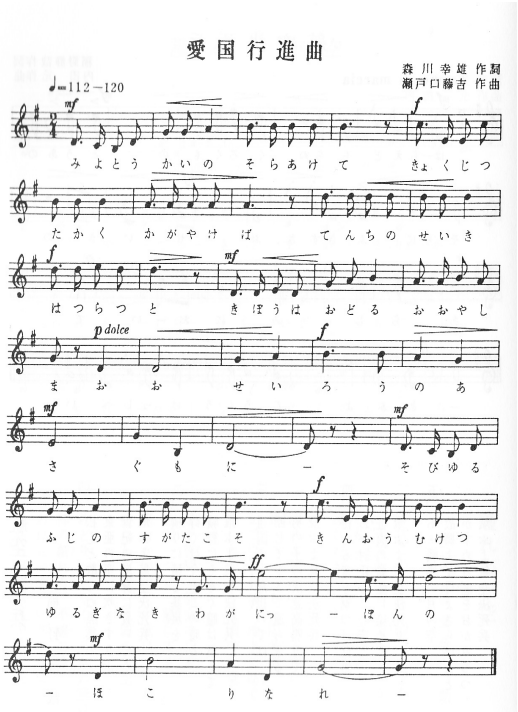
Radio Broadcasts

The radio programming for broadcasts of naval band performances directed by Naitō Seigo open a further window on the musical atmosphere of wartime Japan and the Japanese colonies. Hario Genzō compiled lists of domestic and overseas radio broadcasts based on newspaper articles and Naitō's written records. Hario notes that with the entry into the Asia-Pacific War in 1941, the number of Japanese patriotic songs and marches increased dramatically, but Naitō continued to program some classical works by composers such as Wagner. German composers were acceptable to Japan as an Axis power, but much American and British music disappeared from the airwaves.

Domestic radio broadcasts of 1936-45 provide a window into the musical programming of the time. A December 4, 1936 radio broadcast included two European classical works and several Japanese patriotic songs. It consisted of "Kimigayo March," Haydn's *The Creation,* Beethoven's "Funeral March from Piano Sonata 12," and the

National Anthem "Kimigayo." A December 8, 1941 domestic radio broadcast program, five years later at the start of the Asia-Pacific War, consists entirely of Japanese marches and patriotic songs and no Western classical music. This was appropriate programming on the day of a major victory against the United States at Pearl Harbor. The program included the following marches and military songs: "Battleship March", "March: Advancing on the Ocean," "Protect the Ocean" (Mamore Unabara), "Pacific March" (Kōshinkyoku Taiheiyō), and "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku) and the popular *gunka* military song "The Brave Japanese Soldiers" (Yūkan Naru Nippon Hei, Hario 2000:156-69).

Setoguchi Tōkichi wrote "Patriotic March" near the end of his career. He was famous as the composer of "Battleship March" (discussed above) nearly forty years earlier. The Propaganda Department sponsored a song contest soliciting lyrics for a "Patriotic March" and a second contest to create the melody. In a dramatic turn of events, Setoguchi came out of retirement and produced the winning melody. The form is similar to Western marches, which uses well-balanced phrases and contrasting sections. As is typical in American and British marches, the first phrase has a series of dotted rhythms; this contrasts with a more expansive second section. However, the march includes "Japanese elements" as well. These are a hexatonic scale (a major scale without a leading tone) that is frequently used in *gunka* ("seventhless major scale," Oba 1995), and lyrics that use classical poetic style to describe the Japanese archipelago and Mount Fuji, both symbols of national pride. The poetry also follows a standard Japanese poetic form: alternating lines of seven and five syllables. The work illustrates hybrid musical and poetic elements in song.



Musical Example 4. "Patriotic March" (Osada 1972:222)

Song Translation 3. "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku), first verse.

1. Miyo tōkai no sora akete	Lo, the skies of Eastern sea have dawned
Kyakujitsu takaku kagayakeba	The Morning Sun glows high
Tenchi no seiki hatsuratsu to	The spirit of the earth and heaven is bright
Kibō wa odoru kono yashiro	Hopes hover on the Japanese archipelago
Ōseirō no asagumo ni	In the midst of bright morning clouds
Sobuyuru Fuji no sugata koso	The figure of Mount Fuji
Kin'ō muketsu yurugi naki	Is perfect and majestic
Waga Nippon no hokori nare	It is the pride of Japan

(Trans. Sugita 1972:42)

Tōkichi's catchy melody combined with lofty classical-style lyrics support a nationalism that is militaristic and founded on myths of a timeless and old Japan.

Film Theme Songs and Hit Records

Near the end of the Asia-Pacific War, propaganda films were an important source of entertainment and mobilization. Many of the *gunka* from the final five years of the war became popular as film theme songs. For example, "Song of the Young Eagles" from

the film *Kessen no Ōsora e* (To the Skies for Victory, 1943), was a bestseller, selling 233,000 records in the period of 1943-4. "Instant Sinking" (Gōchin), the theme song from a 1944 film of the same name, sold 81,000 copies during the same period. "Military Gods of the Sky" (Sora no Shinpei), the theme song for the film *Sora no Shinpei,* and "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru, from the film with the same name) were also best-selling records near the end of the Asia-Pacific War (see transcription of *Akatsuki ni Inoru* in the Appendix). Record companies often released records in coordination with films, and the popularity of these songs is clear from the record sales (Tonoshita 2008:259).

Record companies also promoted patriotic songs in collaboration with the government. Starting in 1940, the military-controlled government strictly censored all of the recorded output. Record companies generally cooperated, producing songs that were positive, uplifting, and promoting a strong national spirit. While it is not possible to judge people's true feelings about these songs, wartime record sales as well as post-war revivals of the songs suggest that their lyrics or melodies appealed to many Japanese.

Conclusion

The styles of *gunka* and wartime popular songs, their contexts and their purposes evolved from the beginnings of Westernization in the Meiji Era until the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. In the early wars, such as the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, long epic-style *gunka* served an important role, glorifying the major battles and important people. During the Asia-Pacific War, shorter lyrical songs, soldiers' songs and popular songs gave voice to complex ambivalent feelings about these conflicts.

Gunka originally developed in the context of government institutions in the Meiji Era, the two most important institutions being the military and public schools. In the military context, band directors from Europe and the United States composed new *gunka*, and in the process created a modern image of the military through music. These songs became important for military training, ceremonies, and support of military expeditions. In the public schools, singing *shōka* was the heart of Western musical training. At the same time, the didactic song lyrics provided lessons in morality. Many of these songs were *bidan*, "beautiful" stories of heroism, often focusing on military heroes of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. These *shōka* later moved into the *gunka* repertoire, and they continued to be popular during the Asia-Pacific War and Postwar Era.

With increased militarism in Japan, beginning in 1931 with the Manchurian Incident, music moved from government institutions with relatively limited use into the wider public. Mass media—newspapers, mass produced songbooks, records, and the radio—supported the diffusion of *gunka* and wartime popular songs into the general population. *Gunka* continued to have a function in the military and public schools, but their reach extended to the mass population through the radio, commercial recordings, and community singing sessions. Newspapers, record companies, and the military-controlled government sponsored many song lyric and song contests to engage citizens in the process of songwriting. On the other hand, increased censorship from 1934 until the end of the Asia-Pacific War limited the creative options of composers and poets writing songs at this time. Songbooks supported mass singing in support of the war. In addition, films, radio broadcasts, and band music performances consisted primarily of *gunka*.

Because of their musical value and texts that are meaningful to individual singers, many songs remain popular in the postwar era. In the following chapters, I examine the musical and textual features of *gunka* in detail, and then I trace the recontextualization of *gunka* and wartime popular songs in the period following Japan's defeat in 1945.

Chapter Three. Battle Cries and Laments for the Dead: Musical Features of *Gunka*

This chapter looks at some of the musical characteristics of *gunka.* The category of *gunka* is problematic, so I first examine its various meanings as well as related terms. Then I look at ways to crosscut the genre into categories. Next I consider some of its major features, looking at elements that are typical of patriotic songs in general, features that are adopted from older Japanese musical practices, and those that are conspicuously drawn from Western military music models. Finally, I consider performance practice conventions related to bodily practices, solo and group singing, and gendered elements of song. I examine four *gunka* in order to show the range of musical styles.

Gunka Definition

The word *gunka* (軍歌) combines the ideographs for military (軍) with the character for song (歌). The genre encompasses songs used by the Imperial Japanese Army and Imperial Japanese Navy during training, marching, and other activities, as well as songs whose topics concern war and the military. According to the critic Horiuchi Keizō, soldiers mainly sing gunka when marching, and therefore have they show typical march features: duple time, simple melodies, and upbeat subjects to keep morale high (Horiuchi 1969:16). However, the word *gunka* in the contemporary broad usage refers to songs whose topics concern war and the military, including those that were written for civilians.

Indigenous Categories of Military and War Songs

There are several ways of categorizing military and war-related songs. Categories may be based on tone and content of lyrics, musical characteristics, origins, and association with military service branch. Below I outline some of the distinguishing elements, while taking note of the high degree of overlap between categories.

One of the more important elements is the tone of the song lyrics. Some songs inspire a brave (*isamashii*) and fighting spirit. Others are more mournful (*kanashii*) or tragic. A third type is didactic in tone. The general mood of the music often supports the tone of the lyrics. Many brave songs have march-style music, while the tragic songs often have melodies that are influenced by hymns and folk-song styles. Songs present a positive, negative, or neutral stance toward war and the Japanese army. Satoshi Sugita (1972) classifies songs as favorable, neutral or unfavorable toward war and government activities (1972:19-20).

Many songs commemorate specific circumstances, battles, and wars. These include songs of the Bōshin War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Manchurian Incident, Pearl Harbor Attack, Battles of the Pacific, and so forth.

Musical characteristics distinguish early and later *gunka* and also differ in and out of the military. While this is a very complex category with overlapping musical features, song styles are often framed as marches, hymns, school songs, and folk songs. The vast majority of *gunka* are in duple time, which is expected in a military-associated genre. A few songs use compound rhythms; for example, "Flowers of Patriotism" uses 6/8 meter. Songs use a variety of scale types: pentatonic scales, hexatonic scales, and diatonic major

and minor scales. Early examples are generally pentatonic, while later examples are usually hexatonic or diatonic major and minor.

Some classifications recognize the origins of the songs. Some songs originate within the military. For example, the Army and Navy had a small number of official *gunka* (*seishiki gunka*) used for ceremonies and training, and the narrow definition of *gunka* includes only these. However, there were many other unofficial *gunka* associated with the army and navy, including soldiers' songs (*heitai songu*—written by anonymous members of the military), and regiment songs (*butaika*—official songs of certain regiments, not used in ceremonies). Popular songs (*senji kayō*) produced by the popular music industry constitute a large portion of unofficial *gunka*. Other songs were commissioned by the government and media in support of military goals but are separate from the branches of military. Film songs and songs created from newspaper competitions are relevant here.

For those with military service experience, song provenance within the Army or Navy is an important distinction. Within the Army and Navy repertoire, songs are further divided into categories for the air corps and regular regiments. Many navy veterans express a dislike of army songs and army officers dislike naval songs, although they generally know the songs of the other military branch. Many musical communities are associated with one military service branch. For example, the navy and army host separate clubs that often include singing. Other events and spaces welcome participants who have associations with both army and navy, but this often results in sing-along sessions that are uneven, with different participants knowing and singing only a portion of the songs. For people who experienced the war as civilians or who were born post-war,

the separation of army and navy songs is not widely recognized. Sometimes this causes singers and participants of the younger generations to make blunders, singing the wrong type of song. I made this mistake when I sang a navy song at an army officers' club. Professional singers sometimes make similar errors in choice of song (see the discussion of Ōki Atsushi's performance in Chapter Seven).

Status of composers and song lyricists can factor into song classification. Military band musicians wrote the majority of official *gunka*. Important military composers include Setoguchi Tōkichi (Naval band director), Franz Leroux (Japanese Army band director from France), and John William Fenton (Japanese Naval band director from Britain). Other songs originated from ordinary soldiers and civilians. The civilian composers included well-known musicians and musicologists such as Horiuchi Keizō (music critic), Koseki Yūji (popular song writer), and Yamada Kōsaku (classically trained composer). Lyricists included poets such as Kitahara Hakushū and Saijō Yasō, as well as many amateur poets.

In this chapter, I explore the most popular *gunka.* These are *gunka* that regularly appear in songbooks, and are cited frequently in discussions with informants. In particular, I choose musical examples that live on in the postwar era. These are songs that I encountered in my field sites such as military-themed bars, *gunka* festivals, and concerts. In addition, these songs appear most frequently in postwar *gunka*-related media, in particular comic book memoires, commercial recordings, and songbooks produced in the postwar period.

General Observations About *Gunka*

Gunka, in particular official military *gunka* (the narrow definition of *gunka*), function most simply as patriotic song. Most *gunka* feature a simple melody that is easily remembered, with a limited vocal range of around one octave, and general singability. *Gunka* songs also include repetition and motivic unity. Performances usually consist of unison group singing. Japanese military songs do not have a strong tradition of singing in harmony in contrast to Germany and Russia. Lyrics are usually reasonably easy to remember, although some use flowery or ancient-sounding words to add a feeling of seriousness and weight. Many *gunka* exhibit march characteristics. These include duple time, dotted rhythms, and few long notes or rests. The long strings of dotted rhythms create a sense of perpetual motion, or a feeling of marching forward. *Gunka* as music often looks back on Japan's past, emphasizing anhemitonic[9] pentatonic scales (*yonanuki* "with the fourth and seventh scale degrees removed"). Phrase construction in Japanese "Westernized" songs is different from European songs in that phrases repetition in form is less frequently used. Few songs repeat phrases as in the Euro-American practice of AAB and ABA forms (Yasuda pers. comm., 3 Feb 2010). Many military songs contain a balance of Euro-American as well as Asian musical inspiration, creating a hybrid sound.

Gunka is deeply indebted to Western military march music. While many people believe that Western music was suddenly adopted as part of the modernization efforts of the Meiji Era (1868-1912), it was actually known and used for military drills decades earlier. Komiya and Tsukahara write that Portuguese businessmen and merchants introduced Western music in the mid-sixteenth century, and despite limitations on contact

[9] A pentatonic scale without semitones.

with foreigners in the following centuries, from 1637-1868, Dutch businessmen in Nagasaki continued to bring music to Japan[10] (Komiya 1956, Tsukahara 1993, Tsukahara 2001). In the 1830s, Japanese intellectual Takashima Shūhan encouraged Western style fife and drum corps music for military exercises. When American Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in 1853 to demand diplomatic relations, he used military music to impress the Japanese (Malm 1971, Ono 1987, Hunter 2009). The Japanese government officially promoted music in the 1860s and 1870s, hiring musicians from England to teach at the newly founded Tokyo School of Music to develop a Western music curriculum in the schools and to create military bands (Komiya 1956, Malm 1971, Tsukahara 1993, Tsukahara 2000). All of this evidence confirms that Western music did not suddenly arrive with the government's efforts in the 1860s and 1870s; it came gradually over three centuries. Songs of the army written in the 1890s and early twentieth century easily utilized Western musical conventions. This music was familiar in Japan, and it was of high status because it represented modernity, industrialization and imperialism (Komiya 1956), a topic I discuss further in Chapter Five.

The clear phrases, Western harmonies, regular cadences of four or eight measures, and the duple meter of most *gunka* reflect influences from Western military music. Japan instituted Western music practices in the schools after the Meiji Period and modeled the military after European (especially English) military music. Linda Fujie notes several key features of *gunka*, including strong percussive elements, orchestral accompaniment and trumpet fanfares that are evocative of military marches in the West (1989:204-5).

---

[10] While the Dutch businessmen brought many forms of music, including consort music with viola da gamba, their ships often included military songs that caught the attention of the Japanese.

March-like dotted rhythms and syncopation[11] energize and drive the music forward. Another striking feature is the use of unison singing with brass band, a powerful tool to build a unified spirit.

Gunka use various scales, including pentatonic, sextatonic and heptatonic varieties. Heptatonic scales can be in either major or minor modes (Oba 1995:16). The hemitonic pentatonic scale, a five-note scale containing half steps between scale degrees 2-3 and 5-6, is frequent in *gunka* as well as traditional Japanese music. This is the *in* (yin) scale[12] or the *miyako* (capital, urban) scale[13] that appears in *koto* and *shamisen* music as well as folk songs. When applied to Westernized genres such as *gunka* or *enka*, it is called the *yonanuki* scale (scale without 4 and 7).[14] This scale is widespread in traditional Japanese music, and it also functions similarly to the Western minor mode, appearing with minor harmony in the accompaniment.

Many *gunka* use functional harmony in the accompaniment, with chord outlines in the melody that imply a tonic and dominant chord relationship, further showing how a Japanese scale can fit into an otherwise heavily Westernized musical genre.

---

[11] Syncopation is not generally a feature of military marches, but it figures prominently in Japanese military songs in all periods.

[12] Japanese music theorists distinguish between *in* (yin) and *yō* (yang) scales in Japanese music. The *in* pentatonic scale includes semitones while the *yō* scale includes whole tones and greater intervals.

[13] *Miyako* refers to Kyoto, the former capital of Japan. The *in* scale is often associated with *koto* and *shamisen* music: in other words, musical traditions of middle and upper-class in Kyoto. Koizumi distinguishes between four different scale tetrachords (scale fragments that include a perfect fourth and an additional pitch). He classifies these tetrachords as *miyako* (urban tetrachord, with a semitone above the lowest pitch), *Ryūkyū* (Okinawan tetrachord, with a semitone below the highest pitch), *min'yō* (folk tetrachord, with a whole tone below the higher pitch), and *ritsu* (tetrachord named for a *gagaku* court music mode, with a whole tone above the lower pitch). The *miyako* scale combines two *miyako* tetrachords, thereby introducing the two semi-tones. For more information on this influential study of Japanese music theory, see Koizumi (1979).

[14] See Yano (2002:103-6) for a discussion of the *yonanuki* scale in the popular genre *enka*.

Traditional Japanese music genres in general use a highly ornamented heterophonic[15] vocal style, irregular cadences based on the lyrics, and a regular non-accented pulse. In contrast, the majority of *gunka* use strong duple meter typical of military marches. Other key features of *gunka* include a strong rhythmic element, and, for recordings, a heavy use of brass and percussion in the accompaniment, both of which evoke the conventions of military music in the West (Fujie 1989:204-5). Scotch snaps (sixteenth note-dotted eighth note rhythmic pattern) also appear in some *gunka,* usually combined with dotted eighth-sixteenth note patterns.

The Problem of a *Gunka* "Canon"

Gunka is a vast genre, especially when one includes official military songs (*seishiki "*true" *gunka*), soldiers' songs, and wartime popular songs, as well as other wartime related works. Sakuramoto suggests that there are around 3,000 songs. Sugimoto simply says that the number is "enormous." "If consideration is to be taken of parodies of original war songs or songs of platoons, squadrons, companies, and so forth, that enjoyed limited popularity only at certain areas and at certain periods in history, the population of Japanese war songs is enormous" (Sugimoto 1972:17). Each of the songbooks that Sugita studies contains more than two hundred songs spanning a period of less than one hundred years, from the 1850s to 1945, indicating the mass-production and mass-consumption of the genre.

There is little consensus about a canon of *gunka*. When asking for personal favorites, the range of works mentioned was surprisingly varied. In addition, many

---

[15] Heterophony is a musical texture that uses separate parts performing similar but individually ornamented parts performed together. It is typical of many instrumental music traditions of East Asia.

authors enthusiastically cite one piece or another, but usually a different one. The reason for this lack of a canon is the personalized nature of *gunka* today. Since musicologists and music leaders generally do not study *gunka,* a hierarchy of works is not well established, as it is with European classical music and Japanese traditional music. Individuals choose their favorite songs based on a variety of personal factors. In addition, since *gunka* has very little presence in the contemporary mass media, a canon of songs is not supported there.

Some of the candidates for the "most popular" or "most famous" *gunka* follow:

"Patriotic March (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku)." This march was written near the end of the war by the King of Marches, retired Navy Band Director Setoguchi Tōkichi. It has a catchy melody and poetry describing such things as the beauty of Mount Fuji and the Japanese archipelago. The lyrics come from a song contest in 1939, and Japanese citizens sang it in concerts and public gatherings near the end of the war as part of the Kigensetsu celebrations (2600 anniversary of the mythical foundation of Japan). However, many informants disliked the piece, because of its associations with the Imperial Army as well as associations with the final losing years of the war.

"Battleship March (Gunkan Kōshinkyoku)." This is another famous march by Setoguchi Tōkichi in 1900. It was often accompanied official navy functions, and was a part of military training and wartime patriotic singing by Japanese citizens. Many people in the colonies of Asia and the Pacific learned and sang it, and the former president of Indonesia adapted it as a patriotic song of Indonesia. From the 1960s until the late 1980s, it served as blaring background music at *pachinko* parlors. As a result, when I studied *gunka,* many informants of the postwar generation said that they think of *pachinko* when

they think of *gunka* since this is their only experience with the music. Others mentioned "Battleship March" by name, and associated it with *pachinko* parlors. Taniguchi Masajirō, the former Naval Self-Defense Conductor, discusses the complex history of "Battleship March" at length. He published a history of the song on the occasion of its hundredth anniversary (Tanimura 2000).

"If I Go to the Sea (Umi Yukaba)." This hymn-style *gunka* appears in many war song histories. Two books feature the words "Umi Yukaba in their titles (Hayashi 2002, Ogawa 2005) and in 2005 King Records released a record featuring twenty-five different recordings, including renditions by pipe organ, string quartet, piano theme and variations, and a *gagaku* court music arrangement along with the usual band and vocal arrangements. It broadcast frequently on the radio in the final days of the war and was often used for send-off ceremonies and during repatriation of remains. But its hymn-like melody is atypical of other march-like songs. It was performed frequently when men were sent off to war; as a result, many people dislike it (Tonoshita 2005, 2008). My informants never mentioned as a favorite, but a few said that it was "beautiful" and an important part of their memories of the final years of the war. Many historians and musicologists cite its importance because of its role in the final years of the war. It played during ceremonies that marked repatriation of soldiers' remains and aired on the radio before the role call of fallen soldiers. I discuss Morishige Hisaya's reflective performance in Chapter Five; a transcription of his performance appears in the appendix.

"Your Reign (Kimigayo)." The national anthem often appears in *gunka* songbooks and war song performance programs, but as the national anthem, it is

questionable whether it fits into the *gunka* genre or not. Perhaps "patriotic songs" is a better umbrella term that encompasses the national anthem.

"Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class (Dōki no Sakura)." This is a favorite song for many who remember the war, perhaps because of its bittersweet lyrics. There is a festival dedicated to singing this song under the cherry trees at Yasukuni Shrine (see Chapter Seven). However, because of its association with kamikaze pilots (*tokubetsu kōgekitai*), many people dislike the song.

"War Comrade (Sen'yū)." This song was originally a public school song that became very popular during the 1930s. Its story of loyalty among comrades and its melancholy melody appealed to soldiers and civilians alike. However, because it has a sad tone that could be considered anti-war and its encouragement of anti-regulation activity (it was forbidden to assist a wounded comrade during battle), the government banned performances of the song after 1937. It enjoyed a revival in the 1960s with several recordings (see transcriptions of performances by Misora Hibari and Moshishige Hisaya in the appendix) and continues to be popular at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

There are other songs that remain popular, and it seems that people have different songs that have personal meaning. Songs written in the final years of the war by Koseki Yūji are especially popular because the melodies are well-crafted and singable. Examples that I discuss below include "Bivouac Song," "Flowers of Patriotism," and "Prayer at Dawn" (see the appendix for a transcription of a festival performance).

The wartime popular song "Kudan no Haha" is still performed on contemporary festival and concert programs. Many *enka* singers perform it. I studied it at the

encouragement of several veterans and performed it at veteran's reunions with a very positive response (see transcription of Misora Hibari's rendition in the appendix).

Surprisingly, "Patriotic March" does not remain popular, although it was a major part of wartime propaganda and it resurfaced for the 1964 Olympics (Oba 1995:138). Tsuganesawa argues that songs that were highly promoted by the media and government were often too heavy-handed in their patriotic messages, and were not popular on a large scale (Tsuganesawa 1999:78).

In addition, people of different generations, military service branches, and genders prefer different songs. Memory of *gunka*, largely missing in the national media after 1945, lacks a standardized canon of important songs and is more variable than other genres of Japanese popular and traditional music where the most famous and important works show a clear hierarchy of importance. This is personal music making, without centralized control or encouragement.

Performance Practice: Bodily Gestures

From the final decades of the nineteenth century to the end of the Asia-Pacific War, military music was played on naval battleships positioned in concentric circles. Singing was an important element in spiritual training and the naval bands supported this training with live accompaniment aboard ships. All men marched in place while singing and playing military songs, usually holding songbooks in the left hand. This arrangement created a sense of community while playing and singing. This musical practice seems to be unique to the Japanese Navy.

Figure 3. Sailors practice singing military songs aboard ship; musicians play in the center, while sailors sing and march in place (Gakusuikai 1984:144).

In modern performances and singing sessions, singers and audience members often raise a fist and move it up and down in time to the rhythm. This is similar to bodily movements used by well-wishers during the *shussei heishi* ceremonies for sending soldiers to the front; onlookers held small paper flags and waved them up and down in time to the songs. This appears in the send-off scene of the film *Twenty-Four Eyes*, which I discuss in Chapter Six.

Performance Practice: Solo and Group Singing

The singing of *gunka* was generally a male, homosocial activity. Although groups of mixed gender sang some *gunka* in schools and communities, military training was the most important context for singing. *Gunka* singing was one aspect of male bonding. The unison singing, along with a simple band accompaniment or no instrumental accompaniment, focused the group and created a sense of unity. Singing *gunka* was a powerful way to make men feel a sense of belonging to their military units.

A striking feature is the frequent practice of unison singing, sometimes unaccompanied, and other times with band or orchestral accompaniment. I have found no songbooks with harmony in the voice parts. Furthermore, few recordings use vocal harmony. One notable recorded example is "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru), a film song that features a female chorus singing a counter melody. The transcription in the Appendix shows a 2010 festival performance featuring a female chorus singing the melody and counter melodies much like the historical recordings. Nevertheless, unison singing was a key component of the style until the end of the Asia-Pacific War.[16] Reflecting practical considerations—it is easier to sing one melodic line than to train singers to maintain separate parts—unison singing also functions as a metaphor for united thought and action. Singing in unison with comrades certainly created a sense of unity and emotional bonds with peers.[17]

Performance practice of *gunka* has changed considerably over time. While military recruits sang official *gunka* in groups, as did school children and neighborhood singing groups, in the contemporary situation solo singing and *karaoke* are much more frequent. At festivals and military-themed concerts, a chorus of young women sings to promote *gunka* as a nostalgic form of entertainment. Solo singing is a recent development. In most contemporary situations singers take a microphone to sing solo. At other times, one person sings onstage while others sing-along freely. When I sang at festivals and military bars, others spontaneously joined in, reflecting a desire to recreate

---

[16] After 1945, the majority of military song singing is by individuals—professional performers as well as amateurs.

[17] This is similar to Chinese revolutionary songs, in musical style, function and performance practice (Bryant 2007).

the comradeship of a past era. The gradual move toward solo singing reflects the move of *gunka* and generalized war memories out of the public space and into the private space.

Gender and *Gunka* Performance Practice

While *gunka* might seem at first glance to be a "masculine" genre usually sung by males, female singing and participation played a prominent role from wartime Japan up to the present day. Recordings often featured women and men alternating the singing of verses on recordings: "Father You were Brave" follows this tradition; it starts with a male chorus and then changes to a single female singer. This really makes it sound like propaganda music, as the implied message is that the entire nation—men, women and children— collectively sings.

Several male *gunka* enthusiasts suggested that singing *gunka* and joining the military is very *otokorashii* (manly) and *kakko ii* (cool). Several men at a bar suggested that my own son should join the American military, as it would be an *otokorashii* thing to do. This suggests that *gunka* may create an outlet for masculine behavior in contemporary Japan, where conceptions of Japanese masculinity are unstable and changing. In prewar and wartime Japan, masculinity was based heavily on military service and protection of family, as I discuss in Chapter Four. In the postwar era from the 1980s until the 1980s, with the abolition of the official military and the establishment of a smaller Self Defense Force, Japanese men focused on capitalist pursuits rather than military success to define their masculinity. "The salaryman as dominant (self-) image, model and representation of men and masculinity in Japan indexes overlapping discourses of gender, sexuality, class and nation: the middle-class, heterosexual, married

salaryman considered as responsible for and representative of 'Japan'" (Robertson and Suzuki 2003:1). Japanese salarymen worked to provide for their families as well as for the greater economic success of Japan on the world stage. This salaryman image however, flattened the diversity of actual male experience in Japan, with its diversity of class, sexuality, and gender image. After the economic bubble burst in 1991, this salaryman identity became more and more tenuous. Job security for the "salaryman" faces increasing threats. These men also compete with women who have recently entered the professional workforce. Furthermore, the declining birthrate that is symbolic of a decline in "men's power to reproduce new lives as well as the nation" (Robertson and Suzuki 2003:9). The traditional roles of man as household providers and warriors are on shaky ground. In this climate of uncertainty for men, *gunka* is a way to create a strong male identity based on notions of a once powerful Japan. It also helps men to create communities and some degree of patterned predictability in economically uncertain times.

Four Well-known Gunka

Below I examine four *gunka* to illustrate a range of musical characteristics. I give an example of a public school song *gunka*, a hymn-style *gunka,* a wartime popular song, and a soldier's song. A closer look at these examples shows points of commonality in most *gunka* as well as areas of variation. Data on each *gunka* are summarized in Table 2. Scores of the melodies are below and complete transcriptions of "War Comrade" and "If I Go to the Sea" appear in the Appendix.

Table 2. Four well-known *gunka*

English Title	War Comrade	If I Go to the Sea	Bivouac Song	Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class
Japanese Title	Sen'yū	Umi Yukaba	Roei no Uta	Dōki no Sakura
Date	1905	1937	1937	1938
Associated War	Russo-Japanese War	Early Asia-Pacific War	Asia-Pacific War	Asia-Pacific War
Gunka "period"	Early *gunka*	Middle Period *gunka*	Middle Period *gunka*	Middle Period *gunka*
Style/genre	*Shōka* public school song*, epic song*	Hymn style, *gunka/kokuminka*	Popular film song, lyrics were a contest winner	Soldiers' song, (*heitai songu*)
Lyricist	Miyoshi Kazuoki	Ōtomo no Yakomochi	Yabunouchi Kiichiro	Saijō Yasō
Composer	Mashimo Hisen	Nobutoki Kiyose	Koseki Yūji	Ōmura Nōshō
Word-text relation	Nearly all syllabic; 1 slur in v. 1	Mostly syllabic, four slurs in v. 1	Mostly syllabic, three slurs in v. 1	Mostly syllabic, 5 slurs in v. 1
Number of verses	14	1	4	5
Number of meas.	16	14	20	16
Meter	2/4	4/4	2/4	4/4
Predominant Rhythm	Many dotted rhythms in the notation, Scotch snaps in the transcriptions (Appendix); uses the gunka rhythm: a series of dotted notes	Many sustained pitches, a few dotted notes	Gunka rhythm: dotted rhythms with a long pitch at end of phrase	Dotted rhythms, some quarter and half notes; third phrase more quarter notes
Tempo	Moderato	Maestoso 72-80	Moderato	Moderato
Topic/lyrics	Wartime comrades, tragic	Sacrifice to Emperor; classical text	Battlefield, lost comrade, sadness, remembering home	Comradeship and falling for the country
Number of phrases	4 phrases	7 short phrases	5 phrases	4 long phrases
Harmony	All phrases except the last end on dom7, I IV V7 repeats	Functional harmony: I ii iii V7 I V7 I III7 IV V I IV I V7 I V7 I	i iv i iv V7 i iv V7 i I v7 i v7 i iv V7 i	Dm: i i7 iv V7 i V7 I V7 i iv vi V7 vi iv V7 i i7 iv V7 i
Harmonic rhythm	Slow harmonic rhythm (three chords per phrase)	Med-slow harmonic rhythm (two-four chords per phrase)	Slow harmonic rhythm (1-4 chords per phrase)	Med-slow harmonic rhythm (three chords per phrase)
Range	M9	M10	M10	P11
Scale	Hexatonic	C major	Hexatonic	Hexatonic
Dynamics	No dynamics marked	Many dynamic markings and articulations	No dynamics marked	No dynamics marked

"War Comrade"

"War Comrade" (Sen'yū) is an epic tale that was originally a *shōka* public school song. Epic tales that told of bravery in battle were called *bidan,* "beautiful stories." The scale is hexatonic; it is similar to D minor with the seventh scale degree removed; the introduction and final instrumental sections are in D major. The melody is short—it consists of sixteen measures in duple meter. The melodic range is a major ninth. The melody consists of four phrases, with the first two phrases and the last phrase in a low register. The third phrase uses the highest pitch at the beginning of the phrase. This contour puts emphasis on the third phrase and its lyrics.

Although there is no leading tone, the melody implies tonal harmony. The melody begins with a leap of a perfect fifth, implying a dominant-tonic relationship. The first and third phrases end on the second scale degree, implying a dominant chord to tonic transition. The second and fourth phrases end on the fifth scale degree, again implying a dominant chord. This creates a perpetual forward movement, sustaining the melody through an epic tale with fourteen verses. The final interval of a whole tone gives a flavor of *niagari,* a tuning in *shamisen* music in which the second string is raised.

The short repeated melodies typical of *shōka-gunka* are similar to storytelling genres in traditional Japanese theater. Early *gunka* often used a format of a short repeated melody and numerous verses to tell epic stories. Tales of loyalty and bravery such as "War Comrade" follow this traditional structure. "War Comrade" was originally a public school song, and it later became popular as a *gunka.* Its short melody was easy for students to memorize and sing; it has maintained its popularity in the postwar period. Before singing, singers often talk about the song's importance. At the Mitama Matsuri

Popular Song Show, and the Military Costume and Song Festival, singers described the tragic story, its history as a school song, and its valuable lesson of loyalty.

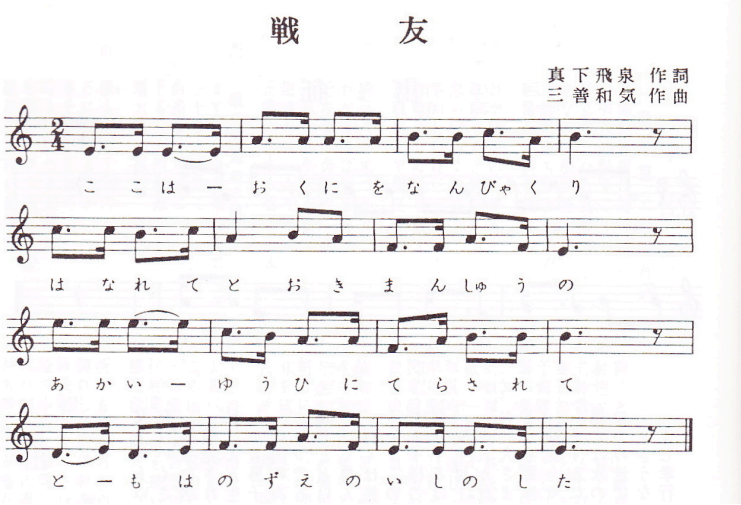
Most performances and recordings include all fourteen verses listed below. It takes around eight minutes to sing all of the verses as Misora Hibari does in her recording that I transcribe in the appendix). Morishige Hisaya, on the other hand, records the first four verses, then moves to verses eight and twelve (see transcription in the appendix). These are the most emotional parts of the song; verse eight describes the "tick-tock" of his friend's pocketwatch in contrast to his silent dead body and verse twelve talks of the protagonist's tears falling as he writes a letter to his comrade's mother and father. Morishige sings with a great deal of *rubato* and vocal register changes to emphasize the emotion in the song.

Song Translation 4. "War Comrade" (Sen'yū).

1. *Koko wa okuni wo nanbyaku ri* *Hanarete tōki Manshū no* *Akai yūhi ni terasarete* *Tomo wa nozue no ishi no shita*	1. Hundreds of miles away from my home, under the red evening sun of Manchuria, my war comrade sleeps in the wilderness below a stone.
2. *Omoeba kanashi kinō made* *Massaki kakete tosshinshi* *Teki wo sanzan korashitaru* *Yūshi wa kokoni nemureruka*	2. It is sad to think of him leading the attacks and troubling the enemy only yesterday. Here the courageous warrior lies.
3. *Aa tatakai no saichū ni* *Tonari ni orishi wagatomo no* *Niwakani hatato taureshi o* *Ware wa omowazu kakeyorite*	3. In the midst of the battle, my comrade suddenly fell. Despite myself, I ran up to him.
4. *Gunritsu kibishiki nakanaredo* *Kore ga misutete okaryōka* *Shikkari seyoto daki okoshi* *Kari hōtaimo tama no naka*	4. Although the military code strictly prohibits this, how can anybody overlook this? With words of encouragement, I lifted the upper part of his body and applied first-aid dressing in the midst of the rain of bullets.
5. *Orikara okoru tokkan ni* *Tomo wa yoyo kao agete* *"Okuni no tame da kama wazu ni* *Okurete kure na" to me ni namida*	5. As the battle cry rose then, my friend finally raised his head, and said, with tears in his eyes, "Don't be late. Don't care for me. You have duties for the country."

6. *Ato ni kokoro wa nokore domo* *Nokoshi cha naranu kono karada* *Sore ja yuku yo to wakareta ga* *Naga no wakare to natta no ka?*	6. I felt reluctant to leave, but I should not be reluctant to fight. I bade him farewell but little did I know that it was farewell for good.
7. *Tatakai sunde higa kurete* *Sagashi ni modoru kokorode wa* *Douka ikite itekureyo* *Mono nado ie to negatta ni*	7. When the fighting ended and it became dark, I went searching for him praying that he be alive, that he would say something.
8. *Munashiku hiete tamashii wa* *Kuni e kaetta poketto ni* *Tokei bakari ga kochi-kochi to* *Ugoite irumo nasakenaya*	8. In vain, his soul had returned home. It was all the more sad that his watch was ticking in his pocket
9. *Omoeba kyonen funa deshite* *Okuni ga miezu natta toki* *Genkai nada de te wo nigiri* *Na wo nanotta ga hajime nite*	In retrospect, when the boat left the port last year and we could no longer see the country, we shook hands and introduced ourselves on the Sea of Genkai. That was our first encounter.
10. *Sore yori nochi wa ippon no* *Tabako mo futari de wakete nomi* *Tsuita tegamimo mise ōte* *Minoue banashi kurikaeshi*	After that, we shared cigarettes and showed letters to each other we had received.
11. *Kata o daite wa kuchiguse ni* *Dōse inochi wa naimono yo* *Shindara kotsu wo tanomu zo to* *Iika washitaru futari naka*	We used to say to each other that we might die any day, and that if one of us should die, the other would take care of his remains.
12. *Omoi mo yorazu ware hitori* *Fushigi ni inochi nagaraete* *Akai yūhino Manshū ni* *Kuma naku hareta tsuki koyoi*	Little did I dream that I would survive my friend and dig a hole for him under the red evening sun of Manchuria.
13. *Kokoro shimijimi fude totte* *Tomo no saigo wo komagoma to* *Oya goe okuru kono tegami* *Tomo no tsuka ana horauto wa*	The moon is bright. I pick up a pen and write a heartfelt letter about his last moments to his parents.
14. *Fudeno hakobi wa tsutanai ga* *Ando no kagede oyatachi no* *Yoma ruru kokoro omoi yari* *Omowazu otosu hito shizuku*	The pen writes slowly but thinking of his parents' feelings as they read the letter by a lantern, I shed a teardrop on the letter.

(adapted from Sugita 1972:35)



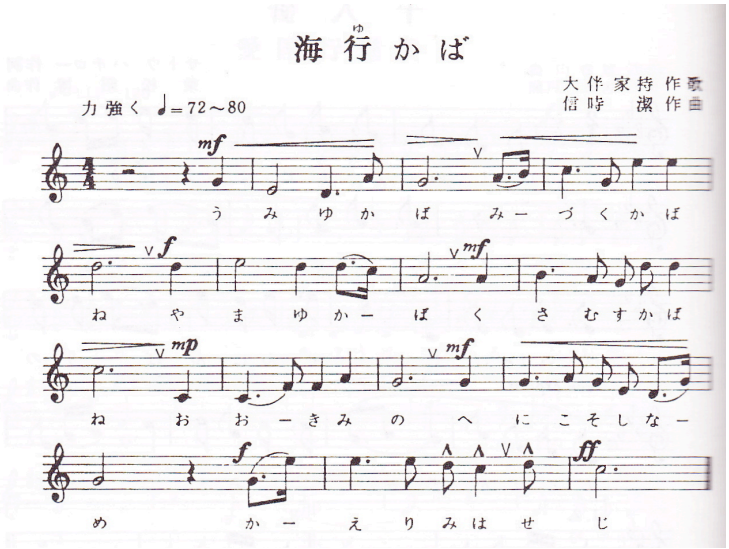
Musical Example 5. “War Comrade” (Osada 1968:84).

The melodies of heroic epic tales tended to be short, allowing repeated recitation when telling detailed stories of heroic action in the battlefield or aboard ship. These epic songs were mainly written during early wars, especially the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars of the turn of the century. Very few of these remained popular during the Asia-Pacific War. The reason for this was that records accommodated only short songs, so shorter, lyrical songs became widespread. Other popular *bidan* include “The Three Human Bombs” (Nikudan Sanyūshi), “Colonel Tachibana” (Tachibana Chūsa), “Lieutenant Hirose” (Hirose Chūsa), and “The Meeting at Suishiying” (Suishiei no Kaiken). The latter describes the meeting of General Nogi and the Russian General Stoessel after the Battle at Port Arthur. It portrays the General as a fair-minded military leader who treated the defeated Stoessel with kindness, saying, “Yesterday’s enemy is today’s friend.” The details are mostly fiction (Sugita 1972:34).

“If I Go to the Sea”

"If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba), is an important wartime song. While its overall style is similar to a hymn, with a homophonic setting and regular phrase lengths,

it uses dotted rhythms to energize the music. Large upward leaps, including major sixths, perfect fifths and fourths, also contribute a courageous or uplifting feeling. A downward leap of an octave creates a feeling of solemnity and quiet before the final climatic phrase.



Musical Example 6. "If I Go to the Sea" (Osada 1968:224).

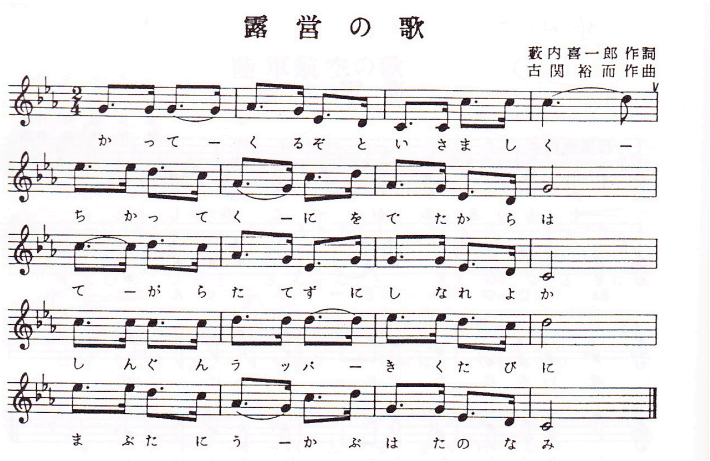
"If I Go to the Sea" portrays the image of myriad dead bodies, yet suggests that dying for the emperor was an honorable thing (see Chapter Two for lyrics and translation). This song was popular with soldiers and pilots who sang it before leaving Japan for unavoidable death. The composer, Nobutoki Kiyoshi (1887-1965) studied music in Germany and was a teacher at Tokyo Music School (now Tokyo University of the Arts). In addition to "If I Go to the Sea," he wrote a cantata called *Along the Coast, Conquer the East (Kaidō Tōsei*, 1940) to commemorate the 2600th anniversary of the mythical foundation of Japan. According to Kanazawa, "After the war he virtually gave up composition and withdrew to a quiet retirement, particularly because of his feeling of responsibility for his involvement in Japanese militarism" (Kanazawa 2007).

"If I Go to the Sea" creates a solemn feeling with long sustained pitches. The musical setting embodies strong emotion, particularly strength and resolve. The dynamics indicated in the score add intensity. Nobutoki Kiyoshi is a classically-trained composer so his "If I Go to the Sea" is notably different from other *gunka* written by popular song writers or military band directors. It exhibits a strong hymn influence. While there are ten dotted rhythms (4 are two-beat dotted rhythms, others are one-beat dotted rhythms), most of the other pitches are quarter notes or half notes, giving a smooth sustained character. In my own experience singing, the most challenging aspect was creating a smooth, sustained delivery and an overall gradual increase in intensity. "If I Go to the Sea" is challenging to sing because of its long phrases and sustained notes. These sustained notes, large leaps, and overall high melodic range give the song a serious and noble character. Morishige's recording includes a mixed chorus humming in the background. The first time is quiet and reflective, with accompaniment of guitar while the second time sounds like a military procession with snare drum and bugle call.

"Bivouac Song"

"Bivouac Song" (Roei no Uta), written in 1938, is an example of a *senji kayō*, wartime popular song. The government and music industry used *Senji kayō* for propaganda and entertainment on the home front, not for the military's official use. "Bivouac Song" was the theme song for a 1938 film of the same name, directed by Kenji Mizoguchi (1898-1956, a member of Cabinet Film Committee from 1940), with actors Hisao Ito, Seizaburō Kawazu, and Akira Matsudaira (The Internet Movie Database http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0030687/ accessed 8 May 2009). The lyrics won second

place in a newspaper contest jointly sponsored by the *Tokyo Hibi Shinbun* and *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*. Due to its popularity, many singers have recorded this song.



Musical Example 7. "Bivouac Song" (Osada 1968:108).

Koseki Yūji (1909-89) was a highly successful composer of popular songs. He wrote many *gunka* and wartime popular songs as a composer for Columbia Records. He wrote melodies that were easy to remember and sing, giving them timeless appeal. "Bivouac Song" uses the "*gunka* rhythm," a series of dotted quarter and sixteenth notes with a sustained note at the end of each phrase. But unlike early *gunka* with their monotonous melodies, he creates melodic and harmonic variety that creates interest and melodic movement. Leaps in the melody—two octaves, and one perfect fifth—combine with stepwise motion create a sense of heroism. The contrasting melodic shapes of each phrase also encourage varied vocal expression. Each phrase has a unique melodic direction and shape, giving a sense of melodic "progress" throughout the song.

The lyrics of "Bivouac Song" are by Yabunouchi Kiichiro (1905-1986), who was born in Nara Prefecture and worked as an officer for Tokyo City Hall. The lyrics won

second place in a patriotic song lyrics contest. The winning entry was "Song of the Advancing Army" (Shingun no Uta) and the two were put together on the record company's propaganda offering. "Bivouac Song" turned out to be more popular with the public than "Song of the Advancing Army" (Nobarasha 2005:187).

Song Translation 5. "Bivouac Song" (Roei no Uta).

1. *Katte kuruzo to isamashiku 7 5* *Chikatte kuni o deta kara wa 7 5* *Degara tatezuni shinaryū ka 7 5* *Shingun rappa kiku tabi ni 7 5* *Mabutani ukabu hata no nai 7 5*	1. To prevail and return with the utmost courage We've parted from our home country Vowing to achieve momentous deeds or die trying When we heard the army bugle Our eyelids rose and before us the flag was waving
2. *Tsuchi mo kusagi mo hi to moeru 7 5* *Hate nake kōya fuki wakete 7 5* *Uma no tategami nade nagara 7 5* advance… *Asu no inochi o dare ga shiru 7 5*	2. With soil, vegetation scorched by fire Across the expanse of barren wasteland we trod Our steel helmets along with the rising sun on Stoking the mane of my horse I wondered Who knows what the morrow of one's life will bring
3. *Tama mo tanku mo jūken mo 7 5* *Shibashi roei no kusa makura 7 5* *Yume ni dete kite chichi ue ni 7 5* *Shinde kaere to hagemasare 7 5* *Samete niramu wa teki no sora 7 5*	3. Among bullets, tanks, and bayonets We rested on pillows of grass in our field barracks In a dream my father appeared to me Calling me to return to him when I fall Then I awoke staring up at the enemy sky
4. *Omoeba kyō no tatakai ni 7 5* *Ake ni somatte nikkori to 7 5* *Waratte shinda sen'yū ga 7 5* *Tennō heika banzai to 7 5* *Nokoshita koe ga wasuraryō ka? 7 5*	4. Ah, I remember yesterday's skirmish Soaked in blood my comrade was sweetly smiling As he lay dying his joyous final cry Divine Emperor, Banzai! How could I forget these words Which remain with me still?
5. *Ikusa suru shi ha kanete kara 7 5* *Suteru kakuro? De iru mono wo 6 6* *Naite kureru na kusa no mushi 7 5* *Tōyō heiwa no tame naraba 8 5* *Nan no inochi ga oshikarō*[18] *7 5*	5. Our bodies are fully resolved to do battle. And we cast away any frivolous needs Do not cry for us, insects of the grass For the sake of peace in the Orient What sacrifice is too great? (trans "gurufabbes")

The poetry follows a form of five lines of 12 syllables (7 + 5 or 6 + 6) each[19] as follows, although the second to last line contains an extra syllable:

---

[19] In Japanese each consonant-vowel group is considered to be a syllable. In addition, elongated vowels indicated with the macron count as two syllables so "shinaryū" is four syllables. All vowels are enunciated

7 - 5 / 7 - 5 / 7 - 5 / 7 - 5 / 7 - 5

Traditional Japanese poetry uses lines of twelve syllables, usually in groupings of seven and five. While this poetic form of five lines seems unusual to those accustomed to groups of four or six phrases typical of European songs, many other *gunka* use the five phrase structure. These include "Flowers of Patriotism" (Aikoku no Hana), "News from Shanghai" (Shanghai Tayori), "China Nights" (Shina no Yoru), "2600th Anniversary of Japan's Foundation" (Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen), and "Courageous Soldiers of the Sky" (Sora no Yūshi). In general, songs may have four, five or six phrases, and each form exists in roughly equal numbers. "Blues in the Rain" (Ame no Blues) has seven phrases but is apparently unique. Yano notes that an alternation of seven and five syllables is standard in Japanese songs, even if they do not follow a set poetic form such as *waka,* the poetic form of 31 syllables (2002:92)[20].

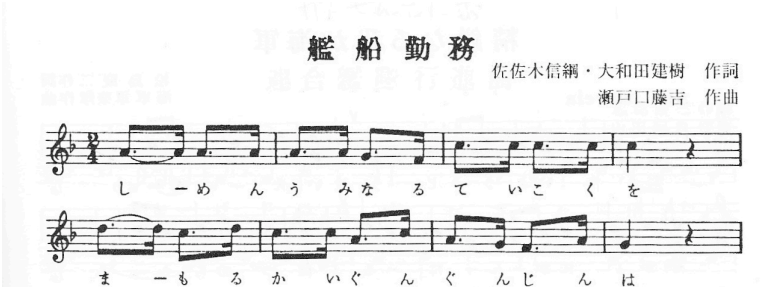
The persistent rhythmic motif is a string of six sets of dotted quarter – sixteenth notes, ending with a long note. This pattern is typical of marches and many school songs. The repeated march-like rhythm is incessant and hypnotic after a while. There is little rhythmic variation, but much variation in melodic shape. This adds interest to the repetitive rhythm. This rhythm was typical of early *gunka*, but can also be found in later examples as well. Examples of the rhythmic pattern can be found in "Battleship Duties" (Kansen Kinmu), "If the Enemy Comes in Tens of Thousands" (Teki wa Ikuman), "Japanese Army" (Nippon Rikugun), "Lieutenant Tachibana" (Tachibana Chūsa),

---

distinctly, so "nai" is two syllables. A double consonant adds an additional syllable, thus "katte" is three syllables. The final n sound in a word or prefix counts as a syllable, so "shingun" is four syllables. Traditional poetic forms such as *tanka* (also called *waka*) and the more recent *haiku* as well as popular songs group syllables into 5 and 7.

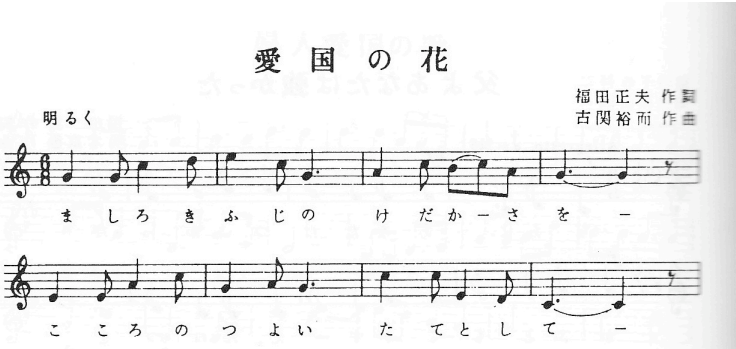
[20] *Waka* or *tanka* a poetic form dating to the Heian Period (794-1185) uses a poetic form of 7 - 5 / 7 - 5 / 7.

"Triumphant Return" (Gaisen), "Song of the Infantry" (Hohei no Uta), "The Brave Sailor" (Yūkan Naru Suihei), and "Lieutenant Hirose" (Hirose Chūsa).



Musical Example 8. Excerpt from "Battleship Duties" (Osada 1968:145).

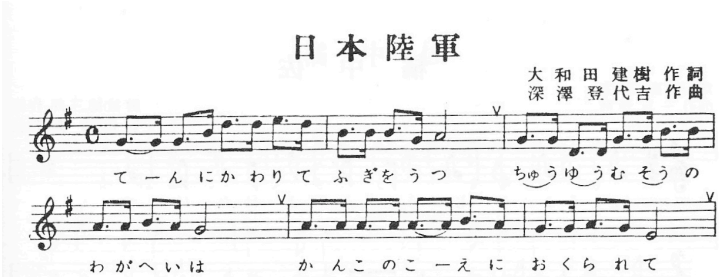
"Flowers of Patriotism" by Koseki Yūji uses a rhythmic pattern that is reminiscent of the *gunka* rhythm; it has been converted into 6/8 time and considerably slowed down with some variations and tied notes.



Musical Example 9. "Flowers of Patriotism" (Osada 1968:232).

Other *gunka* use a similar pattern, although a few of the notes are tied together. The effect is similar however. The overall impression is of a long string of relentless eighth notes.[21] One example is "Japanese Army."

[21] Strings of eighth notes are not unique to *gunka*, however. Many Japanese folk songs and traditional music also use long strings of dotted eighth and sixteenth notes. This rhythmic pattern is easy to play thanks to the *shamisen's* flat plectrum and it also serves as a rhythmic base for textual recitation.



Musical Example 10. “Japanese Army” (Osada 1968: 79).

The song combines an upbeat marching rhythm with a minor mode. The melody of “Bivouac Song” uses a hemitonic pentatonic scale and the accompaniment is in the minor mode. This creates a tension in the music that highlights the ambivalence of going to war portrayed in the song’s lyrics.

In the transcription, the leading tone, however, is used for dominant seventh chords in the accompaniment. Oba writes that this six-note “minor” scale, which she calls the seventhless minor, is frequently found in *gunka* after the Russo-Japanese War (Oba 1995:38-9). The major mode was usually converted to an anhemitonic pentatonic scale. Its harmony is limited to tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords with fairly standard progressions. Overall, there is a range of a minor tenth, from C – Eb[1]. This is not an overly large range, so it allows amateurs to easily sing it. The interlude is eight or sixteen measures. The interludes use several different melodies to add interest to the recordings. The musical form of “Bivouac Song” appears in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Musical form of "Bivouac Song"

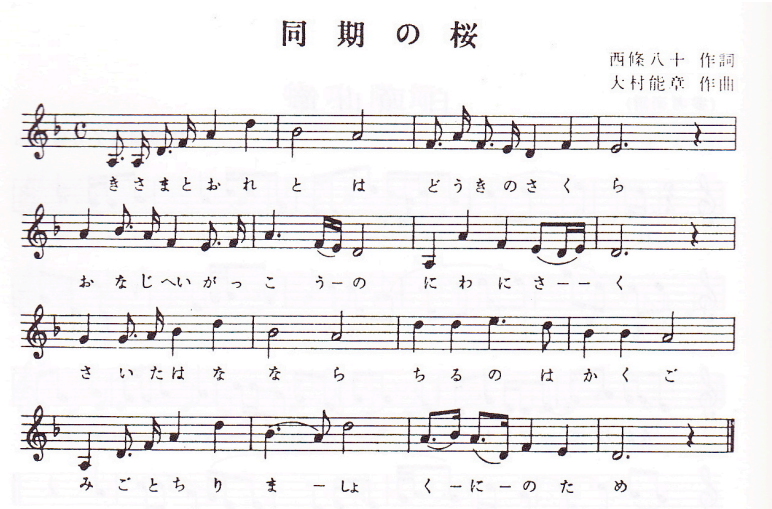
Verse 1	Introduction (16 mm.)	A (4 mm.)	B (4 mm.)	C (4 mm.)	D (4 mm.)	B’ (4 mm.)	Interlude (8 mm.)
C minor:	I	I	V	I	V	I	I
Verse 2		A	B	C	D	B’	Interlude (16 mm.)
		I	V	I	V	I	I – i

The interlude after verse two is striking because it changes to a major key, before modulating back to the minor key in preparation for the third verse. This may be a foreshadowing of the third verse, where the narrator dreams of home, before waking up in enemy land.

"Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class"

"Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" (Dōki no Sakura, written in 1939, popular in 1945) illustrates many elements of the genre. It uses a natural minor scale without the leading tone, frequent dotted rhythmic motifs and regular four-measure phrase lengths. Large leaps, including perfect fifths, fourths and octaves, also contribute a strong impact in performance as singing these large leaps required strong vocal effort and more aggressive singing than music with smaller intervals. The large range of the piece, a perfect twelfth, makes it a challenge to sing. It includes an octave plus a fifth, a^1-e^2, and in the first and fourth lines, an arpeggio spans nearly the entire range (a^1-d^2).[22]

[22] This is similar to the American national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner," which is also notoriously difficult to sing because of its large range.



Musical Example 11. "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" (Osada 1968:208).

The second line incorporates a leap of an octave, an interval that is difficult for an untrained singer. The unison singing of this large range of A'-E" (actually sung an octave lower by a male chorus) would strain most singers: some tenors would not be able to sing the low A, and the singers would strain on the high E. This unison singing would require either a heroic effort in singing, creating a very strong vocal style, or dependence on others for support during the difficult areas where one stops singing. This may be a result of inappropriate vocal writing; the effect is similar to the extraordinary demands of a combat situation—requiring group solidarity, heroic action, and support from one's peers.

The examples here show a curious mixture of traditional Japanese and imported Western features. While the musical style reflects clear, almost exaggerated influences from European marches, a few elements such as the *yonanuki* scale maintain past musical influences. More importantly, this music was adapted to the needs of the Japanese army of the time. Elements of Western European military marches are exaggerated for the

purpose of developing these masculine-nationalist ideals in the soldiers. At the same time, the lyrics provide subject matter that glorifies masculine actions and Japanese imperial power, while drawing on an older classically inspired poetic tradition to maintain a sense of Japanese authentic tradition, following an imagined and glorified national military past. This type of music is indicative of Japan's eagerness to adopt Western military practices generally as use of European-style military marches was an extension of the military pomp associated with uniforms, marching, and drills that I discussed in Chapter Two.

Conclusion

As a genre, *gunka* exhibits a variety of traditional Japanese and European musical characteristics, embodying many of the hybrid elements of Japanese identity. During its development over more than eighty years, from 1868 through 1945, several distinct styles have emerged. Distinct compositional sources, moods, and functions of the music also contribute to the genre's range. In this chapter, I have identified some of the key examples of *gunka,* and examined some of the typical rhythms, phrase structures, scales, and forms that define the genre in general.

Performance practice also suggests some of the reasons for *gunka*'s continued popularity. Bodily practices related to singing *gunka* support an unconscious and often unverbalized collective memory of the past. Group singing of *gunka* recreates the feelings of past *gunka* performance, while solo singing reflects the music's move toward more personal and private memory realms. Gendered performance practices also hint at the music's power to support and revive traditional gender roles. Marching, military

salutes, and rhythmic beating of time are masculine performances of past hyper masculine values that are displaced into contemporary musical practice.

Having described the musical features of *gunka,* the following chapter explores the messages of *gunka* lyrics. Along with melody and harmony, songs lyrics supported images of soldiers fighting on the front, and women and children supporting in various roles. The government used a discourse of gender roles particularly in times of war, to define the proper behavior of soldiers and civilian citizens. Examination of these discourses provides clues to the reasons that the music continued to be popular in the postwar era.

Chapter Four. Father, You Were Brave: Soldiers and Civilians in Song Lyrics

This chapter examines major songs that were popular during 1930-45, focusing on songs that informants cited as their favorites. The topics covered a wide range of subjects. The most prominent topic—the support of war by soldiers on the battlefield and civilians on the home front—is the focus of this chapter. Images of masculine warrior spirit, female motherhood, and the children of Japan did much to further the war effort by uniting all citizens.

Gunka offer a useful case to study gender and nationalism in support of militarization. Military songs were a key element in creating support for government discourses of masculinity and female virtue from the Manchuria Incident of 1931-3 through the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945. I focus on the study of the lyrics of some of the best-known *gunka* of this period, as well as a few key *gunka* of earlier wars that illustrate similar themes.

Musical performance encourages embodiment of the message and musical qualities of a song; in this case, singing militaristic music helped people embrace militarism. The repeated recitation of *gunka* lyrics embedded their message into the singer's consciousness, and, when sung in groups, the music symbolically creates unity and strength. In order to better understand the specific role of songs in military propaganda, I explore images of soldiers to show how appeals to masculine honor encouraged men in Japan to fight the Pacific and Asia wars. I argue that masculine images of soldiers support militarism in ways that are similar to other nations' support of

war (Goldstein 2002, Enloe 1983, 2000). East Asian models found in the *bushidō* (warrior) ideals informed notions of masculinity; well-known *gunka* mention some of these *bushidō* values, such as loyalty, familial piety and the aesthetic beauty of a short life and glorious death. In Japan, they combine with more general masculine militarized values such as stoicism and bravery. Next, I consider images of women and children and their supportive roles in the war effort, as portrayed by *gunka* song texts. While *gunka* were primarily written by men, many appealed to women and children through their musical and poetic style, encouraging militarization of women and children by glorifying their roles in the war effort, and inspiring men to fight for the honor of their families and nation.

A Chorus of Men Go to the Battlefield

Gunka primarily inhabit a male world. Stereotypical constructions of masculinity take a prominent position. Many of the bloody scenes described in the "heroic" *gunka* reflect the spirit of Japan in an aggressive, masculine way. However, elements of family life play an important role as well. In "Bivouac Song," the young man remembers his father, imagining the father telling him "Don't come home alive." "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Year" calls of men to die gloriously and meet their comrades when they bloom as flowers at Yasukuni Shrine. Constructions of masculinity during Japan's imperial period revolved around heroic and glorious death.

During the Meiji Period, Japan imported images of masculinity from the West that justified earlier *bushidō* ideals. Elements of manliness incorporate physical, functional, emotional, intellectual, and interpersonal aspects. While masculinity is a cultural construct that varies across time and space, many shared ideals appear in the

discourse of otherwise dissimilar wars. Goldstein argues that gender roles are most prominent in war because fighting does not come naturally, and cultures must "develop gender roles that equate 'manhood' with toughness under fire" (Goldstein 2001:9). He notes that men have nearly always acted as the central combatants in war and that women played supportive roles in the military enterprise. Further, he notes that war has influenced gender, especially gender norms taught through child-rearing (Goldstein 2001:9). Many masculine qualities are illustrated in the songs, for example bravery, heroism, fearlessness, hostility, and sense of justice (Sugita 1972). *Gunka* scholar Satoshi Sugita identifies seven themes of *gunka*, in descending order of frequency in the songs that he studied: bravery and morale, nation, hostility, death, sentimentalism, emperor, and justice (Sugita 1972:21). These seven characteristics reflect militaristic masculine values that appealed to men and encouraged them to sacrifice themselves to the national cause. They are similar to masculine values in other wars as well. While nations define masculinity in different ways during peacetime, wartime discourse produces generally uniform gender roles.

Some of the elements of masculinity reflect *samurai* ideals. They include strength, bravery, stoicism, rationality, and adventurousness. Others seem to be of a more universally militarist origin, such as aggression, independence, and a domineering spirit. Sugita notes the presence of feelings of aggression in *gunka* lyrics. Two good examples are "Bivouac Song" (Roei no Uta, 1937) and "Courageous Men of the Sky" (Sora no Yūshi, 1939). The former describes the battlefield in China; the latter is a song about the *kamikaze* pilots. The title emphasizes the pilots' role as men to protect the

nation through dangerous missions. The image of glaring at the enemy sky suggests masculine hostility and a fighting spirit.

Song Translation 6. "Courageous Men of the Sky" (Sora no Yūshi).

1. *Onchi no tabako o itadaite*	1. Getting the Imperial gift of cigarettes
Asu ha shinu zo to kimeta yo wa	On the night *I decide to die the following day*
Kōya no kaze mo namagusaku	Even the wind of *the wilderness smells of blood*
Gutto niranda tekizora ni	*At the enemy sky I glare*
Hoshi ha matataku futatsu mitsu	As a couple of stars twinkle
	(Sugita 1972:46, italics added)

The sense of fearlessness in deciding to die the next day is a strong masculine image, as well as smelling blood and glaring at the enemy sky. Bravery and a willingness to face death were important. Warfare in the Japanese army was often brutal, as it used hand-to-hand combat and few technological advances. Because this meant the loss of many lives, the army needed to convince the soldiers to embrace their fates rather than fear them. They convinced the soldiers that they would die for the emperor, creating a "cult of death" as a way to transcend fear. By creating a brand of nationalism with religious elements, army leaders helped soldiers to identify with a larger cause, abandoning their individualistic concerns with personal safety and comfort (Bradley 2003:38).

Many songs glorify death in service to the emperor and nation. Examples included "Sacrifice Your Life," (Inochi wo Sutete, 1943), "If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba), and "The Scent of Morning [of Cherry Blossoms]" (Asahi ni Niou, 1928). The lyrics to "If I Go to the Sea," a very popular *gunka* set to music in 1937 by composer Nobutoki Kiyoshi, reflect the cult of death and the devotion to the emperor held by many soldiers (see Chapter Two).

The lyrics present a morbid scene of suffering and death, yet frame it as a glorious and desirable sacrifice for the emperor, a god-like figure in wartime Japan. While this song invokes the blood baths that occurred in many battles, it was a very popular *gunka* among soldiers and civilians.

The lyrics of the song "Japanese Army" (Nippon Rikugun, 1904) are another representative example of the cult of death and its popularity among soldiers. The song is from the Russo-Japanese War and reflects the culture of sacrifice glorified in early *gunka* and army discourse.

Song Translation 7. "Japanese Army" (Nippon Rikugun).

Ten ni kawarite fugi no utsu	To punish the injustice in the place of heaven
Chū yū musō no waga hei wa	Our soldiers, unequalled in bravery
Kanko no koe ni okurarete	Are about to leave the country of their parents
Ima zoi detatsu fubo no kuni	In the midst of a hearty send-off
Katazuba ikite kaeraji to	Brave are they to pledge no return
Chikō kokoro no isamashisa	If they secure no victory
	(Sugita 1972:36, italics added)

The image of the soldier who fights against all odds and overcomes difficulties is an element of both Western masculinity and Japanese *bushidō*. *Gunka* encouraged soldiers to fight for the nation, often invoking imagined military predecessors to inspire bravery.

Much of the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy organization was modeled on Western military organizations. Japanese military leaders included military bandleaders who were British, French, and German visiting instructors (see discussion in Chapter Two). However, many spiritual aspects of fighting were still traditionally Japanese (Narusawa 1997:197). Intellectuals of the late nineteenth century argued for a resurgence of the *bushidō* ideals based on the way of the *samurai*. They advocated the slogan

wakon yōsai (Japanese spirit, Western science), meaning that although they adopted Western military and imperialist practices, they were in their hearts still Japanese (Low 2003:83).

Military leaders advocated qualities of the medieval warriors of the late 12th century and Sengoku era, when "*samurai* were expected to be brave, tough-willed individuals who were skilled riders and swordsmen, proud of their family name, loyal to their lord, and willing to face death at any moment" (McClain 2002:77). The famous swordsman Miyamoto Musashi (1584-1645) advocated success as well as this toughness and loyalty.

> The Way of the Warrior is to prevail, and any individual must order his life so that he can accomplish whatever objective he sets for himself…that was the heart of *bushidō*—one did not embrace death but, rather, attempted to achieve conquests and glory in this world, in the present time, as a way of fulfilling one's way in life. (McClain 2002:79)

Soldiers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries idealized traditional Confucian values. These included familial piety in their roles as fathers, brothers, and sons; loyalty to comrades; and, most importantly, loyalty to the emperor and the nation.

The beauty of a short, glorious life was idealized in song. These soldiers, like the *samurai* who died before them, were compared to cherry blossoms for their glorious and transient lives.

Song Translation 8. "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" (Dōki no Sakura).

1. *Kisama to ore to wa, dōki no sakura*	1. You and I are cherry blossoms of the same class
Onaji heigakkō no niwa ni saku	We bloom in the yard of the same military academy
Saita hana nara chiru no wa kakugo	Flowers in full bloom are destined to fall soon
Migoto chirimasho kuni no tame	Let us fall bravely for the country
2. *Kisama to ore to wa, dōki no sakura*	2. You and I are cherry blossoms of the same class

Onaji heigakō no niwa ni saku	We bloom in the yard of the same military academy
Chiniku waketaru naka de wa nai ga	We are not related in blood
Naze ka ki ga ōte wakareranu	But we somehow like each other and are unseparable
3. *Kisama to ore to wa, dōki no sakura*	3. You and I are cherry blossoms of the same class
Onaji kōkutai no niwa ni saku	We bloom in the yard of the same air force squad
Aoida yūyake minami no sora ni	The sun is sinking over there in the southern sky
Imada kaerani ichibanki	Your plane has not come back yet
5. Kisama to ore to wa, dōki no sakura	5. You and I are cherry blossoms of the same class
Hanare banare ni chirō tomo	Even if we fall separately
Hana no miyako no Yasukuni Jinja	At the Yasukuni Shrine in the beautiful capital city
Haru no kozue ni saite sō	We shall bloom together [and] see each other as cherry blossoms (Oba 1995:168-9)

This song encapsulates many *samurai* values. First, the fearlessness of death and loyalty to one's comrades is part of the *samurai* code. The strong desire not to survive a comrade is also a typical *samurai* value; it was better to die with a comrade than to outlive him. Finally, the comparison of a *samurai* to a cherry blossom is a traditional image, as was mentioned in the previous chapter. Finally, the soldiers want "to bloom" and be remembered at the Yasukuni Shrine, the still controversial shrine honoring all of Japan's war dead. Anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney describes the "militarization of the cherry blossom," tracing its position first as a national symbol of Japan, and during the war years, as a militarist symbol, associated especially with *tokkōtai* (special attack forces, the groups of *kamikaze* suicide pilots) who gave their lives for the nation. She writes that cherry blossoms became "metamorphosed souls of fallen soldiers" (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:138). The last stanza of "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" underscores this belief when the singer promises to meet his comrade after death when they reappear

as cherry blossoms blooming in front of the Yasukuni Shrine. According to Ohnuki-Tierney, the cherry blossoms refer to naval cadets, who, adorned with the Naval Insignia of cherry blossom and anchor, took their pictures under the cherry trees before departing on suicide missions (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:140).

At the same time, cherry blossom imagery connected the young naval cadets to a glorified military tradition praised in literature and poetry. This imagery linked the military to an imagined line of samurai. Historian Morris Low argues that "Japanese men appropriated the older cultural model of the *samurai*, not only as a refuge against the rapid changes that Japan was undergoing, but also as part of a national ideology centered on the emperor" (Low 2003:81). In 1900, Nitobe Inazō wrote *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan*, a bestselling book that described Japanese ethics and morality. Nitobe advocated a view of *samurai* that was characterized by chivalry, fearlessness, and loyalty to the emperor, making the soldiers into essentially modern day *samurai* (Low 2003:83).

The idealization of *bushidō* values was an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm 1983). Hobsbawm writes, "'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 1983:1). Hobsbawm suggests that invention of tradition is normal in many cultures, and that all societies invent their pasts to some degree, but that it is more pronounced when societies undergo radical changes that call for new traditions (1983:4-5). Japan is a good case, since it underwent rapid Westernization and industrialization at the end of the 19th century. A code of *samurai* ethics served to create a distinct identity vis-à-vis the West. This was based in part on

Confucian notions of loyalty: to one's family (especially parents), comrades, and the Emperor. Nitobe Inazo writes, "The teachings of Confucius were the most prolific sources of Bushido" (1969:15).

Many *gunka* glorify this *bushidō* ideal, portraying heroic deeds on the battlefield. "The Three Brave Combat Soldiers" (Nikudan Sanyūshi) refers to a famous story of soldiers who used their own bodies as weapons in the battlefield against difficult odds. Other songs such as "Oh General Nakamura" (Ah, Nakamura Tai'i), "The Brave Sailor" (Yūkan Naru Suihei, 1895), and "No Matter How Many Enemies Come" (Teki wa Ikuman, 1887) describe heroic deeds on the battlefield in a highly masculine way. "Oh General Nakamura" describes the concern and care that a superior had for one of his charges.

Another aspect of *bushidō* values is loyalty to comrades. Many *gunka* texts reinforce values of devotion to comrades on the training ground and in the battlefield. "The Brave Sailor" describes the extreme loyalty of the soldiers for their peers. The hero of the story, mortally wounded, asks about the state of the enemy's ship before his death. When he finds that the enemy's ship is sunk, he smiles and dies.

Song Translation 9. "The Brave Sailor" (Yūkan Naru Suihei), selected verses.

1. *Kemuri mo miezu kumo no naku*	1. No fog, no cloud
Kaza mo okorazu nami tatazu	No wind, no waves
Kagami no gotoki Kōkai wa	The Sea of Kōkai was as smooth and clear as glass
Kumori sometari toki no ma ni	Suddenly, the clouds built up and it got dark
3. *Tatakai imaka takenawa ni*	3. Now the battle is in its peak
Tsutome tsukuseru masuro no	With the precious blood of our brave sailors
Sonki chimote kanpan wa kure ni kazaretsu	The deck of the ship is all colored in red
5. *Majikaku tateru fukuchō wo*	5. Then a wounded sailor saw the sub-captain

Itamu manako ni mitomeken	Passing by with his painful eyes.
Sora wa sakebinu kowadaka ni	He strained his voice to call Sub-captain
"Mada shizumaze ya teien wa?	
6. *Yobito merareshi fukuchō wa*	6. Being called, Sub-captain stopped
Kare no katae ni tatazumeri	By the side of the sailor
Koe o shiborite kare wa tō	He now breathes faintly but asks with all his strength
"Mada shizumazu-ya Teien wa"	Is the Teien [= the enemy's battleship] still there?
7. *Fukuchō no me ni uru oeri*	Tears welled up in the sub-captain's eyes
Sare domo koe wa isamashiku	But in a strong voice, he said,
Kokoro yasukare	
Teien wa tatakai nan Kunashi wa teki	"Don't worry now, The Teien cannot fight any more."
8. *Kikieshi kare wa ureshige ni*	Listening to the sub-captain's words,
Saigo no emo o morashitsutsu	The sailor happily smiled his last smile
"Ikade kataki o uchiteyo"	He could barely say, "Please take revenge for me"
Iu hodo mo naku ikitaenu	Before he died
	(trans. Oba 1995:37-38)

This toughness, stoicism, and loyalty so typical of Japanese war stories and songs, reflect masculine values that are transferred from *samurai* predecessors to a modern military.

Direct Roles of Women in the War

Most songs advocate women supporting the front from a distance, by sending their sons to battle, or working as nurses. Women were often called to serve the war effort through direct action in song. The song "Nurse's Song" (Kangofu no Uta) recognizes an important role that women played during war. Some women participated in

military activities such as bamboo spear practice, usually practiced by men and boys in Japan in preparation for a ground attack of Japan.[23]

"The Wife Joins the Army" (Fujin Jūgunka) calls on women to support the war effort in an active way, as a participant, but this is more of an imaginary scenario than a realistic portrayal of actual circumstances.

However, the song "Military Ditty" (Guntai Kouta), a popular soldiers' and sailors' song, describes a woman who longs to join her lover on the battlefield and tries to take a more direct involvement in battle.

Song Translation 10. "Military Ditty" (Guntai Kouta), second and third verses.

2. *Koshi no guntō no sugari tsuki*	2. Clinging to the military sword on the hip
Tsurete yukyanse dokomademo	Take me wherever you are going, she says
Tsurete yukunowa yasu keredo	I would like to
Onna no nosenai yusōsen	But no woman is allowed on the fighters
3. *Onna no nosenai yusōsen*	3. But no woman is allowed on the fighters
Onna nosenai yusōsen nareba	If no woman is allowed on the fighters
Midori no kurokami tachi kitte	I will cut the long black hair
Danjō sugata ni mi wo yatsushi	To be disguised as a man and will
Tsuite yukimasu doko made mo	Follow you wherever you are going
	(Sugita 1972:50)

The song clearly mentions the rules prohibiting women from entering military settings, but the speaker vows to cut her hair and disguise herself as a man in order to fight and support her lover. This song is unusual because women did not serve in the Japanese military. It was an essentially masculine organization, and women were given limited roles of support as mothers, wives, and sisters. It shows the sadness of women sending their men to war, but is not a literal call for women to join the battlefield.

---

[23] Nakazawa's *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima, Volume 1* shows the political climate of wartime Japan at home. Gen's father gets into much trouble with the local authorities for refusing to take bamboo spear practice seriously (Nakazawa 1972:9-13). He asserts that bamboo spears would do little against an invasion by American soldiers with superior technological resources such as machine guns.

In Chinese opera, there are many female warrior characters called *wudan* ("warrior women," Wang-Ngai and Loverick 1997:33). Peter Loverick writes: "…they twirl spears, brandish swords, and fend off attacks with acrobatic prowess. These women can hold their own with male warriors and even best a general. They can, in fact, even become great generals themselves" (Wang-Ngai and Loverick 1997:96). The most well-known female warrior is Hua Mulan, the woman who joins the military to fight in her ailing father's place. She fights, disguised as a man, and she is such an excellent warrior that those around her do not recognize that she is a woman (Wang-Ngai and Loverick 1997:72).

Enloe writes that recruiting women into military service is a "political high wire act…they need to recruit and deploy women in only those ways that will not subvert the fundamentally masculinized culture of the military" (Enloe 2000:238). "Guntai Kouta" allows women to express their undying love, and ultimately to accept their roles on the sidelines of the military endeavor.[24]

According to a YouTube posting, student soldiers sang "Military Ditty" during the Asia-Pacific War. The blogger describes the song as nostalgic, and a "wonderful song." He writes, "At that time, I couldn't catch what he was singing because I was a third-grader in elementary school. Now, I get a clear picture of what the lyrics are depicting." He also thanked the poster for putting the song online, because he apparently

---

[24] Cross-dressing is an integral part of Japanese theater. From the Edo Period until the present day, *kabuki* theater relied on male cross-dressers to play female roles. Beginning in the early twentieth century, a popular style of all-girls revue developed in the city of Takarazuka in Hyōgo Prefecture. Young women played all the roles in the theatrical productions, developing a unique style of male impersonation with stylized makeup, costumes, and voice production. Takarazuka Revue played a role in wartime propaganda and even performed in Japanese colonies abroad (Robertson 1998). However, while this theatrical form of cross-dressing was regularly performed on the Japanese stage, the references to cross-dressing and going to war that appear in *gunka* seem to be flights of imagination with little basis in real possibility.

remembered the song in his context of civilian life. (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXJw1DV9RvA accessed 22 June 2008). The recording which appears to be from the 1940s is sung by a group of men, giving the image of soldiers singing the song while remembering their women back at home and hoping for their loyalty and undying love.

Families on the Home Front: Supporting the War Effort

While most *gunka* described the role of soldiers in battle, some address the place of women and families in the war efforts. The lyrics of many *gunka* praise women for their roles in the war effort, but they emphasize roles that are subordinate to men, either in supportive or symbolic roles (Nagel 2998:253). Women were not expected to fight and die on the battlefield, but they contributed in other ways: as nurses, factory workers, mothers, and wives of soldiers. Children were also admonished to pray for and be grateful to soldiers for their sacrifices on their behalf.

Yuval-Davis and Anthias in their introduction to the book *Woman-Nation-State* describe five ways that women in a variety of cultural contexts often support national agendas: 1) as mothers of the nation by producing children; 2) as reproducers of the boundaries between groups (i.e. marrying and reproducing with others in the same national or ethnic group; 3) by transmitting culture and group values to the next generation in nurturing roles; 4) as symbols of nation and 5) as actors in military or anti-military struggles (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989:7). In all but the last case, women assume roles that support male actors in the national scene. One of the most frequent female roles in *gunka* song discourse is the role of the mother sending her sons to the battlefield. While women had diverse reactions to this situation, many women

internalized the militaristic values prevalent at the time and encouraged their sons to fight and die on the battlefield (Low 2003:87). As is characteristic of war, women experienced mixed reactions to the difficult task of sending their sons to the battlefield (Low 2003:87-88).

Two songs, "Kōkoku no Haha" (Mothers of the Empire, 1938) and "Aikoku no Hana" (Flowers of Patriotism, 1938) instruct women to support the war effort, mainly by raising loyal and brave soldiers for the war effort. According to the propaganda of the time, there was no greater honor than for a woman to give her son to the war effort, so she was not allowed to cry should her son die in battle.

Song Translation 11. "Flowers of Patriotism" (Aikoku no Hana).

1. *Masshiroki Fuji no kedakasa o* *Kokoro no tsuyoi tate toshite* *Mikunini tsukusu ominara wa* *Kagayaku miyo no yama zakura* *Chini saku niou kuni no hana*	1. The snow-capped Mount Fuji is dignified As a shield for a strong heart Women who make an effort for the nation Shine through the ages the Mountain Cherry Blooming on this land with its scent, flowers of the nation.
2. *Oitaru wakaki morotomoni* *Kokunanshi nogu fuyu no ume* *Kayowai chikara yoku awase* *Jūgoni hagemu ririshisa ha* *Yukashiku niou kuni no hana*	2. Young and old together In a national crisis, like the winter plum Frail women come together At the home front, striving with high spirits Graceful scent, flowers of the nation
3. *Yūshi no ato wo ōshikumo* *Ie wo bako woba mamori yuku* *Yasashii haha wa mata tsuma wa* *Magokoro moeru benitsubaki* *Ureshiku niou kuni no hana*	3. After he has left as a warrior, his bravery Protects the house and children The kind mother, and also the wife Burning with sincerety, the red camellia It gives a happy scent, the flower of the nation
4. *Miizu no shirushi kiku no hana* *Yutakani kaoru hi no moto no* *Onna to iedo inochi gake* *Kozorite saite utsukushiku* *Hikarite niou kuni no hana*	4. The symbol of the grace of the royal family, the chrysanthemum It has a rich scent, the scent of Japan Even a woman sacrifices her life for the nation Blooming beautifully en mass Brightly scented, the flower of the nation.

(verse 1 trans. Sugita 1972:43, 2-4 trans. author)

The first verse compares Japanese women to mountain cherry trees, the militarized source of the cherry blossom symbol (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002). This is significant because the most beautiful cherry blossoms came from wild cherry trees rather than those planted in town. In addition, mountains have been a traditional resting place for the dead since the eighth century *Man'yōshū* (Ten Thousand Leaves), the earliest anthology of Japanese poetry (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:36). Women often represent purity, especially when praised by nationalist interests. Purity may refer not only to sexual purity but also to the purity of mind, in this case with naive unfailing patriotism. The phrase "shield of the heart" is evocative; it likely refers to the stoicism that mothers attempted to uphold when sending their sons to war. *Gunka* encouraged mothers to be stoic to avoid the usual female objections to war and criticisms of the government. Government discourse encouraged women to follow traditional Confucian-influenced values that placed men at the center of society and women in supporting roles as mothers, wives, and sisters. Duty to the ruler as well as duty to male superiors took precedence over a woman's real feelings.

The metaphors in "Flowers of Patriotism" are many. First, the songs liken women to many different kinds of flowers: 1) the mountain cherry blossom, the symbol of Japan, 2) the winter plum, usually associated with China, but in this case associated with persevering under adversity, 3) the red camellia, a pleasant and attractive flower that blooms at the end of winter, and 4) the chrysanthemum, associated with the Imperial Family as well as military death. According to the songs, women should "bloom" and produce a "scent" in different ways. They should bloom in Japan, the homeland; and they should bloom gracefully, happily, and brightly. The songs call women to action as

well. They make an effort for the nation (verse one), come together despite their weak status (verse two), protect the house and children (verse three), and finally sacrifice their life (verse four). Other metaphors complicate this idealistic picture of Japanese womanhood; they should be a shield for the nation, with high spirits, burning with sincerity, and blooming en masse, along with other women. In songs, women are the "good wives, wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbō*) in service to the nation. War enters the picture only occasionally with the words "home front" (verse two) and "warrior" (verse three). The other verses refer more generally to patriotism and hard work in the face of adversity.

A male poet and male songwriter wrote "Flowers of Patriotism," but the wartime target audience was female. During the postwar era, the song has been popular with both men and women. Many people, women and men, cite this song as a favorite, and it has appeared at several events that I attended. While the words place women in a subordinate place to men, the song does endorse women as an important part of the national war effort. The cherry trees in the song above suggest that women are the source of the cherry blossoms that will fall for the nation. They become the support for their sons like a strong tree, sending myriad sons (cherry blossoms) to war. Furthermore, when one goes to a flower-viewing party, it is the blossoms, not the tree, that one comes to see. The tree becomes an invisible support for the beautiful blossoms.

"Mothers of the Empire" (Kokoku no Haha or Mikuni no Haha) provides a similar call for women to stoically send their sons to war, but acknowledges the inner feelings that mothers experienced while doing so.

Song Translation 12. "Mothers of the Empire" (Gunkoku no Haha).

1. *Kongo no koe o hata no nami*	1. Hearty cheers and waves of flags
Ato wa tanomu wo ano koe yo	The voice said "take care."
Kore ga saigo no senchi no tayori	This is the last letter from the battlefield
Kyō mo chikaku rappa no ne	Today, too, I hear the bugle afar.
2. *Omoeba ano hi wa ame datta*	2. Yes, it was rainy that day,
Bōya no sena de tsuyatsuya to	The boy was sleeping on my back
Hata wo makura ni nemutte ita ga	With my a flag as the pillow
Hoho ni namida ga hikatteta	But his tears glistened on the cheek,
3. *Gobuji de okaeri machimasuto*	3. I wish your safe return, I said
Ieba anata wa ōshikumo	But you replied heroically,
Kondo au hi wa rainen shigatsu	I shall see you in April next year
Yasukuni jinja no hana no shita	Under the cherry trees of the Yasukuni Shrine.
4. *Tōyō heiwa no tame naraba*	4. If for the cause of peace in the Orient
Nande nakimashō kuni no tame	Why should I cry?
Chitta anata no katami no bōya	For the nation you died
Kitto rippa ni sodatemasu	And as your keepsake I will
	Make a fine man out of our boy.
	(Sugita 1972:43-4)

The songs encourage women to support the soldiers, either by encouraging them to be brave in battle or comforting them in times of fear and stress, but always in a role subordinate to that of their sons. As Cynthia Enloe writes, when a nation has challenges recruiting and retaining soldiers for war, the support of women, especially mothers, becomes especially critical (Enloe 2000:237). The final verse uses emotion to justify losing a son to war, for "the cause of peace in the Orient." The woman is happy knowing that she raised a good son. The other verses change the narrative voice frequently, sometimes recounting the son's experience as written in a letter to his mother, and other times documenting the mother's response.

Another song, "Heart-Breaking Son" (Danchone), mentions the sad state of military widows, perhaps warning young girls of the painful consequences of marrying a soldier. "Heart-Breaking Son" is a folk song from Kanagawa Prefecture that was popular

around 1943, tells of the bittersweet goodbyes to family and friends that are inevitable for soldiers who went to war and a sure death. The soldiers and pilots who think of their families at home narrate the song.

Song Translation 13. "Heart-breaking Son" (Danchone).

1. *Oki no kamome to*	1. Neither sea gulls in the offing nor fliers
Hikōki noriwa doko de chiru yarane	Know where they die
Hateru yara danchōne	Where they perish
2. *Ore ga shinu toki hankachi futte*	When I die I will wave my handkerchief
Tomo yo anokoyone	2. To my friend and to my sweetheart
Sayonara danchōne	Sayonara
3. *Tama wa tobikuru masuto wa oreru*	3. Bullets are flying and the mast has broken
Koko wa inochi no ne	Now is the time
Sute dokoro danchōne	To throw your life away
4. *Ore ga shindara sanzu no kawa de*	4. When I die I will gather devils
Oni wo atsumate	At River Styx
Sumō toru danchōne	And will wrestle with them
5. *Hikōki nori ni wa*	"No flier is to marry my daughter"
Musume wa yarenu	But the girl wants to go with me
Yarenu musume ne ikitagaru	No flier is to marry my daughter
danchōne	Today's bride will be tomorrow's widow
	(Sugita 1972:49)

Another song describes the lack of a woman in the household in the submarine environment. "Instant Sinking" (Gōchin, 1944) includes the lines, "In the womanless household…beards and whiskers grow on unshaven faces" (Sugita 1972:53). It suggests two separate spheres. The civilized world is inhabited by women and was the place where men shave their beards. This is in contrast to the man's world of the submarine and

battlefields, where they are unshaven and unkempt. This portrays the male world of military life.

Some songs place men in the role of family man, defining soldiers as fathers, not simply as part of a military unit. "Father You Were Brave" (Chichi-yo, Anata wa Tsuyokatta, 1938) uses the nexus of masculinity, loyalty to family and strong emotion to inspire brave fighting.

Song Translation 14. "Father, You Were Strong" (Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta), first verse.

1. *Chichiyo anata wa tsuyokatta*	1. Father you were brave
Kabuto no kogasu en'etsu no	Under the scorching heat that melts helmets
Teki no kabane to tomo ni nete	You slept with enemy corpses
Koro mizu susuri kusa wo kami	Drank muddy water and ate grass
Areta sanga wo iku senri	Marching on the wild mountains and across rivers for thousands of *ri*
Yoku koso utte kudasatta	Thanks for destroying the enemy
	(Sugita 1972:46)

The message of the song is that fighting and dying bravely for the country was honorable and caused children to be proud of their fathers. However, these military men would not likely return to take care of the children. The men would die far from their families, even as they fought for the nation and for family life back home. Additional verses contain images of women and children. These verses begin with, "Husband, you were strong," "Brother you were strong," "Friend, and my son, you were strong," "People of Japan, you are strong." The verses that named the various family members that might fight in the war illustrate a growing circle of influence where everyone had suffered the loss of a family member or friend to the fighting. This song would have appealed to civilians on the home front supporting their husbands, sons, brothers, fathers, and friends at war, and probably the soldiers as well through song broadcasts and songbooks. Recordings feature male, female or combined voices, suggesting that it was sung by people on the battlefield

as well as on the home front. The cherry blossoms at the shrine in the Kudan section of Tokyo are mentioned in the fourth verse.

Song Translation 15. "Father, You Were Strong" (Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta), final verse.

4. *Tomo yo waga ko yo arigatō*	4. Comrade! Child of ours, Thanks be unto you
Homare no kizu no monogatari	Tales are told of your honorable wounds
Nando kiitemo me ga urumu	How many times I may hear it, my eyes still well up with tears
Ano hi no ikusa ni chitta ko mo	And such also for the fallen children in tomorrow's battles
Kyō wa Kudan no sakura-bana	Today like a cherry blossom [at Yasukuni in Kudan]
Yoku koso saite kudasatta	May it bloom well for us

The musical character of the song is ambiguous. The natural minor mode, with the semi-tone between degrees 5 and 6, gives some darkness to the mood, but the march-like 6/8 meter and frequent dotted rhythms make the song catchy and easy to sing.

A final song that was very popular with children was "Thank you to the Soldiers" (Heitaisan yo Arigatō, 1938). Children and family members of Japanese soldiers sang this song, as well as children in the colonies of Asia and the Pacific Islands. A recent documentary *Sensō Daughters* ended with a group of elderly women from Papua New Guinea in the late 1980s singing this song that they had learned during their wartime childhood (Sekiguchi 1990). Ironically, they had little to thank the soldiers for: the soldiers had stolen food from New Guinea locals and raped many local women, burned their homes, and destroyed their land with battles. But the song reinforced the familial discourse that children of the colonies were part of the family of Japan.

Song Translation 16. "Thank You to the Soldiers" (Heitaisan yo Arigatō).

1. *Kata o narabete niisan to*	1. Today I can go to school
Kyō wa gakkō ni ikeru nowa	Shoulder to shoulder with my brother
Heitaisan no okage desu	Thanks to the soldiers
Okuni no tame ni	For the nation

Okuni no tame ni tatakatta	You fought for the nation
Heitaisan yo arigatō	Thank you, soldiers
2. *Yūbe tanoshii gohan doki*	2. At meal time in the evening
Kanai sorotte kataru no mo	Family members sit down for a pleasant chat
Heitaisan no okage desu	Thanks to the soldiers
Okuni no tame ni	For the nation
Okuni no tame ni kizutsuita	You were wounded for the nation
Heitaisan you arigatō	Thank you, soldiers.
	(adapted from Sugita 1972:45)

Children in Japan learned the last two songs in school to encourage them to innocently support the war in Asia and the Pacific. Cartoonist and peace activist Nakazawa Keiji uses this song to depict the hardships of children evacuated from Hiroshima to the countryside during wartime Japan (Nakazawa 2004:127, see Chapter Five).

Conclusion

Japanese military songs embody rhetoric to inspire soldiers and civilian citizens in support of war. Songs for soldiers praise militarism and masculinity to convince citizens to make enormous sacrifices for the nation. The masculinity that the songs embrace is a recreated and idealized idealized form of *bushidō* values. In addition, military marches and war songs incorporate Japanese poetic imagery to enhance the image of an ancient and unique nation. The songs created an imagined past masculine military ideal based on the *samurai* and promoted this image to the soldiers. Military songs represented the ideal actions of men as soldiers. *Gunka* narratives stressed bravery in fighting, loyalty to the military unit, family, and emperor, heroism, hostility to the enemy, stoicism, and a glorified death.

A few songs address the role of women on the battlefield. These songs praise women for their work as nurses. Occasionally a song suggests that a woman might fight

on the battlefield; however, there is no evidence of women actually joining the military during the wars of modern Japan.

On the home front, women played a subordinate but crucial role in war. Songs, virtually all written by men, mention women's place in supporting the national effort. Songs portrayed women as good wives and wise mothers, giving their husbands and sons to fight for the nation. They were brave, honest, cheerful, and hard-working. In addition, songs encouraged children to be patriotic and appreciative of soldiers fighting on the front. With the call for women and children to support the fighting adult men on the battlefield, *gunka* exploited family values in support of the war effort.

Gunka framed the gendered and militaristic government discourse in a performed medium. Singing and re-singing the songs, a pleasurable act in itself, ensured that the message of the lyrics and the mood of the music would enter strongly the consciousness of soldiers and civilians. Because singing these songs became an important part of group bonding for Japanese who lived during the Asia-Pacific War, they remain an emotional link to the past. The place of *gunka* in national propaganda of wartime Japan illustrates the ability of music to affect people on a deeply personal level. *Gunka* encouraged support of what became a losing war for the people of Japan. In the postwar era, the music continued, albeit in somewhat altered forms. The following chapter explores the changes in *gunka* performance in the decades following Japan's defeat.

Chapter Five. Gone But Not Forgotten: *Gunka* in the Postwar Media and Soundscape

Gunka has a contested, contradictory, and often silent role in postwar Japan. Immediately after the war, the American wartime occupation forces banned the broadcast of the music. When the occupation forces and left in 1952 ending musical censorship, the music went into a niche musical style and remained popular with a narrow segment of the population, while it was forgotten by society at large. There was a *gunka* revival in the 1960s (Oba 1995). *Gunka*, while not a major genre in late twentieth century or early twenty-first century Japan, resurfaces from time to time. I argue that there were two *gunka* booms, one in the middle and late 1960s, and another from the middle 1990s and early twentieth century, but that the music never really disappeared in the intervening years.

This chapter surveys the life of military songs during the American occupation and over the following sixty-five years, examining various clues and traces of its existence to show conflicting views in various segments of society and in the media. Military songs include voices that are critical of *gunka*, others that valorize it, and those that perform it while taking an ambiguous stance. Oba says that *gunka* was "shoved out of sight" after the war, and then revived in the 1960s. I look at ways that these fragments of a past music echoed and reverberated in a drastically changed Japan. I examine the place of *gunka* in the postwar soundscape and the diversity of *gunka* in various media, namely comics, films, postwar record releases, postwar songbooks, and the world-wide web. I do not attempt to generalize about the many activities and views surrounding

gunka in the postwar era, but I show the range of views and their contested nature over the postwar decades. In addition, I use repertoire as a tool to examine which songs people frequently "remembered" in various contexts and which songs the public have "shoved out of sight." I argue that most Japanese people remember tragic *gunka* that remind them of their victimization during the war, although those in the military tend to prefer the "glorious" official *gunka* instead. Oba notes a similar phenomenon among her interviewees (1995:137).

War Memory in Postwar Japan

It is useful to examine the climate of war memory in Japan in order to better understand war songs in their postwar social context. In Japan, war memory has constantly evolved in response to political, economic and social changes. Contrary to what Western media portrayals and accusations of Asian governments would suggest, there is a constant tension of progressive and conservative views among ordinary Japanese. In addition, there is a tension between pro-military and pacifist advocates. Seraphim (2006), Dower (1999), and Seaton (2007) discuss some of the challenges in postwar Japan in coming to terms with defeat.

Franziska Seraphim writes of the ongoing problems with memory of war in Japan:

> "…questions of war memory and postwar responsibility have been a part of public life in Japan from the end of the war into the twenty-first century. It is certainly not true that Japanese have no sense of war guilt, that theirs is a culture of amnesia, or that they are politically immature. Rather, war memory developed together with—and as a part of—particular and divergent approaches to postwar democracy in the aftermath of the war." (Seraphim 2006:4)

She examines several interest groups of various political leanings that created contrasting narratives of the Asia-Pacific War, including the conservative Association for Shinto Shrines and Bereaved Families Association, the politically central Japan-China

Friendship Association, the left-leaning Japan Teachers' Union, and Wadatsumikai (Group inspired by the book *Listen to the Voices of the Dead*[25]). She surveys the development of these various groups and their formation during the first decade of the postwar era in the context of discourses of peace and democracy. From the middle 1950s through the 1970s, the war continued to define the present and future, causing a "doubling of temporalities." Progressive academics in particular examined war responsibility outside of the mainstream politics. In 1960s, the signing of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty caused mass protests and renewed discussion of wartime responsibility issues. The 1970s, in the context of high economic growth, a successful Olympic hosting and Osaka Exposition, as well as problems with oil and strained relations with Korea and China, spurred a new debate surrounding war issues. The Vietnam era inspired a peace movement in Japan, and in the 1970s, the growing reports of wartime atrocities propelled many citizens to anti-war sentiments, often in contrast to a conservative government. Seraphim views the 1960s and 1970s as an important moment for intensified public debate around war memories; during the same period, war songs experienced a revival (see discussion below). During the 1980s, academics hotly debated the problem of "postwar responsibility" (*sensō sekinin*). The Chinese and Korean governments began make war issues an important part of diplomatic relations, partly in response to growing evidence of Japanese brutality in Asia. Issues about the "whitewashing" of history in school textbooks and the inflammatory visits by government officials to the Yasukuni Shrine, which enshrines many convicted war criminals, brought war memory to the

---

[25] This book, which was a compilation of writings of student pilots, was an important part of the anti-war movement in Japan.

public view. By 1995, with the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war, Japan was "a society in flux, struggling with the demands of political reorganization, economic recession, and Asian regional integration, which had combined to engulf Japan in a genuinely public and highly contentious debate about its wartime and postwar past" (Seraphim 2006:27).

Philip Seaton writes of the "long postwar" in Japan and convincingly argues that the "postwar" has not ended in the early twenty-first century. He outlines the eras of the "postwar" and considers the evolving place of war memory in the political, economic and social changes of Japan from 1945 through 2005. During the occupation by the American forces from 1945 to 1952, the control of public war narratives of the government and media was in the hands of the victors. Many intellectuals called for anti-militarist change. Many Japanese learned of war atrocities and shunned the military. Defeat, despair and guilt changed into a victim mentality that remains a dominant theme in Japanese war memory today (2007:40). American involvement in war memory formation was enormous: the War Crimes Trials did not charge Emperor Hirohito and he remained on the throne. Several views that emerged from the War Crimes Trials cast ordinary Japanese as innocent victims, not perpetrators of the war. First was the idea that "we were tricked." Secondly, military leaders were assigned sole war responsibility. The reverse course was an important part of American Cold War strategy; Japan was quickly transformed from Asia-Pacific War enemy to cold war ally (Seaton 2007:41). Changes of names for the war reflected ways of remembering and forgetting. Calling the past war the "Pacific War," rather than "Great East Asia War" emphasized Japan's losing battle against American forces, and deemphasized Japanese atrocities and imperial ambitions in

Asia. Cold War politics, in particular the interests of the American military, impeded the ability to reflect on the loss.

In 1952, Japan gained political autonomy, restored diplomatic ties with its neighbors, and achieved its current territorial boundaries with the return of Okinawa in 1972. The postwar elite included many of the wartime leaders who did not repent for past mistakes (2007:42). Emperor Hirohito worshiped at Yasukuni Shrine in October of 1952, suggesting that the wartime militarism was not problematized to a meaningful extent at that time. The Liberal Democratic Party maintained a conservative pro-American stance during their longtime political control from 1955-93. Popular films in the early 1950s focused on a victim mentality. Films made in the later 1950s took a more nostalgic and conservative stance, with a war memoire boom peaking in 1956. During this time, conservative and progressive memory rifts had begun (2007:45). In the early 1950s, the war was not over for many, as war orphans remained in China and prisoners of war languished in Siberia. The final prisoners of war returned home in 1956. Also in the 1950s, nuclear issues became of a matter of public consciousness, as reflected in the series of Godzilla films, beginning in 1954. As Yoshikuni Igarashi (2000) writes, there was an "absent presence" of war memories in postwar Japan. The Olympics in Sapporo and Tokyo, and Osaka Exposition revived national pride. Economic recovery by this time was quite strong, allowing the Japanese to superficially forget the extreme hardship of wartime and occupation-era Japan.

During the 1970s and 1980s, dominant views of the war shifted from those of the wartime generation to those of the postwar baby boomers. The discussion of Japan's military actions became a subject of international debate. In Japan, news of the Vietnam

War led to anti-American, anti-war, and anti-nuclear activities. During the 1970s, baby boomers came of age and began to question their parents' wartime activities. Many memoires of the war proliferated. From 1970, testimonies from former comfort women and revelations about Unit 731's horrific medical experiments on prisoners of war came to light (2007:49). Also in the 1970s, the debate surrounding the Rape of Nanking emerged, causing controversy in Japan and abroad. During this period, war memory internationalized, with testimony by non-Japanese, in particular Chinese and Filipinas (2007:51). In 1985, the Prime Minister "officially" visited Yasukuni Shrine, causing anger throughout former Asian colonies. There was a growing focus on the Japanese history of aggression in Asia, party due to comparisons with the Vietnam War but also in light of renewed (but problematic) ties with China. The 1989 death of Hirohito led to limited discussions of his responsibility during the war.

In the Heisei era, from 1989 through the present day, Japan's war memories remain controversial. With the increased passing of the war generation, concerns with the weathering of war memories continue to be important. Economic problems and social uncertainty since the 1990s have contributed to a conservative slant in society, with many calling for a return to the patriotic Japan of wartime. This postwar history informs this chapter's discussion of the life of military songs in postwar Japan. As war memories shifted in light of various political, economic and social factors, *gunka* also experienced cycles of popularity and relative absence.

John Dower asks a question that is still relevant more than sixty-five years after the end of the war: "What do you tell the dead when you lose?" (486) As I will discuss further, many of the *gunka* singing activities are a way of mourning the dead, especially

when people hesitate to express this loss in words. Many of the people whom I talked with have lost family members in the war, either in the military or as civilian bombing casualties. After the war, the American occupation forces concentrated on placing guilt for Japanese war crimes, but did not allow Japanese to openly grieve for their own dead. After a war where the dominant message told citizens to fight to the end, defeat became a bitter disappointment and caused a sense of betrayal to the war dead.

> What do you tell the dead when you lose? It was this question, rather than the moral or legal perspectives of the victors, that preoccupied most Japanese as they tried to absorb the issues of war responsibility, guilt, repentance, and atonement. This was only natural—not because of cultural differences, but because the world is different when you lose. Where the victors asked who was responsible for Japanese aggression and the atrocities committed by the imperial forces, the more pressing Japanese question was: who was responsible *for defeat?* And where the victors focuses on Japan's guilt vis-à-vis other countries and peoples, the Japanese were overwhelmed by grief and guilt toward their own dead countrymen…defeat left the meaning of these war deaths—of kin, acquaintances, one's compatriots in general—raw and open.
>
> As Osaragi observed in his tormented essay, for each ghostly figure in the endless procession of the Japanese dead, 'there is a father, a sister, a brother.' One might come to curse repatriated servicemen or treat them with contempt, but the Japanese dead still cried out for some kind of requiem. (1999:486)
>
> ….
>
> In the eyes of the victors, Japan had no departed heroes…One could hold memorial services for the military and civilian war dead after the defeat, but not praise them for their sacrifices (1999:487).

One way to remember the war dead in a political climate focused on the future is through singing.

This chapter considers activities related to *gunka* in light of these political, social and economic changes. The turning points in Japanese war consciousness often coincided with *gunka*'s reappearance in various media. Key moments of the middle 1950s, the middle to late 1960s, and the 1990s through early twentieth century have seen

cycles of *gunka* activity as people struggled to make sense of the past and to honor, if not idolize, their own war dead.

Gunka in the Postwar Soundscape: _Pachinko_ Parlors and Uyoku Trucks

When I mentioned my research topic (*gunka, senji kayō*) to Japanese people, I often got one of two responses: 1) "*Gunka:* you mean the music they played in *pachinko* parlors?" And 2) "Oh, that stuff that they blare out of *uyoku* loudspeaker trucks! I hate it." Indeed, these two scenes are the most public and widespread location of *gunka* in the contemporary public soundscape.

From the 1960s until the 1990s, *gunka* blared in front of *pachinko* parlors. When I mentioned *gunka* to people of the postwar generation, I very often heard the comment that you can hear *gunka* at *pachinko* parlors. In particular, the strains of "Battleship March" wafted from *pachinko* parlors from the 1970s until the 1990s (Oba 1995:130-1). The reason for the choice was likely a combination of masculinity and militarism, a desire to fight, in essence making an appeal to a generally male, conservative clientele[26]. However, according to many of my informants, in the middle 1990s "Battleship March" seems to have disappeared from *pachinko* parlors in favor of recordings of Japanese popular songs. As a result, those born in the 1990s or later have missed even this exposure to the "threatened" genre of *gunka*.

Many others mentioned that you can hear *gunka* blaring out of right-wing propaganda (*uyoku*) trucks. *Uyoku* refers to the far right reactionary political views in Japan. In a country where noise laws are lax, vans and trucks with loudspeakers blaring

---

[26] Tanimura (2000) writes that it was a *pachinko* parlor owner in Tanabe, Wakayama Prefecture who first campaigned to create a monument for the "Battleship March," citing its strong link to *pachinko* parlors all over Japan. Tanabe is the hometown of the lyricist.

right-wing messages are a part of life in contemporary urban Japan. Often busy train stations in Tokyo are inundated by a van or truck with Japanese flags painted on the sides and giant loudspeakers on the top. In between right-wing speeches, *gunka* recordings blared from the speakers. Foreigners often cite the presence of these trucks to suggest that there is a strong right wing movement in Japan. But Japanese that I talk to and overhear unanimously dislike and ignore these as much as possible. Nevertheless, Japan is a democratic country that allows free speech, no matter how unpopular the viewpoint. In general, their presence in Japan seems to be diminishing to some extent.

These examples suggest that to some extent, *gunka*'s place in contemporary Japan has evolved. But as *gunka* has disappeared from outside *pachinko* establishments and its broadcast by *uyoku* trucks is diminishing, this is a sign of *gunka*'s gradual move into the private sphere of contemporary Japan.

Two Gunka Revivals

Gunka has enjoyed two revivals, in the 1960s and again in the middle 1990s to the early twenty-first century. Oba provides an excellent discussion of the 1960s revival. She writes that a prelude to a *gunka* revival began in the 1950s when occupation forces left Japan, and as part of the remilitarization of Japan and the founding of the Self Defense Forces in the context of the Korean War. The "Battleship March" broadcast in various contexts (Oba 1995:131). However, this was not a *gunka* revival, since "Battleship March" had connotations as an advertisement song rather than strictly as a *gunka.*

The main *gunka* revival began in 1964 when Ai Jōji performance of "War Comrade" in protest to the Vietnam War (Oba 1995:133). The *gunka* revival peaked in

1968 with the Hundredth Anniversary of the Meiji Restoration and a national reflection on its path of modernization. In 1964, the Tokyo Olympics brought tremendous pride to Japan after two decades of defeat. "Patriotic March" was one of the official musical themes of the Olympics, which offended many intellectuals and members of former colonies, since its lyrics praise Japanese imperialism (1995:135-6).

During the late 1960s, record companies released many commercial retrospectives that included *gunka.* I discuss several later in this chapter. Classical singers included *gunka* on their recitals. In the late 1960s, many military-themed bars opened, and *gunka* often appeared on television programs featuring older popular songs (1995:139). Oba and Fujie argue that the *gunka* revival appealed to members of the wartime generation, and not to the entire Japanese population. In addition, Oba argues that *gunka* revival was part of a larger revival of older popular songs (1995:139-42). She further notes that people of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese war era prefer heroic *gunka* while those of the Asia-Pacific War generation prefer tragic *gunka*, since they best represent their experiences in war.

A second smaller *gunka* revival occurred in the middle 1990s along with the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War. In contrast to the 1960s revival with its public performances and broadcasts, this second revival was mainly limited to *gunka* fans and academics. With a large number of commemoration ceremonies of the end of the Asia-Pacific War during its fiftieth anniversary in 1995 and its sixtieth anniversary in 2005, *gunka* gained many performances. Many people of the wartime generation contemplated how to pass on memories of the past war to the younger generations. *Gunka* bars continue to operation, and a few concerts and festivals celebrate

Japanese past military culture. Misora Hibari's 1970 recordings were re-released in 2006. In addition, wartime music making has become an increasingly important topic for scholars—Oba wrote her thesis in 1995 and a book chapter in 2002. Sakuramoto and Tonoshita also wrote in the early 2000s. The internet has provided another important forum for revived interest in *gunka*. There are extensive and detailed postings listing songs, historical information, lyrics and recordings. Its dissemination is limited, however, to serious devotees. Many in the rapidly aging wartime population gather to sing *gunka* and attempt to pass it to the next generation.

New *Gunka* in the Postwar Era (1945-80)

During the American occupation period, military songs were banned from the radio airwaves, so the music all but disappeared overnight. However, war experiences still loomed in the mind, and some songs dealing with wartime content appeared in the postwar era. These songs, because of their lyrical content relating to the war, have joined the wartime *gunka* repertoire, they hold a place in *gunka* community song events and appear in *gunka* songbooks. Below I describe a few of these postwar "*gunka*."

Oba presents one popular song, "Pleiades" (Subaru) to make the case that new *gunka* emerged in the postwar era. "Pleiades" exhibits some *gunka* features (see discussion below). In addition to "Pleiades," other songs describe the pain of postwar loss, the trauma of the atomic bombs, and the mourning of soldiers lost at war. The lyrics of "White Medal of Honor" (Shiroi Kunshō) come from the writings of student soldiers who died in battle. "The Hills of a Foreign Land" (Ikoku no Oka) and "The Mother at the Wharf" (Ganpeki no Haha) sing of prisoners of war suffering in Siberia and the suffering of their families as they await their return. Other "postwar *gunka*" describe the

suffering from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs. "The Bells at Nagasaki" (Nagasaki no Kane) as well as Misora Hibari's "If I Had One Pencil" (Ippon no Enpitsu) and "It was the Night of August the Fifth" (Hachigatsu Itsuka no Yoru Datta, see discussion of the latter two at the end of this chapter) sing of the trauma and pain of atomic bomb memories.

Two hit songs from the immediate postwar period sing of prisoners of war: "The Mother at the Wharf" (1954) and "The Hills of a Foreign Land" (1948). The lyrics to "The Mother at the Wharf" are below:

Song Translation 17. "The Mother at the Wharf" (Ganpeki no Haha).

1. *Haha wa kimashita kyō mo kita* *Kono ganpeki ni kyō mo kita* *Kono ganpeki ni kyō mo kita* *Todokanu negai to shirinagara* *Moshiya moshiya ni moshiya moshiya ni hikasarete* *(Recitation)* *Mata hikiagefune kaette kita ni,* *nandomo ano ko ha kaeranai* *Kono Ganpeki de matteiru washi no sugata ga mien no ka?* *Minato no namae ha maizuru nano ni* *naze toned kite kurenu no ja* *Kaerenai nara ōki na koe de onegai,* *semete, semete hitokoto…*	1. Mother came, I came again today To this pier, today I came, too While knowing that I have no hope that you will arrive Perhaps, perhaps, if only, by some possibility, you might return. This time, too, a boat of returnees came, but my son has not returned Here I am waiting at the cliff, can you see my figure here? The harbor is called "Dancing Cranes," so why can't you fly back like a bird? If he doesn't return, please call out in a loud voice, just one word, just one word...
2. *Yonde kudasai, ogamimasu aa,* *okkasan, yoku kita to* *Umi yama senri iu keredo, nande tōkaro, nande tōkaro, haha to ko ni* *(Recitation)* *Arekara jū nen, ano ko wa dō shite iru jarō* *Yuki to kaze no Shiberia ha samui jarō tsurakatta jarō to* *Inochi no kagiri daki shimete, kono hada wo atatamete yaritai* *Kono hi ga kuru made shinimasen. Itsu made matte iru*	Call out to me, I beg, "Ah, Mom, thank you for coming" One thousand *ri* over mountains and through the sea Is not far for mother and son Ten years have passed, and what has become of the son? The snow and wind in Siberia are certainly cold, it was certainly terrible With all my life, I want to hold you, and make you warm Until this day comes, I will not die, I will wait forever

3. Higan jū nen no inori Kamisama dake ga shitte iru	Sorrowful wish, a prayer for ten years, only the gods know
Nagareru kumo yori kaze yori mo tsurai sadame no	Terrible fate, stronger than storm clouds and typhoons
tsurai sadame no tsue hitotsu	Terrible fate, with only one walking stick for support
(Recitation)	Oh wind, if you have a heart, please tell me / tell him
Aa kaze yo, kokoro araba, tsutaete yo	My figure standing and waiting for my dearest son
Itoshi ko machite, kyō mo mata	At the pier where the wild waves clashed
Dotō kudaku ganpeki ni tatsu haha no sugata wo	

The mother patiently waits for her song to return, talking to him in her mind, and worrying about the cold that he endures. In two emotional dramatic monologues called *serifu* that are recited against an instrumental background, the mother imagines about talking with him. There is a change from third person in the sung verses to into the first person for the *serifu* (Yano 2002:93). The lyrics curiously mix rural dialect and classical Japanese references.

"The Hills of a Foreign Land" addresses similar themes. It describes, in the second person, a prisoner of war in Siberia, waiting for rescue. The speaker in this case is not clear, but it seems to be from the point of view of a friend waiting in Japan for his comrade's return. The song sounds like a typical Japanese popular song, with an introduction using a Russian-style melody.

Song Translation 18. "The Hills of a Foreign Land" (Ikoku no Oka).

1. *Kyō mo kureyuku ikoku no oka ni*	Today, too, it becomes dark, in the hills of a foreign land
Tomo yo tsurakaro setsu nakaro Gaman ni mataro arashi ga sugi rya Kaeru hi mo kuru haru mo kuru	My comrade, you must be bitter, sorrowful Wait patiently for the storm to pass The day of our return will come, spring will come
2. *Kyō mo fukeyuku ikoku no oka ni*	Today, too, it is becoming late, in the hills of a foreign land
Yume mo samukaro tsumetakaro	Your dreams must be becoming icy cold
Naite waratte uttate taerya	After crying, laughing, singing, and
Nozomu hi ga kuru asa ga kuru	

	enduring The day that we hope for will come, morning will come
3. *Kyō mo kinō mo ikoku no oka ni Omoi yukizora hi ga usui* *Taorecha naranai sokoku no tsuchi ni Tadoritsuku made sono hi made*	Today, and yesterday, in the hills of a foreign land There are heavy snow clouds, the sun is weak You cannot collapse Until the day that you arrive at your homeland (Trans McClimon and M. Yamada)

The song's simple melody combined with its heartfelt sadness of waiting for a soldier comrade to return makes it a song that has retained popularity through the sixty years of postwar music making.

Oba describes the 1985 popular song "Pleiades" (Subaru) as a *gunka,* making a case that its poetic language, metaphors and musical orchestration draw from the tradition of *gunka*. She notes that the language is semi-classical, which is unusual for popular songs, and there is a feeling of helplessness that is characteristic of *gunka.* Oba argues that the image "crash into pieces" is reminiscent of cherry blossoms falling, and "I too will go" is similar to phrases in *gunka* texts. The mood is very similar to "War Comrade," the *gunka* that many anti-war demonstrators revived in the 1960s as part of protests against the Vietnam War (Oba 1995:154-6). Below is Oba's translation of the lyrics.

Song Translation 19. "Pleiades" (Subaru).

1. *Me o tojite nani mo miezu*	1. I close my eyes and cannot see anything
Kanashikute me o akereba	Feeling so lonely, I open my eyes
Kōya ni mukau michi yori	I can see a road leading to a wilderness but nothing else
Hoka ni mieru mono wa nashi	Alas! The Pleiades destined to crash into pieces,
Aa kudakechiru sadame no hoshi-tachi yo	You silently brighten me here at least
Semete hisoyakani kono mi o teraseyo	
Ware wa yuku aojiroki hoho no mama-	I shall go with pale cheeks

de	I shall go, farewell, the Pleiades
Ware wa yuku saraba Subaru yo	
2. *Iki o sureba mune no naka*	2. I breathe, in my heart
Kogarashi wa naki-tsuzukeru	I hear wind cries
Saredo waga mune wa atsuku	But my heart is filled with passion
Yume w oi-tsuzukeru	I shall pursue my dream
Aa senzameku na mo naki hoshi-tachi wo	Alas! Glittering nameless stars
Semete azayakani so no mi o oware yo	You brightly shine just once before you die
Ware mo yuku kokoro no meizuru mama-ni	I too shall go as my heart leads me
Ware mo yuku saraba subaru yo	I too shall go, farewell, Stars
…..	…..
Aa itsunohi ka dareka ga kono michi o	Alas! Someday someone [went] this road
Aa itsunohi ka dareka ga kono michi o	Alas! Someday someone [shall follow] this road
Ware wa yuku aojiroki hoho no mama de	I shall go with pale cheeks
	I shall go, farewell, Stars
Ware wa yuku saraba subaru yo	I shall go, farewell, Stars
Ware wa yuku saraba Subaru yo	
	(trans. Oba 1995:155-56)

"Pleiades" with its somber theme serves as a *gunka* for the warriors of late twentieth-century Japan, the salaried workers who fought each day for Japan's success in the global economic war as I discuss in the following section.

Karaoke

The documentary film *Sukiyaki and Chips,* "a kaleidoscope of the Japanese music scene" (Marre 1994:video back cover), shows how in 1980s and 1990s Japan, wartime songs moved from the battlefront to the urban bar. A group of men sing "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" in a private *karaoke* room. Although the men seem too young to remember the war personally, it is part of Japan's collective memory and a call to battle at the office with their salaryman comrades. The narrator comments on the role of war songs for postwar salaried workers, "When you remember how hard life once was, it gives you the strength to go on." Seaton suggests that salarymen are modern-day samurai who fought for the good of the nation (Seaton 2007).

The 2008 DAM *Karaoke* book published by Daiichi Kōshō lists forty-eight *gunka* under the category, "Martial Songs / Songs in Wartime." The following list maintains the original Japanese syllabary order.[27]

Table 4. Military songs in the *DAM Karaoke Book*.

Ah Kurenai Chi ga Moyuru (Oh the Red Blood Boils)	1945
Ah, Waga Sen'yū (Oh, My War Comrade)	1937
Aikoku Kōshinkyoku (Patriotic March)	1938
Aikoku no Hana (Flowers of Patriotism)	1938
Aiba Shingunka (March of the Beloved Horse)	1938
Akatsuki ni Inoru (Prayer at Dawn)	1940
Arawashi no Uta (Song of the Fierce Eagles)	1939
Ikoku no Oka (The Hills of a Foreign Land)	1948
Umi no Shingun (Advancing on the Ocean)	1942
Umi Yukaba (If I Go to the Sea)	1937
Ume to Heitai (Plum Blossoms and Soldiers)	1942
Oyama no Sugi no Ko (Little Cedars of the Hills)[28]	1945
Kaigun Kouta / Zundoko Bushi (Navy Ditty / Zundoko Folk Song)	ND, fl. 1945
Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai (Katō's Falcon Air Squad)	1945
Kansen Kinmu (Battleship Duties)	1914
Kigen 2600 Nen (2600 Anniversary of Japan's Foundation)	1939
Kudan no Haha (The Mother at Kudan/Yasukuni Shrine)	1940
Gunkan Kōshinkyoku (Battleship March)	1937
Gunkoku Komori Uta (Military Lullabye)	1937
Guntai Kouta /Honto ni Honto ni Gokurō ne (Troop Song / Thank you very very much for your work)	1940
Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin (Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Friday)	1923
Gōchin (Instant Sinking)	1945
Kokkyō no Machi (The Frontier Town)	1934
Shanghai Dayori (News from Shanghao	1938
Shussei Heishi wo Okuru Uta (Song to Send Soldiers to the Front)	1939
Shōri no Hi Made (Until the Day of Victory)	1944
Sen'yū (War Comrade)	1905
Sen'yū no Ikotsu wo Daite (Holding the Remains of my Comrade)	1943
Sōda, Sono Iki (This Life)	1942
Sora no Shinpei (Courageous Gods of the Sky)	1943
Teiheiyō Kōshinkyoku (Pacific March)	1939
Danchōne Bushi (Heartbreaking Son)	c. 1912

[27] The modern Japanese syllabary usually follow an arrangement starting with "a i u e o ka ki ku ke ko" and so on, progressing through "sa…ta…na…ha…ma…ya…ra…wa…"

[28] "Oyama no Sugi no Ko" is a song of encouragement for children who lost their parents in war (Kodomo no Kuni http://www.kodomo.go.jp/gallery/KODOMO_WEB/authors/sato_e.html]) accessed 28 Jan 2011).

Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta / Kogunshōshi ni Kansha no Uta (Father, You Were Brave / Song in Appreciation for Soldiers)	1939
Teki wa Ikuman (If the Enemy Comes in Ten Thousands)	1887
Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class)	1938 fl. 1944
Tōhikō (Suppression of the Bandits)	1934
Tonarigumi (Neighborhood Association)	1941
Ryūsa no Chikai (Kensetsu no Uta)	1940
Hohei no Uta (Song of the Infantry)	1911
Manshū Omoeba (Thinking of Manchuria)	1937
Manshū Musume (Manchuria Daughter)	1939
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)	1939
Moyuru Ōzora (Blazing Red Sky)	1941
Yūkan Naru Suihei (The Brave Sailor)	1895
Yuki no Shingun (Marching Through Snow)	1895
Rabauru Kaigun Kōkūtai (The Rabaul Navy Air Division)	1944
Rabauru Kouta (Rabaul Ditty)	1941
Roei no Uta (Bivouac Song)	1937
Wakawashi no Uta (Song of the Young Eagles)	1944

The majority of these songs come from the final years of the war. Seven songs originate before 1930, twenty songs appeared in the 1930s, and twenty songs are from 1940-5. "The Hills of a Foreign Land" dates from the postwar occupation period in 1948. "Navy Song" is an anonymous soldier's song that became popular near the end of the war. The majority—thirty-seven songs—originates after the Manchurian Incident in 1937, and the remainders of the songs come from earlier periods but were popular during the Asia-Pacific War and later. These songs are popular with those from the wartime generation, or those who learned songs from family members of the wartime generation. The earlier *gunka* include "War Comrade" and "If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands" (Teki wa Ikuman). The majority of songs in this catalogue are tragic *gunka*, but there are some militaristic *gunka* as well as nostalgic popular songs on the list. Overall, this list, just one page of a large *karaoke* catalogue, shows that *gunka* have a small but real presence in the *karaoke* world today. The repertoire targets those of the wartime generation as well as those who learned songs from the war generation.

Comic Book Memoires

Memoirs of wartime Japan often include songs in the context of the story, illustrating ways that the music lived in real communities during wartime and how they are remembered decades later. Nakazawa Keiji's *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima* is a powerful portrayal of the Hiroshima atomic bomb, written by a survivor. The power of song in the creation of nationalist sentiment is vividly portrayed. Nakazawa uses musical lyrics many times along with images of soldiers singing in unison as a symbol of the military government's propaganda methods during the Asia-Pacific War. He frequently quotes lines of patriotic songs and shows soldiers as well as ordinary townspeople singing, as part of the soundscape of Japan during the last year of the war, 1944-5. The music, along with the *hinomaru* flag, soldiers marching in the streets, and banners with war slogans create an authoritarian atmosphere; *gunka* are a key element of his storytelling. In the first volume of Barefoot Gen, songs appear eighteen times, as a device supporting Nakazawa's memories about a fascist, Emperor-worshipping nation.

Chapter Two explored how songs and singing are a crucial part of military indoctrination in fascist regimes. Art critic Susan Sontag argues that photos are a stronger mobilizer for a community than slogans, because images are more direct means of communication than words. Group singing is another extremely effective way to internalize song lyrics and melodies. This results in much more effective indoctrination than simply repeating slogans or displaying them on banners. Nakazawa's *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima, Volume I* shows the author's own memories of various wartime symbols: the *hinomaru* flag, a round sun in sky, banners and sashes with wartime slogans, and many portrayals of singing patriotic songs. Nakazawa loathes the

imperial system, and his depiction of symbols of wartime Japan protest the coercion of the masses during the war. He said in an interview with Asai, "I think the emperor system is absolutely intolerable. Japanese still haven't passed their own judgment on the emperor system. I get angry. Even now it's not too late [to change it]" (Asai 2007). The emperor's responsibility in the Asia-Pacific War remains a site of contention in Japan, although this debate remains largely out of the public view. The range and use of the wartime song quotations are worth further discussion because they reflect the central place of songs in Nakazawa's memory. Nakazawa, like many wartime survivors, finds that *gunka* embody the complexities of war memory—the songs encompass contradictory feelings of patriotism, nostalgia, wartime hardship, and loss of loved ones to war.

These songs link Japan's national past with Nakazawa's personal experience. Sounds of wartime Japan link with feelings and images: the "tromp tromp tromp" of soldiers' boots, the frequent singing of war propaganda songs, the banners with Anti-American and Anti-British slogans, the *hinomaru* flag, and the rising sun, hovering over the fields and streets of Hiroshima.

The first patriotic song that Nakazawa introduces is the famous "Bivouac Song": "We left our homeland, swearing to return victorious…" (Nakazawa 2004:39 and 97).

Figure 4. The block chairman sings "Bivouac Song" as he walks (Nakazawa 1972:39)

In *Barefoot Gen*, "Bivouac Song" gains association with unreflective nationalism and war. The chairman of the block, the man who bullied Gen's father into spear practice, and later had him imprisoned for unpatriotic behavior sings "Bivouac Song" as he walks down the street (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). Neighbors sing the same song as they send a conscript to war. A musician playing a bass drum leads the line of neighbors singing the patriotic song. . It appears again when a neighbor joins the army and goes to the front to fight. All shout "Gorō Otake, Banzai!" as he is sent to war. Historically, "Bivouac Song" was often a part of send-off ceremonies for soldiers. An extremely popular song during wartime Japan, it also had anti-war undertones as the final verses describe a tragic death (Nakazawa 1972:97).

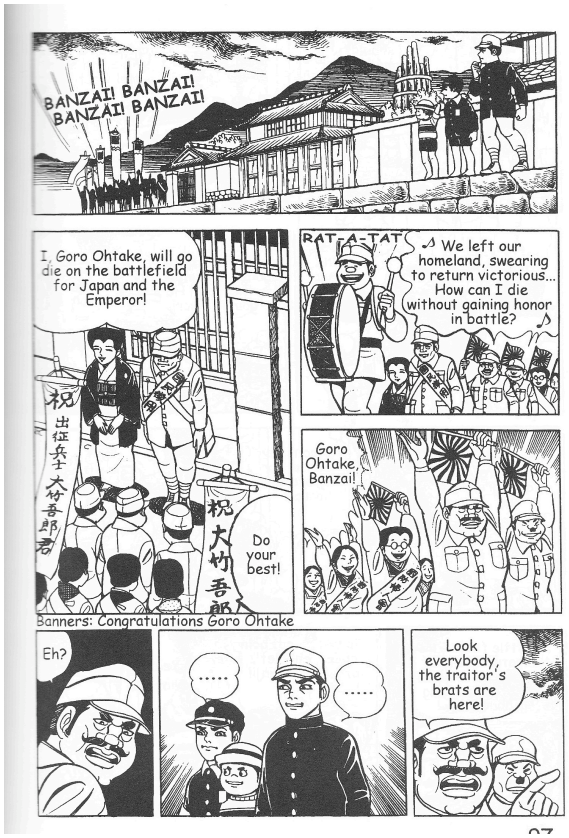


Figure 5. Neighbors sing "Bivouac Song" as they send a student soldier to the front (Nakazawa 1972:39).

Later, the comic describes the desperate situation of Japan as the United States attacked Okinawa. Many Japanese and Okinawans were brainwashed into committing suicide, rather than surrendering to American forces. The panel showing a scene in the Battle of Okinawa (see Figure 6) shows bodies floating in the water and dead soldiers on land. The words are from the famous "If I Go to the Sea": "Whether I die at sea or land, my death is for the emperor, I have nothing to regret" (Nakazawa 2005:109). Nakazawa writes, "Spurred by a fervent belief in victory at all costs, countless Japanese lost their lives, at sea, on land, and in the air" (Nakazawa 1972:107). "If I Go to the Sea" was often sung as soldiers departed for the battlefield, and, near the end of the war, when ashes were repatriated home. The lyrics were originally a poem in the oldest poetic

anthology *Man'yōshū* (Ten Thousand Leaves), and the musical setting most often used was by a solemn hymn by Nobutoki Kiyoshi. Tonoshita discusses the centrality of the song in many people's wartime experiences. While many Japanese people love it and many others hate it, the song has gained an iconic status in wartime musical memory.

> When I look at this era, one thing I always hear is that witnesses of the era often cite the song "If I Go to the Sea." "If I Go to the Sea" is for me a manifestation of the wartime situation: in the battlefield, on the home front and in the occupied territories (which of course have been passed down over time)—it is a song that rings out with consolation for those who died or were wounded physically and mentally by the war, and each person has a different feeling about it, some groaning, some sounding the battle cry, others crying in sorrow, and from the present to the future—it is an alarm bell resonating with a prayer for peace.
>
> .....
>
> While I was writing this book, I often thought about this part of the Ordinary Mass: [written in Roman letters] *Dona nobis pacem.* Grant us peace.
>
> (Tonoshita 2008:258-60)

Figure 6. The lyrics of "If I Go to the Sea" appear as bodies lie in the ocean and on land (Nakawaza 1972:109).

Figure 7 Student evacuees sing "Thank You to the Soldiers" as they proceed to work in the fields (Nakazawa 1972:127).

Another song in the story is "Thank you to the Soldiers." It says, "Off to school today, side by side with my brother, thanks to you Mr. Soldier, Fighting for us in a faraway land." This song is used ironically. The children who were evacuated to the countryside in order to escape the bombings find a life of hard labor and extreme hunger because rice has been sent to soldiers in the front. While the children march to the fields carrying farm tools, they sing "Thanks to the soldiers." It is clear that Nakazawa feels ambivalent about the song (see Figure 7).

Figure 8. Gen and his brother sing "War Comrade" as they beg (Nakazawa 1972:140).

Another song, "War Comrade" tells of the loneliness of fighting in Manchuria. "Oh, the sun sets red / Here in Manchuria / Far, far from home…" (Nakazawa 140) (*Koko wa okuni ni nanbyaku ri / Hanarete tōku Manshū wa / Akai yūhi terasarete…*). Interestingly, Gen and his brother sing this old *gunka*, from 1905 while begging, in order to manipulate the emotions of an old woman and convince her to give them money (see Figure 8).

The final songs to appear in the comic are songs of the *kamikaze* pilots. They sing the very popular "Song of the Young Eagles", sometimes called "Song of the Naval Pilot Trainees" "We are the Prep Pilot Trainees/With our hearts aflame/an anchor and a cherry blossom upon our seven buttons." And "Today we fly again/Where the clouds

shine with boundless hope/In the Skies of Kasumigaura" (Nakazawa 1972:223). Unlike the upbeat lyrics, Gen's brother is rather despondent as he walks toward the army training grounds, while hearing trainees sing inside (see Figures 9 and 10).

Song Translation 20. "Song of the Young Eagles" (Wakawashi no Uta).

1. *Wakai chishiono yokaren no* *Nanatsu botan wa sakura ni ikari* *Kyomo tobu tobu kasumiga ura nya* *Dekkai kibou no kumo ga waku*	1. We are the Prep Pilot Trainees with our hearts aflame An anchor and a cherry blossom on our seven buttons Today we fly in the skies of Kasumigaura Where the clouds shine with boundless hope
2. *Moeru genki na yokaren no* *Ude wa kurogane kokoro ha hidama* *Satto sudateba araumi koete* *Yukuzo teki-jin naguri-komi*	2. We the prep Pilot Trainees' with great vigor Our arms are strong like steel iron, and a fire burns within our hearts Suddenly leaving the school, we pass rough seas We go to the attack the enemy line
3. *Aogu senpai yokaren no* *Tegara kiku tabi chishio ga uzuku* *Gunto nere-nere kogeki seishin* *Yamato damashii nya teki wa nai*	3. We look up to our predecessors from the training academy When we listen to their glorious stories, our blood burns Let's train without rest The Spirit of Japan, cannot be matched by any enemies
4. *Inochi koshimanu yokaren no* *Iki no tsubasa wa shori no tsubasa* *Migoto gochin shita tekikan wo* *Haha e shashin de okuritai*	4. We will not spare our own lives The wings of our spirit, the wings of victory The splendid sight of a sunken enemy ship I want to send a picture to my mother

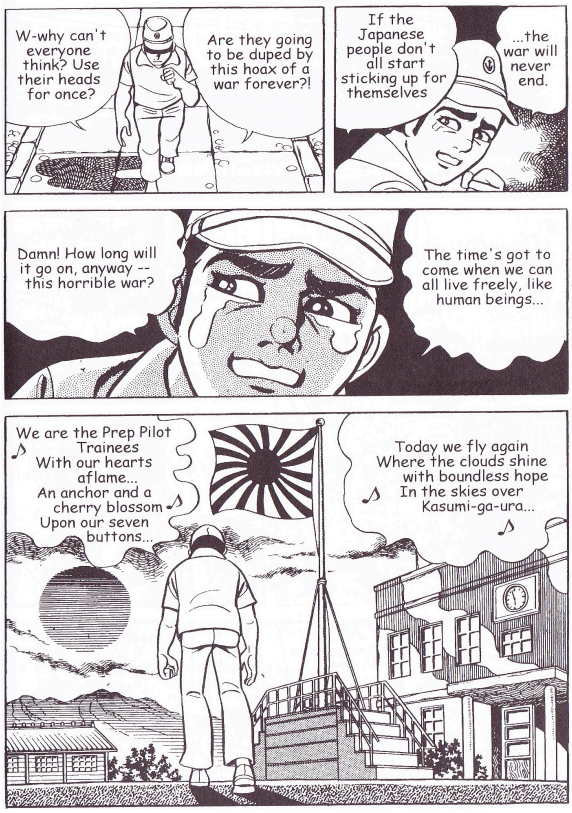


Figure 9. Gen's brother Koji walks toward the military training compound accompanied by "Song of the Young Eagles" (Nakazawa 1972:223).

Nakazawa's frequent war song quotations suggest that singing *gunka* is a strong part of his memories of wartime Hiroshima. In addition to visual images, sounds of a particular time and place link with Nakazawa's memory. Nakazawa is a pacifist, and he strongly remembers *gunka*, working many songs into his critique of wartime military-controlled Japan. He cites these songs with their deceptive lyrics as a strong reason for Japan's defeat. They supported a military-imperial system that finally caused the defeat of Japan.

Figure 10. Gen and his brother Shinji sing "Bivouac Song" as they send their older brother Koji off to war (Nakazawa 1972:115).

Films

While films apparently are not the most important way of remembering *gunka*, they appear in some war-related films as background music. One example is the classic war film, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970). This film provides excellent historical information, special effects, and music. A large number of *gunka* occur, most important of which are two renditions of "If I Go to the Sea" near the beginning (Tanimura 2000:284-306). Although produced by an American director, *gunka* plays an important part in the storytelling.

Another film that incorporates *gunka* is *Letters from Iwo Jima* (2006), directed by the American actor Paul Newman. This is a relatively silent film with a very quiet

soundtrack; it uses very little historical music in the soundtrack and almost no music for dramatic effect. There is one *gunka* in the middle of the film. A special broadcast to the General Kuribayashi included a song sung by children of Nagano, about the importance of fighting in Iwo Jima. It appears to be one of many that commemorate specific battles. These songs were briefly popular.

Twenty-four Eyes (*Nijūshi no Hitomi*, 1952) portrays the life of a schoolteacher during wartime. It uses a number of Japanese songs to set the tone of the story. The beginning includes several *shōka* (Western-style educational songs used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), as well as the English hymn "Home, Sweet Home." Later, when war comes to the village, the following words appear on screen, accompanied by five verses of "The Japanese Army" (Nippon Rikugun):

> The color of the sea, the shape of the mountain, these did not change,
> But the life of the people—The Manchuria Incident, and Anti-Communist Pact of the Axis powers
> They were swept away in the great tide of history.

Following scenes show the departure of students to join the Imperial Army, accompanied by three popular film *gunka*: "Bivouac Song," "Prayer at Dawn" and "Song of the Young Eagles." Children play "soldiers" and sing *gunka* as well.

The documentary film *Yasukuni* includes the song "A Band with Drawn Swords" prominently near the end of the film. It accompanies a collage of photographs of Chinese prisoners being beheaded by Japanese swords. It is evident that the filmmaker Li Ying chose the tune "A Band with Drawn Swords" because of its association with swords. A major part of the film is interviews of a sword maker at Yasukuni Shrine. But "A Band with Drawn Swords" is a rather obscure *gunka* today, one of historical interest to scholars and devoted *gunka* fans. I never heard it during any of the excursions to the various

singing communities that I visited, and no informants ever mentioned it as an important *gunka.* Li Ying's choice of a *gunka* was from the standpoint of an outsider, not one who is intimately familiar with *gunka*.

Contemporary Publications

Several songbooks have appeared in the postwar era, capitalizing on the nostalgia of elderly generations for this type of music. Unlike TV and film, songbooks and recordings can afford to target more specialized, niche audiences (Seaton 2007). So this phenomenon suggests that there are a small but not insignificant number of fans of *gunka* today.

Do-re-mi Publishing created a series of songbooks for use in music therapy sessions mainly in hospitals and convalescent homes. The first four songbooks include various genres of music popular with the elderly in Japan, but *gunka*, which may bring back difficult memories, were left out. The fifth songbook, published in 2004, includes *gunka* as well as folk songs and nursery songs. It includes sixty-eight of the most popular *gunka*, according to a survey of five hundred elderly respondents. Table 5 summarizes the titles in their original order. Below is an excerpt from the book's Preface:

> We previously published three books of songs [for use in music therapy sessions], but *gunka*, which brings back unhappy memories of wartime, as well *min'yō* with their regional variations of lyrics, melodies and dance movements were problematic, so we decided not to include these songs at the beginning.
>
> However, the songs that many elderly people mentioned that they wanted to sing the most were *gunka* and *min'yō* regional folk songs, we deliberated in the following way and decided to make a special edition, "Gunka, Ryōka, Min'yō: Hōseibako Request Edition."
>
> [*Gunka*] We asked 500 elderly people for their requests and chose around 50 of the most frequently requested songs. These are not only *gunka*, but also wartime popular songs (*senji kayō*) and *gunkoku kayō* (militaristic songs) as well.
>
> …..

> We hope that many people make use of this book and have wonderful sing-along sessions!
>
> Please send your impressions of this book, memories and anecdotes surrounding the songs that we included and so on to the editors! (2004:1-2, translated by author)

The introductory notes on *gunka* include the following comments:

> One type of song that is lacking in music therapy sessions for the elderly is *gunka*, which continued to be sung for a long time from the Russo-Japanese War until the Asia-Pacific War.
>
> The lyrics of *gunka* have militaristic contents, and singing this sort of song cheers up the singers. If you were to sum up *gunka* in a few words, these songs were created by Department of War, and songs that soldiers sang them at the battle sites were called "soldiers songs" (*heitai songu*), as well as songs that popular singers sang so there are several types of songs.
>
> At a song session for the elderly, it is the usual practice for many people to play various percussion instruments and sing, and in this situation, people may remember terrible things about the war, so it will not be uncommon for people to dislike the songs and not to want to sing them.
>
> One aspect of this is that you cannot deny that *gunka* praise war and militarism, and yet the pieces with more humanistic lyrics were the most remembered from those days, and so people enjoy singing them.
>
> To create this song collection, through the medium of sessions and music therapy concerts, we collected questionnaires from 500 regarding *gunka* and the included songs were selected. Certainly we believe that all of these will be songs that you enjoy.
>
> These songs are very nostalgic for older people, but younger people at sessions will also become familiar with these songs… We hope that people will use available recordings to get to know these pieces and use them for sessions. (2004:4-5, translated by author)

A wide variety of *gunka* are included, including most of the popular favorites from the Asia-Pacific War and a few from the earlier periods. The large-sized paperback book including lyrics in large-print format includes all verses, sometimes spanning several pages for one song. There is notation, with a melody line and chords, suitable for accompaniment with chord organ, guitar, or another accompanying instrument.

Table 5. *Gunka* in the *Hōsekibako Music Therapy Book*.

Aa Kurenai no Chi ga Moyuru (Ah, the Red Blood Boils)
Aa Daiōgawa (Oh Great Yellow River)
Aa Montenrupa no Yo wa Fukete (The Night Deepens in Muntinlupa)

Ah, Waga Senyū (Oh, My War Comrade)
Aikoku Kōshinkyoku (Patriotic March)
Aikoku no Hana (Flowers of Patriotism)
Aiba Shingunka (Song of the Marching Horses)
Akatsuki ni Inoru (Prayer at Dawn)
Arawashi no Uta (Song of the Fierce Eagles)
Aruku Uta (Song for Walking)
Ikoku no Oka (The Hills of a Foreign Land)
Umi Yukaba (If I Go to the Sea)
Ume to Heitai (Plum Blossoms and Soldiers)
Gaisen (Triumphal Return)
Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai no Uta (Katō's Falcon Air Squad)
Kawai Suichan (Cute Sue)
Kinen Nisen Roppyaku Nen (2600 Anniversary of the Founding of Japan)
Kimigayo (Your Reign—National Anthem)
Kudan no Haha (The Mother at Kudan/Yasukuni Shrine)
Gunkan (Gunkan Kōshinkyoku)
Gunkoku Mamoriuta (Song to Protect the Nation)
Guntai Kouta (Song of the Military)
Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin (Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Friday)
Genkō (Mongolian Invasion)
Kokkyo no Machi (Town on the Border)
Shina no Yoru (China Night)
Shanghai Dayori (News of Shanghai)
Shūchō no Musume (Daughter of the Chiefton)
Shussei Heitai wo Okuru Uta (Song to Send Soldiers to the Front)
Suishiei no Kaiken (The Meeting at Shuishihing)
Sutoton Bushi (Sutoton Song)
Zundoko Bushi (Kaigun Kouta)
Seinen Nihon no Uta (Shōwa Ishin no Uta) Song of the Japanese Youth, The Shōwa Restoration)
Seirō no Uta (Song of the Subjugation of Russia)
Sen'yū (War Comrade)
Sora no Shinpei (Courageous Gods of the Sky)
Sora no Yūshi (Courageous Men of the Sky)
Taiheiyō Kōshinkyoku (Pacific March)
Danchōne Bushi (Heart-breaking Son)
Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta (Father, You Were Brave)
Teki wa Ikuman (If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands)
Tenchō Bushi (Song for the Emperor's Birthday)
Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class)
Tōhikō (Subjugation of the Enemy)
Tonari-gumi (The Neighborhood Association)
Nihon Kaigun (Japanese Navy)
Nihon Rikugun (Japanese Army)
Bakudan Sanyūshi (The Three Brave Human Bombs)
Battōtai (A Band with Drawn Swords)

Hi no Maru Kōshinkyoku (Rising Sun March)
Hirose Chūsa (Leiutenant Hirose)
Fūjin Jūgunka (The Wife Joins the Army)
Heitaisan (Soldier)
Heitaisan yo Arigatō (Thank You to the Soldiers)
Hohei no Uta (Song of the Infantry)
Manshū Musume (Manchuria Daughter)
Teikoku no Mamori (Protecting the Empire)
Miyasan Miyasan / Tokoton Bushi (Hey, Mr. Prince! Tokoton Song)
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)
Meijisetsu (Celebration of Meiji Emperor's Birthday)
Moyuru Oozora (The Burning Sky)
Yūkan naru Suihei (The Brave Sailor)
Yuki no Shingun (Advancing in the Snow)
Rajio Taisō no Uta (Song for Radio Calisthenics)
Rabauru Kouta / Nan'yō Senrō Song of Rabaul, South Pacific Boat Song
Rikugun Kinenbi wo Iwau Uta (Song to Commemorate the Founding of the Army)
Roei no Uta (Bivouac Song)
Wakawashi no Uta (Song of the Young Eagles)

Dōki no Sakura Kai Songbook

The "Group that Sings 'Dōki no Sakura' Under the Cherry Blossoms at Yasukuni Shrine" publishes a small songbook each year. Previously free publications, the organizing committee now sells them for one hundred yen (approx. $1.25) in order to defray the costs of printing. This book is in small print format, similar to an army or navy issue songbook of the former Imperial military. The book in 2010 was a paperback of approximately ten by fifteen centimeters. The cover was light (cherry-blossom) pink, with a graphic of a sprig of cherry blossoms and the words "Song Collection" under the group's name. It included forty-six pages with forty-five songs. In order to include a large number of songs in a small book, many verses are omitted. Songs are in modern Japanese syllabary order, with the exception of the organization's namesake song, "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class," which is printed first. The organizing committee

asks key members of the organizing community and related organizations for requests and includes these in the songbook. The songs are mostly from the Asia-Pacific War era, although a few are from earlier eras. The back cover reveals that "Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai," a conservative group that promotes the Yasukuni Shrine supports the Dōki no Sakura Kai. The "Introductory Statement" first page reads as follows:

> One of the verses of "Dōki no Sakura" reads, "Even if we fall separately, At the Yasukuni Shrine in the beautiful capital city, We shall bloom together and see each other as cherry blossoms." Today Japan is rich and developed country thanks to the people who sang this song, went to the battlefield, and gave their young lives along with their friends for their homeland. With this in mind, shouldn't we the survivors meet at Yasukuni meet with the spirits of the Departed Soldiers, and we express our gratitude and comfort these departed souls, and think about the nation of Japan, by loudly singing "Dōki ni Sakura" Under the Cherry Trees?
>
> Everyone, please freely to join us. Especially, those who will carry the burden in the future, the young, are especially welcome." (Dōki no Sakura Kai 2010 inside front cover)

The introduction appeals primarily to members of the wartime generation, but also appeals to younger generations of conservatives, with the aim of continuing the event after those of the wartime generation pass away.

Postwar Recordings and Concerts

Gunka have become *natsumerō* (nostalgic songs) and *sutandādo* (standards) in recordings over the past few decades (*Inori* liner notes). In particular, singers of *enka* (Japanese nostalgic popular songs that incorporate traditional scales and vocal techniques) and *kayōkyoku* (older popular song) frequently crossover to record *gunka*. Yano notes this phenomenon, saying that several *gunka*, in particular those that focus on mothers and the family, continue to be popular in the *enka* world. She cites "The Mother at Kudan" as an example (2002:38). Several other *enka* singers and *min'yō* folk singers have sung *gunka* for concerts as well as recordings. Current young singers that perform

gunka include Kozakura Maiko and Ōki Atsushi (Crown Records, Saitama-born singer) (see discussion of Kozakura in Chapter Six, and Ōki in Chapter Seven). Other *enka* singers and *min'yō* singers performed at the Yasukuni Shrine's Mitama Matsuri Musical Offering, as I discuss in Chapter Seven.

Postwar commercial recordings are also a way of looking back on the past genre of *gunka.* In 1968, Japan Victor Records released an ambitious twenty-one record set, *Popular Song One Hundred Year Retrospective*. This record set includes long-play records, divided into seven volumes of three records each, with the following themes: "Meiji Era," "Taisho Era," "Early Shōwa," "Middle Showa," "Gunka and Senji Kayō," "Post-war Songs" and "Current Songs."

The Meiji Era record set has sixteen songs, and of these, seven are *gunka* (see Table 6 below).

Table 6. *Gunka* in *Popular Song One Hundred Year Retrospective: Meiji Era.*

Miyasan Miyasan / Tonkotonyarena Bushi (Oh, Mr. Prince!)	1868	Bakumatsu Period
Rappa Bushi (Bugle Song)	n.d.	Russo-Japanese War
Nippon Rikugun (Japan Army)	1904	Russo-Japanese War song
Yūkan Naru Suihei (The Brave Sailor)	1885	A heroic story of the Sino-Japanese War, originally a *shōka* school song
Fujin Jūgunka (Military Song: The Wife Joins the Army)	n.d.	Popular until the end of the Second World War
Sen'yū (War Comrade)	1905	Russo-Japanese War, revived by Morishige Hisaya and Ai Jōji
Suishiei no Kaiken (The Meeting at Suishiying)	1910	Originally a *shōka* describing the Russo-Japanese War

The record set devoted to "Gunka and Senji Kayō" features the following fourteen selections in a collection of three records:

Table 7. *Gunka* in the *Popular Song One Hundred Year Retrospective: Gunka and Wartime Popular Songs.*

Aikoku Kōshin-kyoku (Patriotic March)	1937
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)	1937
Aiba Shingunka (March of the Beloved Horse)	1939
Rabauru Kouta (Rabaul Ditty)	1941
Sora no Shinpei (Military Gods of the Sky)	1942
Katō Butaika / Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai (Katō Division Song / Katō's Falcon Air Squad)	1942
Tōhikō (Suppression of Bandits)	1938
Arawashi no Uta (Song of the Fierce Eagles)	1940
Taiheiyō Kōshinkyoku (Pacific March)	1939
Hinomaru Kōshinkyoku (Rising Sun March)	1938
Tonari-gumi (Neighborhood Association)	1942
Ie Rai Shan	n.d.
Shōwa Ishin no Uta / Shonen Nihon no Uta (Song of the Showa Restoration / Song of Japanese Youth)	1930
Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class)	1938; popular from 1944
Guntai Zokuyō Medorē (Soldiers' Popular Medley)	n.d.
Chichiyo Anata wa Tuyokatta (Father, You Were Strong)	1939

The "Postwar" record set of records includes twelve songs, one of which is a "Postwar Gunka": "The Hills of a Foreign Land" sung by popular singer Miura Kōichi, who still performs *gunka* today (see Chapter Seven). Although this song is from 1949, it often appears in *gunka* collections alongside wartime songs. It describes the life of a prisoner of war in Siberia after the end of the Asia-Pacific War.

The entire collection gives *gunka* a fairly large amount of space, and includes commentary by two important *gunka* critics: Horiuchi Keizō for the Meiji Era and Yamaki Akihiko for the Asia-Pacific War Era. The inclusion of *gunka* seems to take a simple nostalgic tone. There is a timeline listing popular *gunka* in the context of their release dates, and other critical moments in the Asia-Pacific War; photographs of wartime scenes; photographs of life in the occupied territories; excerpts of war journals; a

short section discussing the production of wartime popular songs, and basic liner notes on each individual piece. But commentary on what *gunka* might *mean* in 1968 is missing. Overall, the tone is nostalgic, and the majority of the *gunka* are of the "brave/heroic type" rather than the tragic type favored in Morishige Hisaya's album of war songs (discussion follows).

Overall, the tone is optimistic, showing a rather rosy picture of life in the military and on the home front. The songs are mainly "official popular songs"—songs that the media (newspapers, film industry and record industry) and the government created for entertainment and propaganda. They are not the official *gunka* for military training, but rather songs that entertained people on the home front. Most of the songs portray the war in a positive light.

Morishige Hisaya: Kanashiki Gunka

Morishige Hisaya (1913-2009), an actor, comedian, and singer released an LP record entitled *Kanashiki Gunka* (Tragic Military Songs) in 1968. It is a marked contrast to the recordings that I discussed above. Table 8 shows the songs on the record in order of appearance.

Table 8. Songs in Morishige Hisaya's *Kanashiki Gunka.*

Genkō (Mongolian Invasions)	1892
Yūkan Naru Suihei (The Brave Sailor)	1895
Pōrando Kaikō (Remembering Poland)	1893
Yamamurasaki ni Mizuki (Song of the Sendai Youth Army)	1912
Tachibana Chūsa (Lieutenant Tachibana)	1904
Sen'yū (War Comrade)	1905
Fūjin Jūgunka (Military Song of the Wife that Joined the Army)	1894
Washington (Battleship Washington)	1890
Tōhikō (Suppression of Bandits)	1932
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)	1938

Sen'yū no Ikotsu wo Daite (Holding Onto the Bones of My Comrade)	1942
Kawaii Su chan (Cute Sue)	n.d.
Sora no Yūshi (Courageous Men of the Sky)	1940
Umi Yukaba (If I Go to the Sea)	1937

The cover shows Morishige in a sea captain's uniform (not an official Japanese Navy uniform), standing at a harbor, surrounded by small yachts, looking pensively, almost mournfully, into the distance. His left hand is in his pocket and his right is on his vest. He resembles entertainer rather than a naval officer. The words in calligraphy over the photo are as follows:

> One hundred years after the beginning of the Meiji Era
> My poor singing is humbly offered
> To the many millions of the dead.
> -- Morishige Hisaya

Figure 11. Morishige Hisaya (*Kanashiki Gunka* 1968: inside front cover).

This album debuted in August of 1968, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Meiji Era. The *gunka* critic and culture editor of the *Hōchi Shinbun* newspaper, Yamaki Akihiko, wrote the commentary, and each song

includes lyrics and a few notes about its origins. The majority of the songs (seven) are from the Meiji Era, and the remaining five are from the Asia-Pacific War Period. The final song is the powerful "If I Go to the Sea," one that is loved and hated by many, as it was used to send young men off during the end of the war.

Most of the arrangements are quietly orchestrated, and they sound personal and reflective. Morishige's voice is unpolished, often wavering, and almost off-key at times, betraying his identity as a comedian and actor, not primarily as a singer. Guitar and string quartet are used for many song tracks. Both of these are unusual choices for a setting of military songs, and they seem to speak personally of Morishige's sadness of a lost war, and somehow his feelings of helplessness and victimization. Several of these songs are discussed in Chapter Four.

But Morishige's rendition of "If I Go to the Sea" (see the appendix for a transcription) is unusual. As discussed earlier in Chapter Three, "If I Go to the Sea" is based on a short poem from the ancient Imperial anthology, the *Man'yōshū*. This version is a short hymn-like setting by Nobutoki Kiyoshi. Morishige creates a requiem performance with chorus. After a solitary bugle call introduction (first two measures), Morishige sings "If I Go to the Sea," while a chorus hums the melody, in unison, with only chords on guitar for accompaniment. During the second rendition starting in measure 109, the chorus sings the words in unison along with Morishige, accompanied by snare drum rolls and a bugle call. During this second singing, the bugle call—a modification of the bugle call "Kimigayo," Your Reign—and the snare drum sound a processional. Certainly this is a funeral processional for the dead, and one that evokes the actual sound of Japanese military funerals—"If I Go to the Sea" often appeared near

the end of the war for send-off ceremonies as well as for the repatriation of soldier's remains and possessions. "If I Go to the Sea" is often mentioned in histories and personal memories of the war; it is one that occasionally appears at *gunka* community events or festivals. Perhaps because of its sad nature, people both revere and hate this song. It is associated with sending so many men to their deaths in honor of the Emperor, but the Emperor spared his own life and escaped responsibility for the war while allowing so many others to die in his name. My informants expressed mixed emotions toward this song—many said that it was part of emperor-worship that caused so much suffering in Asia, while others said that it was a deeply moving and much misunderstood song. Morishige's performance evokes much of the complexity of the song through his emotional singing, quiet choral backup, and stark military-style percussion accompaniment.

Morishige's recording of "Sen'yū" utilizes contrasts—in instrumentation, tempo, dynamics and vocal quality—to emphasize the tragedy of war. The opening prelude and postlude use a string quartet, a contrast to the usual brass band instrumentation of military songs. The opening melody consists of three phrases with descending shapes, creating a feeling of sadness (mm. 1-12 in transcription). The accompaniment of the first two verses and verse eight are guitar chords and arpeggios. Morishige sings these verses in a wavering voice, often choking on syllables as if trying to hold back tears. He takes liberties with the tempo and the pitch, using a large degree of rubato as well as pitches often below or above the "true" pitch (these are indicated with arrows in the transcription). Just before the third verse and continuing until the end of the fourth verse, the tone changes to that of the military, with clarinets, trumpet, and snare drum

accompaniment, and a steady marching tempo. Morishige's voice is strong as he tells the story of battle and his comrade's fall. Verse twelve, which tells the narrator's tears while writing a letter to his comrade's parents has a dreamy feeling with piano arpeggios in a high register, a violin counter melody, and guitar chords. Overall, Morishige's recordings are personal and reflective. He uses chorus to provide solemnity in his recording of Umi Yukaba, while his other works are solos, embodying the postwar individuality of *gunka* singing.

Misora Hibari: Inori

Figure 12. Misora Hibari (*Inori* 2006: compact disc front cover).

Enka singer Misora Hibari (1937-1989), the "queen of tears," sang many *gunka* during the *gunka* revival of the 1960s and 1970s. The compact disc "Inori (Prayer)," released in 2006, gathers several of her war-related songs released previously on LP records into one album. The album includes twelve *gunka* and wartime popular songs, one postwar *gunka* (Hills of a Foreign Land) and three original "peace" *enka* (the final three pieces are listed in Table 9 below).

Table 9. Songs in Misora Hibari's *Inori.*

Sen'yū (War Comrade)	1905
Roei no Uta (Bivouac Song)	1937
Gunkoku / Mikuni no Haha (Militaristic Mother)	1937
Ryūsa no Mamori (Protection of Ryūsa)	1937
Mugi to Heitai (Barley and Soldiers)	1939
Kudan no Haha (The Mother at Kudan/Yasukuni Shrine)	1940
Sora no Yūshi (Courageous Men of the Sky)	1940
Rabauru Kouta (Rabaul Ditty)	1944
Akatsuki ni Inoru (Prayer at Dawn)	1940
Sen'yū no Ikotsu wo Daite (Holding onto the Bones of my Comrade)	1943
Wakawashi no Uta (Song of the Young Eagles)	1944
Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class)	1938, fl. 1944
Ikoku no Oka (Hills of a Foreign Land)	1949
Ippon on Enpitsu (If I had a Pencil)	1974
Hachigatsu Itsuka no Yoru Datta (It was the Evening of August the Fifth)	1974
Shiroi Kunshō (White Medal of Honor)	1976

According to the official web site of Misora Hibari, she released all of her *gunka* recordings on August 10, 1972, just around the twenty-seven year anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War, and at the end of the "*gunka* revival" according to Oba (1995). The last three songs are original Misora Hibari anti-war songs.

What is Misora Hibari praying for? Is she critiquing the Asia-Pacific War? Is she memorializing the war or is she glorifying it? When I first heard this album, I thought that it is likely that this is a reference to "Akatsuki ni Inoru," the *gunka* song "Prayer at Dawn," but if this is true then the "prayer" is for the co-prosperity of Asia, mentioned in the final stanza, a surprising, considering her own heritage as Japanese of Korean ancestry (Korea was a colony of Japan and well-known victim of the brutality of the Japanese army).

There are no introductory notes telling the reasons for the album and no war-related images. At first glance, the liner notes simply describe each song and the

circumstances of their composition. But the notes for the final three songs describe Misora's wishes for peace.

> While it cannot be said that she did so with a loud voice, Misora Hibari often prayed for peace. When she found out that there would be a local "Hiroshima Peace Music Festival" to pray for peace in Hiroshima, she earnestly desired to participate in the first one, and she brought a new song, "If I had One Pencil," when she participated. That "First Hiroshima Peace Music Festival" [1974] was held in a gymnasium without air conditioning. The producers created a separate air-conditioned place for the performers, and urged them to use the room, but Misora did not leave the hall during the long rehearsal. "The people in Hiroshima experienced much worse heat…" she said. So she and all the other performers did not leave that hot room, and this story has become famous. "White Medal of Honor" was written in 1976 for the Tokyo Life of the Arts Thirtieth Anniversary Recital held at Nakano San Plaza. And for this song, Misora Hibari added to the written testimonies of student soldiers who died on the front.
>
> Now, more than sixty years after war's end, the function of *gunka* has ended, but they have become *natsumero* (nostalgic songs) and standards, so some of them are still sung today. It is likely that Misora Hibari personally experienced the war—especially through air raids—and she must have looked back into history and the fear of family evacuations and other sad memories through *gunka*, and so because of her experience, she must have prayed that there would not be a world in which *gunka* would be created again, a world with another war. We hope that you will listen to this album as a prayer for peace. Misora Hibari's original songs "If I had One Pencil" and "It was the Night of August Fifth" were released on October 1, 1974, and "White Medal of Honor" was released on October 2, 1976. (*Inori* liner notes)

The record jacket is cryptic as it seems to be an indirect expression of "prayer for peace." Misora's clothing are simply a Chinese-style blouse, and hair pulled back in a 1960s style. She stands on field with a house in the distance (is it Manchuria?) and a blue-gray sky above. She gazes into the distance, her hands partially folded as if composing a prayer in her mind. The word "Inori" (Prayer) is written in white characters. Three birds fly above. White feathers float down from the characters for "Inori". The entire album is a prayer for peace. Its vagueness allows it maximum salability over the spectrum of *gunka* fans: the anti-war listeners, those that simply remember *gunka* fondly, and those that hold conservative and right-wing views.

The message of the last four songs focuses on the atomic bomb survivors and family members. "If I Had One Pencil" describes the singer's longing for someone who has died from the bomb, presumably a lover or husband.

Song Translation 21. "If I Had One Pencil" (Ippon no Enpitsu).

1. *Anata ni kaite moraitai*	1. I want you to write
Anata ni yonde moraitai	I want you to read
Anata ni utatte moraitai	I want you to sing for me
Anata ni shinjite moraitai	I want you to believe me
Ippon no enpitsuga areba	If I had one pencil
Watashi wa anata eno ai wo kaku	I would write my love for you
Ippon no enpitsuga areba	If I had a pencil
Sensō wa iyada to watashi wa kaku	I would write "I hate war"
2. *Anata ni ai wo okuritai*	2. I want to send you love
Anata ni yume wo okuritai	I want to send you a dream
Anata ni haru wo okuritai	I want to send you spring
Anata ni sekai wo okuritai	I want to send you the world
Ichimai no zaragami ga areba	If I had a piece of rough paper
Watashi wa kodomo ga hoshii to kaku	I would write "I want a child"
Ichimai no zaragami ga areba	If I had a rough piece of paper
Anata wo kaeshite to watashi wa kaku	I would write "I want you to return"
Ippon no enpitsu ga areba	If I had one pencil
Hachigatsumuika no asa to kaku	I would write "The morning of August sixth"
Ippon no enpitsu ga areba	If I had one pencil
Ningen no inochi to watashi wa kaku	I would write "human life"

(Inori liner notes, trans. McClimon)

The juxtaposition of military songs and anti-war songs without any explanation is interesting. Misora's true feelings about the war are silent as she sings a variety of songs with contradictory meanings. Her reasons for recording this large number of *gunka* remain unclear.

Transcriptions of Misora's recordings of "War Comrade" and "Mother at Kudan" are in the Appendix. Table 10 is a musical outline of "War Comrade" as sung by Misora Hibari on Track #1 of the *Inori* CD, released 2004. The accompanying instruments are double bass, trumpet, percussion (vibraslap, snare drum, ride cymbal), *shakuhachi,* organ, piano, and violin.

Table 10. Form of "War Comrade" as sung by Misora Hibari.

Time	Verse number	Instrumentation	Key
0:00	Introduction	Bugle call "Forward march." Bass sustains long note ♩ = 80	DM
0:18	v. 1 "Koko wa"	Guitar, vibraslap, trumpet, shakuhachi ♩ = 72	Dm
0:43	v. 2 "Omoe"	Guitar, trumpet fanfare, shakuhachi, snare	
1:12	v. 3 "A tatakai"	Snare, bass (walking), vibraslap, shakuhachi, trumpet ♩ = 76	
1:35	First interlude	"Hammond" organ, piano arpeggios (slower)	
1:46	v. 4 "Gunritsu"	Piano, ride cymbal, vibraslap, shakuhachi, bass (bowed) ♩ = 56	
2:23	v. 5 "Ori kara"	Piano arpeggios, snare, trumpet ♩ = 56	
3:00	v. 6 "Ato ni"	March-like, trumpet, shakuhachi, organ, bass ♩ = 84	
3:26	v. 7 "Tatakai sunde"	Ride cymbals, trumpet, shakuhachi, piano, bass ♩ = 63	
3:56	v. 8 "Munashiku hiete"	Trumpet (muted) doubles voice, shakuhachi, organ, piano, vibraslap, snare, cymbal ♩ = 63	
4:30	v. 9 "Omoeba kyonen"	Similar to verse 6. March-like, trumpet, shakuhachi, bass, piano, organ, snare ♩ = 84	
4:54	v. 10 "Sore yori nochi wa"	Trumpet, shakuhachi, organ, piano, snare ♩ = 84	
5:14	Second interlude	Trumpet, piano, bass, snare ♩ = 84	
5:20	v. 11 "Kata wo daite"	Bass, organ, trumpet, snare ♩ =88	
5:43	v. 12 "Omoi mo yorazu"	Guiar, trumpet, bass, organ, piano, vibraphone, shakuhachi ♩ = 88	
6:04	Third interlude	Trumpet, snare, organ ♩ = 88	
6:10	v. 13 "Kuma naku hareta"	Shakuhachi, piano, bass, trumpet, vibraslap ♩ = 66	
6:43	v. 14 "Fude no hakobi"	Snare, vibraslap, shakuhachi, bass, organ. Repeats the last line with organ. ♩ = 66	
7:15	Postlude	Organ; bass sustained pitch ♩ = 66	
7:29		Bugle call "Pacification of the nation." Sustained bass. ♩ = 72	DM

Misora performs all thirteen verses of the song, varying her vocal style to embody the meaning of the lyrics. Some verses have a dream-like quality, incorporating piano arpeggios, *shakuhachi*, muted trumpet, and brush cymbals. Other verses use military instruments, including trumpet (non-muted), and snare drum. Guitar also adds a personal and intimate feeling to some of the verses. While her voice stays true to the lyrics of the song, the instrumentation is a modern rendering of the song. She updates the old *gunka*

to appeal to a wide fan base—from the wartime generation as well as postwar generation—and keeping a neutral interpretation of the tragic war story.

"Bivouac Song," track 2 on the Misora Hibari album, *Inori*, has an unusual, rather dreamy accompaniment. The instrumentation uses more woodwinds and non-military percussion (including marimba) than most recordings of *gunka* and fewer brass instruments than other arrangements. A violin joins on verse four. There is no instrumental interlude between the first and second verses as in older recordings (for example the *Popular Song One Hundred Year Retrospective*), but there is a four-measure interlude between the third and fourth verses in the parallel major key.

Misora's voice is quite chesty, perhaps to give a "masculine" sound, or to add emotion to the already tragic lyrics. The range is not extraordinary, so the song does not require the use of chest voice. Since she is singing a very "manly" song it seems that she has specifically adopted a chest voice for her rendition. Her vocal style is heavily ornamented, with vibrato, glottal stops, *yuri* shakes, and heavy use of rubato. Her singing is similar to her performances of *enka*—the song's origin as a military song is nearly erased.

Misora sings "The Mother at Kudan" (transcribed in the appendix) as an *enka*. She utilizes *enka* conventions that Yano calls "performative *kata,*" including extreme vibrato, sudden dynamic changes, rubato and sudden tempo changes, voice breaks, and a variety of exaggerated vocal qualities throughout. The melody begins in the low range and Misora exaggerates the low notes by using with a very heavy chest voice. When the melody enters the middle register, she changes to a nasal voice. She uses head voice occasionally, but usually emphasizes the chest and nasal voice. Her choice to record

military songs, and her decision to adopt *enka*-style instrumental accompaniment and vocal style create an ambiguous, unsettled feeling in the listener.

Instrumentation of "Mother at Kudan" is similar to other *enka*, using instruments such as clarinet, bass clarinet, *shakuhachi,* and bass guitar. The most important indication that the song is a *gunka* is the bugle call in the introduction and postlude. A muted trumpet plays "Pacification of the Nation" (Kuni no Shizume), a bugle call used for visiting shrines, along with a sustained low pitch with bowed double bass.

Overall, the vocal style and instrumental accompaniment of the two singers—Morishige Hisaya and Misora Hibari—are markedly different. While Morishige's singing is personal and reflective, Misora's singing is stylized, with more focus on the singing technique than emphasis on the song contents. She presents a version of "The Mother at Kudan" using elaborate vocal *kata* to add stylized emotion to the tragic story of a woman praying to her son who died in war. Misora presents solo renditions of military and wartime popular songs that are commercialized, but that appeal to fans of the wartime as well as postwar generations. Her personal feelings of war remain hidden behind the conventions of her singing style.

The World-Wide Web

The world-wide web is a large space for the expression of various special interests and hobbies. Many internet users share their formerly local interests with a global audience through the internet. *Gunka* is a musical genre that has taken on a new life in the virtual world, where there is a surprisingly large presence of *gunka*. In my web browsing, I found that a *gunka* mania remains among a small, dedicated group of fans. The number of YouTube videos of *gunka* is astounding. Many songs have old film

footage as well as lyrics. Many *karaoke* videos have been posted on the web. *Gunka* enthusiasts also created many "*gunka* music videos" to share around the world, incorporating historical footage as well as clips from wartime cinema. Besides personal postings, some historical organizations maintain sites devoted to *gunka*: the Suda Museum in Ibaragi Prefecture maintains a website on *gunka*.

A Canadian with a screen name Gurufabbes has translated many *gunka* into English and posted translations onto videos. The translations are of high quality, and he includes historical footage with the songs, along with Japanese lyrics and English translations. The purpose of his website is "understanding the world, one song at a time." Here is an example of a YouTube comment from Gurufabbes:

> "This fiery march is from 1937 (a good year for Gunka lol[29]). It was pretty popular and is always included on collections of that period. Another product of the Sino-Japanese war, this song talks about the battlefield, its hardships and the duty of the soldier. Certain verses just glorify the demanded heroism of the Japanese soldier such as the one with the dying soldier shouting 'Tennōheika Banzai!' (May the Emperor live for 10 thousand years!). Another verse explains what the soldier believed he was fighting for, 'peace' in Asia (and liberation of the countries they entered, under the wing of Japanese influence). **gurufabbes, April 3, 2008)** http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_O5uEVr99Ds **,** (accessed 6 May 2009).

Some right-wing commentary as well as some nostalgic and historical interest drives the continued internet activity. Many of the YouTube videos of *gunka* become forums for Chinese tirades against Japanese imperialism, while others are forums for Japanese nationalistic rhetoric. However, many other comments are benignly nostalgic, much like the *Inori* liner notes. A woman tells how her mother used to sing "Flowers of Patriotism" in the kitchen while preparing meals. Another man tells of "Thank You to the Soldiers" that he remembers singing in wartime elementary school (*kokumin gakkō*).

---

[29] "Laugh out loud"

A Russian listener enthusiastically writes, "Japanese military songs are the best!!" *Gunka* continues to live on the world-wide web. There is little agreement on war songs as with all aspects of the war. This contested element shows that there is a healthy democratic debate around Japanese memories of the war sixty-five years after its end. The internet preserves fragments of public memory, but full stories of the war are often elusive, remaining in private memory.

Because of the anonymity of the internet, many more direct opinions are found. The real *gunka* fans come out and show their enthusiasm here. They often express a desire for a new Japanese military, and profess their love to all things military. But most people who communicate on the internet about *gunka* are young and male, which is not representative of the entire *gunka*-consuming public. The internet *gunka* related communities generally exclude members of the wartime generation, few of whom regularly access the internet. They also exclude those who are anti-war, instead attracting those who have pro-military leanings or nostalgic memories and imaginary of the Asia-Pacific War.

Summary and Conclusion

Most of the media representations of *gunka* appear from two major periods: the 1960s and 1970s, and the 1990s and early twenty-first century. The recordings and comic memoire discussed here all come from the 1960s and 1970s. As Oba describes, the 1960s and into the early 1970s saw a resurgence of commercial recordings of *gunka* and use of *gunka* in various contexts. The ability to host the Olympics was a source of tremendous pride in Japan, less than two decades after her surrender in the Asia-Pacific War. Japan had been slated to host the Olympics in 1940, but this honor was rescinded

because of Japan's invasion of China. The Olympics were later cancelled entirely because of the wartime situation. The hundred year anniversary of Meiji Restoration was in 1968. This provided a moment to reflect on Japan's path of modernization and Westernization beginning in 1868. Many record companies and publishers released *gunka* recordings, songbooks, war memories and histories. Major recordings include those that I discussed previously in this chapter: Victoria Records' *One Hundred Years of Popular Songs*, Morishige Hisaya's *Kanashiki Gunka*, and Misora Hibari's recordings of *gunka* and peace songs. The military bar Yōsoro opened in 1969 on "Japan Sea Day" to celebrate the accomplishments of the Japanese navy. Many Hiroshima survivors began to speak out from the 1960s and 1970s (Oba 1995). Nakazawa Keiji's comic book memoire uses music as an important part of the musical background of wartime Hiroshima. In academic area, Horiuchi Keizō released his book *Teihon Nihon Gunka* (Standard Book of Military Songs) in 1968, and Satoshi Sugita wrote a thesis on *gunka* in 1972.

The 1990s and early twentieth century have seen a resurgence of *gunka,* mainly prompted by the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of the war, as well as internet and its associated growth of internet *gunka* communities. With the aging of the wartime generation, the urgency to pass on stories to the next generation has become more acute in the last few years. Political debates over the remembering and forgetting of the war in Asia intensified in the 1990s and continue in 2010. Former "comfort women" speaking out in Korea and Southeast Asia, the ongoing debates over the Rape of Nanking and atrocities in China, the questions of history textbooks, the national flag and the singing of the national anthem have all touched a nerve in Japan that is still sore after all these years.

While many try to ignore and cover up the past, others address the war in ways that they find appropriate: by singing war songs, or by writing progressive studies of wartime musical activity.

The most frequently remembered songs are those from the final five years of the war. In particular, war-related film theme songs remain popular because they carry associations of film entertainment rather than direct government propaganda. In addition, the most popular remaining *gunka* are tragic *gunka* that help people to frame the war in terms of innocent Japanese victims. They feel that they were tricked (*damasareta*) by the military dictatorship, and to some extent of the Emperor, in whose name the war was fought. But those who prefer to remember the military in its glory often choose the official government propaganda songs of the early Asia-Pacific War, and very frequently songs from the Russo-Japanese War, since the Japanese Navy was at its best during this time. The multi-functionality of *gunka* today are evident in song selection by different groups.

Does the continuation of *gunka* in the media suggest a strong right wing upsurge as the Euro-American media routinely imply? It does not appear so. According to my informants, most far right-wing nationalists cannot sing *gunka*, although they might play the music on their speaker trucks. Oba notes that the revival of *gunka* in the 1960s and later were part of a larger movement to revive old songs, and that *gunka* are not the most significant genre when discussing this revival (Oba 1995:142). Most of my informants who were knowledgeable and able to sing *gunka* distanced themselves from what they called "right-wingers." Many more suggested that I study other songs of the era, including *ryōka* and non-military *kayōkyoku* popular songs.

It appears that singers have discovered a market for *gunka* and wartime ballads with a small but diverse audience. These include former soldiers, wartime generation women and children (who experienced the war on the home front), war survivors, and a few conservative and right-leaning people. This combination of nostalgia, patriotism, and a vague hope for peace co-exist in the media, where the war remains unresolved many decades after its end.

The media are changing from analog to digital formats. People are unloading old songbooks and records and transferring the material to the web and other digital environments, where it will take new forms and roles in a larger, international arena. Many communities of *gunka* enthusiasts are moving from physical gatherings to virtual gatherings online. However, some communities still gather to create festivals and to celebrate and mourn the rise and fall of Japan's army.

As I find used songbooks and records at antique markets, used book and record shops, what does this say about the state of interest in the genre? Many elderly members of the wartime generation are passing away, and relatives are selling the music to antique dealers and used music shops. What are the implications for preservation of the genre of *gunka* for the future? Libraries are doing an admirable job preserving the music, so it may enter the realm of academic and historical interest soon. Personal wartime memory will soon disappear. What was passed to the next generation are fragments of the past, and an unresolved, contested war story.

Chapter Six. Remembering *Gunka* in Postwar Musical Communities

Introduction: Music and Memory in Contemporary Japan

This chapter considers the development of military songs and wartime popular songs in the postwar period. It draws on theories of history and memory that I discuss in the Introduction. Many Japanese feel ambivalent toward the singing of military songs, reflecting the volatile nature of war memory in Japan today. This ambivalence is related to the question of how to pass on wartime memory to the next generation.

War song performances outside the military context present special challenges for interpretation. The lyrics in particular present problems: Many of these songs espouse violence, self-sacrifice, or extreme nationalism. Giving voice to these songs with their very specific origins in wartime Japan presents problems. Do singers really "mean" the words that they sing? If one says, "Let's fall like cherry blossoms" or "The red blood boils, I am itching to fight" or "I will give my life to the emperor, I will never look back" can its meaning resonate in contemporary Japan? Songs allow highly personal interpretations that support various, often conflicting, personal and collective understandings of the past.

I explore *gunka* as a site of Japan's memory surrounding its early period of modernization and imperialism to better understand memories of the wartime past. Songs have become a focal point, along with other symbols of Japan's imperial past such as the *hinomaru* flag, of an ongoing controversy over Japan's wartime past. The passing on of military songs to future generations creates a question about representation of the past and the ethics surrounding the remembering and forgetting of the darker parts of a community's collective past.

This chapter builds on memory theory discussed in Chapter One to interpret musical communities that created and consumed *gunka* in Tokyo during my research period of 2009-10. Viewing *gunka* in the private spaces that I visited, three main points emerged: *gunka* music making is private, memories physical as well as verbal, and they are individual rather than nationally constructed.

Creating and consuming *gunka* is highly private. A system of outside (*tatemae*) and inside (*honne*) behavior is evident in this musical practice, in order to smooth over the very rough and controversial aspects of the music. Most music making is limited to private spaces such as private parties, and members-only bars. However, during seasons of liminality such as cherry blossom season, the war's end commemorations and the *obon* festival, forget-the-year parties, public displays of this painful and marginalized musical past become "safe." I discuss these performances during the liminal times of cherry blossom season and August *obon* season in the remainder of the chapter.

Musical practices related to *gunka* are inscribed on the body, so that bodily practices often express memories as much as words. Bodily practices related to military training, school *gunka* singing, and the soldiers' send-off are often reenacted along with the singing of *gunka.* Through movements during singing, people reenact the past—their own or an imagined national past. Their movements may be informed by personal wartime memory or bodily practices passed down from the wartime generation. Major examples of these are military singing sessions and flag drills. Other times, movement is an embodiment of imagined past masculine and military glory. An example is young men punching the air as they march in place and sing *gunka,* members of an audience waving flags in the manner of military send-off ceremonies, or a circle of men marching

in place while singing *gunka*. Connerton writes that commemorative ceremonies preserve versions of the past and that through habitual memory, the past is "sedimented on the body" (Connerton 1989:72). This past is remembered in "incorporated practice," a set of culturally specific postures that are taught by living models (Connerton 1989:73). In this case, in *gunka* communities and performances, those of the wartime generation preserve their memories through incorporated practice, and pass these practices on to the postwar generation, preserving incorporated memories in individual bodies that are separate from the inscribed histories that survive in written form.

In addition, bodily practices such as *kosupurē* (costume play) help those without wartime experience to imagine the past through singing *gunka*. *Kosupurē* is a popular hobby in contemporary Japan where people indulge their fantasies by dressing up, usually as animation (*anime*) or comic (*manga*) characters, or gothic, schoolgirl, or other fantastical roles. In the case of military *kosupurē*, the closest parallels are American Civil War reenactments and the Society for Creative Anachronism medieval reenactments, both arenas for adults to very seriously play "dress-up." Costume play creates liminality, allowing the player to become another self. *Gunka* fans often practice *kosupurē* at private as well as public gatherings. Young enthusiasts don military uniforms and young women sometimes wear old-fashioned schoolgirl uniforms of *hakama* over *kimono*. Former soldiers and sailors practice a different sort of costume play—they dress as their younger selves, wearing their own old uniforms and purchasing replicas. This "historical transvestism" evokes the past, with its military glory and comradeship. Uniforms are readily available at the Yasukuni Shrine gift shop, online and through the Self-Defense Forces suppliers. So in this case, wearing one's old uniform evokes the past, rather than

creating pure fantasy as is usual with *kosupurē*. Japanese military *kosupurē* has a sense of the forbidden since the Asia-Pacific War is usually a taboo topic in contemporary Japan.

People with widely varying views of the war and the experiences related to it, depending on generation, military record, age, and gender, often come together to sing and enjoy *gunka*. Because reasons remain unstated, the meaning of *gunka* remains individualized and without consensus.

Gunka in the soundscape of early twenty-first century Japan does not have a large presence. There are a few places where young people may have heard *gunka* in the general soundscape, but these are fading. These are *pachinko* parlors, *uyoku* (right-wing propaganda) trucks, and parodies of *gunka* that appeared on television in the past decades. But the heart of *gunka* in 2009 and 2010 is in small private spaces, mostly bars and private parties. This chapter describes those places, people and communities where *gunka* lives on. This is not an exhaustive list of places to find *gunka*; these were the places that I explored during my fieldwork in Tokyo. Most of these places have a tiny or no presence on the world-wide web, and information on their activities spread mainly by word of mouth. Furthermore, it appears that members of the various groups do not overlap to a great extent, so they generally do not know about the others' activities.

I describe some communities of musicians who regularly perform in public and private spaces. This includes two veterans' associations who use *gunka* singing in their gatherings and three private bars and clubs that specialize in singing *gunka*. I conducted research from July 2009 through December 2010 in Tokyo. Because these communities are hidden from the general public, it required several months of queries to locate them. I

struggled to find appropriate ways for me, a young American woman to interact with each community. This chapter will show a range of experiences and personal responses to Japan's lost war.

Veterans Organizations

Unabarakai and Kōhikai

Unabarakai (Across the Sea Group) and Kōhikai (Association for First-Class Pilot Trainees) are groups of former naval air corps trainees and former pilots. Each group meets several times annually for parties, mainly to reminisce and reconnect with former comrades. According to Yoshida Jirō, Kōhikai consists of graduates from the Naval High School. Unabarakai is a group of former Navy pilots who are dedicated to making pilgrimages to old battle sites, as well as holding various commemorations, as part of a "peace mission" across the ocean (*unabara*). The name Kōhikai is derived from the three levels of "*hikai*—air group of former naval air trainees" *kō* was the first level, *otsu*, the middle level, and *kan* the lowest.

I attended four events sponsored by the two groups (sometimes jointly sponsored) and observed various musical practices there. The usual meetings of the Kōhikai and Unabarakai include music in some form, either through recordings, live bugling, sing-along sessions, solos from group members, or singing by guests. For several years, professional singer Tanaka Shōri has performed. He sings a mixture of wartime popular songs and military songs accompanied by *karaoke* tracks. However, at other events, members of the Kōhikai or invited members of the Japan Self Defense Forces performed live music. Occasionally members spontaneously take the microphone to sing. The memorial service for fallen soldiers used recorded songs as background music. In

contrast, at the *Bōnenkai* (end of the year party), see discussion below, members of the group performed several songs.

Mitama Matsuri Gathering

The first event that I attended was the Festival to Remember Lost Souls (*Mitama Matsuri*) at Kudan Hall (Kudan Kaikan) near Yasukuni Shrine, July 15, 2009. This event was sponsored by both Kōhikai and Unabarakai. Members first walked to the Yasukuni Shrine and paid respects to the war dead at the annual festival to honor fallen comrades, then proceeded to Kudan Kaikan for lunch and entertainment.

I performed three songs for the Mitama Matsuri. The three songs were "Battleship Duties" (Kansen Kinmu), "The Rabaul Naval Air Corps" (Rabaul Kaigun Kōkūtai), and "The Mother at Kudan" (Kudan no Haha, transcribed in the appendix). The first song is an official naval *gunka*. The second is a soldiers' song, and the third is a wartime popular song from 1939, made popular again in the 1970s by Misora Hibari. While I am not a professional singer like Mr. Tanaka, my performance was received positively. The three songs seemed to be meaningful for the guests, and most members sang along with the performance.

At the Mitama Matsuri, I talked with many members, including a former NHK announcer, a former manager of IBM, and several naval trainees who later worked in both private companies and non-governmental organizations in various parts of Asia. I also met current members of the Japan Self-Defense Force Band; they expressed interest and support for my work. Several people represent the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth divisions, which were dispatched to Shanghai and Rabaul.

The ceremonial element of the Mitama Matsuri was striking. It began with a flag salute and bugle call by visiting Self-Defense Force musicians, and the singing of the national anthem "Your Reign" (Kimigayo). Most guests wore naval uniforms and showed a great deal of patriotism; this is rarely seen in Japan today. This may be a glimpse of the atmosphere of wartime Japan, when patriotism was enforced in everyday activities. At the same time, I understood how drastically Japan has changed since 1945—and how much effort it would take to understand the wartime experience for those born in the postwar era.

While I sang "Battleship Duties" (Kansen Kinmu) and "The Rabaul Naval Air Squad" (Rabauru Kaigun Kōkutai), I held the lyrics in one hand and sang. Immediately after I started singing, a member stood, held a sheet of paper (as a *gunka* "songbook") in his extended left hand, and marched in place, moving the extended right arm in time to the music. He said that this is the correct way to sing *gunka*, as it was sung in naval training. This indeed appears to be a traditional training practice. According to a photo in a naval band history book, sailors and pilot trainees formed circles and marched in place, holding a songbook in the left hand. Junko Oba mentions that military soldiers and sailors kept their *gunka* songbook in their uniform pockets. She also mentions that the 1961 film "Kamikaze" shows singing while marching in circle formation, holding songbooks (Oba 1995:64).

The photo below from my Mitama Matsuri performance shows the range of reactions to my performance. Members variously march in time, clap along, sing, or, in the case of one member, listen quietly. Many sang along with me, which really

encouraged me; perhaps they liked the choice of songs, or perhaps the alcohol was encouraging extroverted behavior.

Figure 13. Members of Kōhikai sing, clap and march as author sings "Battleship Duties," an official naval *gunka*. The blue flag behind is that of the Kōhikai First Class Naval Pilot Trainees Organization of Tokyo.

While I conducted informal conversations with members about *gunka*, most expressed limited interest in the topic, instead preferring to regale me with stories of their service, and expeditions. This is similar to Oba's experience of interviewing former soldiers. She writes:

> It is very impressive that my three veteran informants Sekino Yutaka, Tomita Akinobu, and Mr. M showed little enthusiasm for talking about *gunka*, while other non-veteran wartime informants were obviously excited about the subject. Thus it was not easy for me to acquire much information about *gunka* in the military from my veteran interviewees…although they did not seem to be bothered by being asked about *gunka*, they had many other things to tell me…(Oba 1995:72)

During my own performances, I have usually received strong support and encouragement, and many have told me that my songs have brought back memories.

There is an acceptable repertoire of *gunka* for performance at Kōhikai and Unabarakai meetings. Songs that I have sung at the Kōhikai and Unabarakai meetings include "Battleship Duties," "The Mother at Kudan," "The Rabaul Naval Air Squad" and

"Advancing on the Sea" (Umi no Shingun). Songs that I have worked on but not ultimately sung: "If I Go to the Sea" (Umi Yukaba) and "Instant Sinking" (Gōchin). Tanaka-sensei vetoed a few of the songs that I suggested learning, including "Rabaul Ditty (Rabauru Kouta), "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Kōshinkyoku), and Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class. The latter two were undesirable because they are "army songs." "Rabaul Kouta" is too sad, according to Mr. Tanaka and the Kōhikai President. It reminds the Kōhikai members of defeat, so these veterans prefer to sing the uplifting "official" military songs instead. I also suggested the song "Thank You to the Soldiers" (Heitai-san Arigato), but this song does not have a *karaoke* track so it was not possible to sing it for the party. The veterans' organizations have a limited number of acceptable songs. These are official navy songs and popular *gunka*, and songs with a brave or otherwise positive image. The collective memory of these veterans is selective.

Gathering in Honor of Fallen Soldiers

Below are excerpts from my field notebook after the Kōhikai Gathering in Honor of Fallen Comrades, held in September of 2009.

> On September 14, I attended a gathering in honor of fallen soldiers and naval trainees who had recently passed away. There were around thirty in attendance, mainly naval pilot trainees, veterans, and bereaved family members. This event, held in an office building in Kasumigaseki, was part of *ohigan*[30] observances. Each person in attendance offered a white chrysanthemum in honor of the dead. Music was a large part of the ceremony. During the chrysanthemum service, an instrumental version of "Dōki no Sakura" aired over the sound system. Other times in the service, a bugler played the calls "Kimigayo" and "Inochi wo Sutete." The entire group of attendees sang "Wakawashi no Uta" (also known as the "Yokaren no Uta," appropriate for the organization of naval trainees). I sang three songs as well, which were well-received. They are: "Kansen

[30] *Ohigan* is a Japanese observance of the spring and fall equinox. "The Ohigan is…a time of transition, from the short days of winter to the long days of summer and back again. As a time of seasonal transition, it also represents the transitions of human life, from the sunny summer of life to dark winter of death. This is why the Ohigan is a time to remember those who have passed on, particularly our ancestors and loved ones. It is also a time to give thought to another kind of transition, from this shore of birth and death to the other shore of enlightenment, wherein birth and death is transcended" (McCormick 2005).

> Kinmu", "Kudan no Haha," and "Rabauru Kaigun Kōkūtai." Because Kōhikai members gave me lots of encouragement, I was able to relax and enjoy singing much more than my previous performance in July. Many people sang along with me.
>
> The announcer for the event was a former radio announcer, Dazai Nobuaki. He loaned me a historic songbook from Showa 17, called *Kaigun Gunka that* includes many *gunka* in score notation, along with two cassettes of *gunka.* I am in the process of digitizing these and plan to share the digitized versions with interested informants.
>
> Many of my informants suffer from health problems, so the number of attendees is quickly diminishing. I worry about my informants a lot as most are well over 80 years old.

Music played an important part of the gathering to honor fallen soldiers. Two songs that symbolize the young navy recruit—"Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" and "Song of the Young Eagles" took a major stage. Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class is tragic, describing the separation of two comrades, when one dies on an air mission. "Song of the Young Eagles" presents an upbeat picture of life as a naval recruit. These two songs embody the pride and sadness that is at the heart of the experience of the Japanese Imperial Navy.

A Forget-the-Year Party

Here is an excerpt from my field journal from the Kōhikai Bōnenkai ("Forget the Year Party" held at the end of the year):

> I spent the two days before the Bōnenkai learning a new song, because I had sung the same songs for the Mitama Matsuri and the Senbotsukai.
>
> My new song was "Umi no Shingun." This one is tricky because the middle part moves quickly. So it requires concentration on the words. Also the words are quite difficult to understand because it uses a lot of poetic imagery, although it was written in 1941. Lines such as "Yae no shioji ni (crossing the sea eightfold times)" are difficult to remember.
>
> I held it together for the performance, though. I really watched the words and sang as well as I could. Then I sang "Kudan no Haha," which I have done several times. I received much encouragement, although I made several small mistakes. Oh, well. Tanaka says that I shouldn't sing too well, as it would be strange coming from a relatively young American woman.
>
> Next time perhaps I'll sing "Umi Yukaba"? Yoshida likes it, and it's easy to remember the lyrics, and may show off some musicality. But it is also a very serious and

> meaningful song, so would like to be sensitive to the implications of performing it. Also, Tanaka-sensei doesn't seem too enthusiastic about it.
>
> Am I becoming militarized by hanging around these military people and immersing myself in the poetry and music of the military? My purpose is not to glorify the army, but its hard not to see the humanity of the people here. Also it is hard to ignore their marginalization in contemporary society. Japan seems to have a closed view of the wartime situation. It is very hard for me as a foreigner to gauge individual opinions about the war and wartime music. But I sense a general unease or repression surrounding the topic. This is not the same thing as the denial that is often accused by Asian and Pacific neighbors.
>
> I talked to many interesting people today:
>
> One of these was Horikoshi-san. I went to pour him a drink, and he asked me if I was the student studying *gunka*. He gave me a small book of *gunka* (see below) and showed me another, that he used in school. It was a songbook for trainees that appeared to be from wartime. I would like to continue to look for this kind of book. It is a tiny size, so could easily be held for singing and marching practice. (Field notes, December 2009)

There were several musical events at this end-of the year party that demonstrate the range of musical activity in the Kōhikai and Unabarakai. Musical performances were both planned and impromptu. Mr. Maeda sang a folk song that was often sung in the military: the tragic "Heartbreaking Son" (Danchōne). Another member played the harmonica. Mr. Andō shared a recording of a cassette of a song called "My Time as a Military Trainee" (Yokaren no Jidai), an unusual and little-known song. There were lyrics for "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" (Dōki no Sakura) and "Song of the Young Eagles" (Wakawashi no Uta) printed and distributed, but the group did not sing them.

It seems that naval kamikaze (*tokkōtai*) pilots are honored more often in contemporary Japan than those who died in ground wars in China and Korea. The Imperial Japanese Army held less prestige than the Imperial Japanese Navy, and the Japanese Army was associated with the war crimes in mainland Asia (China, Korea and Taiwan). Perhaps this is because the Army ground wars represent an earlier stage of the

war, and there are now very few survivors. But in general, the Japanese military seem to be forgotten. These veterans rely on each other for support, even as they have a relatively small voice in the larger Japanese society. Ohnuki-Tierney writes,

> In Japan today, the consequence of the exclusion of the *tokkōtai* operation from official history is readily apparent. This exclusion has contributed to an unfortunate phenomenon in which the sacrifice of these young soldiers during the war, let alone countless deaths of both Japanese and non-Japanese, fails to appear in public discourses as the responsibility of all Japanese. (2002:21).

Singing is an act of solidarity for a group of people who are marginalized in contemporary society. Former navy trainees revive the comradeship of military song sessions half of a century past through commemorative performance.

Army Club Music Making: Otakebi Kai Music Salon

Otakebi Kai (Battle Cry Group) is a regular singing and social group of army officer veterans of the former imperial Japanese army. It is held Tuesdays through Saturdays, 6:30 pm-9:00 pm at the Kaikōsha (Former Army Officers') Lounge in Ichigaya, not far from the Yasukuni Shrine.[31] The entrance charge is very reasonable: for only 1500 yen (approx $18.00), customers receive one alcoholic drink or unlimited soft drinks. Ms. Ōzaki, wearing a ruffled white apron over a *kimono,* accompanied songs on the keyboard, acted as master of ceremonies, and served drinks. When I met her at the Dōki no Sakura Kai she introduced me to the club. While the club is open to the public, the majority of attendees were former Imperial Army officers. All of the customers were male, but the staff was exclusively female. This gender separation mirrored the atmosphere at the officer's clubs in wartime Japan.

---

[31] An advertisement said 6:30 p.m.-10:00 p.m., but it appears to have been scaled back in hours.

I attended on April 27, 2010, and when I arrived at 7:00 pm there was a crowd of around twenty people, with plenty of boisterous singing, talking, drinking and cigarette smoke. People sang one song after another with the encouragement of Ms. Ōzaki. I was unfamiliar with the songs as the repertoire consisted almost entirely of army songs—the army and navy *gunka* maintained nearly entirely separate repertory. When it was my turn, the attendees asked me to sing an "American *gunka*," so I thought hard and remembered the lyrics to the Marines' Hymn. For my second song, I sang "Battleship Duties" (Kansen Kimmu). While many knew the song and sang along, they disapproved, since this was a navy song, and (I was unaware at the time) this was a staunch army community. The strong loyalty to the army was evident here. As one former officer put it, "When there are so many good army songs, why would you sing a navy song?"

On the other hand, while many expressed disdain for the navy, they expressed affinity with the other great militaries around the world, singing military songs from Germany (in German) and asking me to sing military songs in English.

I talked with several former Army officers, most of whom spoke perfect English. Many asked about the United States, and a few told me about *gunka*, saying that it is important to distinguish between the "brave" (*isamashii*) and "sad" (*kanashii*) *gunka*. Another way to put this is the songs that uplift the spirit and those that make one mourn the tragedy of war. For example, "War Comrade" is an important sad *gunka*, and there are many, many uplifting *gunka*, particularly the official *gunka* promoted by the military and wartime government, such as "Patriotic March." Knowing both of these "types" helps one to better understand the full nature of the genre. Songs that I heard at Otakebi Kai included "If the Enemy Comes in Tens of Thousands" (Teki wa Ikuman), a historic

gunka; "Tenchōsetsu," in honor of Emperor Shōwa's birthday on April 29; "Katō's Falcon Air Squad" (Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai). Below is an example of an army song, "Katō's Falcon Air Squad":

Song Translation 22. "Katō's Falcon Air Squad" (Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai).

1. Enjin no oto gōgō to	1. The sound of the engine
Hayabusa wa yuku kumo no hate	The hayabusas to the end of the clouds
Yoku ni kagayaku hinomaru to	The rising sun's shing on our wings
Mune ni egakishi akawashi no	And the red eagle's drawn on our chests
Shirushi wa warera ga sentō ki	Are the symbols of our fighter planes
2. Kanfū kanfū monokawato	2. Cold, wind, and intense heat are nothing for us
Kannan shinku uchitaete	We can bear with trials and tribulations
Seibi ni ataru tsuwamono ga	Expert craftsmen maintain the airplanes
Shikkari yatte kite kureto	And they pray that their airplanes can do well
Aiki ni inoru oyagokoro	With parental feelings for their lovely airplanes
3. Sugishi ikuta no kūchūsen	3. Experiencing many air combats
Jūdan unaru sono naka de	In the roaring sounds of the bullets
Kanazaru katsu no shinden to	With faith in our ultimate victory
Shinaba tomoni no dantō no	And cooperative spirit to die together if we die
Kokoro de niagaru sōjūtan	We grab the throttle with our hearts
4. Kankan mijiyuru ikuseisō	4. After years of fights
Nanatabi kasanaru kanjōno	We received seven testimonials
Isao no kage ni namida ari	But there were tears in the shadows of our feats
Aa ima wa naki mononofu no	Ah, all the samurai are gone
Waratte chitta sono kokoro	With the spirit to die with a smile
5. Sekai ni hokoro wakawashi no	5. We are proud of our tough eagles to the world
Yoku nobasenshi ikusenri	Their wings go through thousands of miles
Kagayaku dentō uketsugite	While observing shining traditions
Arata ni ōkosu dai Ajia	We will create the great new Asia
Warera wa kōgun sentōtai	We are the fighter wing of the Imperial Army

(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MS12isLjS5w accessed 11 October 2010)

Attending were a Self-Defense Officer who is a professor of National Security, and a student in his twenties, who is a military history buff. The Self-Defense Force member expressed ambivalence about the actions of the former Japanese Imperial Army. He told me that there are many good and bad elements in the former Japanese Army, and

that the Japanese Self-Defense Forces learns from the good things and tries to forget the rest.

Others were former army officers. The young student sang "If the Enemy Comes in Tens of Thousands" (Teki wa Ikuman, 1886), astounding the others with such a rare historical *gunka*, one that was not regularly sung by the Kaikōkai members. The student had learned *gunka* by studying recordings, web sites, and the Ōtakebikai songbook. But he had not learned from members of the wartime generation and his imagining of the war was quite different from the lived experience of the officers there. Many club members sang while reading from the *Otakebi* songbook. I purchased a copy of the latest edition for 500 yen (approx $6). It is a small but thick 400-page book with song lyrics in very small type. A few songs include notation as well as lyrics. The size and format is reminiscent of a period military-issue songbook, but much thicker. The introduction is short; I have translated it here:

> The first time that we published the "Otakebi" Songbook in the postwar era was in 1960, but since then we have published it many times. The basic principle for editing has been faithfulness to the original songs. The number of songs has increased, but we have tried to keep the original melodies and recreate the songs correctly. Song variants have of course occurred over time.
>
> *Natsumero* have certainly increased rapidly, so we have arranged them by year of creation. As a result, in this small book you can see the flow of history through these songs. We have listed the year of composition and publication, since people of different eras loved different songs. We hope that you can get a flavor for each era through this book. (Otakebi Editorial Board 2003:front cover)

This introduction gives no explanation of the purpose of the book, or the meaning of the songs in postwar Japan. The *Otakebi* songbook is a standard book of *gunka.* Many *gunka* enthusiasts use it when they to sing *gunka* at events outside of Otakebi Kai, since it provides a large range of songs that military members knew and enjoyed. Most library and archival collections of *gunka* songbooks include the book. The early editions

included official *gunka,* military ceremonial songs, and soldier's songs; as indicated in the introduction above, the repertory has expanded in the later editions. The book now includes school songs of the military and civilian high schools, foreign national anthems (USA, Western European nations and former Manchuria), historical *gunka,* Self-Defense Forces songs, *natsumerō*, *shōka,* and *shigin* (poems written in classical Chinese style for chanted recitation). The repertoire suggests that the book is an all-purpose sing-along guide for former military members and those from the wartime generation. While the aim of the early editions was documentation and preservation of the former glory of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy with a "Battle cry," new editions include *gunka* along with a range of other songs to encourage singing sessions by members of the wartime generation.

Figure 14. Members sing at the Otakebi Kai as Ms. Ōzaki plays the keyboard. April 27, 2010.

Military-Themed *Karaoke* Bars

One of the past phenomena associated with *gunka* has been *gunka* bars (*gunka*

sakaba) sometimes called military bars (*gunkoku sakaba*), army bars (*rikugun bā*) and navy bars (*kaigun bā*). Many people mentioned ones from the past, but it took a lot of detective work to find some that are still open. This section discusses my experiences at the Navy club Yōsoro, and the Music Saloon Chika, and reports on other bars, past and present.

Yōsoro Navy Club

Just a block from Shimbashi in Ginza, two floors underground is a medium-sized bar with very nostalgic atmosphere. The interior resembles the inside of an old Japanese Imperial Navy Ship. The walls appear to be riveted metal, there are bare pipes and exposed steel beams, with antique loudspeakers, lamps and a clock hanging on the walls. The *hinomaru* flag, Japanese navy flag, and Z-flag (pictured below) are displayed in several prominent places. Portholes in the walls have pictures of the sea, enhancing the feeling of being at sea.

My husband and I spent the evening of Friday, November 6, 2009 at Yōsoro Navy Club, a military-themed bar in Ginza that is over 40 years old. After asking many people about *gunka* bars and getting no specific information, I happened to discover a website online for Yōsoro (Yōsoro 2006). Opened in 1969 at the height of the "*gunka* revival (Oba 1995), it is now more than forty years old.

The place is managed solely by the Ship Captain (*kanchō*), Ms. Takiguchi. Captain Takiguchi is a very grandmotherly figure, often calling me "Sarah-chan" (a diminutive naming) and admonishing me to take care of my health. She looks after the other members as well, calling to enquire when members are away and looking out for the health and safety of the elderly members.

According to Yōsoro's official web site,

> "Yōsoro" is a shortening of the greeting, "Yoroshiku sōrō." Naval seamanship [the spirit of the sailor] is included in this word. That is to say, "Yōsoro" spirit admonishes one not to waver to the left or right, but rather to push forward with all one's might (*isshōkenmei maishin seyoto*). This place aims to honor the full seamanship of the Imperial Army, so on May 27 [Day to Commemorate the Battle of the Japan Sea], 1969 it was established and given the name "Yōsoro." This place welcomes people who lived before and during wartime, of course, but young people are also very welcome to visit! How about cruising the ocean just like the glory days of the Imperial Army?" (Yōsoro 2006, accessed 17 September 2010)

Customer Yamamoto Munetoshi further explains the "spirit of the sailor" on Yōsoro's web site. His father Yamamoto Tamon was a famous Navy officer who died in the battle of Midway. He wrote:

> In the middle of the 20th century, Japan was confronted with a big problem of unprecedented proportions. At that time our ancestors acted boldly to protect the motherland and faced a national problem. The Japanese Imperial Navy was one of the forces that fought frantically. My father, Yamamoto Tamon sacrificed himself for his country in the previous war. As far as we know, he died at the Battle of Midway, where Japan experienced complete and utter defeat. My father was a commanding officer on an aircraft carrier and following his fate, he died right after his subordinates did. My father was a military man who looked after many ships and a large number of subordinates and his actions followed his beliefs in right and wrong.
>
> Now Japan is not involved in any war, but the economy is stalled, crime rates are rising, morals are becoming degenerate, government administration is acting irresponsibly, and so on, so surely the country is also experiencing another national crisis, and one cannot say that the situation is good. Shouldn't we who live today think once again about those qualities that our ancestors embodied, such as faith, manners, responsibility, and patriotism?
>
> Sadly, today there is no Great Japanese Imperial Navy. But at Yōsoro, we can touch many materials that represent the dying wishes of the navy culture that these navy men have cultivated since the navy's establishment in the Meiji Period. Here you can touch many things—the last dying wishes, documents, and so on—that can remind us of what must be called the "culture" of the Imperial Navy.
>
> In this gunroom where long ago gallant naval officers told each other bittersweet stories, won't you have a drink? (Yōsoro 2006: accessed 17 September 2010)

Figure 15. Z-Flag

Figure 16. The signboard for Yōsoro has a Z-Flag on the left and the Naval Ensign on the right. The words "Navy Club" (*neibii kurabu*) are written in *katakana* phoenetic characters, and "Yōsoro" is written in both *katakana* and *kanji* ideographs.

One corner of the room houses a collection of authentic military uniforms, so that customers can enjoy *kospurē* (historical dress-up). The clientele consist of mainly salarymen, self-defense force members and veterans. *Kospurē* is not only for the young, but also for middle-aged and older people to re-live and re-imagine the wartime period.

Figure 17. Rahman Abdur, the author, and Yasuno Kenji (l-r) practicing *kosupurē* at Yōsoro Naval Club. Photograph by Captain Takiguchi.

Figure 18. Yōsoro Kai members at the November 18, 2009 meeting. Photograph by Captain Takiguchi.

One of the members invited me to join the Yōsoro Kai (Yōsoro Association), a group of people who meet monthly to sing *gunka* and drink whiskey and *shōchū* (a clear

liquor distilled from sweet potatoes, rice, or buckwheat). The Yōsoro Kai consists of a small group of military history-enthusiasts. They come from a variety of backgrounds. Most are middle-aged conservative-leaning businessmen, but there are a few veterans and Self-Defense Force members, as well. One member, Mr. Nakamichi, is around 85 years old and a veteran of the Imperial Army.

The clientele for this bar seems to be limited. There were only three people other than us during the three hours we stayed on a Friday night. I wondered how the place stays afloat, since its prices are lower than similar establishments in the area. The cost was approximately $50 per person including unlimited drinks, singing of *karaoke*, and "naval curry rice." Drink choices were limited to *shōchū*, whisky or oolong tea. There are rows of wooden lockers similar to navy sailors' lockers with names written on them. They have General Nogi brand *shōchū* inside. It is a tradition to eat Japanese-style curry and rice on Fridays just as it was at sea; in order to distinguish which day of the week it is at sea, navy cooks served curry on Fridays. This is another playful extension of the metaphor of riding a ship, rather than visiting a bar.

On my first visit, I sang three songs and others sang along: "Song of the Young Eagles," "Battleship Duties," and "Rabaul Navy Air Squad." Songs that others sang included: "Battleship March" and "Advancing on the Ocean." On other occasions, I sang "If I Go to the Sea" and "The Mother at Kudan," all of which met applause and words of appreciation. They did not encourage me to learn army songs, however.

The lyrics of "Advancing on the Ocean" (Umi no Shingun) follow:

Song Translation 23. "Advancing on the Ocean" (Umi no Shingun).

1. *Ano hi agatta zetto ki o*	1. Today I see the Z flag[32]
Chichi ga aoida nami no ue	Just as my father saw it over the water
Kyō wa sono hi wa sono mago ga	Today the son grandson look up to them who fought before
Tsuyoku ōshii chi o tsuide	They have inherited strong, heroic blood
Yae no shioji o koeru no da	We are crossing countless tides
2. *Kiku no gomon no kage utsusu*	2. We see the Imperial crest reflected in the ocean
Katai mamori no taiheiyō	We protect Japan's side of the Pacific
Umi no ono kono ikigai wa	This is the life purpose for sons of the sea
Oki no yū hi ni geki metsu no	Offshore the demolished ship of the enemy I see
Teki no masuto wo yume ni miru	The enemy's mast I see in my dreams
3. *Miutsu kagayaku ōsora ni*	3. The imperial mausoleum glitters in the sky
Ikini habataku umi washi ga	Air force planes (eagles of the sea) dart across the sky
Egaku seiha no ikimashisa	Imagine a brave victory
Tomoyo nana tabi iki kawari	My friends, we will fight, and if you are killed many times
Nami ni isao wo sakasōzo	Your medals will be many, like blooming flowers
4. *Umi e umi e to moe agaru*	4. Out to sea, out to sea, burn brighter and brighter
Yamato damashii shikkari to	Holding onto the Spirit of Japan
Mune ne idaite nami senri	Firmly kept in the heart over one thousand ri
Susumu kōkoku kaigun no	The Imperial Navy advances
Hare no sugata ni hikari are	Your splendid features shine gloriously
	(Trans. S. McClimon and M. Yamada)

I met three customers. One was fifty-five year old Mr. Yasuno, an importer of European specialty goods, and a military history researcher in his spare time. His uncle died in battle in the Philippines. He was very helpful and shared with us a wealth of

[32] Although not an official national flag, the Z signal flag played a major role in Japanese naval history. On May 27, 1905, Admiral Tōgō of the *Mikasa* was preparing to engage the Russian Baltic Fleet. Before the Battle of Tsushima began, Tōgō raised the Z flag on the *Mikasa* and engaged the Russian fleet, winning the battle for Japan. The raising of the flag said to the crew the following: "The fate of Imperial Japan hangs on this one battle; all hands will exert themselves and do their best." The Z flag was raised on the aircraft carrier *Akagi* on the eve of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in December 1941.

information on the navy and *gunka*. He took an interest in the study and talked to us in perfect English for the entire time that we were at the bar. On his suit he affixed a pin with a cherry blossom and anchor design on the lapel; this cherry blossom and anchor emblem was a decoration for the Former Imperial Japanese Navy uniforms, as the song describes. He also liked to wear the armband of the naval reporters' group. Mr. Yasuno invited me to the Yōsoro Kai meeting on November 18 and offered to pay my entrance fee. I also talked to a regular customer, aged 40, who is the superintendant of a shipping company. He was very quiet, and did not really want to talk much or sing. A third customer in his seventies was arranging an event in memory of student naval pilots. I expressed interest in the event, but did not receive an invitation to attend.

When we left the bar, everyone performed the naval send-off by waving their hats (*bō furi*) and encouraged me to visit again. This was perhaps the friendliest site for fieldwork, and I visited eight times. I gained much information about *gunka* in historical and contemporary context from singing and informal conversations with customers at Yōsoro.

Yōsoro Kai

I attended the monthly party of the Yōsoro Kai in November. I met some new members and sang a large variety of songs. I conducted informal interviews to find out the members' interest in *gunka* and naval history. Attending were Mr. Taki, Mr. Kumazae, Mr. Kajiwara, Mr. Ueda, and Mr. Nakamichi. While Mr. Nakamichi is a veteran, the others were born after the war. In the case of Mr. Kumazae, this was much later, as he appears to be about the same age as me. They sang a large number of songs, including both Naval and Army songs. This was surprising to me, as others I have met

have been staunch naval supporters and the bar is a "naval club," after all. Mr. Kumazae grew up near an army base in Fukuoka and learned songs from his grandmother, and Mr. Kajiwara learned the songs from his mother. The group sang the following songs: "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru), "Pacific March" (Taiheiyō Kōshinkyoku), "Battleship March" (Gunkan Kōshinkyoku), "Father, You were Brave" (Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta), "Song of the Young Eagles" (Wakawashi no Uta), "Holding the Bones of My Comrade" (Senyū no Ikotsu wo Daite), "Instant Sinking" (Gōchin), "Advancing on the Snow" (Yuki no Shingun), "Courageous Gods of the Sky" (Sora no Shinpei), and "Heart-breaking Son" (Danchōne). I was surprised at the number and variety of songs that this small group of people knew, and the number of historical *gunka* from the Russo-Japanese War and first Sino-Japanese War that they knew and performed. Older songs would not likely come from learning them from a relative, but by learning from books and records, or learning in a club.

At the May meeting, Yōsoro Kai hosted a *gunka* event with a young *enka* singer from Saitama Prefecture, Ōki Atsushi. In addition to his regular *enka* songs, he sang a number of *gunka*, including "Monday Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday, Friday and Friday" (Getsu Getsu Ka Moku Kin Kin), "Rabaul Ditty" (Rabauru Kouta), and "Wheat and Soldiers" (Mugi to Heitai). He sang well, but he lost his audience on the last song. The bar is strictly navy, but "Wheat and Soldiers" is an army song. Ōki is one of many *enka* singers who have "crossed over" into the *gunka* genre. Like others that I discuss in the previous chapter, their target audience is unclear, and they are quite vague and uncritical about their choices and reasons for singing *gunka*. It appears that they target older generations for the "nostalgic" element as well as middle-aged right-leaning

men who enjoy *gunka.* Since this is music for profit, it is most beneficial to be vague about their reasons for singing *gunka*, allowing fans to imprint their own meanings onto the music.

Figure 19. Ōki Atsushi sings "Wheat and Soldiers" at Yōsoro Kai monthly gathering, May 20, 2010.

Figure 20. Yōsoro Kai member Mr. Nakamichi sings "Heart-breaking Son" as Captain Takiguchi and Ueda-san look on. Nov. 18, 2009.

Other Military-Themed Bars

There are a few other clubs in Ginza that specialize in *gunka,* although from

conversations with various people, a large number of military-themed bars popular from the late 1960s until the early 1990s have closed their doors. Junko Oba writes that she attempted to visit a *gunka* bar but found that it had become "just a regular bar." (Oba 1995:139). She writes:

> "Reflecting the popularity of *gunka*, the drinking places called *rikugun bā* (army bar) and *kaigun bā* (navy bar) appeared in pleasure districts in the late 1960s. In the army bars, customers were called by the army titles such as Lieutenant and Commander regardless of their actual status. People gathered and listened to *gunka* records or sang *gunka* with the accompaniment of the piano. In the navy bars, waitresses were dressed in the navy sailors' attire." (1997:139)

The most notable former bar was "The Top Club," which had been located in Ginza. According to various reports, it provided lively entertainment. Owned by a former Takarazuka (women's theater troupe) member, it took a theatrical approach to singing old war songs. Girls, dressed in military uniforms, sang chorus-style to support the customer's lead, as a sort of old-fashioned "live" *karaoke*. Sometimes people would throw paper airplanes with the flags of Axis and Allied countries. The clientele during the 1990s consisted mainly of middle-aged salarymen, most born in the postwar era, so the event suggested an undercurrent of Japanese nationalism and militarism (Yano pers. comm. 2007). However, the Top Club was closed in the early twenty-first century. I describe its scaled down-replacement, Music Saloon Chika, below.

I found this very enthusiastic and detailed description of Music Saloon Chika and Salon Epoch on the internet in response to the Yahoo question "Are there any *gunka* bars in Tokyo?"

> Hello. As far as *gunka* bars go, the place that I go to I have mentioned before, but it's "Music Saloon Chika" in Tokyo's Ginza District. The address is Tokyo, Chuoku, Ginza 7-7-14, Haku'ei Building 3rd floor, telephone 03-3574-8092.
>
> This bar could certainly be called a place where *gunka* fanatics gather, and it's a rare place where you cannot really sing regular *karaoke* songs, but it is dedicated fully to

singing *gunka*. Most people are between the ages of 40 and 70, but the majority are elderly, and occasionally a thirty-something comes, and everyone is very familiar with *gunka* and general pre-war and wartime *natsumero*. All the songs are accompanied by live piano, is accompanied by a special live young girls' chorus who backup the singers very well, so it is very easy to sing, and they match the range to the customer's voice, so it is much easier than regular *karaoke*. Everyone drinks whisky with water, and some people sing *gunka* heartily, while others join in as a chorus. Customers can write their requests on a piece of paper, and they can sing in turn. Often the same request comes up, so people can sing together as a duet as well, but there are so many *gunka* that people usually request one after another, and continue singing. About the price, it is open from 6:30-11:00 pm[33], and you can stay as long as you like and drink as much as you like for 8,000 yen (approx $98). Of course people who don't drink can have soft drinks for the same 8,000 yen, but at this place, the purpose is not so much to get drunk as to sing these songs, but of course it's not bad to get drunk, too. What I mean is that these people can really hold their liquor. The unique feature of this place is the young girls' chorus that I mentioned earlier of beautiful girls in their 20s, and they know hundreds of little-known *gunka,* and many customers are also high-level experts in *gunka*, but there is something charming about hearing *gunka* from beautiful young girls. You would not expect such young girls to be able to sing such difficult songs, but that's what you will see at this place. And it is also really fun to talk about *gunka* with these girls. I have been frequenting this establishment for around 21 years now and way back at the beginning the customers included many Meiji and Taisho born people, and most people had war-time military experience, so I heard many stories about the war. Of these Meiji and Taisho people more than half have passed to the other world, so most people today were born in the late Taisho or early Showa eras. However, from these people you can still hear many stories about wartime Japan. In any case, based on this place's information, won't you go once and check it out?

Furthermore, I live in Kansai, so I only go to Chika when I have a business trip to Tokyo, so when I am in Osaka, I frequent the bar Salon Epoch. This place does not have chorus girls as in Ginza, but you can sing various songs with live piano accompaniment. Of course the shop also has *karaoke*, and you can sing *gunka* with *karaoke* accompaniment, but most customers choose to sing *gunka* with piano accompaniment. Since this is a piano club, you can drink mizuwari [whiskey with water] and talk with hostesses, but big *gunka* fans often come. The price is the same as Ginza, around 8,000 yen for the evening. In this shop there are many *gunka* books around, so you can sing many lesser-known *gunka* here as well. Salon Epoch is in Kita Shinchi…. You cannot find a right-wing fanatic in either shop (Un'yō http://sound.jp/jyosyuu/xxxgunkokusakab.html, accessed 17 September 2010).

Music Saloon Chika

I visited the reincarnation of the Ginza bar Top Club, now called "Music Saloon Chika." Scaled down since 2006, it has moved to a small place with a tiny bar and four

[33] The evening that I attended, the music finished at 10:00 pm, not 11:00 as the weblog stated.

small tables that seats a maximum of around 12-15 people. There were three staff members: a bartender, a pianist, and a young hostess who sings and serves drinks and snacks. It was expensive—8,000 yen ($98), with rather weak drinks and a few complimentary snacks. The young hostess wore a *yukata* summer kimono and offered a book with *gunka, ryōka*[34] and *natsumero* (nostalgic songs). She knew all of the songs and supported the customers' singing well. I was popular with the older guys after I sang a few *gunka.* I heard from the hostess that there used to be many of these types of places but now there are just three in Ginza—an army bar, navy bar (that I have visited) and this place that supports live musical accompaniment of both army and navy songs. I think that this is a fading memory for most, except those with family military connections or military-mania. The clientele was small and exclusively male. There were eight men between forty to seventy-five years old. My friend and I were the only young people there and the only women who were not employees.

---

[34] *Ryōka* are dormitory songs created at the beginning of the twentieth century for various high schools and colleges, as well as military preparatory academies. Many of the *ryōka* share melodies with *gunka*, so they are a closely related genre. Oba discusses the connection between the two genres.

> …a genre of music called ryōka was born in 1891 when the college fraternity song was composed for the first anniversary festival of a fraternity house at Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō [the First Preparatory College]…Since then, it has been a tradition to hold the anniversary festival on the first day of March, and present a new ryōka every year…in the early years, as no one ever knew how to compose music, appropriate melodies were often borrowed from *gunka*. (Oba 1995: 79)

Figure 21. Signboard for "Music Saloon Chika" in Ginza, Tokyo. The sign gives no indication that it is a military-themed bar.

The hostess told me that there are currently three military-themed bars in Ginza: one naval bar (I assume it is Yōsoro), one army bar (called Fujii), and Music Saloon Chika, a bar that features up both army and navy songs.

There were no military-themed decorations or costumes at Chika—the focus was entirely on the singing of a limited repertory of songs. Each of the customers took a turn singing a favorite *gunka* or *ryōka*, with the accompaniment of the piano and singing support by the young female hostess. The pianist matched the tempo and range to the singer's voice, making singing very easy. I had prepared five songs, and after I sang these, I turned to my *gunka* book and tried a few more. I really enjoyed the serious focus on singing, as it justified the relatively expensive evening out for me as a graduate student.

According to an advertisement in the "Dōki no Sakura Kai"[35] book from 1992, there were four branches of "The Top Club" at that time. They were located in Osaka (Kita Shin'chi), Tokyo (Ginza), Nagoya (Nakaku) and Sapporo. According to the advertisement,

> "This is a play zone (*purē zon*) for those who are middle-aged and elderly, to revive the passions (*nekki yomigaeru*) of one's youth, with a great number of nostalgic *gunka*, public school songs, and dormitory songs." (Dōki no Sakura Kai 1992:back cover)

Above a photo of a chorus line of seven young girls wearing kimono and (school girls' style) *hakama* and *zori* slippers, and singing under the leadership of a female director, there are the words "Aah, in Praise of Youth."

Figure 22. Advertisement for the former "The Top Club Music Saloon," from the back cover of the 1992 Dōki no Sakura Kai songbook.

Other bars have come and gone in the past few decades. Table 11 shows the names and locations of many former *gunka* bars, based on an advertisement in the 1992 Dōki no Sakura Kai book.

---

[35] The "Dōki no Sakura Kai" Group that Sings Cherry Blossoms of the Same Year meets each April at the Yasukuni Shrine for a large group singing session. I discuss the group further in the following chapter.

Table 11. National list of *gunka* bars, from 1992 Dōki no Sakura Kai book advertisement.

Name	Location
The Top Club Music Saloon	Sapporo, Tokyo (Ginza), Nagoya, Osaka
Yōsoro	Tokyo (Ginza)
Fujii	Tokyo (Ginza)
Rabauru (Rabaul)	Katayamazu, Ishikawa Prefecture
Kaigun (Navy)	Nagoya
Wakawashi (Young Eagles)	Osaka
Sen'yū (War Comrade)	Osaka
Daihongyō	Tottori
Karaoke Taishō (General/Admiral Karaoke)	Tsuyama
Suma	Hiroshima
Tōru	Takamatsu
Nitōhei Gunkoku Shuho (Canteen for Second-Class Soldiers)	Tokushima
Furutaka Gunroom	Matsuyama
Anchor	Fukuoka
Maru (Ship)	Kagoshima

The dwindling numbers of bars and the quiet nature of the various military events suggest that the popularity of *gunka* is gradually declining. They do not suggest that "nationalism is on the rise," as so many in the Western media claim. Or if so, then nationalists are not singing *gunka*.

Summary and Conclusion

Several themes emerged during my fieldwork with *gunka* communities in twenty-first century Japan. I outline several of the major themes below. First, musical practices related to *gunka* have been inscribed on the body, so that bodily practices often express memories more than words. Bodily practices related to military training, school *gunka*

singing, and the soldiers' send-off are often reenacted along with the singing of *gunka*. In addition, bodily practices including *kosupurē* often help those without wartime experience to imagine the past through singing *gunka.*

The few places in Tokyo and around Japan that host singing events that include *gunka* have a tiny place in the national soundscape today. These anachronisms range from a private veteran's club holding regular and irregular parties with music, to bars that entertain history and military buffs. These places and events are quite unknown and unusual in twenty-first century Japan. Associated with the apparent marginality of military-associated people is an associated strong loyalty to one's own branch of service. I realized from experience that army members don't like to sing navy songs, and vice-versa: this I learned when I made the mistake of singing navy songs at the Otakebi Kai Army Officers' Club. On the other hand, those of the younger generations often sang the "wrong" songs for the occasion. The young *enka* singer Oki visited the Naval Club Yōsoro and sang several *gunka* and *senji kayō*, but he lost the attention of the audience when he sang "Wheat and Soldiers" (Mugi to Heitai), a popular film song describing life in the Imperial Army. In addition to national identity, generational identity and gender, the singing of *gunka* supports a strong group association with the former Imperial Army and Navy.

Since the military, in its past and present forms, is marginalized in mainstream Japanese society, what will happen to its associated musical traditions when the last members and trainees of the former Imperial Army and Navy pass away? The music has already become a tiny part of the musical landscape. It seems as if they are entering more private worlds, and the few remaining public spectacles are becoming subdued to appeal

to a large mixed-bag audience. I often felt like an outsider during my participant observation and people were usually shocked to see me, simply because most young Japanese know or care little about "the War." The number of people who take an interest in the music is quite small, and they are unlikely to take leadership of the communities that I have seen. Since libraries and archives in Japan do a great job of stewarding historical documents and artifacts, *gunka* will likely enter an academic realm, where academics study the past. The internet maintains a few virtual communities around *gunka,* as I discussed in this chapter. But the communities documented here may diminish over the next twenty years.

Chapter Seven. *Gunka* Festivals and Public Spectacles

Since the late 1960s, *gunka* has had a revival in the form of public festivals and creation of small private spaces that host *gunka* musical events (Oba 1995:139). This chapter explores large-scale organized *gunka* events, examining two annual shrine festivals that feature military songs and two regularly held festivals featuring *gunka* singing and military uniforms. While these festivals are quite rare in contemporary Japan, they indicate that *gunka* has a place in the hearts of some Japanese. Japanese people of many ages, political views and experiences gather to enjoy the spectacle of enthusiastic *gunka* singing and military dress-up. These festivals show the outside face of Japanese culture—the *tatemae* that occasionally shows in public.

This chapter examines large-scale gatherings centered on the performance and consumption of *gunka.* While some sites of *gunka* musical practice are well-hidden, especially the military-themed bars, private military-related clubs and private parties, *gunka*-related spectacles occur in public, mainly at the Yasukuni Shrine precincts and surroundings or outside major train stations.

Setting: The Yasukuni Shrine

The Yasukuni Shrine (literally, "peaceful nation shrine") in downtown Tokyo is the most important site of Japanese war memory in Japan as well as a controversial site for war memory in East Asia. The Meiji Emperor established the shrine in the late nineteenth century as an official government shrine and the American occupation forces privatized it after the Asia-Pacific War. It enshrines all Japanese who died in war, including military leaders of the Asia-Pacific War that the Tokyo Trials convicted as Class-A war criminals. The enshrinement of these war criminals is offensive to many in

Asia—who view themselves as victims of Japanese military and colonial aggression in the years up to the end of the Asia-Pacific War. The shrine serves as a site for remembering the war, in particular for those who lost family members in war. Official visits by members of the Imperial family and government officials often ignite protests by Japan's Asian neighbors. Because they pray to a shrine that worships the war criminals responsible for invading Asian neighbors and causing brutality, many accuse the Japanese government of "historical amnesia." While many scholars and journalists have written on the controversies of official visits from leadership in Japan, historian Brian Masshardt writes about the demonstrations by ordinary citizens in front of the Yasukuni Shrine, from both the left and right members of society. He interprets this contestation as a sign of a healthy democracy (Massardt 2007).

The musical activities in and around the Yasukuni Shrine also show the wide variety of personal experiences and feelings about Japan's past military and war and musical activities reflect the same range of personal feelings. Below, I discuss the annual Dōki no Sakura Kai as well as other groups that meet to create and enjoy military and wartime songs at the shrine.

Figure 23. The main gate (*torii*) at the entrance to the Yasukuni Shrine. Photo by author.

Informal Musical Displays at the Yasukuni Shrine

During a visit to Japan in the summer of 2008, I encountered Mr. Okayama in front of the enormous gate at the entrance to Yasukuni Shrine. Mr. Okayama, a thin, deeply-wrinkled Japanese man perhaps in his late seventies, was sitting in front of a large stone lantern, plucking military marches on the *sanshin*, an Okinawan long-neck lute with two snakeskin heads. He wore an army cap and a T-shirt imprinted with two flags: the Japanese *hinomaru* and the Naval Ensign, both symbols of Japan's imperial period. Curious, my husband and I approached and asked him to sing a few songs from the Asia-Pacific War. Soon enough, he belted out an enthusiastic solo rendition of the *gunka* "Yasukuni Shrine" (Yasukuni Jinja), a song that talks of the shrine and its importance as a resting place for soldiers lost in war, and also "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class."

As Mr. Okayama sang, his posture was stiff and straight. He breathed heavily into his outthrust chest, and his vocal quality was loud and forced to the point of near breaking. When he sang the word Yasukuni Jinja (mentioned in both songs), he pointed in the direction of the shrine, with an expression of seriousness. At the end of this astounding performance, he shouted, "Let's protect the Yasukuni Shrine!" He seemed to project little outward emotion: his face was composed, his body moved very little, but his emphasis of words such as Yasukuni and *makoto* (sincerity, a traditional concept of the Japanese character) suggested that he felt great pride while singing the songs, and felt a sense of strength, reflected in his powerful performance. I also felt the power of these songs and felt transported to wartime Japan, when singing these songs mobilized and sustained a people through a series of wars that caused much pain to those involved.

A few people stared as they walked by, possibly as puzzled by his extreme nationalist display as we were, or perhaps they were surprised at the improbable interaction between two foreigners, and the elder. Certainly, as a man who regularly visits the shrine alone to sing songs to the dead, he is an eccentric, even among the political conservatives who frequent the shrine. A police officer on duty a few blocks away was annoyed by his overenthusiastic singing and asked him to be quiet. Judging from the discomfort that most passerby exhibited, Mr. Okayama makes public a part of Japan that is mostly kept private—the war that Japan lost, and the people that fought and died overseas.

Each week, in addition to Mr. Okayama's music-making, a few informal groups gather to make music at Yasukuni Shrine. These groups usually assemble on Sundays and national holidays. I encountered a group of harmonica players and singers (see

Figure 24), as well as a group of buglers (see Figure 25) during my visits to the shrine. They played and sang many popular *gunka*. In addition to *gunka*, they performed *shōka* and *min'yō*.

Figure 24. An informal gathering of harmonica players perform *gunka* at the Yasukuni Shrine rest area.

The buglers marched in formation to the shrine, paid their respects to fallen comrades and then marched away. They are an anachronism in the bustle of a contemporary Japanese shrine. Because it is rare to hear military music in public today, many passerby stopped to watch their display, then continued with their weekend shrine visit.

Figure 25. Buglers of the former Imperial Army and Navy march to Yasukuni Shrine. Members of the harmonica group stand and pay respects (far right).

The Association to Sing "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class"

The Dōki no Sakura wo Utau Kai is an annual event that offers a rare example of a long-running, large-scale, *public* musical performance of *gunka*. The event appears to be more of a celebration of *gunka* than a requiem. Perhaps it is most importantly a reunion for those from the old pre-war and wartime generations—those who remember Japan as a powerful military and colonial power. It began in 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War by the National Norakuro Kai[36], a group of Diet Members and businessmen born in 1922. A similar event takes place every year

[36] Norakuro is a cartoon character created in 1931 by Suihō Tagawa, a member of the Japanese Imperial Army from 1919-22. He is a stray dog (*norainu*) that joins the Japanese army and has many adventures as he moves up the ranks from second-class soldier to Captain. There were many animated series in prewar Japan, but it was discontinued during the Pacific War. After the war, Norakuro returned, with two animation series, in 1970 and 1987. Norakuro was the mascot of the Japan Self Defense Force Physical Training School. It is a humorous name of a group of men organizing the Cherry Blossoms Event. There is an illustration of the dog Norakuro on a military song festival ticket at the end of this chapter.

in Osaka at the Gokoku Shrine in Suminoe Park. The Osaka Gokoku Shrine is one of a group of shrines built for the purpose of remembering soldiers.

At 2:00 on April 3, 2010, I wound my way through enormous crowds into Yasukuni Jinja, the "capital of flowers."[37] I was one of tens of thousands of merrymakers enjoying cherry blossom viewing under the hundreds of spectacular cherry trees. Around the statue of shrine founder Ōmura Masujirō, more than two thousand people gathered. A tent distributed *sake* and sold songbooks for the "Yasukuni Jinja no Sakura no Moto ni 'Dōki no Sakura' wo Utau Kai" (The Group that Sings "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" Under the Cherry Trees of Yasukuni Shrine). I tried to push my way through the crowd, but there were so many people that I had a distant view of the stage and no view of the proceedings directly in front of it. The audience was predominantly male, and the vast majority of participants had gray hair. Most attendees appeared to be over the age of seventy. Many wore military uniforms, hats, or other military veterans' symbols. Some waved large flags that included the *hinomaru,* the current Japanese flag, the naval military flag with sun rays, and the Z-flag.

At the beginning of the ceremony, several members of the Yasukuni Shrine Association and the Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai ("The Glorious War Dead Society," a conservative group that supports the activities of the Yasukuni Shrine) delivered welcoming speeches. They implored the participants to sing loudly to cheer up the spirits of those who were lost in war. Then with a hammer they opened a large barrel of sake and offered a toast to begin the festivities. Next, they invited a group of nine young

---

[37] Organizers cancelled the 2011 festival, scheduled for April 3, because of the March 11 Northern Japan earthquake, resultant disruption of electricity supply and public transportation, and concerns about outdoor radiation levels.

women in their early twenties to lead the singing. This "chorus," in arrow patterned red and purple kimono and *hakama* led the singing. *Kimono* with *hakama* (culottes) served as the uniform of schoolgirls' before the end of the war. These young women welcomed the audience with rather stiff honorific language, noting that the year 2010 is the seventieth anniversary of Kigensetsu 2600.[38] Then, with the accompaniment of a keyboard, they began their first number, "Prayer at Dawn," in harmony (Akatsuki ni Inoru, see transcription in Appendix A). "Prayer at Dawn" is a very popular wartime *kayōkyoku* (old popular song).

Song Translation 24. "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru), first three verses.

1. *Aa ano kao de ano koe de* *Tegara tanomu to tsuma ya ko ga* *Chigireru hodo ni futta hata* *Tōi kumoma ni mata ukabu*	1. Ah, the very face, and tender voice Wife and child encouraged me to make a great exploit They repeatedly waved a flag until it was tattered Between the distant clouds, this image floats in my mind
2. *Aa, dodo no yūsōsen* *Saraba sokoku yo sakae are* *Harukani ogamu kyūjō no* *Sorani chikatta, kono ketsui*	2. Ah, the grand transport/troop vessel Farewell to the Motherland, the glorious Praying for the distant Imperial Court To the sky over the Imperial Court, I vowed to have great exploits
3. *Aa kizutsuita kono uma to* *Nomazu kuwazu no hi mo mikka* *Sasageta inochi koremade to* *Tsuki no hikaride hashiri gaki*	3. Ah, my horse has been wounded I have not eaten for three days Devoted my life to the Emperor until my imminent death I write my will in the light of the moon

The performance here included eight female singers singing the melody in unison, with a rapid vibrato, in contrast to Misora Hibari's *enka*-style performances discussed in Chapter Five. They sang the melody without ornaments in a legato style, with a generally moderate tempo and few dynamic changes. The tempo gradually accelerated from 100 beats per minute to 108 beats per minute. Three chorus members sang a

[38] 1940, in the midst of an increase in tension in the Asia War and directly before the start of War with the United States, the Japanese government promoted the commemoration of the mythical founding of Japan by Emperor Jimmu with many concerts and patriotic gatherings.

counter melody that begins with dotted rhythms in ascending melodic contour, and ends with a series of sustained half notes in downward stepwise motion (mms. 12-20, 28-36, and 44-52). The audience, primarily elderly men, sang along in unison, as I show in the transcription.

In contrast to the legato singing of the chorus, the keyboard accompaniment was in a choppy style, with many accents and staccato chords. The left hand emphasized quarter note "march time" with occasional triplet flourishes (mm. 13, 38, and 45-6) and dotted rhythms (mm. 12, 14, 17, 22, 30, 33, 41, 44, and 46). The right hand harmonized the melody, changing register or style to create filler between phrases (mm. 8 and 40). The keyboard accompaniment rhythm maintained a steady quarter note in the bass throughout with occasional triplet flourishes. The right hand alternated dotted rhythms, and triplets, and held half notes at the end of phrases, balancing the military song style with its dotted rhythms and triplets that are favored in popular song arrangements. The overall feel was a sing-along session with *gunka* enthusiasts, not a polished performance.

The three verses of "Prayer at Dawn" selected for the festival performance ended on a sad note with the main character contemplating his death. In contrast, the entire work, in six verses, ends with the following patriotic verse that the organizers omitted at the Dōki no Sakura Kai:

Song Translation 25. "Prayer at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru), final verse.

6. Aa ano yama mo kono kawa mo	*6.* Ah, this mountain and this river is stained
Akai chūgi no chi ga nijimu	With blood that is colored red with loyalty
Kuni made todoke akatsuki ni	Send this song to home country at dawn
Ageru kōa no kono gaika	For the protection of Asia, a victorious song

Because performers shortened each song due to time constraints, they sang only the first three verses, so they did not include the final line "For the protection of Asia, a

victorious song." While this made the song seem melancholy and subdued, it also omitted some of the more inflammatory propaganda elements. Overall, this song with its limited lyrics stressed a nostalgic, not outwardly patriotic performance that would appeal to people of many political views.

Table 12 provides a list of the more than twenty songs on the 2010 Dōki no Sakura Kai performance, along with their release date and song type as Osada Gyōji (1968) classifies them. With the exception of "Prayer at Dawn," the chorus performed all songs in unison.

Table 12. Songs at the performance of the 2010 Dōki no Sakura Kai.

Title in Japanese (English), verse numbers	Year written / released	Song type, page number (Osada 1968)
Akatsuki ni Inoru (Prayer at Dawn) 1, 2, 5	1939	Home front song 242
Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin (Monday, Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Friday) 1, 2, 3	1940	Navy song 156
Tonarigumi (Neighborhood Association)	1940	Home front song 247
Kigen 2600 Nen (2600 Year Celebration of Foundation of Japan)	1939	Home front song 249
Yasukuni Jinja no Uta (Song of the Yasukuni Shrine) 1, 2	1879	Home front song 225
Hokushi Hakengun no Uta (Song of the Dispatch to Northern China) 1, 2, 4	1939	Not in songbook
Hohei no Honryō: Hohei no Uta (Infantry Duties: Infantry Song) 1, 2, 3, 6	1911	Not in songbook
Kansen Kinmu (Battleship Duties) 1, 2, 5	1914	Navy 145
Yokaren no Uta - Wakawashi no Uta (The Pilot Trainees' Song: Song of the Young Eagles) all verses	1943	Navy 164
Shonen Nihon no Uta: Showa Ishin no Uta (The Song of Japanese Youth: The Showa Restoration) 1, 2, 4	1930	Soldiers' Songs 204
Suishiei no Kaiken (The Meeting at Suishiying) 1, 3, 4	1906	Army 86
Aikoku no Hana (Flowers of Patriotism) 1, 2	1937	Home front 232
Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta (Father, You Were Strong) 1, 2	1938	Home front 231
Taiwan Gun no Uta (Song of the Taiwanese Army) 1, 2	1940	Not in songbook
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers) 1, 2, 5	1938	Wartime popular song

		289
Aa, Kuranai no Chi wa Moyuru: Gakusei Dōin no Uta (Ah, the Red Blood Boils: Song of the Mobilization of Student Workers) 1, 2	1944	The Home front 258
Katō Hayabusa Sentōtai (Katō's Falcon Air Squad) 1, 2, 4, 5	1944	Army Song 119
Sora no Shinpei: Rakkasan Butaika (Gods of the Sky: Song of the Parachute Troops) 1, 2, 4	1942	Army Song 117
Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class) 1, 2, 3, 5	1938; popular 1944	Soldier's Song 208

I was surprised by some of the choices of repertoire. Many of the more subdued and tragic *gunka* and wartime popular songs appear in the program (see Appendix D), but organizers did not include them in the festival performance. The organizers omitted tragic songs such as "If I Go to the Sea," "Bivouac Song," and "War Comrade." This suggests that they are recognized cognitively as popular *gunka*, but not embodied on stage.

The Dōki no Sakura Kai seems to have softened its image to appeal to a large crowd with diverse backgrounds and perspectives. It avoided the most tragic anti-war songs, as well as the more strident militaristic songs, choosing those that are more nostalgic. For example, organizers chose the rather gentle "Yasukuni Shrine Song" rather than the more militaristic "Yasukuni Shrine." The repertoire choice of the 2010 Dōki no Sakura Kai reveals the use of selective historical memory. The organizers put a young, female, and otherwise innocuous face to the event. The choice of the stage Masters of Ceremony and young female song leaders as well as song repertoire suggests a taming of hard-line militarism to make it appeal to a diverse crowd. This is similar to many of the bars discussed in the previous chapter, where females present a gentle face to war memories.

Most of the songs are "Home front Songs" according to Osada's classification in *Gunka Daizenshū* (1968). For example, "Flowers of Patriotism" is a wartime song this appeals to a female audience. It describes women of Japan and their roles in the war effort using veiled terms. At the festival, the chorus sang only the first two verses, indirectly hinting at the war. The third verse, with the lines "Behind a great warrior is manliness," is missing, as is the fourth verse, which has a reference to the Emperor. The references to wartime in "Flowers of Patriotism" disappear, so that the song has become innocently nostalgic, erased of nationalistic content.

While the festival features military songs, the presentation downplays wartime militarism, "warrior spirit" (*bushidō*) and previous Emperor-worship (*tennōsei*) usually associated with these songs. All that remains is an image of innocent wartime civilian victims, not the Imperial Army aggressors. Led by the sweetly smiling chorus of young women, the participants indulged in nostalgia that remembered the patriotism of wartime families while forgetting the brutality of the Japanese army.

"Neighborhood Association" (Tonarigumi) is another song that describes civilian life during the war with an outwardly innocent face. The words describe the values of cooperation and teamwork between neighbors.

Song Translation 26. "Neighborhood Association" (Tonarigumi).

2. *Tontontonkarari to tonarigumi*	2. Ton ton ton karari the neighborhood association
Arekore mendō	Various questions
Miso shōyu gohan no takikata	How to cook rice, and use miso and soy sauce
Kakinegoshi oshieraretari oshietari	Over the fence, one can be taught, one can teach
3. *Tontontonkarari to tonarigumi*	3. Ton ton ton karari the neighborhood association
Jishin ya kaminari	During an earthquake or thunderstorm
Kaji dorobō tagai ni yaku tatsu	A fire, or a burglar…we can help each other
Yōshinbō tasukeraretari tasuketari	As a bodyguard, we can be rescued and rescue others

Neighborhood associations began in 1940, just before the start of the Pacific War. While they may seem benign, according to Pekkanen (2006), the neighborhood organizations were the smallest unit of the national mobilization effort by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in support of total orientation towards war. Mandatory participation in neighborhood organizations required supporting the national government by spreading military propaganda, organizing patriotic rallies, and participating in military training at the end of the war. Many neighborhood organizations encouraged members to spy on their neighbors, informing the special police about immoral or unpatriotic behavior and speech. Behind the outward innocence of exchanging recipes and assisting in disaster preparation was an element of totalitarian control that singers forget when recalling this upbeat and catchy melody.

Many of the elderly generation sang the *gunka* as if in a dream, as if transported six decades back to their wartime youth. A few young men also sang, and some people in the center of the crowd marched with uniforms, presented military marching formations, and demonstrated flag signals.

The final song was the tragic "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class," with its immortal lines "Let's fall together splendidly for the nation." This was a powerful example of the aesthetics of militarization that Oba and Ohnuki-Tierney discuss at length (Oba 1995, Ohnuki-Tierney 2002). It is meaningful that the song festival is held during cherry blossom season at the Yasukuni Shrine, since many soldiers, sailors, and pilots promised to meet each year as they were metamorphosed into splendid blossoms.

Figure 26. A view of the Dōki no Sakura Kai from the outside of the crowd. The statue, stage, and female singers are visible.

Figure 27. A view of the Dōki no Sakura Kai near the inside of the crowd. Besides the statue, stage and female singers, men in uniform, and various military displays of marching, salutes, and formations are evident.

People participated on many levels. Some people who came to view cherry blossoms simply looked at the extremely rare event unfolding and moved on. *Gunka* is absent from the national media and everyday soundscape, therefore young people have

little awareness of it. Many people stayed, however, and sang along—some quietly and others with more force. Many of the nationalistic displays—wearing military uniforms, marching and practicing drills—were visible only to onlookers in the center of the proceedings since they took place on the ground in front of the stage. Those on the periphery saw only the stage with the chorus. There was a public, feminine face, and a more militaristic masculine face visible only to those who penetrated the crowd. The festival presented a *tatemae* public display that featured the young females and a nationalistic *honne* private activity featuring uniformed soldiers and sailors marching, performing drills and waving flags.

Kosupurē[39] was an important aspect of the event for many who attended the Dōki no Sakura Kai. Young men and women practiced *kosupurē* by donning military uniforms and old-style schoolgirl uniforms of *hakama*. Young men and women engaged in costume play at the festival, creating an element of fantasy similar to that in the *karaoke* bars discussed in the previous chapter. Former military soldiers and sailors practiced a different sort of costume play—they dressed as their younger selves, wearing their own old uniforms and purchasing replicas. This "historical transvestism" evoked the past, with its military glory and comradeship. The book introduction appears below:

> One of the verses of "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" reads, "Even if we fall separately, At the Yasukuni Shrine in the beautiful capital city, we shall bloom together and see each other as cherry blossoms." Today Japan is a rich and developed country thanks to the people who sang this song, went to the battlefield, and gave their young lives along with their friends for their homeland. With this in mind, shouldn't we the survivors meet at Yasukuni to commune with the spirits of the Departed Soldiers, and express our gratitude to and comfort these departed souls, and think about the nation of Japan, by loudly singing "Dōki no Sakura" Under the Cherry Blossoms?

---

[39] While the term *kosupurē* did not emerge at the Dōki no Sakura Kai, at other events such as the Military Song and Uniform Festival and Yōsoro-kai the masters of ceremonies used the term. The term is useful for understanding the Dōki no Sakura Kai.

> Everyone, please freely to join us. Especially, those who will carry the burden in the future, the young, are especially welcome." (Dōki no Sakura Kai 2010:inside front cover)

The invitation for young generations was especially important. Many of the participants said that this event is a reunion for the elderly to reminisce, so as the population continues to age, its continuation is uncertain. Singing of *gunka* in this rare public space could end in the next few years if young people do not show an interest and take up the torch.

The songs of the 2010 songbook appear in Appendix D. An important goal of the Yasukuni Shrine Dōki no Sakura Kai festival is to comfort the departed souls with *gunka.* Ohnuki-Tierney discusses the use of entertainment at Yasukuni: "At the Yasukuni Shrine compound cherry trees were planted and fireworks, sumo performances, circuses, and various other forms of entertainment were put on to console the souls" (2002:85). This practice is consistent with the Shintō tradition of entertaining spirits with traditional music, dance, alcohol and festivities. *Gunka* singing adds modern repertoire to the practice.

This raises questions about choices at commemoration activities. If the dead soldiers, sailors and pilots could speak, what music would they request? "Heroic *gunka*?" "Pathetic *gunka*?" Or perhaps they would prefer another type of musical entertainment altogether. The living have little consensus on how the dead should be remembered through music, and the dead cannot speak for themselves.

Sugita describes a musical offering for lost souls that he witnessed at Yasukuni Shrine:

> Across from the Imperial Palace Moat on a moderate slope in Tokyo stands the stately century-old Yasukuni Shrine (established in 1869). This sublime Shinto shrine, the final resting place for two and a half million Japanese warriors who have perished in service, is the site of the Festival of Souls held annually in July.
>
> On a summer evening in 1967, this researcher, who happened to visit the festival merely to be immersed in the festive mood, witnessed a bizarre group of people gathered to offer prayers in a dark corner of the tree-studded compound. They began to sing. The occasion, the researcher learned later, was "A Night to Dedicate War Songs to the Heroic Souls of the War Dead," and those in attendance were former soldiers and sailors who had survived the war. As if hypnotized, with tears streaking down their cheeks, these men sang a dozen or so songs before quietly dispersing into the dusk.
>
> The ceremony was the researcher's first direct exposure to such songs sung by people who obviously had vivid moving memories from the actual war. Ever since then this researcher has greatly been intrigued by the lingering attraction of war tunes. (1972:iv)

The Yasukuni Shrine Dōki no Sakura Kai presents various spectacles: young men wear military uniforms, elderly people from the wartime generation sing, and a chorus of young ladies provides support. The Dōki no Sakura Kai is a public mass performance of *gunka* similar to the mass musical concerts and military ceremonies held during wartime, but with a nostalgic feminized touch. It served as a site for people of all generations to collectively and individually remember and imagine Japan's military past, in its glory and tragedy.

The Yasukuni Gift Shop—Commodifying War Memories and Songs

During my field trips and research period in Tokyo, I have found that the Yasukuni Yūshūkan Museum Gift Shop provides a large number of *gunka*-related items. It offers many *gunka* CDs, mostly re-releases of previous LP records. The variety is large, including *Umi Yukaba no Subete* (Complete Recordings of "If I Go to the Sea), *Gunka Daizenshū* (Complete Collection of *Gunka*), *Manshū no Uta* (Songs of Manchuria), and Misora Hibari's *Inori* (Prayer, discussed in Chapter Six). I have often

found myself browsing through the collections, when other *gunka* "fans" would come and browse.

In addition to the *gunka* recording collection, there are many cherry-blossom-themed items. These include *furoshiki* wrapping cloths, towels, hair ornaments, stationery, and resin paperweights with actual Yasukuni Shrine blossoms inside. Yasukuni is well-known for its spring cherry blossoms, and songs such as "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Year" connect soldiers and pilots deaths with falling cherry blossoms at Yasukuni (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002). The final verse of "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Year" says, "Even if we fall separately, let's meet again at Yasukuni, the capital of flowers." There is also an extensive selection of military-themed items, from canned cake (army ration-style) and instant pouch-style "naval curry" to ship and vehicle models and many books of war history. There are also wooden replicas of the famed "Yasukuni Sword," given to each military officer in the Imperial Japanese Army.[40]

An interesting item that symbolizes the militarization of cherry blossoms—are the Kewpie doll "Dōki no Sakura" Army and Navy keychains. These miniature souvenirs show influence from the popular wartime practice of attaching cherry blossoms to the uniforms of *kamikaze* pilots. The packaging says, "Dai Nippon Teikoku Rikugun/Kaigun Jieitai Kettei Kyūpii: Dōki no Sakura (Imperial Army/Navy of the Japanese Empire Limited Edition Self-Defense Forces Kewpie Doll: Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class). The Kewpie doll was popular in pre-war and wartime Japan. A wide-eyed and innocent baby-doll is a strange mascot for the military. But perhaps the contradiction indeed tames the image of the former Japanese military. The Army Kewpie wears khaki fatigues

---

[40] Made famous in the 2009 film by Li Yang, *Yasukuni*.

and a hat with the Imperial Army star. The Navy Kewpie doll wears a white *yokaren* (naval pilot trainee) uniform and white small-brimmed hat. A sprig of cherry blossoms is attached to the jacket of each, in a manner that is reminiscent of "special attack forces" (*tokkōtai)* kamikaze pilots, as they went off to war.

Figure 28. Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class Kewpie Souvenirs—army (left) and navy (right)—sold at the Yasukuni Yūshūkan Gift Shop.

If one compares the well-known photograph of naval pilot Umezawa Kazuyo, the resemblance of the pose and costuming is striking, although the difference in tone is striking: the doll is cute and naively patriotic, while Umezawa looks melancholy and frightened.

Figure 29. Tokkōtai Kamikaze pilot Umezawa, adorned with cherry blossoms before his departure (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:plate 6).

This souvenir is a fragment from a past world, one that is small but provides some clue to the quality of remembering, re-remembering, and imagining Japan's past Army and Navy. It shows how the image of the former Japanese military has been transformed from brave and heroic to harmless and cute.

Mitama Matsuri Performance in Remembrance of Lost Souls

The Yasukuni Shrine hosts many events with wartime songs. During the Mitama Matsuri Summer Festival, the shrine's largest event, I witnessed a concert dedicated to the spirits of the dead. It was a much more somber event than the Dōki no Sakura Kai. When I attended in July 2010, the program included several *gunka*. The concert's form was similar to a historical popular music review on television; this sort of event usually provides a chronological procession of songs that are meant to be nostalgic, usually for the older generations. Commentary tended to be nostalgic in nature, representing an

uncritical view of the country's musical past. Several major *enka* singers appeared and sang *gunka* "in honor of fallen souls."

Setting: The Mitama Matsuri

The Yasukuni Shrine Festival for the Spirits of the Dead (*Mitama Matsuri*) is really two festivals at the same time. First, it is a typical Japanese summer festival similar to others around the country, and secondly, it is a unique, revered memorial in remembrance of fallen soldiers from past wars. *Mitama* refers to the "spirits of the dead," and during the festival period, many veterans groups and war bereaved visit to remember their fallen friends and family members.

Many young people wore *yukata* summer kimono and spent their time at the food booths drinking beer and enjoying the festive atmosphere of a typical summer festival. The entrance to the shrine was packed with festival goers. Most of the conversation that I overheard centered on food and drink. The Ōmura Masujirō statue was surrounded by a raised platform for bon dancing, featuring a summer folk dance gathering (*bon odori taikai*).

Past the statue, more food stalls continued up to the shrine area. When I attended on the last evening of the festival, there was a small number of people praying at the shrine, and one woman wore a black suit with pearls, in mourning for a passed loved one. The mood became more somber as I passed the main shrine area for prayers and then moved toward the Yūshūkan Museum and Memorial Hall. Many festival goers milled around the Yūshūkan. Others entered to view a special exhibit on *kamikaze* pilots. I made my way to the *nō* stage and found a concert in progress.

A Musical Offering of Popular Songs to the War Dead

The Yasukuni outdoor *nō* stage hosted a performance, the "Sixty-fourth Mitama Matsuri Musical Offering Popular Song Show" (below, "Musical Offering") by the Association of Japanese Popular Singers (*Nippon Kashō Kyōkai*).

The show consisted of several parts. The opening song was the 1945 postwar hit, "The Apple Song (Ringo no Uta)." The program continued with several pre-war songs, including the American hit "Sentimental Journey." Later, singers performed five *gunka* and wartime popular songs: "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class," "Wheat and Soldiers," "The Mother at Kudan," and "War Comrade." Before and after the songs, the master of ceremonies and singers gave nostalgic comments on the wartime and postwar periods. There were a few patriotic comments, but nothing overtly nationalistic (see Table 13). The performers were the well-known singers Tanabe Yasuo, Peggy Hayama, Miura Kōichi, Mishima Toshio, and *min'yō* singers Harada Naoyuki, Otsu Yoshiko, and Kagurazaka Ukiko.

Table 13. Songs performed in the Musical Offering Show.

Scene One: Opening
The Apple Song (Ringo no Uta)
Scene Two: From the End of the War to Redevelopment
Ikoku no Oka (The Hills of a Foreign Land)
Geisha Waltz
Tokyo Anna
Kojō (Old Castle)
Nankoku Tōsa wo Ato ni Shite (Leaving Tosa Behind)
Scene Three: The Sounds of Other Countries Came
Sentimental Journey
Hey Paula
Chotto Matte Kudasai, Please Excuse me While I Cry (Please Wait a Moment…)
Scene Four: While Fighting...
Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class (Dōki no Sakura)
Ashita wa Otachiru ka (Will You Be Standing Tomorrow?)
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)

Kudan no Haha (Mother at Kudan)
Sen'yū (War Comrade)
Scene Five: That Melody: The Song of My Heart
Odoriko (Dancing Girl)
Koko ni Shiawase Ari (Here is Happiness)
Yume de Aimashō (Let's Meet in a Dream)
Yōake no Melody (Melody at Sunrise)
Finale
Aoi Sanmyaku (The Green Hills of Youth)

The master of ceremonies invited the audience to sing along to "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class" with singer Miura Kōichi. The 84 year-old singer had a beautiful voice, but unfortunately forgot the lyrics. His voice trailed off at the ends of several verses. Some audience members joined in, and others cheered him on. Since he forgot the lyrics, he was made to "promise" to return the following year to sing the song properly. The songs are literally fading from first-person memory.

A young *enka* singer, thirty-two year-old Kozakura Maiko (her stage name means "small cherry blossom /geisha in training"), sang the song "The Mother at Kudan" (Kudan no Haha), which she learned from Futaba Yuriko (b. 1923). Kozakura's singing is a replica of the *enka* singer Futaba Yuriko's style, so it adds little to previous performances. This performance sounds much like it did when Futaba sang it decades earlier. Decked out in a formal, long sleeved *furisode kimono,* the mark of a young unmarried women, she sang a very polished rendition, with a *min'yō* (folk song) style of vibrato, and *enka* ornamentation. She also moved very little, and did a fairly straight rendition of the song with little rubato. The song tells the story of a mother who lost her son to war. She travels, with the help of a cane, to the Yasukuni Shrine where his name is enshrined in order to "show" him his medal of honor. Rather than express her sorrow at losing her son to war, she expresses gratitude and humility towards the nation that has

remembered her son. She embodies a wise mother who understands duty to country and loyalty to her son. This is one of the most loved wartime popular songs today.

Song Translation 27. "Mother at Kudan" (Kudan no Haha).

1. *Ueno eki kara Kudan made*	1. From Ueno station to Kudan
Katte shiranai jiretta sa	Not knowing the way, irritated
Tsue wo tayorini ichinichi gakari	Walking with a cane, took all day
Segare kitazoya aini kita	"I came to meet you, my son."
2. *Sora wo tsuku yō na ōtorii*	2. Like it will touch the sky, the large shrine gate
Konna rippa na oyashiro ni	Such a wonderful shrine
Kami to matsurare mottainasa ni	He is worshipped as a god, it is too much
Haha wa nakemasu ureshisa ni	The mother can cry from happiness
3. *Ryōte awasete hizamazuki*	3. She puts both hands together, falls onto her knees
Ogamu hazumino onenbutsu	Prays suddenly, the invocation of the Buddha
Hatto kizuite urotaemashita	Suddenly self-conscious, becomes flustered
Segare yuruseyo inakamono	Son, please forgive me, a country bumpkin
4. *Tobi ga takanoko unda yo de*	4. A kite has given birth to a hawk[41]
Ima ja kahō ga mini amaru	Even now, she has good fortune
Kinshi kunshō misetai bakari	A medal of honor she wants to show to him
Ai ni kita zo yo Kudan zaka	Came to meet him at Kudan Slope

In her web diary, Kozakura talked about her visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, and her feelings about the song "The Mother at Kudan." Here is an excerpt:

> I have been given an important task that is a great honor: singing "Kudan no Haha" at the holy place, Yasukuni Shrine. I am feeling very grateful for this opportunity. "Kudan no Haha" was the first song for me to have the honor of being taught, and many people, particularly those with war experience have strong memories of this very famous song. *I have a lot of pressure: I cannot mess up the lyrics, and failure is not acceptable!* The other musicians (my mentors) very kindly encouraged me, and while I was on stage, my fans encouraged me with a welling up of applause, so I was happy. The spirits of the fallen soldiers that are sleeping at the Yasukuni Shrine were listening to me, and so I have received much of the strength of the spirits. I received so many words of support, more than I deserve (*mottainai gurai*), so when I sang my heart was truly full. I will continue to do my best. Thank you all so much! (Kozakura Maiko 2010, italics added)

---

[41] The son's achievements supercede his modest background.

Kozakura wrote one sentence in large type for emphasis, "*I have a lot of pressure: I cannot mess up the lyrics, and failure is not acceptable!"* Her blog and her comments show that she senses the importance of the shrine and the song, but does not consciously reflect on what that importance might be. Before her performance she said, "Yasukuni is a holy place, where those who protected Japan are sleeping (*Nihon wo mamoreta katagata ga netteimasu*)." However, she omitted the controversial aspect of Yasukuni Shrine, in particular its enshrinement of convicted war criminals.

Kozakura's website includes several photos of herself at Yasukuni. In the first photo, she stands in front of the large *torii* (shrine gate) leading to the inner shrine precincts, which is decorated for the festival. Another photo shows her standing in front of a famous Asia-Pacific War zero fighter plane in the lobby of the Yūshūkan Museum (see Figure 30). On the one hand, these photos could be read as simply pictures of the singer at a tourist sight, granted in her work clothes—*furisode* kimono and perfectly coiffed hair. But they also present an ambiguous juxtaposition of past fanatical militarism and innocently oblivious youth. Her message is unclear, and the target audience is ambiguous.

Figure 30. *Enka* singer Kozakura Maiko poses in front of the Zero Fighter Plane at the Yasukuni Shrine Yūshūkan Museum lobby. (Kozakura Maiko 2010).

The entire Mitama Matsuri concert provides an unreflective view of wartime through songs. It seems that singers simply sing what is likely to be popular, without expressing opinions about the war or patriotism. Comments about the former Japanese military were notably absent, as were references to Hiroshima. I expected "Bells of Nagasaki" or another song about the atomic bombs, but program moved immediately moved to post-war love songs.

A *Gunka* and Military Uniform Festival

Twice each year, *gunka* and military history enthusiasts gather in the Kudan Kaikan, a large conference hall just down the hill from the Yasukuni Shrine. The Suda War History Museum and Archives, located north of Tokyo in rural Tochigi Prefecture, sponsors the event. The director of the museum and the organizer of the festival is General Kuribayashi, a ninety-year-old veteran of the Japanese Army. Full of energy even at his advanced age, he marches across the stage, sings *gunka,* reads the Imperial Rescript on Education, and the Imperial Rescript for Soldiers, and admonishes the young in the audience to preserve the traditional culture of Japan. General Kuribayashi

organizes the festival twice a year in October and April—usually to a full house—and many people travel from throughout Japan to participate. Several professional singers perform, and there is a live military-style band. People sing along with the songs, and at the end of the event, everyone waves small Japanese *hinomaru* flags. The spectacle is quite overwhelming, making one feel like one has time-travelled to wartime Japan. I attended along with former pilot Yoshida Jirō, who enjoyed the nostalgic music making. He called General Kuribayashi the new "director of propaganda," showing his own ambivalent response to the event.

The concert included live performances by three popular singers, Mitaka Jun, Wakaba Chidori, and Saegusa Mayu. A full concert band accompanied all performances. Conductors included Takasawa Tomomasa, a former military band director and director of the NHK Band in the postwar era, as well as Tanimura Masajirō, former conductor of the Sea Self-Defense Force Band and military music historian. A chorus of men sang many of the *gunka* and led sing-along sessions with the audience. The chorus, soloists and band presented dozens of *gunka*, including official *gunka, senji kayō,* and wartime film songs. The early songs were historical *gunka* and *gunka-shōka* such as "The Meeting at Suishiying," "Lieutenant Tachibana," and "The Brave Sailor." Later, the soloists performed wartime popular songs such as "Flowers of Patriotism," "The Night Deepens at Muntinlupa," and "Prayer at Dawn." Several upbeat wartime songs were followed, including "Song of the Young Eagles," "Monday Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Friday," and "Katō's Falcon Air Squad." Near the end, there were several tragic *gunka* including "War Comrade," and "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class," then finally "If I Go to the Sea." The final two numbers were two official

wartime patriotic songs. The audience waved small flags to the band's rendition of "Patriotic March." Then the whole audience stood and sang the wartime hymn, "If I Go to the Sea" in honor of those who died in war. It was an emotional climax incorporating brave and tragic *gunka* into an emotional finish. The Master of Ceremonies thanked the audience for coming, saying that these songs are part of the traditional culture of Japan that is worthy of preservation.

The official website of the Suda War Museum and Archive includes many photos and descriptions of previous festivals. Below is a sampling of the commentary.

> On the 17th of April, from noon at the Tokyo Kudan Kaikan, the thirty-first *gunka* and military uniform festival was held. Our organization, the War Museum and Greater East Asia War Archive sponsors the event, but this year eight volunteers attended, including two young women (although it is rude to mention the age of women), so I was very happy.
>
> If one thinks about it, I was born 45 years after the Russo-Japanese War, so I have no personal experience of this war, but rather it is really an event that is recorded in the history books, so it is in the past. In this sense, the 2.25 Incident,[42] the Russo-Japanese War, and the Meiji Restoration are all of the same class—they are in the past. Those who were born in 1990, forty-five years after the end of the Great East Asian War, are now twenty years old. For these people, the Great East Asia War is truly in the past. It seems that when a person in his eighties or nineties says "During the war there was no food," "A firebomb was dropped," "On the battlefield," "Student mobilization," "We tried to pull ourselves through hardship," this becomes a war that people do not think about in terms of their own experience, so it is becoming a third-person event more and more, I think. At any rate, for those of us who feel that *gunka* is part of the "culture of Japan" and want to leave it to the next generation, it was a happy day.
>
> …..
>
> The military flag was brought in. From Fukuoka, singers from the *gunka* bar Anchor performed. We cannot have *gunka* without Mitaka Jun. Saegusa Mayu-chan also sang enthusiastically, undaunted. I would love to hear her sing "The Night Deepens in Muntinlupa" someday. The master of ceremonies was the charming Mayu. (http://sumera-ikusa.com/index.php?資料館ニュース accessed 24 September 2010).
>
> At the end of the event, everyone waved small flags…

---

[42] Sometimes called the "Shōwa Restoration," on February 26, 1936, military officers led by Kita Ikki attempted a coup, hoping to establish a military government in support of the Emperor, greater economic assistance for the poor and the continued expantion of colonies in Asia (McClain 2002:436-40).

Figure 31. Audience members at the Gunka and Military Uniforms Festival sing and wave *hinomaru* flags at the close of the event (Shiryōkan Nyūsu, accessed 5 September 2010).

An online blog described the 2009 fall Gunka and Military Uniforms Festival:

> On October 17, a *gunka* festival was held. It was a really strange atmosphere where I travelled back in time to the year 1942 or 1943 (although in reality I have no experience of that time). There were many people dressed as members of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy. The next *gunka* festival will be held on April 17. Maybe I will wear an army uniform… (Shimazu Rōtaru 2009)

The writer shows ambivalence about the event. On the one hand it was really a "strange atmosphere" and he is distanced from the event because he "has no experience of the time." On the other hand, he plans to attend again and even to participate in *kosupurē* by wearing a military uniform in a future event. This suggests that he enjoyed the event and desires to have deeper connection with this event by wearing uniforms as the others did, but is reluctant to outwardly express enthusiasm for this marginalized community practice.

Below is a copy of my entrance ticket. The top says, "Thirty-fifth Special Performance: Imperial Army and Navy Band Music Performance and Festival of Gunka

Uniforms." There is a cartoon of Norakuro the dog[43] dressed as a military band director, conducting from beside a music stand. He says, "Well then, everyone please sing *gunka* in a loud voice!" He encourages bodily engagement by singing as loudly as possible. The admonishment to sing loudly echoes the wartime rhetoric; the Introduction to the songbook *Saishin Nihon Gunkashū* also admonished people to sing gunka loudly in order to raise the national spirit, and in order to win the war (see discussion in Chapter Two). Tickets were 4,000 yen (approx $55).

Figure 32. Entrance ticket for the Gunka and Military Uniform Festival. The comic book canine Norakuro, dressed as the conductor, says, "Well then, everyone please sing *gunka* in a loud voice! (*Saa, minasan, ōki na koe de gunka wo utatte kudasai*)."

I met Mrs. Matsuoka at the Gunka and Military Uniform Festival and she shared her thoughts about *gunka* with me by e-mail.

> Last week I went with my older brother and my husband to Hiroshima, with whom I also attended the Gunka Festival, and while we were at the Peace Museum we were talking about you. Although you are not Japanese, you understand *gunka* in your heart, which made me very happy. Honestly, my brother is a big fan of *gunka*, and I just went with him to watch. I think I told you that day, but I really love the lyrics of *gunka*. Unfortunately, the feeling of respect for one's parents and husband, as well as the love for siblings and friends, is fading in Japan today, but it really captivated me. War is definitely unacceptable, but I love to sing songs that appreciate those military men who worked to defend their nation. Song such as "Father, You Were Brave," "War Comrade" and "March of the Beloved Horses." There are many more, but right now I can't remember their names. If I remember them I'll let you know. On the other hand, as for the really rousing songs that stir up one's fighting spirit such as "Battleship March," I

[43] See the discussion of Norakuro on page 208.

> don't really like them (personal communication by e-mail Nov 2010).

The Gunka and Military Uniform Festival centers on the value of preserving the glory of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy, respecting tradition, and passing this tradition on to the next generation. The Gunka Military Uniform Festival's admonition to sing loudly, the waving of Japanese flags for patriotism, and Mrs. Matsuoka's feeling of gratitude embody the motivation for public *gunka* performances. Mrs. Matsuoka values the traditional morals embedded in the song—those of respect for father, husband, brother, friend—she feels that these morals are fading from contemporary society. Through these large-scale *gunka* events, Japanese "traditional" values can pass to the next generation.

The Self-Defense Force Gunka Festival I discuss below is a similar semi-public staged event and a large-scale *gunka* festival where enthusiasts gather to sing and wear military uniforms. While it is open to the public with an admission ticket, advertising is limited and spread mostly by word of mouth. I analyze an internet posting of the event by a Self-Defense Force band member who holds ambivalent views toward *gunka.* The following discussion illustrates the tension within the Self-Defense Forces surrounding the relationship with their predecessors, the Japanese Army and Navy.

Gunka and the Self-Defense Forces: The Eastern Army Band Annual Gunka Festival

The Japan Ground Self-Defense Forces Eastern Army Band's Commissioner's Team Supporters Organization holds an annual *gunka* singing festival each February in Tokyo. This is a popular event with a small group *gunka* fans. According to the web log by one of the band members,

> We musicians play twenty *gunka* one after another, and the audience members sing along one after the other in a strong voice. For people who love *gunka*, I think that this must be

> the most wonderful group! For us, perhaps it is a test of our endurance?? But this year, as always, we persevered until the end, and played each song steadily…
>
> We had a new emblem hung in front of the band, in honor of our fiftieth anniversary as an ensemble, and behind us there was a screen projecting the song lyrics…
>
> After the first part of enthusiastic singing, two buglers performed various bugle calls! We listened to and compared bugle calls of the Former Army and the Ground Self-Defense Forces, and in this way it was easy to understand and enjoy the differences between the two, in this way: "First we will hear the reveille of the Former Army, then reveille of the Ground Self-Defense Force" and in this fashion, we heard reveille, mess call, taps and charge…in this way we heard the bugle calls.
>
> At the end, we played a last song and everyone sang in a powerful voice. In order not to forget the "heart of Japan," I thought while playing that it's important to continue this sort of event… I think that all of the participants had a hoarse voice the following day! ☺ (inserts the *kanji* character for smile) Great work everyone! (The Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Eastern Army Band "Saturday Feb 21 Gunkasai" http://www.mod.go.jp/gsdf/ea/eaband/2009_2_21gunka.html, accessed 26 January 2011)

While the writer expresses enthusiasm for the event, he is not a fan of *gunka*. He distances himself from the event. The writer says, "For those who are fans of *gunka*…" clearly stating that he is not a fan. The discussion of the two styles of bugling was also clearly detailed, again highlighting the differences between the Former Army and its successor. While both have bugle calls, the Self-Defense Forces use new calls, illustrating the break from the wartime past. The writer makes a joke about the singing being so loud as to make one's throat hoarse as well. Another clue that the writer is not a *gunka* fan is that not one song title is mentioned, nor is the music described in detail. There is no mention of upbeat marches, sad elegies, or old-style popular film songs. *Gunka* fans usually mention their favorite songs in web log postings.

The tone is not completely negative, however. The writer seems to express genuine enjoyment of the event, despite its test of the musicians' endurance. It is called a manifestation of *Nihon no kokoro*, the "heart/soul of Japan" (a marker often used for the related musical style *enka,* see Yano 2002:4). Finally, the writer remarks that this is

something that should be preserved into the future. This posting reflects an uneasy relationship between the Former Army and Navy with the present day Self- Defense Forces. More generally, it demonstrates a general feeling toward *gunka* by young generations today wherein this type of patriotic display creates an uncomfortable, almost voyeuristic, feeling for young generations, who otherwise have little interest and experience with the music of Japan's wartime past.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined four staged events that feature military music performances. Two of the events are held in public at the Yasukuni Shrine and are free and open to visitors of the shrine. The other two events are held in private halls and require tickets. They are less accessible to the public because there is limited advertising and promotion.

The Dōki no Sakura Kai is a rare example of a truly public event that is staged in a public place. It shows two faces. The outside *tatemae* performance is led by a young female chorus, presenting a demilitarized, feminine and nostalgic view of past war songs. The emphasis is mainly on songs of the home front, women's songs, and other wartime popular songs. The number of official *gunka* is relatively small. While there are some militaristic display of uniforms, drills and marching, these are on the ground in front of the stage, and these *honne* displays of patriotism and are not visible to general passersby. The event provides a nostalgic recollection of wartime music, and a way to honor the war dead.

The Musical Offering to the War Dead also presents a nostalgic, demilitarized view of past wartime music-making. The event is an evening concert open to the general

public, with primarily elderly people in the audience. The wartime popular songs include the tragic "War Comrade," "The Mother at Kudan," and "Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class." Overall a victim mentality is supported. The musicians present a soft nostalgic image—they include the young female *enka* singer Kozakura Maiko as well as the elderly Miura Kōichi.

The two *gunka* festivals held in indoor concert halls provide a performance that is between *tatemae* and *honne.* Male veterans and war history enthusiasts comprise the audience of these two events. There is a stronger emphasis on official military songs and official wartime popular songs. Women perform at the Gunka and Military Uniforms Festival as singers and master of ceremonies, continuing the traditional female supporting role.

Overall, these festivals provide a nostalgic view of past militarism. They are held to honor the war dead and to preserve some imagined ideal of past patriotism. Most of the singers have vague and mostly unreflective views of the Asia-Pacific War, but they sing to a wide variety of audience—those who espouse a conservative pro-military view as well as those of the wartime generation who remember military songs with nostalgia and offer them in respect for Japan's war dead. Military songs are staged in public only during the liminal periods of cherry blossom viewing and *obon* summer season. Semi-private *gunka* performances balance the competing goals of valorizing the military and nostalgically remembering past youth.

The Self-Defense Forces have an uneasy relationship with the former Imperial Japanese Army and Navy (Frühstück 2007); this uneasy relationship is evident in musical practice, where Self-Defense Force members often unofficially join former Imperial

Army and Navy Members to sing *gunka*. I occasionally encountered current and former members of the Self-Defense Forces during my work with *gunka* communities. The Ground, Air, and Marine Self-Defense Forces are the successors of the legacy of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy, but they have a strictly limited role, since Article 9 of Japan's postwar constitution does not allow a military. While the Self-Defense Forces do have some historical connections to the former Imperial Army and Navy, those ties are often unclear and ambivalent. I met Self-Defense members at several *gunka* singing sites, including the Yōsoro Kai and Otakebi Kai, but in each case, members attempted to distance themselves from the Imperial Army and Navy. A Ground Self-Defense Officer, walking with me to the train Station from the Otakebi Kai, said that he does not condone all the things that the former Japanese Army did, but that he likes to take the good elements of the Imperial Army—patriotism, sacrifice, bravery—and preserve and learn from them. One of the Ground Self-Defense Force Bands has also sponsored military music festivals in the past that feature *gunka* singing (see the discussion in the following chapter). The songbook for the Self-Defense Forces includes a few *gunka* as well, but they have largely replaced the older *gunka* with their own newly written songs. This indicates an attempt to form a separate image from the former Imperial Army and Navy, which are often marginalized or completely ignored in contemporary society (Frühstück 2007).

The intergenerational nature of *gunka* singing communities is striking: veterans, former military trainees, military nurses, descendants of the war generation (children and grandchildren, especially those who lost family members in the war), enthusiasts of history and military trivia gather to dress up and sing. Singing serves as a way to support

the "passing on" of knowledge of the war generation. However, this passing on of knowledge is limited to certain types of information. There is often little discussion about the reasons for singing *gunka* and almost no discussion of personal feelings about *gunka*. Rather, discussion of the factual details of particular songs and discussion of military history trivia remained the focus of discussion. Members of various generations, age groups, military and family military service, wartime experience often join together to sing *gunka* for different reasons without explicitly stating their reasons. But they have created a cohesive group despite their differences.

Images of manliness and masculinity associated with military culture offer appeal for younger generations of *gunka* fans. Several informants asked me if my (still unborn) son would join the American military. One told me in particular that it was manly (*otokorashii*) and cool (*kakko ii*) to be in the military. Many expressed the view that young Japanese men do not know how to be "Japanese men." Costume playing, wearing of military uniforms, and gestures during singing, especially raising and lowering a fist in the air while singing, suggest an attempt to incorporate manliness into performance. The lyrics also glorify an idealized past militarism based on *bushido* ethics, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Conservative political views mingle with nostalgia for Japan's past military-imperial strength. Most express conservative but not far- right wing views. The most frequent views expressed were support for Yasukuni Jinja, support for increased teaching of patriotism in schools, and singing of the national anthem. Many members of the *gunka* singing community have family members that died overseas during the Asia-

Pacific War. Some have expressed anti-Chinese, anti-South-East Asian, or Anti-American feelings, but this was a rare occasion.

So then what is the place of *gunka* in contemporary Japan and what are its future prospects? *Gunka* communities represent a tiny population, and one that mostly stays hidden from the public view. Few of these communities are likely to be around for another two decades. The program and website of Dōki no Sakura Kai had a special request for donations, and most leadership was with the elderly wartime generation. Unabarakai and Kōhikai are in a precarious position because members are quite old and the organizations had tight budgets as well. Otakebi Kai is also made of extremely elderly members. As for military-themed *karaoke* bars: there were a few dozen in earlier postwar decades, but according to most accounts, they are quickly disappearing. In the informal groups, leadership is generally the responsibility of elderly persons, and younger members comprise a very small minority of participants. The music of the wartime generation then seems to be disappearing from the public face of Japan—the *tatemae*. What remains of the musical practice is moving into more private—*honne*—spaces. While many writers in the West warn of a Japanese "rising tide of nationalism," my research into *gunka* did not support this claim. Rather, remembering and imagining of the war remained highly personal, highly diverse, and mostly unverbalized.

Chapter Eight. Conclusions: Military Song—From Collective Performance to Personal Remembrance

This dissertation has examined the migration of military songs and wartime popular music from public, official performances during prewar and wartime Japan to the private communities and individual consumption in the postwar years. This migration explains the constant absence and presence of wartime experience in the Japanese consciousness. The absence is exemplified by the government silence and oppression of history, in particular the atrocities committed by the Japanese army and navy. The lack of *gunka* in the national media and the daily soundscape of Japan suggests a complete forgetting of military songs.

However, as this dissertation has shown, the music continues to be meaningful to parts of Japanese society today. This includes people in the wartime generation as well as those born after 1945. The media continues to provide military music on a limited basis to the parts of contemporary society that desire it. Comic books and memoires such as *Barefoot Gen* include memories of *gunka* as part of the sound memories of wartime. Recordings and films often include references to the tragedy of war, usually favoring sad *gunka*. *Karaoke* playlists include military songs, as those of the wartime and postwar generations enjoy this music, either to celebrate Japan's past strength and military power, or to mourn the dead.

In addition to private consumption, *gunka* live through performances by private communities. At festivals, and memorial concerts people gather to sing and listen to military songs, often saying that they hope to honor the Japanese war dead, or preserve the upright values of the past that the songs embody.

In this conclusion I discuss three major themes that run through the dissertation. First is the move of gunka from the public and official arena to the private and unofficial sphere. I look at the multiple and contested memories that military songs represent, and the issue of selective memory of the past. Second I look at the diverse and personalized reasons for singing and preserving military songs. These are multiple and contested, but usually follow two general types: mourning the dead, or glorifying the strength and past values of the nation. Finally, I consider questions of historical inversion, nostalgia and irony. In the private circles of military song, these three concepts overlap and collide.

A Hidden World of *Gunka*

During my fieldwork I explored a small, mostly concealed world that preserves *gunka* and wartime songs in contemporary Japan. G*unka* performance lends itself to spectacle. Bodily movements, costume play, and the controversial nature of the music make it a practice that is socially unacceptable in mainstream Japanese society. Public displays of *gunka* are relatively rare, limited to liminal times and places: cherry blossom season, *obon* (summer festival for the dead), or places that are out of the public view. There is often little advertising for *gunka*-related events, so notice spreads by word-of-mouth.

Takeo Doi (1985) and others have talked about differences in public *tatemae* behavior and private *honne* behavior. Public and private musical behavior represents a delicate balancing act in a sensitive political climate. Many informants told me that they only sing *gunka* when they are drunk. This indicates that the music is psychologically painful and socially stigmatized. In Japanese contemporary culture, drinking allows a

release of true feelings without social consequences. After releasing their true feelings through song, they return to public behavior of everyday life.

In addition, many *gunka* events are relatively unknown to the general population. Veterans' events and *gunka* festivals that require tickets such as the Gunka and Military Uniform Festival are semi-private events. They have regular followings of attendees, but these are not known in the general public, and they have a very small presence or no presence on the world-wide web.

Honne and *tatemae* behavior created challenges during my fieldwork period. Many Japanese were hesitant to express their views about *gunka*, instead questioning me about my reasons for studying the genre. *Gunka* research was time-consuming because of this duality. My experience doing field research showed that public behavior (*tatemae*) and private feeling (*honne*) are separated in discourse as well as musical practice. Many informants were reluctant to talk with me about their practices related to *gunka*. Others expressed outward enthusiasm, but did not contribute any information. In addition, it took extended and repeated questioning to locate and understand the community of *gunka.* Even when asking people where I might hear *gunka,* I did not receive specific information, but I eventually discovered a hidden world of musical events.

Collective Remembering and Reimagining the Past

In wartime Japan, songs were one of the primary ways of mobilizing the nation. In contemporary Japan where public patriotism gains little public recognition, patriotic songs symbolize the wartime past that many prefer to forget. Many people exhibit strong emotional reactions to singing *gunka* at events. They quietly sing, sometimes they cry, other times they attempt to enter the past through costumes, military drills, and marching.

Gunka in the postwar era, like other musical forms, facilitates selective remembering and selective forgetting. The heroic and the tragic narratives compete for dominance in a contemporary scene of contested war memories. Onstage (*tatemae*) performances—Yasukuni Musical Offering to the War Dead and the Dōki no Sakura Kai—have a gentle, feminized face. The performances feature females and the repertoire emphasizes female songs. The general public identifies with a slight anti-war feeling, so a feminized and victim-oriented *gunka* appeals to most Japanese today. Postwar commercial recordings are also *tatemae* presentations as they are open to a wide public audience. Most professional singers record and perform the tragic *gunka* most frequently because these help people identify with their experiences as "victims" of the war. Festivals such as the Dōki no Sakura Kai are nostalgic, presenting a feminized, less nationalistic side of military songs that appeals to the majority of participants. The selection and performance of songs support a victim trope in Japan. Many view themselves as victims in the war, forgetting their responsibility for Japan's military and imperial aggression in Asia and the Pacific. The denial of this legacy continues today.

Offstage (*honne*) musical activities at *gunka* bars and ticketed private performances often have a strong militaristic mood. This is because those Japanese with connections to the military, and those with most nationalistic feelings express them in private gatherings. These provide a safe space to display nationalism and to remember the glory and power of the former Japanese Imperial Army and Navy without criticism from the mainstream.

The perpetuation *gunka* is selective. Anti-war songs (*kanashii*/sad *gunka*), women's songs, songs of the home front, and popular wartime film songs are

remembered most, while "true (official) *gunka*" are performed with less frequency. The meaning of *gunka* today remains contested. People with widely varying views of the war and varied personal experiences (generation, military record, age, gender) often come together to sing and consume *gunka*. Their reasons remain unstated, so that implicit meaning of *gunka* remains individualized, thereby avoiding conflict.

"What do you tell the dead when you lose?" (486) John Dower's question is relevant more than sixty-five years after the end of the war. It seems that much of the *gunka* singing activities are a way of mourning for the country's war dead, when this loss cannot be expressed adequately in words alone. After the war, the American occupation forces concentrated on attributing guilt for Japanese war crimes, but did not allow Japanese to openly mourn their own dead. In the following decades, a focus on economic development led Japanese to abandon memories of the past war. These memories of a long and bitter struggle, along with the loss of family members, have not been forgotten, so singing is a way to remember without explicit discussion.

Gunka supports the subconscious collective memory as well as individual memories. People sing to remember the war dead or to preserve the glorious heritage of Japan. People sing and listen to *gunka* to remember their past military experience, to honor a family member's military service, to mourn a loss in war, to preserve military history, and to revive traditional values that are in decline in contemporary Japan. War survivors sing to ease their survivor's guilt and family members sing to remember servicemen who died. At the Yasukuni Shrine, singing is an important part of the Shinto belief that requires the living to entertain ancestors and spirits with music. The Dōki no

Sakura Kai opening speeches and printed materials encouraged people to sing loudly "to comfort the spirits of the glorious war dead" (*eirei wo sasagu tame*).

Gendered Discourse, Gendered Performances

For many, military songs revive traditional gender roles that are fading in contemporary society. Song lyrics present messages about proper gendered behavior. Women and children supported the war primarily from the home front, by sending sons and husbands for the army, by frugality and by maintaining patriotism in the midst of a losing wartime situation. Men, on the other hand, were expected to show their manliness by fighting and dying bravely for the nation.

In the postwar period, *gunka* extends wartime gender roles. Most *gunka* events are primarily intended for the entertainment of men. Women play important supporting roles in *gunka* activities. They are the bar hostesses, the piano accompanists, and the chorus support singers. They present a feminine face to a predominantly masculine *genre* of music. They do not have a personal interest in *gunka.* Nearly all of the women at *gunka* events were paid entertainers. For them, singing *gunka* for male audience and customers is simply a job. The traditional gender separation of military activity is continued in most *gunka*-related events today.

Military song embodies the *bushidō* warrior spirit of the past. In an age of economic uncertainty and in the context of changing gender roles for Japanese men, traditional manliness can be preserved in *gunka* play. This creates a sense of stability in a changing world. Gunka singing allows the performance of bodily memory and imagining of the past, in particular those aspects of the past that are marginalized in public. Through bodily performances in offstage context, *gunka* is preserved and the past is

imagined. Through *gunka*, men imagine the past glory of the military and are secure in their masculine roles, even as these roles erode in everyday life.

Inversions of History, the Nostalgic and the Ironic

Michael Bakhtin, in a discussion of literature and myth made some useful observations about memory and the imagination (Bakhtin 1983). While he wrote specifically about European literature, his discussion applies to literature and myth in the case of contemporary Japan. Bakhtin wrote that myth and art often portrays the past as more important than the present and future. These views often see the future as the hope of reverting to an ideal past, when everything was moral, authentic, and good. In this way, the past—or rather our image of the ideal past—becomes the focus of the present and future.

> "The essence of this inversion is found in the fact that mythological and artistic thinking locates such categories as purpose, ideal, justice, perfection, the harmonious condition of many and society and the like in the *past* [italics in original]. Myths about a Golden Age, a heroic age, an ancient truth, as well as the later concepts of 'a state of nature' of natural and innate rights and so on, are all expressions of this historical inversion." (Bakhtin 1981:147)

While Bakhtin does not use the word nostalgia in his analysis, there are similarities in his discussion of historical inversion with concepts of nostalgia. When people in *gunka* communities praise the upright values of the former Japanese Army and Navy, they practice historical inversion. The frequent remark that *gunka* are part of the culture of Japan is also a form of historical inversion—its purity as Japanese is imagined, especially when one remembers the many influences from European and American military music style. Members of *gunka* communities invert the past, projecting the values of loyalty, bravery, heroism and so forth backward, while imagining a lack of these elements in contemporary society. They forget the wartime atrocities of the Asia-

Pacific War, glossing over the horrors of Asian occupation, bloody Pacific battles, and firebombs in Japan, and preferring to imagine a noble past. *Gunka* singing helps those of the wartime generation and postwar generations to imagine an ideal national past.

Nostalgia shares many commonalities with "historical inversion." Linda Hutcheon in her dialogue with Mario J. Valdés has summarized the history of the word nostalgia (Hutcheon and Valdés 1998-2000). A term combining the Greek words for "return home" and "pain", originally it was a fatal disease—that of Swiss mercenaries longing for home. Originally a physical condition, it later evolved its present form as a psychological disease, a longing for an imagined and idealized past (ibid.:19). She notes that the inaccessibility of the past gives nostalgia its power. "The aesthetics of nostalgia might, therefore be less a matter of simple memory than a complex projection; the invocation of a partial, idealized history merges with the dissatisfaction with the present" (ibid.:20). She also writes of the power of nostalgia at the millennial moment of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (ibid.).

Susan Stewart writes that the temporality of life is "ongoing and irreversible", yet cyclical and repetitious (Stewart 1993:14). Commemorations of *gunka* are a part of this cyclical repetition of memory. Stewart writes that nostalgia is a "social disease" (ibid.:23). She goes on to say,

> Nostalgia…is ideological: the past it seeks has never existed except as narrative, and hence, always absent, that past threatens to reproduce itself as a felt lack. Hostile to history and its invisible origins, and yet longing for an impossibly pure context of lived experience at the place of origin, nostalgia wears a distinctly utopian face, a face that turns toward a future-past, a past, which has only ideological reality. (ibid.)

Stewart writes of the utopian aspect of nostalgia, which she claims emphasizes the innocence of life before the fall of man in Genesis. She critiques nostalgia because it is

does violence to history, although she does not claim that there is a single history. In addition, she criticizes the "impossibly pure" imaginings of nostalgia that distance the viewer from the reality of the present.

While the longing of nostalgia informs much of contemporary art and popular culture, Hutcheon points out that irony also plays an important part in contemporary life. While nostalgia doubles up the past and the present, irony doubles the said and the unsaid to create an emotional impact (Hutcheon and Valdés 1998-2000:21-2). *Gunka,* because of its combination of sentimental appeal and public taboo, walks a tightrope between nostalgia and irony. For younger generations, *gunka* singing is ironic because it defies a public taboo. *Gunka* rarely appears in the public media and performances. By performing *gunka*, younger generations play "dress-up," creating a masculine identity focused on militarism that has a marginal role in contemporary Japan. A further irony involves the glory of the Japanese Imperial Army and Navy celebrated in song lyrics and melodies, contrasted with the ultimate defeat of that military. Yet many of the postwar generation projects the purity of the pre-war era through nostalgia, and for many, *gunka* is both nostalgic and ironic. With music that is emotionally charged yet marginalized in the mainstream, nostalgia and irony cannot be separated.

The Future of Gunka

In 2010, the place of *gunka* in Japanese musical culture remains uncertain. The communities that continue to perform and enjoy *gunka* and wartime popular songs are certainly an anomaly in mainstream Japan. It is uncertain how they will survive as the wartime generation passes away in the next decade. Musical gatherings are often multigenerational and encompass those with military experience and those without.

Many in the postwar generation find personal meaning in the music. This meaning may derive from the messages of the lyrics. For others, the tragic *gunka* telling of loss and heartache caused by war speak to their hearts. They sing *gunka* as anti-war anthems. The continuing popularity of the tragic song "War Comrade" speaks to this function in promoting peace.

Gunka continue to live on in the former Japanese colonies in Asia and the Pacific Islands. While this is beyond the scope of this dissertation, further research in this area promises to provide greater insight into processes of remembering and forgetting the traumas of the Asia-Pacific War.

The future of *gunka* in Japan and in the Asia-Pacific region remains unclear. When the original context for a musical genre suddenly disappears, the music may disappear as well, or change its purpose and meaning. If the music has aesthetic value, emotional appeal and personal meaning that merits its preservation, it will survive. If it does not hold value, it disappears into history along with the passing generations. If young people assume leadership of music-related communities and events, its performance will continue.

With the passing of the wartime generation, *gunka*'s place in the national soundscape continues to diminish. There is a feeling among some communities that the Japanese military is a part of the heritage of Japan, and that this heritage merits preservation. The values embedded in *gunka*—patriotism, sacrifice, bravery, filial piety—are important to many who believe that contemporary Japanese society is losing these virtues. The *bushidō* spirit will continue, in part through the communal singing of gunka.

Postlude. Research Ethics and Researcher Positionality

Throughout my fieldwork, my fascination with *gunka* has increased: the memorable melodies and rhythms, their often archaic or sentimental poetry, and the ebb and flow of their popularity from their beginnings in the Meiji era until long after war's end provided rich analytical material. At the same time, I have struggled with the creation of an appropriate methodology, and the personal and ethical issues of my work, given my own status as non-Japanese, young, and female (and during most of my field research, pregnant). This postlude provides a detailed account of my own identity as an ethnomusicologist and how this shaped my work, the tone of my research, and how others perceived and interacted with me. I present a sampling of the diverse and spirited reactions that I received in and outside of academe. Finally, I situate these problems in the context of the Euro-American view of Japanese War responsibility and remembrance. This discussion intends to better situate the dissertation in context.

War memory is a topic with increasing importance for anthropology, history, political science, cultural studies and ethnomusicology, as evidenced by recent conference themes and a growing body of research. The potential for controversy makes the topic enticing, but at the same time makes it a potential landmine for field researchers.

Ethnomusicological research on music and war has rapidly increased in recent years. The many conferences, collaborative books, and individual monographs and studies concerning music and war show this. Stonehill College hosted a conference entitled "The Music of War" in 2008 at which I presented a paper entitled "Father You Were Brave: Gendered Images in Japanese Military Song." The theme of The Society

for Ethnomusicology Annual Conference of 2007 was "Music, War, and Reconciliation." The American Folklore Society's fall 2011 conference theme is "Peace, War, Folklore." There is a Society for Ethnomusicology special interest group that focuses on Music and Violence, and a growing number of studies examine music and war (for example Arajuo 2006, Gilman 2010, Gilbert 2005, Bannister 1996, Pieslack 2007, Pilzer 2006, Ritter and Daughtry 2007, Sumera 2009).

Several questions presented challenges during my fieldwork:

1. As an American and a representative of the victor in the Asia-Pacific War, do I have a moral right to question Japan's role in the war and its remembrance, or is this an insult for the losers?
2. Is my family's World War Two[44] story relevant? My Japanese-American relatives during the war were in the liminal space of forced internment for suspected disloyalty? My maternal grandparents are Japanese-American Nisei (second-generation immigrants), so they were forcibly interned at the Poston Relocation Center in Arizona for most of the Asia-Pacific War. My paternal grandfather worked in the Illinois Rock-Island Arsenal, and was injured while in the United States army in North Africa.
3. Is my family's military service relevant? My family does have military service after the Second World War. My father and two of his brothers served in the armed forces during the Vietnam War era, and my father played trumpet in a US Navy band and two other brothers served in the Air Force after Vietnam. My brother currently serves in the Army Reserves band. I often told people of my family's military service, and this somehow lent authority to my purpose.
4. As a woman, am I intruding into a masculine sphere, and how is this shaping my research results? To what extent have I missed the male bonding of participant observation because of my status as female? My status as an outsider on many levels likely causes distance between me and my field collaborators.
5. How does my own liberal, anti-war, mostly anti-military political view shape my research? At the start of the war in Iraq, I participated in peace-demonstrations in Honolulu, Hawai'i. Disturbed by the use of music to support war on television, I was inspired to study the uses of music by government and media that inspire

[44] Because of widely differing experiences of war in Europe and the Asia-Pacific, I refer to the conflicts in the 1930s and 1940s as the "Asia-Pacific War" when referring to a Japanese or Asian perspective, and the "Second World War" or "World War Two" when focusing on the United States and Europe.

nationalism and support state-sanctioned violence. While I acknowledge the significant differences between the Asia-Pacific War and the "War on Terror," my anti-war views against the invasion of Iraq encouraged my choice of topic, in particular its exploration of nationalism and its relation to music.

6. Has the study of military song led to my own increasing acceptance of militarization? I have tempered my feelings toward the military in order to successfully continue my fieldwork. Perhaps I have become militarized through my association with veterans and war memorial gatherings. Many Japanese military songs are emotional; I am often moved by the tragic songs, and energized by the militaristic ones. Tonoshita describes similar feelings in the epilogue of his book. He writes:

> "…As I struggled to finish my book against many odds, working late into the night and on holidays, it was the *kokuminka* patriotic songs that, ironically, gave me strength to persevere" (Tonoshita 2008:261).

How will this gradual militarization change my research results, and ultimately, me as a person?

Competing power structures—military, economic, political, cultural—affected my field research experience studying the military and wartime music of Japan. It is important to consider my own role as an outside researcher looking at Japan's highly contested past. While I am Japanese-American (with half Japanese blood), I am not Japanese, and this complicates my relationship with the host/heritage country. Yano writes of Japanese-Americans and their push and pull struggles. They feel more "American" at some times, and identify as "Japanese" at other times, depending on the circumstances. This might be labeled "strategic essentialism." Like many participants in the Cherry Blossom Festival, I often look "toward Japan as a source of culture and identity" (Yano 2005:126), but six years living in Japan has convinced me that I am fully American.

As much as I often want to and try to become Japanese by orienting myself to my heritage, downplaying my lived experience as an American (ibid 2005:126), at the same time, I recognize that my positioning as American shapes my views of Japan's war period.

Looking at Japan from the point of view of an American, from the point of view of the winner of the war, makes writing about the Asia-Pacific War ethically problematic. This echoes the well-known debate between Keesing, Linnekin and Trask (Contemporary Pacific 1989-1991). How well can outsiders "know" a people, and what gives them the authority to represent a group? Does my positionality as American make it impossible for me to understand the experience of being Japanese during, or after, the war? The question of insider and outsider status is important, as well as questions of power and authority to represent the other. I have attempted to be sympathetic and dialogic as a scholar to address these relational tensions between scholars and the people that they represent.

In response to a debate between native Hawaiian and outsider anthropologists over questions of authority and issues in representation, Linnekin writes, "The construction of culture demands, rather, that we recognize that all knowledge is situated in a particular historical and political context, that all traditions are subject to creative human interpretation as a part of social life" (Linnekin 1991:172-73). I hope to "creatively interpret" *gunka* in a dramatically changing Japan and hope that I can portray some of the diverse, conflicting stories about that music.

Indian-American anthropologist Kirin Narayan argues for a nuanced understanding of hybridity or multiplex identities in ethnographic writing. Using her own complex mixture of cultural, national, regional, religious, class, and gender identities as an example, she argues that traditional anthropological concepts of "native" and "non-native" anthropologist are remnants of a colonial past. They flatten the contours of human exchange that are at the heart of ethnographic study. Ethnographers hold "shifting

identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations" (1993:671).

Narayan describes the complex layers of identity that she and her consultants invoked during her fieldwork. Even a trichotomy of native researcher, outsider researcher and "halfie" does not adequately express the complexity of identity in contemporary global society. Multi-cultural upbringing, immigrations and movement, interracial and intercultural families, class mobility and difference, economic and social status, gender relations and religion all affect researcher/consultant relationships and they change constantly in response to circumstance. She argues for greater recognition of multiplex identities in fieldwork relations. Most importantly, she insists on transcending labels and working to create honest relationships with other human beings. These relationships affect the quality of our work beyond labels of "insider," "outsider," and "halfie."

> …what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views, and dilemmas—people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity and who may even be crucial to our professional enterprise? (1993:672).

Throughout my fieldwork, I have tried to be honest about my own identities and hope that I have represented my consultants respectfully in this work.

Challenges and Solutions when Speaking for Others

Linda Martin Alcoff writes about the dilemmas of speaking for others, drawing from problems in anthropology and other field-based disciplines. She first presents two premises about speaking for others, acknowledging the challenges to traditional scholarship brought by feminism, critical studies, recently anthropological thinking and ethnic studies. First, Alcoff writes that a speaker's position always has an effect on what

is said, but that the importance of this position is highly variable (Alcoff 1995:104). Secondly, political differences and differences in power affect the truthfulness of what is said (1995:104). These premises are widely accepted in the social sciences today. In my own case, my position is that of an outsider, and, while I am young and female (a position of less power than many of those that I write about), my nationality as American represents a degree of power in this case. Since the United States was the victor of the Asia-Pacific War and because of American economic and cultural power, in particular in light of the American post-war occupation of Japan, readers may scrutinize my study of Japanese war memories.

Alcoff suggests that scholars have several choices in how to proceed. They can choose not to speak for others and about others, or they can more carefully consider how to speak responsibly. She writes that academics should consider whether to speak and to fight against the urge to speak too quickly (1995:111). In my own writing, I hesitated to write, wondering whether I should speak about Japanese music and war memory or allow the Japanese to speak for themselves. I finally decided that they are indeed speaking to each other in Japanese, but this conversation is inaccessible beyond Japan. As a non-Japanese with the ability to translate the discussion into the English-speaking ethnomusicology world, I can carry this conversation beyond Japan, perhaps promoting greater understanding in a cross-cultural context. Second, Alcoff writes that academics should "interrogate the bearing of our location and context on what we are saying" (1995:112). This is the purpose of this postlude and I hope that it informs readers while they read the remainder of the dissertation.

Third, Alcoff asserts that we should be conscious of our responsibility and accountability of what we say (1995:112). In my own work, I aim to avoid bias and to fairly represent the complexity and contradiction in contemporary war memories in Japan. Finally, "we need to analyze the probable or actual effects" of what we say (1995:113). In my case, I expect that I will meet widely divergent reactions to my work from Japanese, Americans, and those of Asia and the Pacific who have a stake in remembering Japan's action in the Asia-Pacific War. I cannot imagine all of the possible reactions to my work, but my intention is to better understand how music colors the remembering and forgetting of past trauma and guilt. Alcoff's call to be more reflective in our writing and speaking is extremely important for gaining the trust of those we speak of and those to whom we speak.

Reactions to my Research Topic

As I have taken an ethnomusicological participant-observation and conversational approach to my research, I have encountered strong, often emotional reactions to my choice of topic. The following is a sampling of personal reactions to my studies of *gunka* in Japan and the US, both inside and outside of the academy.

Many people expressed an ambivalent response to *gunka.* A lecturer at the University of Hawai'i knows hundreds of *gunka*, and often sings them at *karaoke* parties. I sat down with him on two occasions to discuss the music, looking at songbooks. As he opened each page, he sang each song by memory, with an astonishing memory. As a child living near Nagoya during the war, he learned *gunka* in school, and often sang the songs as his class marched to a Shinto Shrine for morning prayers before marching to school. He expressed anger for Japan's militarized past and the waste of young Japanese

lives to war. He also showed a rough and sarcastic side as he sang the songs, often ridiculing the sentiments, especially those that praise the military. He showed the complex feelings of one who loves Japan and treasures his memories of the past, yet consciously rejects the militarized past that the songs represent.

A professor at the University of Hawai‘i told me that she believed that young Japanese and foreign scholars of Japanese culture did not and could not "properly understand" *gunka.* She advised me to talk with Japanese survivors of the war to find out how they perceived the songs, and to avoid simply looking at the music as politically motivated. She cited the very controversial "If I Go to the Sea" discussed in Chapter Three as an example of a song that the Japanese sang "purely" during the war, but that is misunderstood today. By "purely" she meant that they sang innocently without thought to the songs' violent content.

A University of Hawai‘i graduate student from Japan showed enthusiasm for the topic, but in a very academic way. She was extremely helpful with my study of *gunka* song lyrics and musicological reading material, but insisted that because she did not have direct experience or knowledge of the music, that her ability to help with interpretation was limited.

Another University of Hawaii professor recommended that I change my topic, citing ethical concerns in light of my American nationality. While I was initially upset, I changed the professor's mind and received much academic support. I explained that I felt it to be an important avenue for study, and that I would take "insider" perspectives into account, in order to fairly represent the society. I am grateful for this support.

It is interesting that Japanese and Japanese-Americans living in Hawai‘i objected to my research topic, concerned that it might portray Japan in a bad light, while those in Japan mostly supported my work, at least outwardly.

An Asian-American professor (who is not Japanese) told me that his father enjoyed singing Japanese *gunka, since* he had learned as a child in Japanese-controlled schools. His mother, in contrast disliked *gunka* because of their associations with Japanese brutality in mainland Asia. He admonished me not to be too “patriotic” or sympathetic to the Japanese, owing to my heritage as a Japanese-American.

Musicology professors at Tokyo University of the Arts have been extremely helpful with my research, and neutral about the topic choice. They have supported me more enthusiastically than I expected. Wartime music-making has recently become a popular topic in Japanese musicology, so my professors guided me toward recent Japanese scholarship in this area. Other Japanese of the wartime generation have generously shared songbooks, old records from their collections, and their own time—explaining lyrics and military history to me.

At a gathering for international students, an administrator at Tokyo University of the Arts questioned my interest in the music, and said that he “hates that kind of music.” As an accomplished concert pianist, he dislikes its nationalistic politics as well as its mass-produced musical content, which was aesthetically opposed to his training as a classical pianist specializing in the art music of Europe.

Scholarship-granting agencies have given my work mixed reactions. During a screening interview, a board member of the Atsumi Scholarship (a privately-funded scholarship foundation in Tokyo) expressed a strong negative reaction to my proposed

research topic. This reviewer asked me about my purposes for studying *gunka* in the present day, and said that he did not understand my reasons for studying the music. He thought that a historical study would be acceptable, but a study of memory and its implications in the singing of *gunka* in the present day are misguided. He strongly questioned my position as an American, and thought that this was an inappropriate topic, given that Japan was a loser in the war, and in light of the United States military dominance in the post-war era. When I noted my sensitivity to my own positionality and my reliance on Japanese informants and scholars, through interviews as well as through study of the Japanese scholars, he seemed unconvinced, so I was not surprised when I did not proceed to the next level of the scholarship competition. Recent reading suggests that the sponsor of the Atsumi Scholarship, Takeo Atsumi, was the president of the Kajima Corporation, a large construction company that used forced Chinese and Korean labor during the Asia-Pacific War (Morris-Suzuki 2005:26). The company has benefitted economically from Japanese imperialism, and while it outwardly supports international exchange and development in Asia, its relation to wartime wrongs remains unexamined.

The Japan-America Society, with a mission "to promote understanding and friendly relations between the peoples of the United States and Japan, sponsors the Crown Prince Akihito Scholarship… An award recipient must act in the dual capacity of a student in learning and as an unofficial 'American Ambassador of Good Will'" (official website, http://www.jashawaii.org/acpas.asp accessed 13 February 2011). I interviewed for this scholarship twice, and received mixed reactions from the interviewing board members. A prominent member who is a retired military officer expressed much enthusiasm with my project and introduced me to many of my most

important contacts in Japan. Others nostalgically named their favorite songs. However, another board member asked me why I wanted to study "memory" of the war, when his own family had suffered quite severely (one family member was seriously injured and another had died in battle). He said that his own family is trying to forget the war. While I question the psychological value of forgetting the war, in my response I offered my respect to those who had died, suggested that others have chosen to tell their painful stories, and noted that many derive an important "voice" from speaking about the past. Another board member questioned how my work would work to "advance friendship" between Japan and the United States. I feel that deeper understanding of war helps to reinforce the resolve to maintain peace. Given the strong relationship of Japan and the United States in the early twenty-first century, greater understanding of the war enhances understanding of the foundations for the current peace in Japan.

I was surprised and grateful to be funded by the Japan Foundation, what was previously a semi-governmental organization in Japan. I was impressed that the group chose to support a project that might lead to criticism of Japan's past. The purpose of the scholarship is "To deepen the understanding of Japan and to maintain good relations between Japan and the United States… through fellowships for research in Japan…" (http://www.jfny.org/japanese_studies/japanese_studies.php Japan Studies: Japan Foundation New York Web site, accessed 9 January 2010) I am very grateful for the support of the Japan Foundation.

Overall, I have found that my research topic stimulates personal feelings and opinions much more strongly than I expected. Certainly sixty-five years postwar,

wartime memories and debates about wartime responsibility are still fresh, often painful wounds.

American and European Views of Japanese War Memory

Another crucial related element in my research was the view that the United States and European media view hold toward Japan's "historical consciousness." In Japanese, this is often called "war responsibility" (*sensō sekinin*). Starting with the occupation of Japan by Allied Forces led by the United States from 1945, there was a systematic attempt to erase all traces of militarism and Emperor-worship in Japan. At that time, the raising of the flag, the singing of "Kimigayo" and the singing of other military songs were forbidden. References to the Emperor were deleted from textbooks, and anything considered nationalistic was banned in the media.

In the following decades with the start of the Cold War and in the interest of building a strong relationship with Japan in the face of communist pressures in Asia, the United States government systemically covered up many past atrocities of the Imperial Japanese Army (and to a lesser extent, the Imperial Japanese Navy). The last two decades have seen outcries from many Asian nations that were formerly colonized by Japan claiming that Japan has forgotten or denies the past atrocities of its military (Morris-Suzuki 2005:3-32, Seaton 2007, Seraphim 2006, Hicks 1997).

Today, in the early twentieth century, while the Japanese government is largely quiet about its imperial past, Japanese citizens hold a wide variety of political leanings and opinions of the war. Yet, as Philip Seaton, Ian Condry and others have noted, many media and scholars in the United States, Europe and Asia have been "concerned," perhaps obsessed, with finding evidence of militarism in Japan. But Seaton and Condry

argue convincingly that there is no evidence of a "growing right wing trend" as the media often warns. Rather this is an exaggeration designed to draw in media consumers and academics that thrive on controversy.

What is America's stake in the recent controversies in East Asia? There has been a large amount of research on nationalism in Japan, (e.g. Wilson 2002, Hicks 1997). These scholars point to the rise of nationalism in Japan as a response to the economic uncertainties of the nineties and early twenty-first century (e.g. Hicks 1997). But Penney and Wakefield suggest that perhaps American and British journalists and scholars are over-emphasizing the rise of nationalism in Japan (Penney and Wakefield 2008). Condry also suggested that American and British journalists have asked him repeatedly to give examples of right-wing hip-hop, but when he told them that most hip-hop is progressive, they responded that it "wasn't news" (Condry 2007). Work by scholars such as Condry, Seaton, and Seraphim, as well as my own experiences in Japan, suggests that issues surrounding the war remain unresolved. While acknowledging that there are tensions with Asian neighbors regarding the war, the average person is not outwardly nationalistic. The average person in Japan is taught little about the war, except to learn about the suffering of civilians on the home front and Japan's victim status. At the same time, mantras of peace are repeated constantly in connection with war history, so it can hardly be said that militaristic discourse is on the rise.

During the early twenty-first century, there were discussions suggesting an amendment to the Article 9 "Peace Clause" in the Japanese Constitution, but the overwhelming number of Japanese support Article 9 and it has continued unchanged since the 1950s. Seaton suggests that the nationalistic displays by Japanese politicians,

such as Yasukuni Shrine visits and reactions to these visits in Asia, gaffes by politicians, and textbook euphemisms for military atrocities are reflections of the will of a few leaders in power, not the views of the majority of Japanese. My experiences during my fieldwork support this view.

Condry questions the validity of the alleged rise of nationalism among Japanese youth.

> "But this 'Japan' is not all Japanese, and herein lies some of the danger of the distortion in the coverage of Japanese nationalism. It is becoming a truism to regard Japan's younger generation as emblematic of a rising Japanese nationalism, but when scholars and reporters highlight such nationalist messages, even when portraying them in a critical light, we risk reinforcing the impression that progressive, or at least alternative voices are largely absent from youth-oriented media" (Condry 2007:2).

Condry writes of the new globally-informed Japanese youth as well as the inward-looking nationalistic trend.

Some groups in the United States have taken an interest in the issue of war memory in Japanese public education. In 2007, the United States House of Representatives considered a resolution to call on Japan to unequivocally acknowledge and apologize for its brutal mistreatment of women" (Onishi quoted in Condry 2007). This is ironic because in 1995 when Japan called on the United States to apologize for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, President George H.W. Bush refused.

On October 5, 2007 a Northern California branch of the American Federation of Teachers got involved, calling an "International Day Of Action To Defend Anti-War Japanese Teachers," on October 5, International Teachers' Day. Teachers from a union in San Francisco protested in front of the Japanese embassy in San Francisco, supporting Japanese teachers' rights to refuse to sing the national anthem. A letter from Japanese

teacher Sato Etsuko wrote a letter to American teachers, comparing Japan's wartime aggression with that of the United States. Sato wrote,

> The Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, under pressure from the racist and nationalist Tokyo governor Ishihara, has moved toward firing teachers Ms. Nezu Kimiko and Ms Kawarai Junko for their anti-war activity unless people around the world stand up to this repression. This repression and militarization is a threat to all people of the world and we urge educators, unionists, people from all communities and anti-war activists to join us on October 5, 2007. (Sato 2007)

It may be hypocritical for Americans to accuse Japan of being over-nationalistic, while remaining silent on America's own rise of nationalism. Many would argue that the United States has not yet addressed its responsibility for the atomic bombings and fire bombings that killed countless Japanese civilians during the Second World War. Wartime memory in Japan remains contested. The problems over the singing of the national anthem, standing in salute of the flag, and issues of textbook "reform" represent the continued debates over memory (Oba 2008a). Contrary to the views of many European and American scholars and journalists, this is a healthy debate among various stakeholders in Japan. There are conservatives, including veterans, who influence politicians, as well as progressive activists including the Japanese teachers' union, novelist Oe Kenzaburo and Yoshimi Yoshiaki. It is difficult to say whether Japanese nationalism is on the rise, but the question of how to reconcile national identity, the emperor system and war memories in institutions such as public schools and the media will continue to be an important topic of debate into the future. This question of nationalism among the general population informs my understanding of performance and consumption of *gunka* military music and its related war memories in early twenty-first century Japan.

Appendix A. Transcriptions

Notes on the Transcriptions

The following are descriptive transcriptions of four commercial solo recordings and the audio track of one field video documenting a group performance. I include four solo works because postwar performances are usually solo, either by professional musicians or amateurs singing alone or with karaoke accompaniment. I include one transcription from the Dōki no Sakura Kai to show a contemporary group performance (chorus and mass audience) with keyboard accompaniment.

Although the *gunka* canon is subject to some debate (see Chapter Three), these works are standards in the repertoire: they appear consistently in various songbooks, recordings and contemporary performances. All are part of the current Daiichi Kōshō *karaoke* listing for *gunka* and military songs, the *Hōsekibako* songbook (Do-re-mi 2004), the *Gunka Daizenshū* (Osada 1968), and the Otakebikai songbook (Otakebikai 2003).

Three of the four songs in the corpus are from the 1930s and 1940s. Songs of the 1930s and 1940s are important to informants in the twenty-first century who experienced the soundscape of middle and late wartime Japan. "Sen'yū," an early *gunka* that holds an important place in postwar military song practice because of its place in the gunka revival (see Chapter Five), appeared in several contemporary performances and it seemed to evoke strong emotion in the audience.

Informants and music writers frequently cited "Umi Yukaba" as an important military song. It appeared on the Gunka Costume and Song Festival program, and in the comic memoire *Barefoot Gen.* Morishige Hisaya's record includes it in a rather somber arrangement with chorus and drum and bugle. "Kudan no Haha" is popular with those of

the wartime generation, evidenced by its presence in contemporary performances and recordings. Misora Hibari often performed it in the 1970s and Kozakura Maiko sang it in the 2010 Mitama Matsuri Popular Song Show. Veteran organizers of the Kōhikai asked me to sing "Kudan no Haha" at events and the audience responded by singing along with my performances. "Akatsuki ni Inoru" was a featured song at the 2010 Dōki no Sakura Kai. Members of *karaoke* clubs (Yōsoro Kai, The Top Club, Otakebikai) often sang at it at gatherings and it remains one of the most popular wartime film theme songs, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Rather than revealing a unified performance style, the five transcriptions show the diversity of performance practices. They illustrate a variety of instrumental accompaniments, vocal styles, and overall moods. They show the ways that group singing and solo performances as well as comments made by performers and audience members suggest a nostalgic and often emotional attachment toward *gunka.*

The duration of the song appears at the beginning of each transcription. Time markings for verses and instrumental interludes appear throughout the transcriptions.

Transcriptions focus on the vocal melodies, voice quality, vocal placement, ornaments, and rubato. I analyze many of the vocal techniques that Yano called "performative kata" (2002:109-14), but I use my own symbols as shown below. The following words are written in the score to indicate voice quality: chest voice (*jigoe*), nasal voice (*hanagoe*), falsetto (*uragoe*), and whispering. In contrast to group singing during wartime Japan, after 1945 most contemporary performances of military songs are by solo singers. In solo gunka singing of the postwar years, vocal ornaments add a

personal and emotional touch to songs that previously took the style of unornamented group renditions.

I place instruments in Western orchestral score order: woodwinds, brass, percussion, keyboards, and strings. I place voice and chorus at the top. I add additional instruments with like categories. *Shakuhachi* and harmonica appear with woodwinds; guitar and electric bass appear above the other strings.

Bugle call names come from Osada Gyōji's *Nihon Gunka Daizenshū: Gunka, Aikokuka, Senji Kayō, Guntai Rappa* (Complete Collection of Japanese Military Songs: Military Songs, Patriotic Songs, Wartime Popular Songs, and Military Bugle Calls, 1968: 346-58).

In "Sen'yū" by Misora Hibari, I transcribe the full score for verses one through five and the ending. I transcribe the vocal line only for verses six through fourteen because the accompaniment repeats.

Key to Symbols in Transcriptions

←	Behind the beat (*rubato*)
→	Ahead of the beat (*rubato*)
↑	Above the true pitch
↓	Below the pitch
−	Slight accent
~	Vibrato (*yuri*)
～	Vocal ornament (*kobushi*)
/ or \	Slide between pitches
⤴	Sliding up to and accenting a pitch
<u>k</u>a	[underline] emphasized consonant, "digging" (Yano 2002:110)
*	voice break
⁚	audible breath

Sources of Transcriptions

A CD of the sound examples is deposited in the Ethnomusicology Archives of the University of Hawai‘i Music Department.

Track 1. “If I Go to the Sea” (Umi Yukaba).” Side B band 6. Morishige Hisaya and Columbia Orchestra. 1968. “Kanashiki Gunka (Sad Gunka).” Arranged by Ikeda Kōzō and Ichikawa Junshi, liner notes by Yamaki Akihiko. Phonodisc. Columbia: ALS 4356.

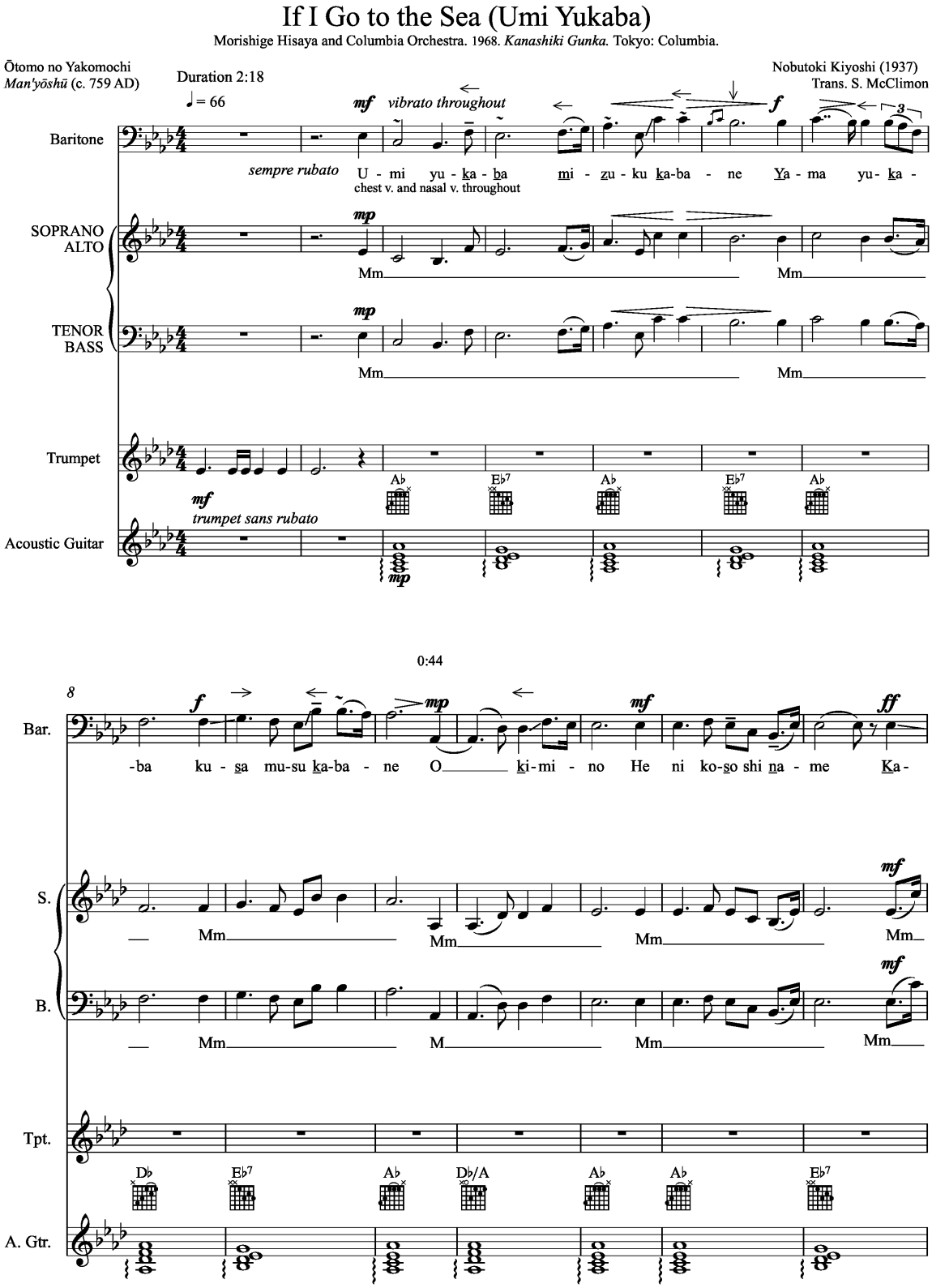
Track 2. “War Comrade” (Sen’yū).” Side A band 6. Morishige Hisaya and Columbia Orchestra. 1968. “Kanashiki Gunka (Sad Gunka).” Arranged by Ikeda Kōzō and Ichikawa Junshi, liner notes by Yamaki Akihiko. Phonodisc. Columbia: ALS 4356.

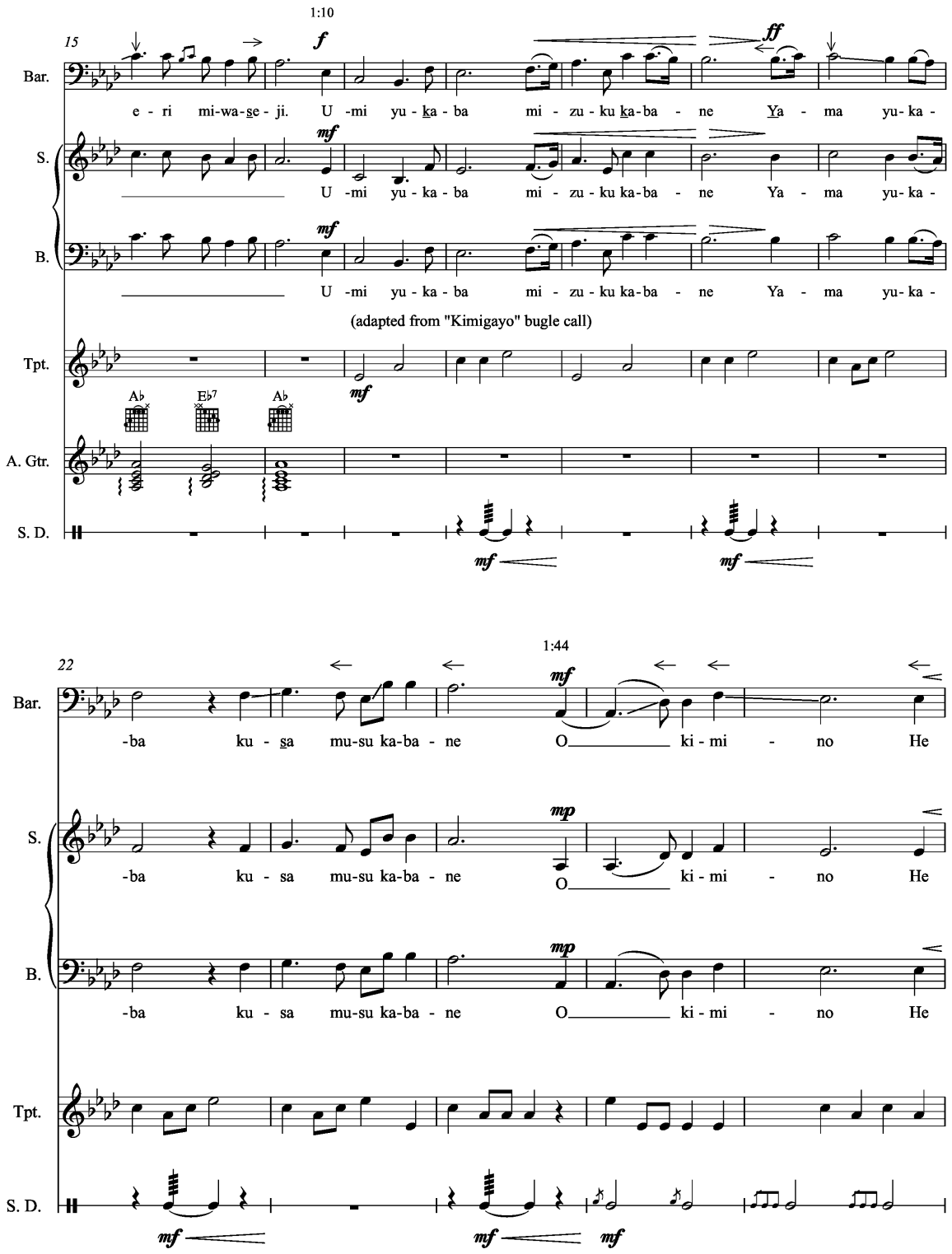
Track 3. “War Comrade.” Track 1. Misora Hibari. 2006. *Inori* (Prayer). Compact Disc. Liner notes and song lyrics in Japanese. Columbia: COCP 33819.

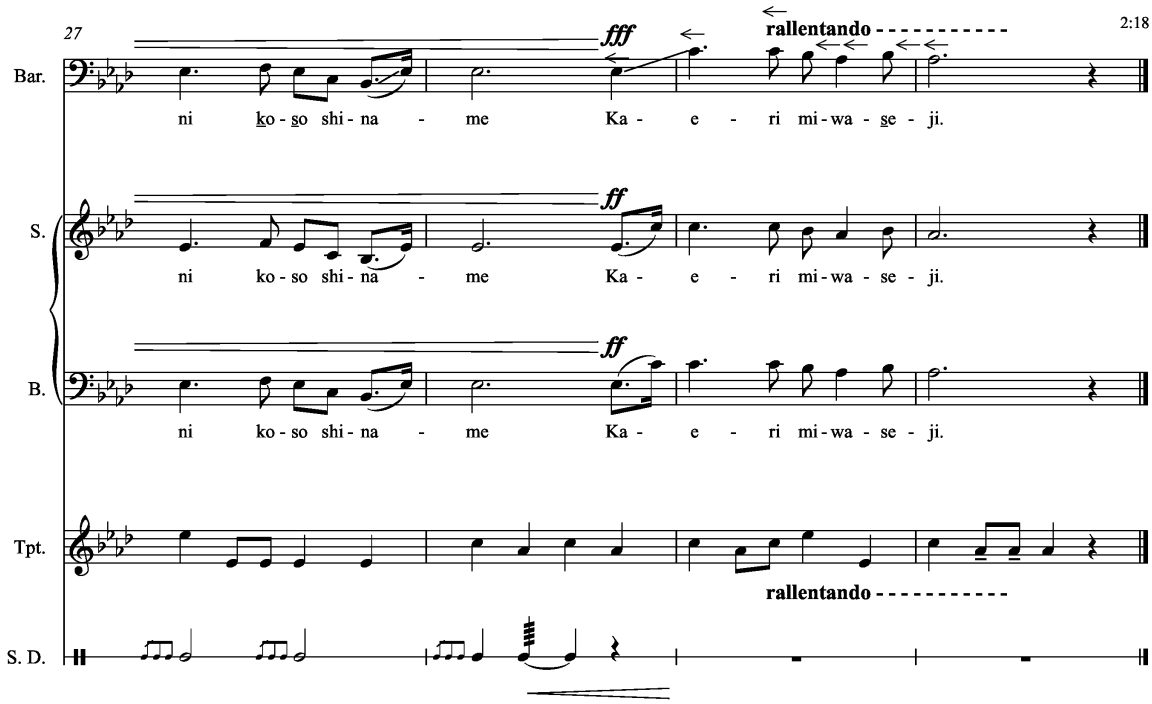
Track 4. “The Mother at Kudan” (Kudan no Haha). Track 6. Misora Hibari. 2006. *Inori* (Prayer). Compact Disc. Liner notes and song lyrics in Japanese. Columbia: COCP 33819.

Track 5. “Prayer at Dawn” (Akatsuki ni Inoru). As sung at the 2010 Dōki no Sakura Kai, April 4, 2010, Yasukuni Shrine. Video recording by Michael McClimon. Keyboard by Ōzaki Ryōe.

Transcription 1. "Umi Yukaba." Morishige Hisaya.




1:10
15
Bar.
e - ri mi-wa-se - ji. U -mi yu - ka - ba mi - zu - ku ka-ba - ne Ya - ma yu- ka -
S.
U -mi yu - ka - ba mi - zu - ku ka-ba - ne Ya - ma yu- ka -
B.
U -mi yu - ka - ba mi - zu - ku ka-ba - ne Ya - ma yu- ka -
(adapted from "Kimigayo" bugle call)
Tpt.
A♭
E♭7
A♭
A. Gtr.
S. D.
1:44
22
Bar.
-ba ku - sa mu-su ka-ba - ne O ki - mi - no He
S.
-ba ku - sa mu-su ka-ba - ne O ki - mi - no He
B.
-ba ku - sa mu-su ka-ba - ne O ki - mi - no He
Tpt.
S. D.


27
2:18
Bar.
fff
rallentando
ni ko - so shi - na - me Ka - e - ri mi - wa - se - ji.
S.
ff
ni ko - so shi - na - me Ka - e - ri mi - wa - se - ji.
B.
ff
ni ko - so shi - na - me Ka - e - ri mi - wa - se - ji.
Tpt.
rallentando
S. D.

Transcription 2. "Sen'yū." Morishige Hisaya

War Comrade (Sen'yū)

Morishige Hisaya and Columbia Orchestra. 1968. *Kanashiki Gunka.* Tokyo: Columbia.

Miyoshi Kazuoki

Duration 4:28
♩ = 72

Mashimo Hisen (1905)
Transcribed by S. McClimon

Violin I

Viola

Violoncello

0:26

13

Bar.

1.Ko - ko wa o-ku - ni wo nan-bya-ku ri Ha-na - re - te to - ki Ma-n shū

with a trembling voice

Dm Gm A7 Dm Gm

A. Gtr.

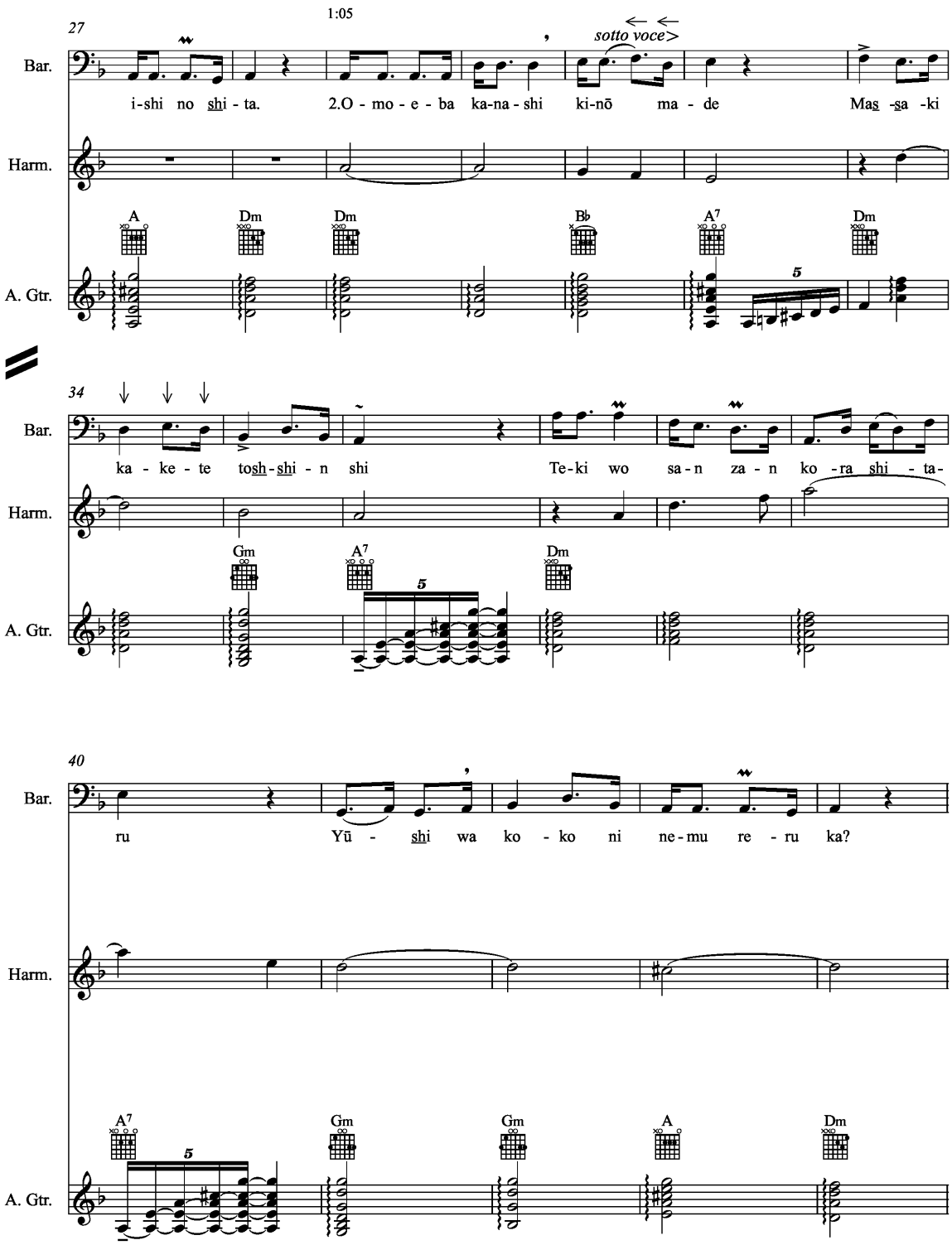
20

Bar.

no A - ka-i yu hi ni te-ra sa - re - te To - mo wa no-zu-e no

A7 Dm A7 Gm

A. Gtr.


1:05
27
sotto voce
Bar.
i-shi no shi - ta. 2.O - mo - e - ba ka-na - shi ki-nō ma - de Mas -sa -ki
Harm.
A Dm Dm B♭ A7 Dm
A. Gtr.
34
ka - ke - te tosh-shi - n shi Te-ki wo sa-n za - n ko -ra shi - ta-
Gm A7 Dm
40
ru Yū - shi wa ko - ko ni ne-mu re - ru ka?
A7 Gm Gm A Dm

1:37
♩ = 92

1:45

45

Bar.

f *marcato* chest v.

3.Ah ta-ta - ka-i no sai - chū ni

Cl.

tr

ff

Tpt.

S. D.

ff

Vln. I

tr

ff

Vla.

ff

pizzicato

Vc.

53

Bar.

Rubato

To-na - ri ni o - ri -shi ko-no to -mo no Ni-wa - ka ni ha - ta to

Tpt.

marcato

Vln. I

marcato

Vc.

59

Bar.

A tempo

f

Ta-u - re - shi wo Wa - re wa o - mo-wa - zu ka-ke - yo - ri - te.

Cl.

Vln. I

Vln + fl

Vc.

2:04

65

Bar.

f

4.Gun - rit - su ki-bi - shi- na-ka na - re do Ko -re ga mi-su - te - te o-ka-ryō ka

Vln. I

Vc.

73

Bar.

Shik-ka - ri se-o-to da-ki o - ko - shi Ka-ri ho u tai mo ta-ma no na - ka.

Cl.

Fl.

Vln. I

Vc.

♩ = 140 2:28

81

Bar.

Tpt.

"Charge"

f marcato *p muted*

S. D.

Vln. I

Vla.

arco

Vc.

2:37

♩ = 60

Verses 5-7 not sung on recording

90

Bar.

8.Mu - na-shi - ku hi-e-te ta-ma- shi wa Ku -ni e ka-e - te po- ket - to

p *Rubato*

Dm Gm A7 Dm Gm

A. Gtr.

97

Bar.

ni To - kei ba-ka-ri ga ko-chi ko-chi to U -go - i - te i - ru mo

A7 Dm A7 Gm Gm

A. Gtr.

3:09

♩ = 63

Verses 9-11 not sung on recording

104

Slower

Bar.

na-sa-ke na ya. 12.O - mo - i mo yo-ra - zu wa-re hi - to - ri Fu-shi-gi ni i -no-chi

Pno.

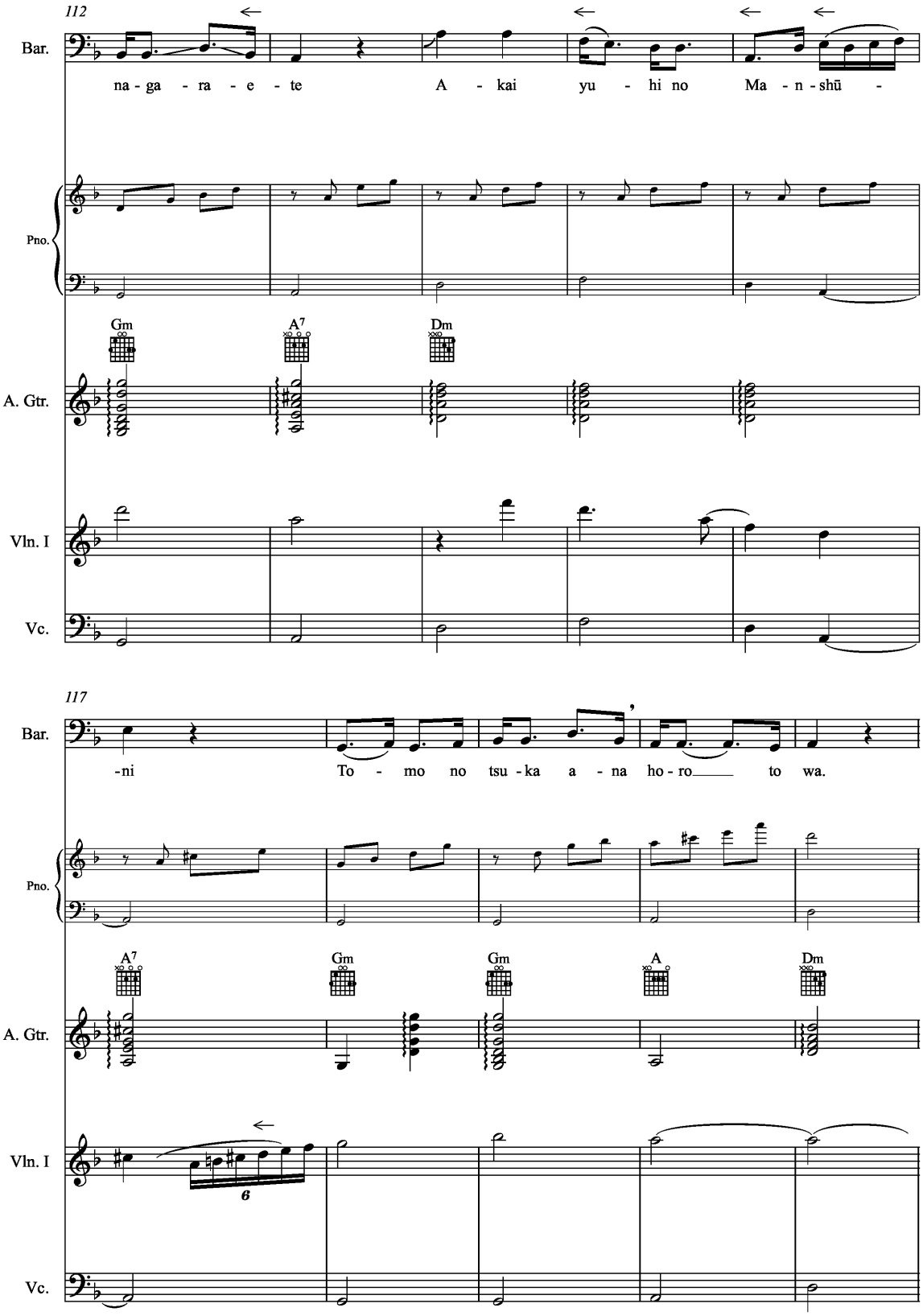
A Dm Dm Gm A7 Dm

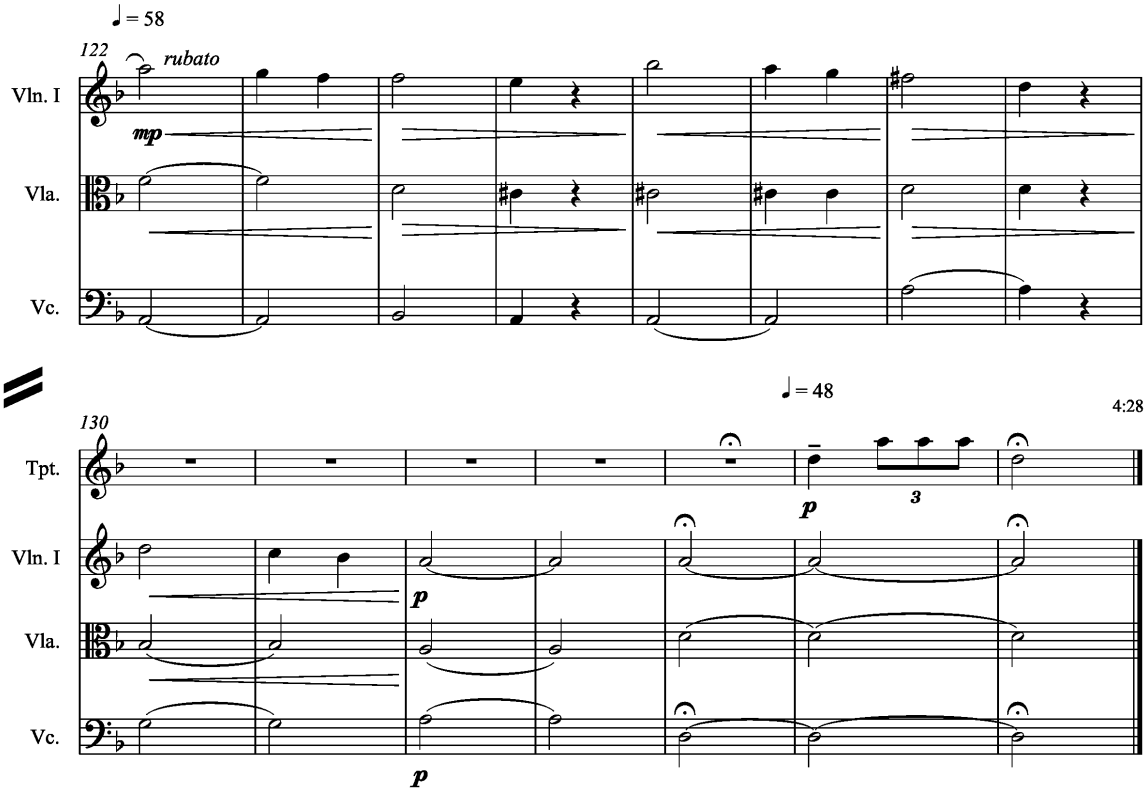
A. Gtr.

♩ = 63

Vln. I

Vc.


112
Bar.
na - ga - ra - e - te A - kai yu - hi no Ma - n - shū -
Pno.
Gm
A7
Dm
A. Gtr.
Vln. I
Vc.
117
Bar.
-ni To - mo no tsu - ka a - na ho - ro to wa.
Pno.
A7
Gm
Gm
A
Dm
A. Gtr.
Vln. I
6
Vc.


♩= 58
122
rubato
Vln. I
mp
Vla.
Vc.
♩= 48
4:28
130
Tpt.
p
3
Vln. I
p
Vla.
Vc.
p

Transcription 3. "Sen'yū." Misora Hibari

War Comrade (Sen'yū)

Misora Hibari. 1972. *Inori.* Tokyo: Columbia.

Miyoshi Kazuoki

Mashimo Hisen (1905)
Transcribed by S. McClimon

Duration 8:08

♩ = 80

"Kōshin hayaashi: Forward march quickstep"*

♩ = 72 0:16

Trumpet

mf
martellato

♩ = 80

♩ = 72

Double Bass

*Bugle call identified in Ōsada 1972:356.

0:17

10

Voice

mf

1.Ko - ko wa o ku - ni o nan bya-ku ri Ha-na-re-te tō - ki Man -shū no A - kai

chest voice

nasal voice

falsetto

Shak.

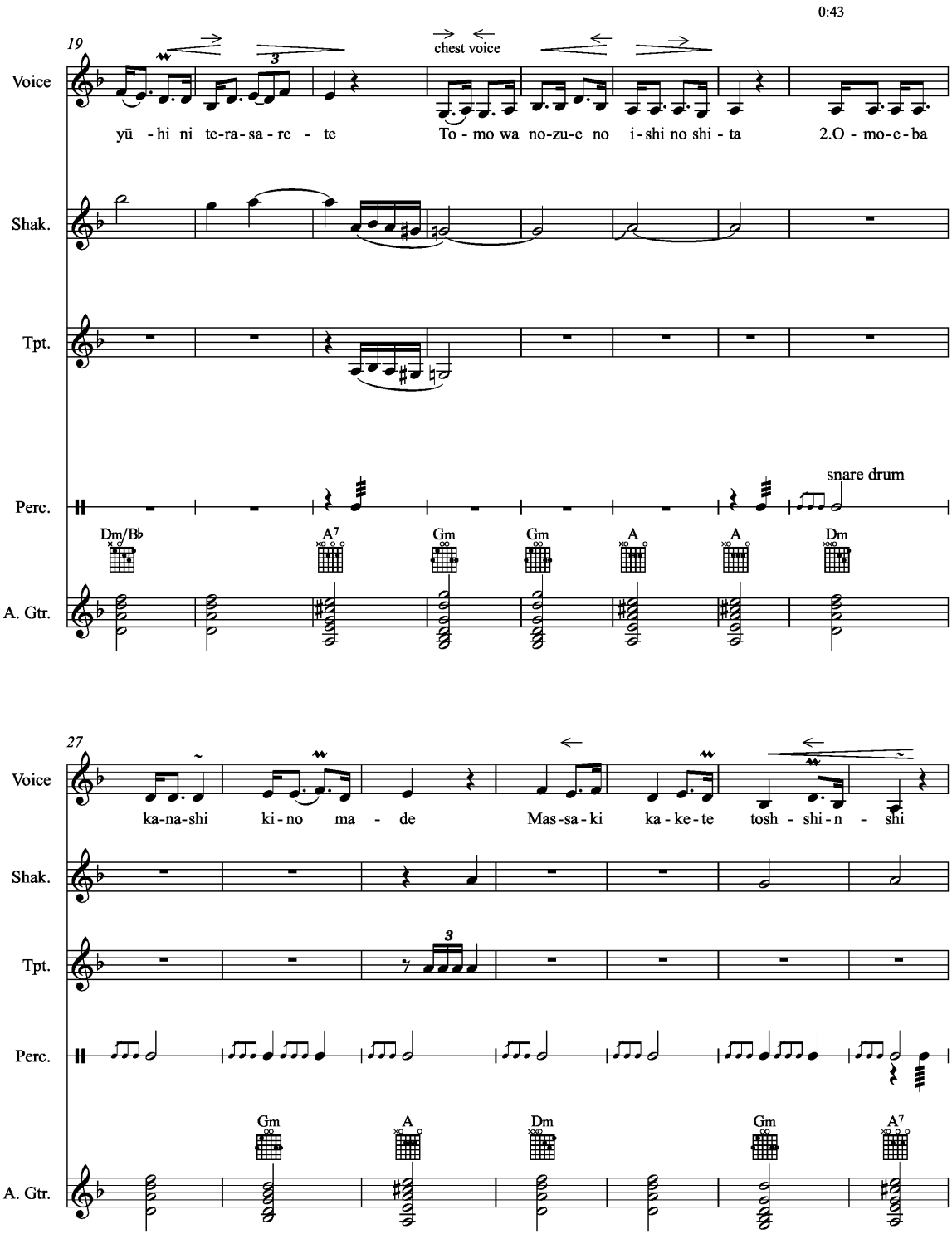
Tpt.

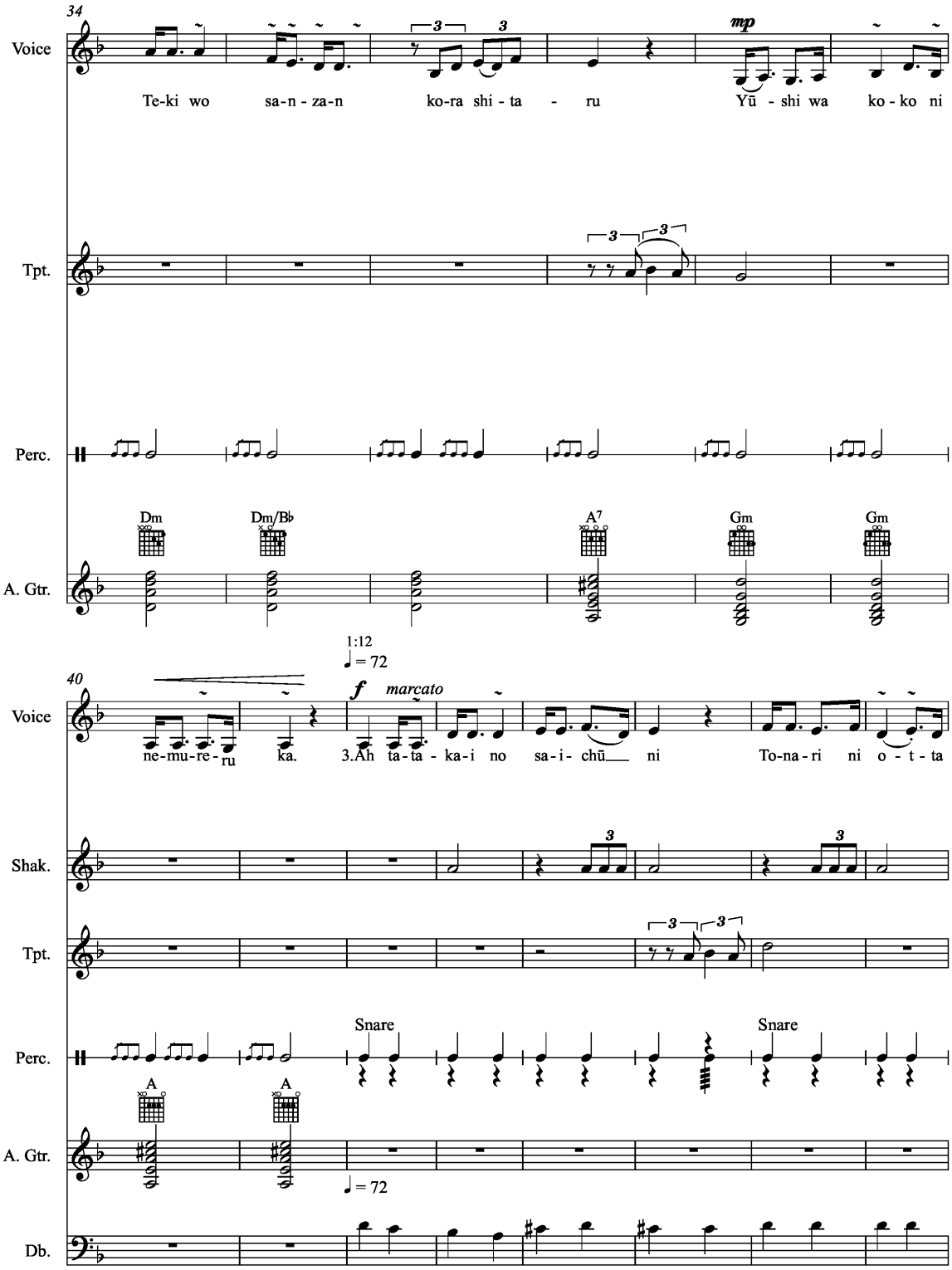
Perc.

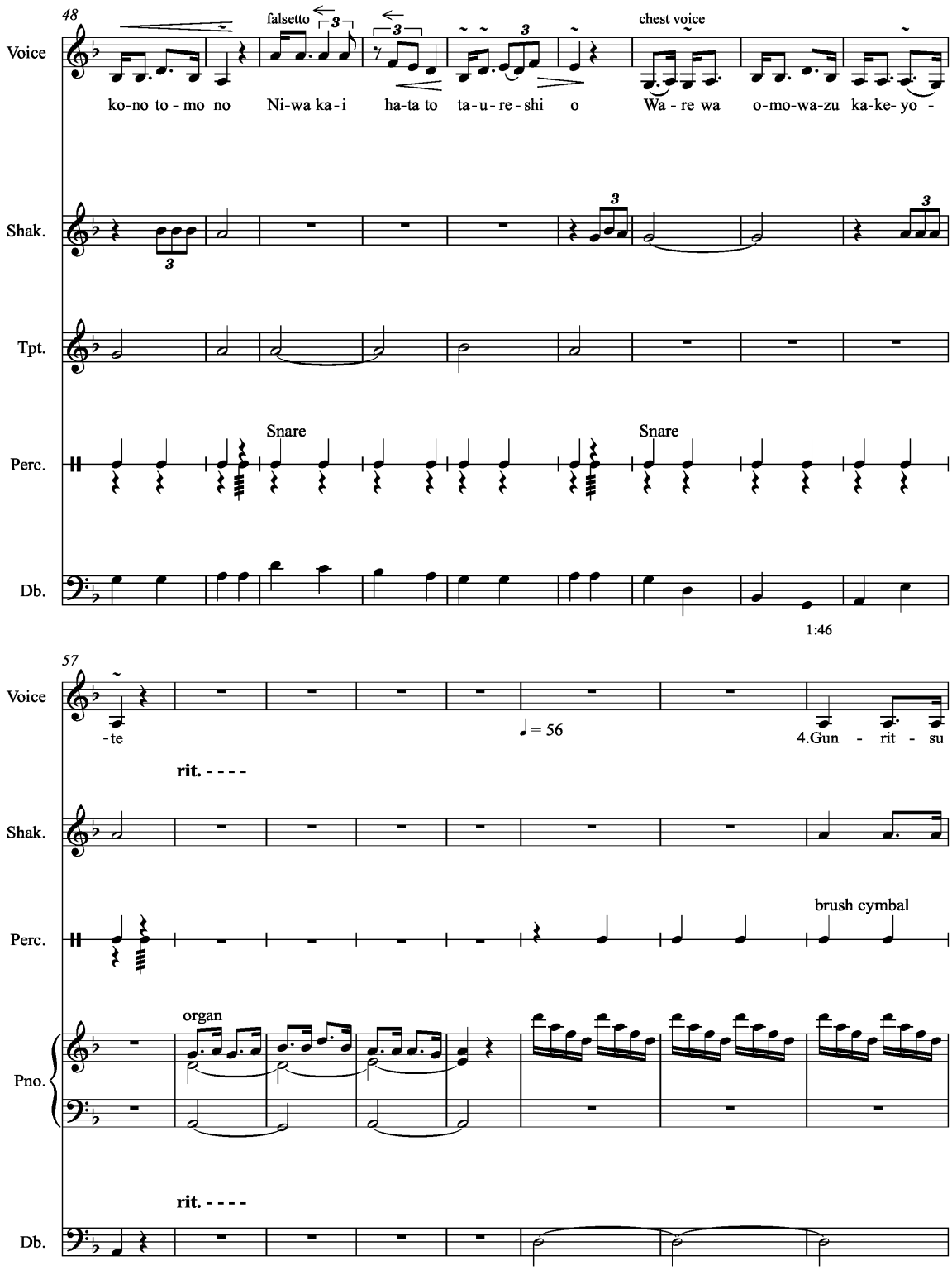
vibraslap

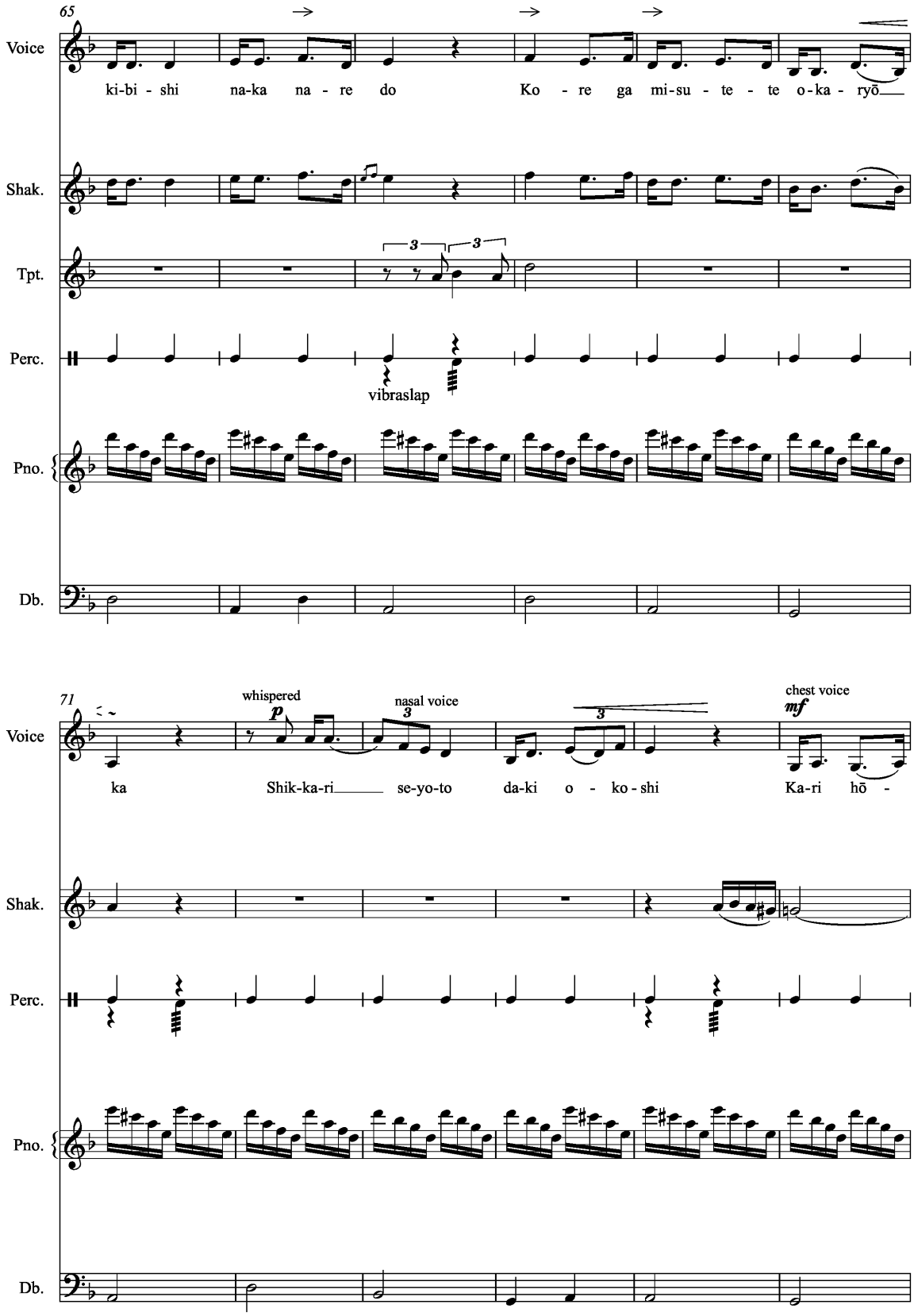
Dm Gm A Dm Gm A7 Dm

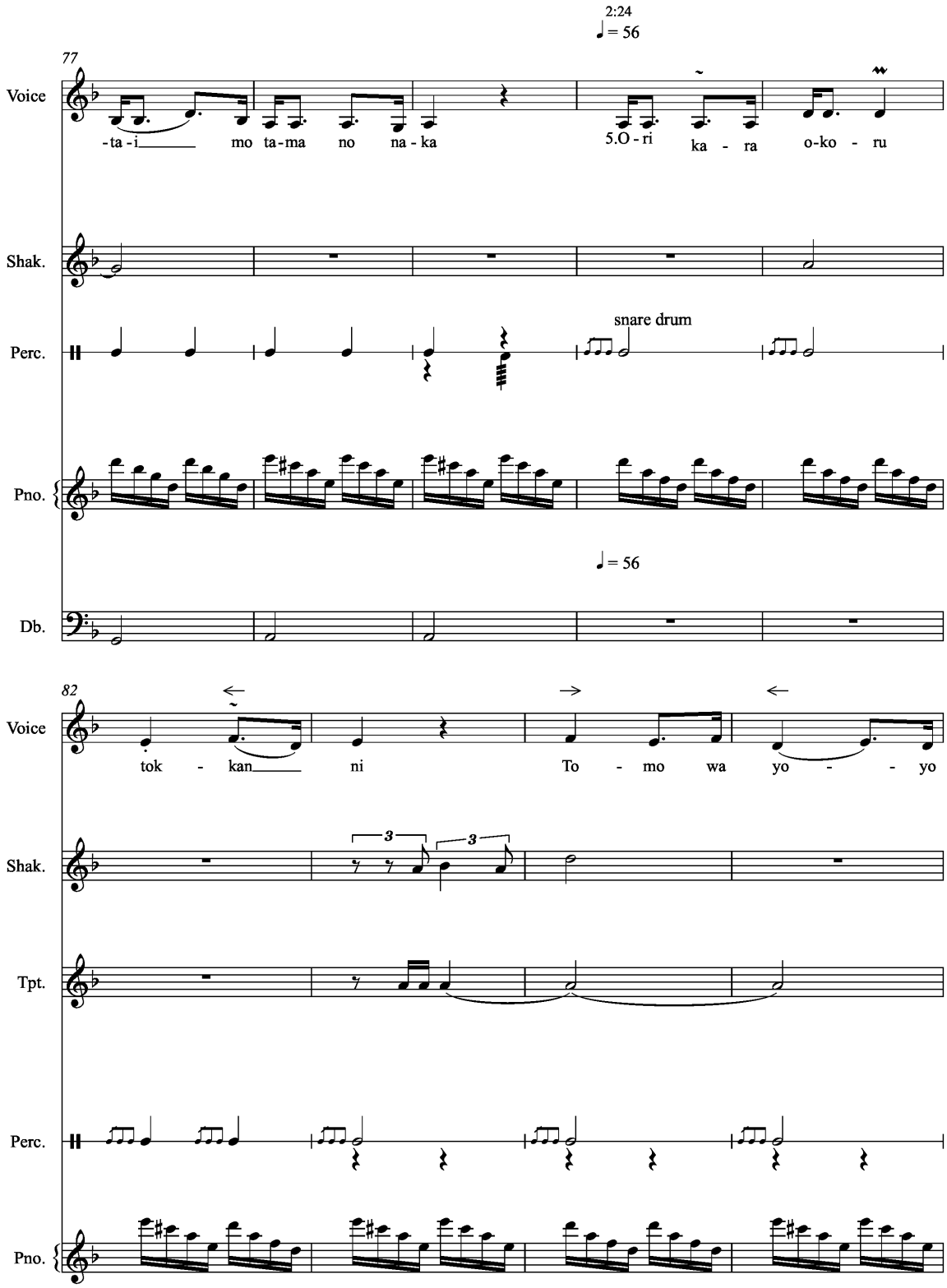
A. Gtr.

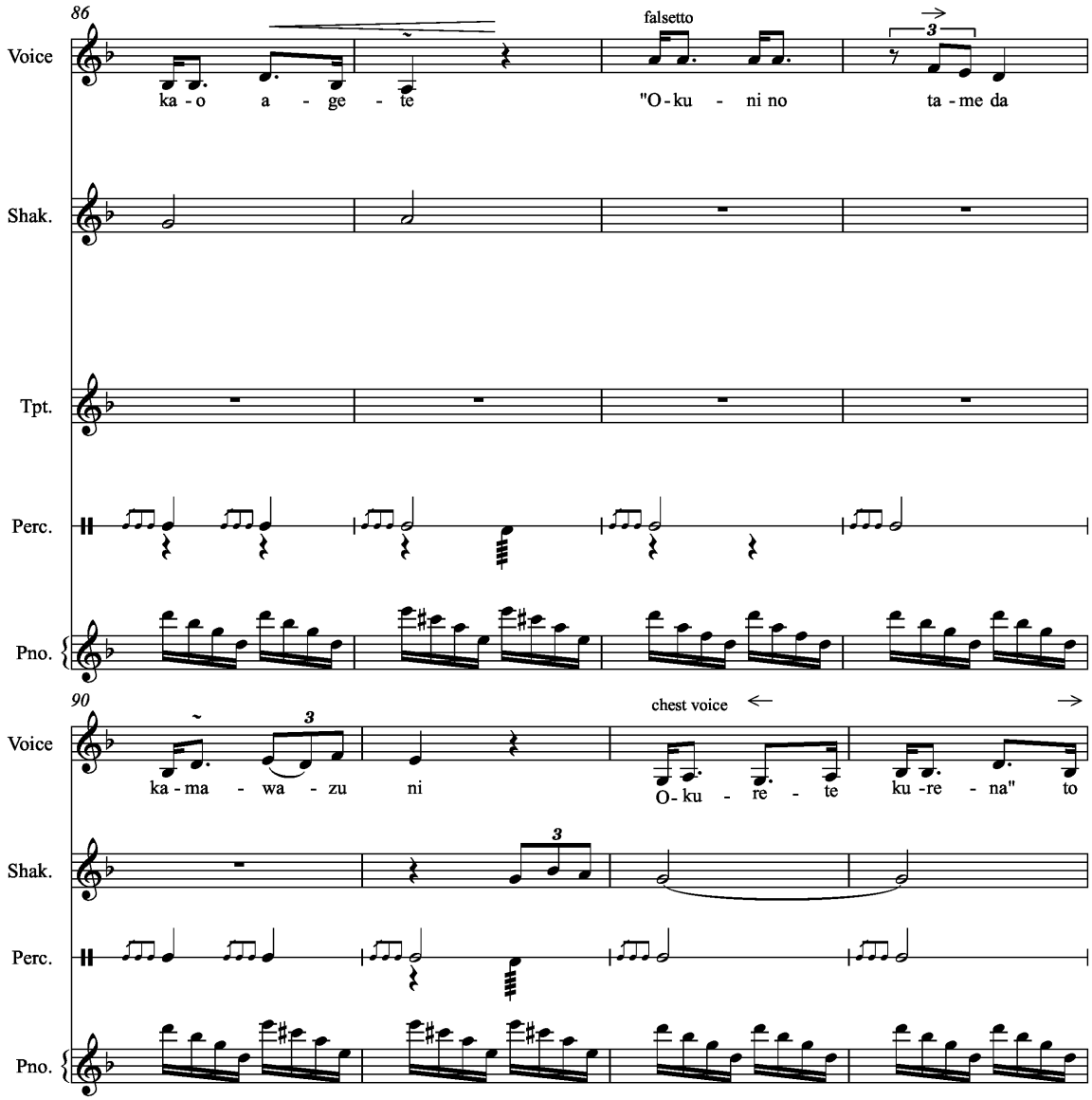

0:43
19
Voice
chest voice
yū -hi ni te-ra-sa-re - te
To - mo wa no-zu-e no i-shi no shi - ta
2.O - mo-e-ba
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
snare drum
Dm/B♭
A7
Gm
Gm
A
A
Dm
A. Gtr.
27
Voice
ka-na-shi ki-no ma - de
Mas-sa-ki ka-ke-te tosh - shi-n - shi
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
Gm
A
Dm
Gm
A7
A. Gtr.


34
Voice
Te-ki wo sa-n-za-n ko-ra shi-ta - ru
mp
Yū - shi wa ko-ko ni
Tpt.
Perc.
Dm
Dm/B♭
A7
Gm
Gm
A. Gtr.
1:12
♩= 72
40
Voice
ne-mu-re-ru ka.
f
marcato
3.Ah ta-ta - ka-i no sa-i- chū ni
To-na-ri ni o - t - ta
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
Snare
Snare
A
A
A. Gtr.
♩= 72
Db.


48
Voice
falsetto
chest voice
ko-no to - mo no
Ni-wa ka - i
ha-ta to
ta - u - re - shi
o
Wa - re wa
o-mo-wa-zu
ka-ke- yo -
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
Snare
Snare
Db.
1:46
57
Voice
-te
♩= 56
4.Gun - rit - su
rit. - - - -
Shak.
Perc.
brush cymbal
Pno.
organ
rit. - - - -
Db.


65
Voice
ki-bi - shi na-ka na - re do Ko - re ga mi-su - te - te o-ka - ryō
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
vibraslap
Pno.
Db.
71
Voice
ka Shik-ka-ri se-yo-to da-ki o - ko-shi Ka-ri hō -
whispered
p
nasal voice
chest voice
mf
Shak.
Perc.
Pno.
Db.


2:24
♩= 56
77
Voice
-ta-i mo ta-ma no na-ka
5.O-ri ka - ra o-ko - ru
Shak.
Perc.
snare drum
Pno.
♩= 56
Db.
82
Voice
tok - kan ni To - mo wa yo - - yo
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
Pno.


86
Voice
ka - o a - ge - te
falsetto
"O - ku - ni no
ta - me da
Shak.
Tpt.
Perc.
Pno.
90
Voice
ka - ma - wa - zu ni
chest voice
O - ku - re - te
ku - re - na" to
Shak.
Perc.
Pno.

94

Voice: me ni na - mi - da.

2:57 ♩ = 84

3:00 march-like, no rubato

mf for verses 6-14 only voice part transcribed

6.A - to ni ko-ko-ro wa no-ko-re-do

Shak.

Perc.

Pno.

101

Voice: mo no-ko-shi-cha na - ra-nu ko-no ka-ra - da So-re ja yu-ku-yo to wa-ka-re - ta ga Na - ga no

111

rit.

♩ = 63

3:26

Voice: wa-ka-re to nat-ta no ka?

7.Ta - ta-ka - i su-n-de hi-ga-ku-re - te

120

chest v, vib

Voice: Sa-ga-shi ni mo-do-ru ko-ko-ro de wa Do-zo i-ki-te i-te - ku-re yo Mo-no-na-do i - e - to

130

3:57

Voice: ne-ga - u - ta ni 8.Mu - na-shi-ku hi-e - te ta-ma- shi wa Ku - ni e kae -t ta po ket - to

139

head v.

rit.

Voice: ni To - ke i ba-ka-ri ga ko-chi ko-chi to U-go - i - te i - ru mo na-sa-ke na ya.

148 ♩ = 84 4:33 march-like, no rubato

Voice

9.O - mo - e - ba kyo-ne-n fu-na-de shi - te O-ku-ni ga mi - e - zu nat-ta to - ki Gen-kai

159 4:52

Voice

na-da ni te o ni - gi - ri Na o na ot - ta ga ha-ji-me-ni - te. 10.So - re yo-ri no-chi wa ip-po-n

169

Voice

no Ta-ba - ko mo fu - ta - ri wa-ke - te no - mi Tsui - ta te-ga - mi mo mi-se o -

177 tpt. poco rit.

Voice

-te Mi-no u - e ba - na - shi ku-ri - ka - e - shi.

186 ♩ = 88 5:20 mf mp

Voice

11.Ka - ta o dai te wa ku-chi gu-se ni Do - se i-no-chi wa na i mo-no yo Shi-n-da-ra ko-chi o

196 5:42 nasal voice

Voice

ta-no- mu-zo to i - ka wa shi-ta-ru fu-ta-ri na ka. 12.O - mo-i mo yo-ra-zu wa-re hi-to - ri

206

Voice

Fu-shi - gi ni i - no - chi na-ga - ra - e - te A - ka - i yū - hi no Ma - n- shū

213 6:04 tpt. slower

Voice

no To - mo no tsu-ka - a - na ho-ro - to wa.

♩ = 66

222 **suddenly slower**

Voice

mp

13.Ku - ma - na - ku ha-re - ta tsu-ki ko - yo - i Ko - ko - ro shi-mi - ji - mi fu-de to - te

230

Voice

To-mo no sa - i - go o ko-ma go - ma to O-ya - go - e o - ku - ru ko-no te - ga - mi

6:43

238

Voice

mf

14.Fu - de no ha-ko-bi wa tsu-ta- nai_ ga An-do no ka-ge de o-ya ta-chi no Ya-ma-ru-ru ko-ko-ro

falsetto

248

Voice

whisper

o-mo - i - ya - ri

chest voice

O-mo-wa-zu o - to - su hi-to shi-zu-ku.

mf

slower

O-mo-wa-zu o - to - su

Postlude 7:30

256

Voice

hi-to shi-zu - ku.

♩ = 72

Tpt.

"Kuni no shizume: Pacification of the nation"*

mf *legato*

Db.

♩ = 72

mf

267

Tpt.

rit.

8:08

Db.

rit.

* Osada 1972:348

Transcription 4. “Kudan no Haha.” Misora Hibari

The Mother at Kudan (Kudan no Haha)

Misora Hibari. 1972. *Inori.* Tokyo: Columbia.

Ishimatsu Shūji

Satō Tomifusa (1940)
Transcribed by S. McClimon

Duration 3:34

♩ = 66

"Kuni no shizume: Pacification of the nation"*

Trumpet

mp *legato* (muted throughout)

0:35

9

Tpt.

* Osada 1972:348

0:37

17

Cl.

mf

B. Cl.

Harm.

Vibraphone

Glock.

B♭ Gm/D B♭ Gm

E. Bass

Vln.

mp *mf*

1:00

26

Voice

chest v. → nasal v. ←←

mf

1.U - e- no e - ki ka-ra Ku-da-n ma - de Ka - tte

Cl.

f

B. Cl.

Shak.

f *f*

Harm.

Glock.

Glock

Eb Bb Bb

E. Bass

f

Vln.

f *f*

34

Voice

f chest v. head v. *mp* nasal v. *mf*

shi-ra-na-i ji ret - ta sa Tsu - e wo ta -yo -ri ni i-chi ni-chi gak ka - ri Se- ga -

Shak.

Harm.

Tpt.

E. Bass

F Gm Eb Bb F

Vln.

3

42

poco rit. rubato mp 1:34 mf a tempo

Voice: -re ki-ta zo ya a-i ni ki - ta.

Cl.

B. Cl.

Shak.

Harm.

Tpt.

Glock. (glock + woodblock)

E. Bass: B♭ Gm E♭ B♭

51

1:45 mf p

Voice: 2.So - ra o tsu-ku yo na o - to - ri Ko -na rip - pa na o-ya-shi-ro

Shak.

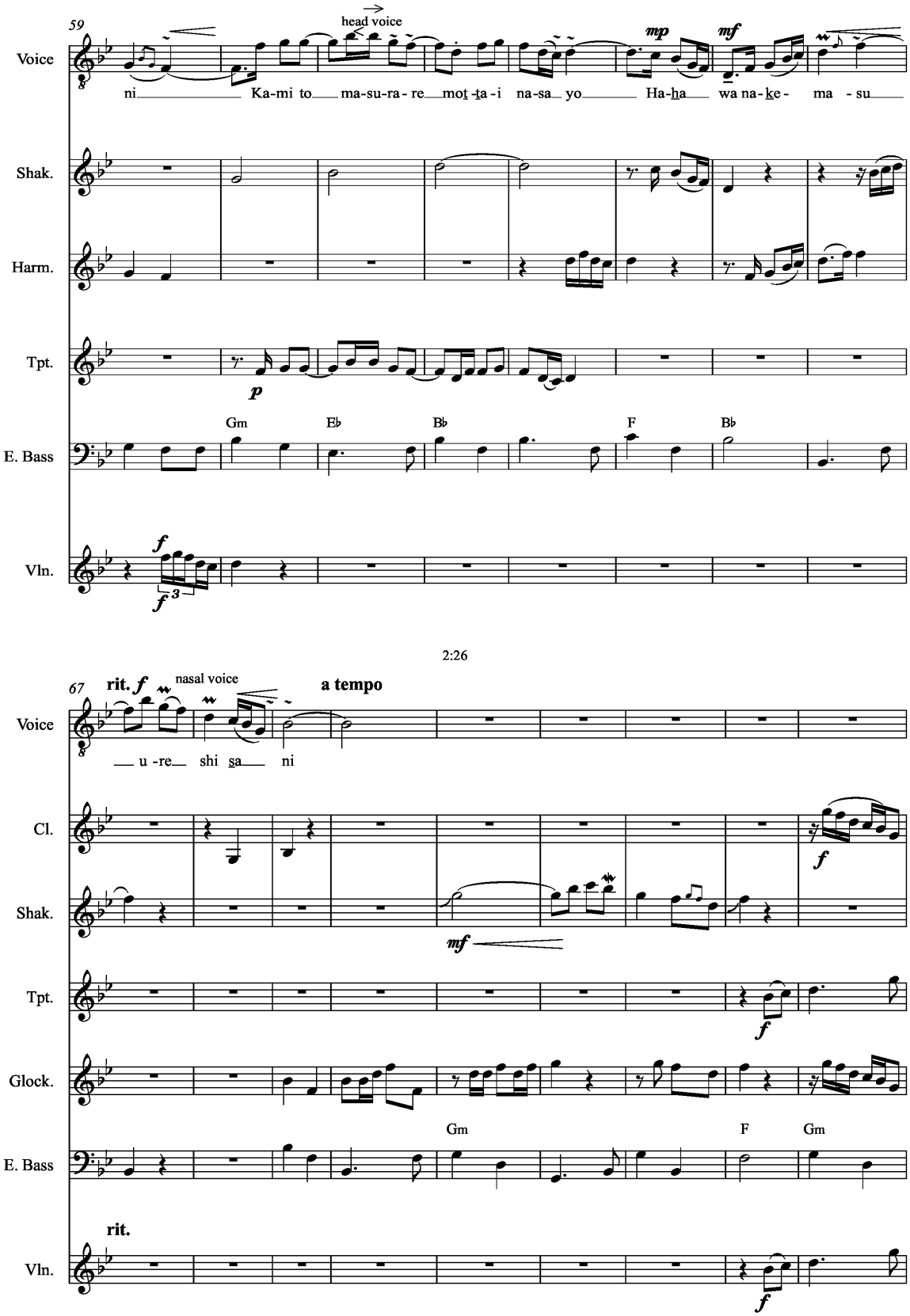
Harm.

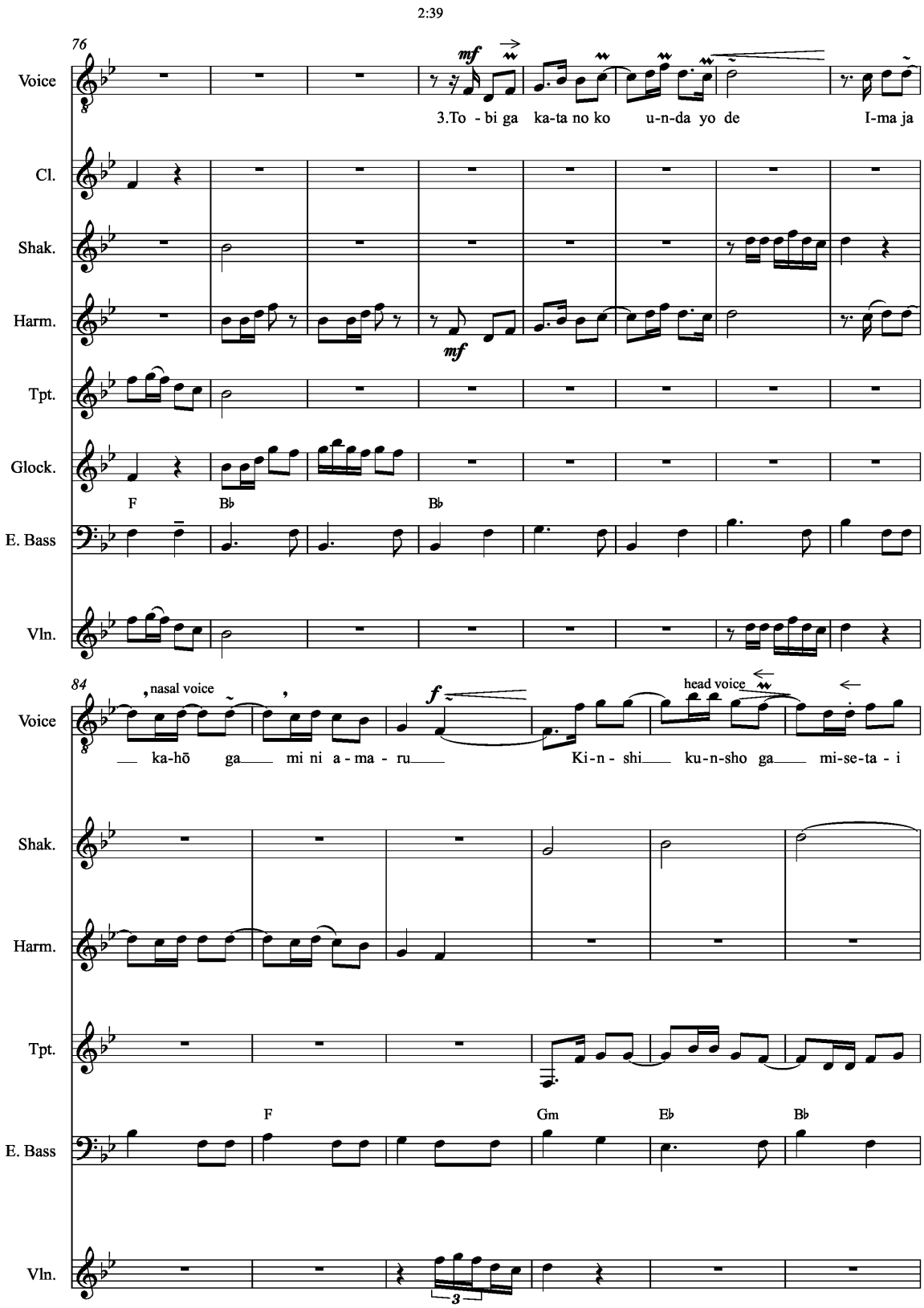
Tpt.

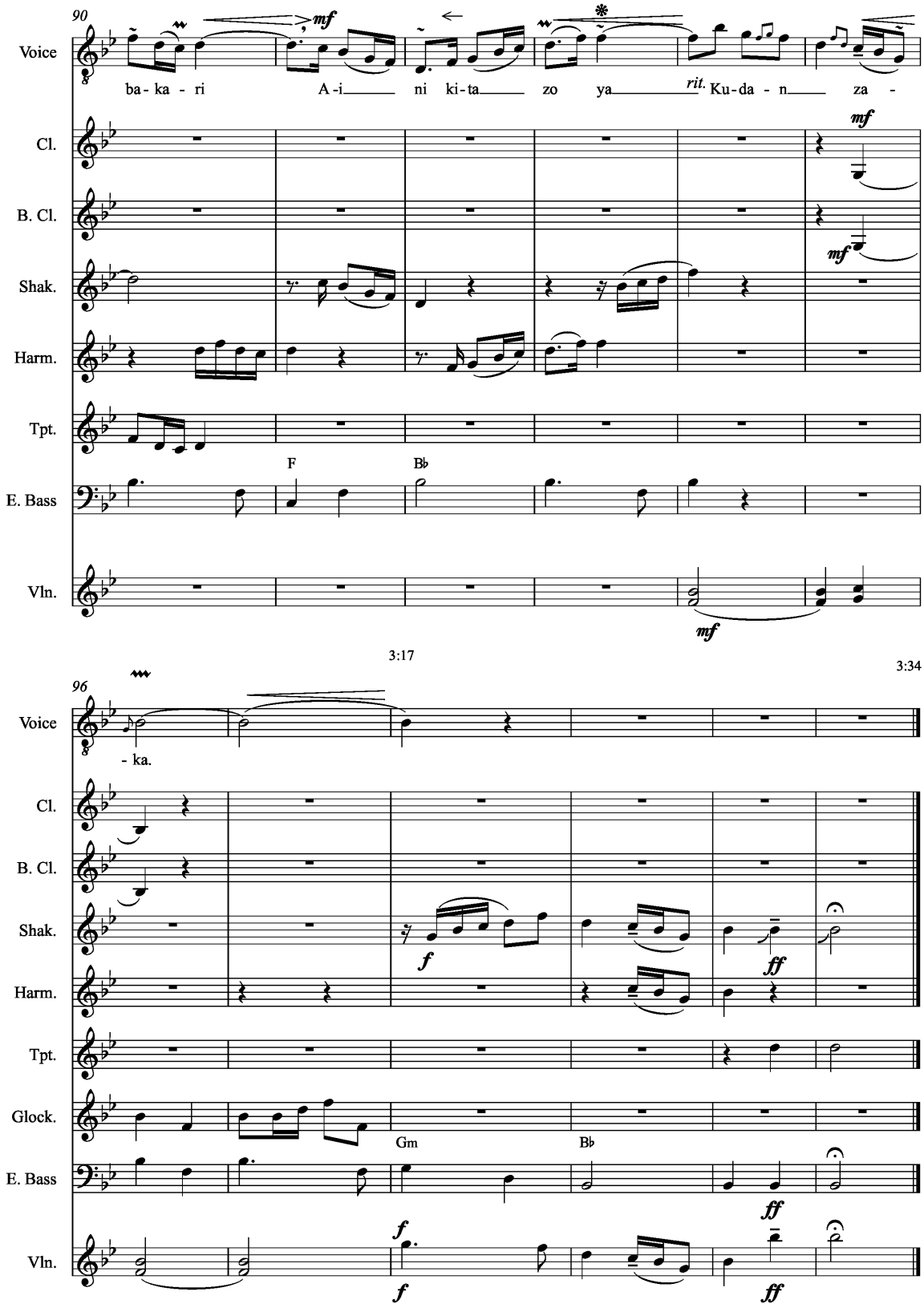
Glock.

E. Bass: B♭ F

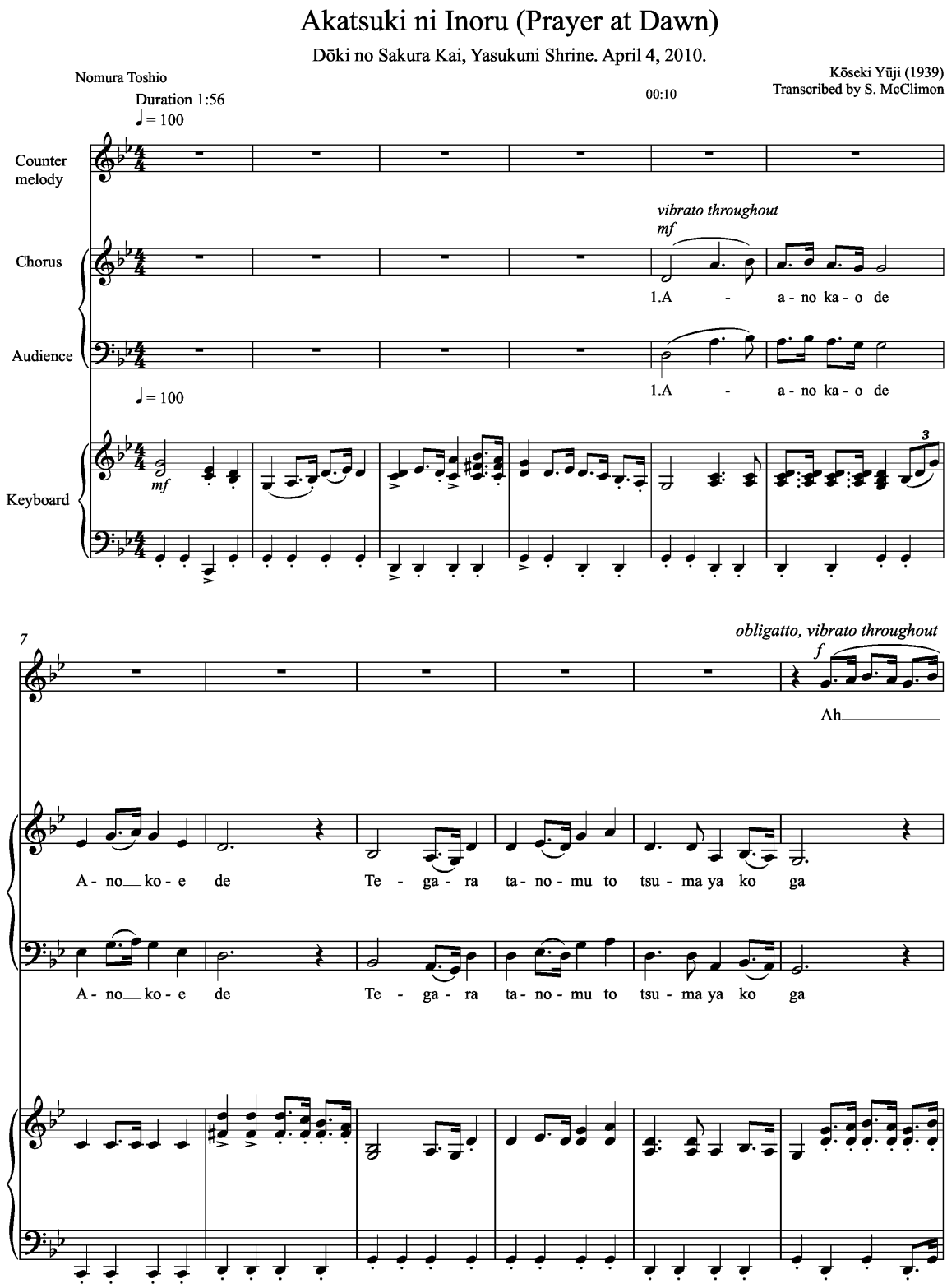
Vln.


59
Voice
head voice
ni Ka-mi to ma-su-ra-re mot-ta-i na-sa yo Ha-ha wa na-ke- ma -su
Shak.
Harm.
Tpt.
E. Bass
Gm Eb Bb F Bb
Vln.
2:26
67
rit.
nasal voice
a tempo
u-re shi sa ni
Cl.
Shak.
Tpt.
Glock.
E. Bass
Gm F Gm
rit.
Vln.


2:39
76
Voice
3.To - bi ga ka-ta no ko u-n-da yo de I-ma ja
Cl.
Shak.
Harm.
Tpt.
Glock.
F
B♭
B♭
E. Bass
Vln.
84
nasal voice
head voice
ka-hō ga mi ni a-ma-ru Ki-n-shi ku-n-sho ga mi-se-ta-i
Shak.
Harm.
Tpt.
F
Gm
E♭
B♭
E. Bass
Vln.


90
Voice
ba - ka - ri
A - i
ni ki - ta
zo ya
rit.
Ku - da - n
za -
mf
Cl.
B. Cl.
Shak.
Harm.
Tpt.
F
B♭
E. Bass
Vln.
3:17
3:34
96
- ka.
f
ff
Glock.
Gm
B♭

Transcription 5. "Akatsuki ni Inoru." Dōki no Sakura Kai Chorus



13

mf

Ah Ah

Chi- gi- re- ru ho- do ni Fut - ta ha - ta To - i

Chi- gi- re- ru ho- do ni Fut - ta ha - ta To - i

00:43

♩= 108

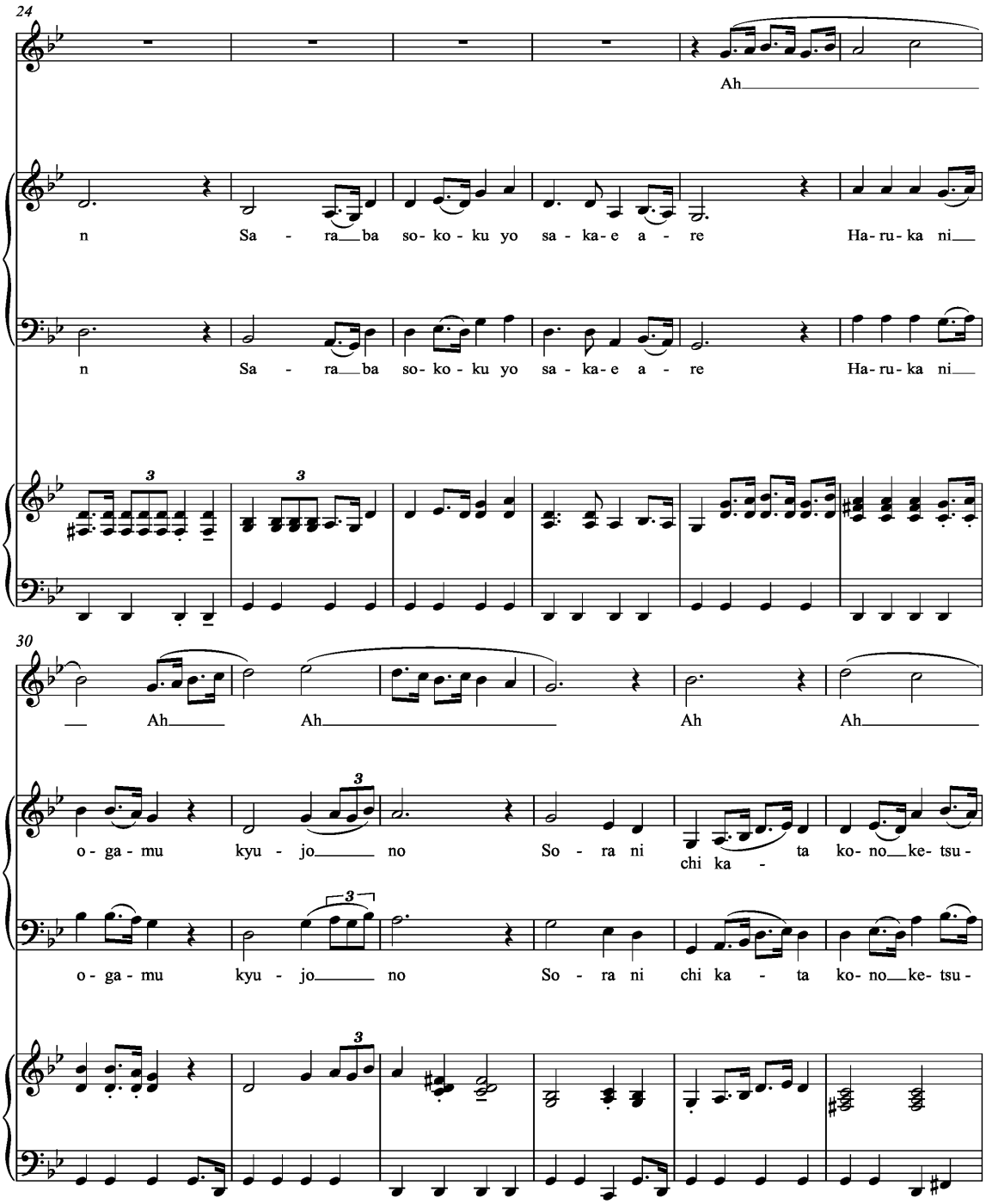
18

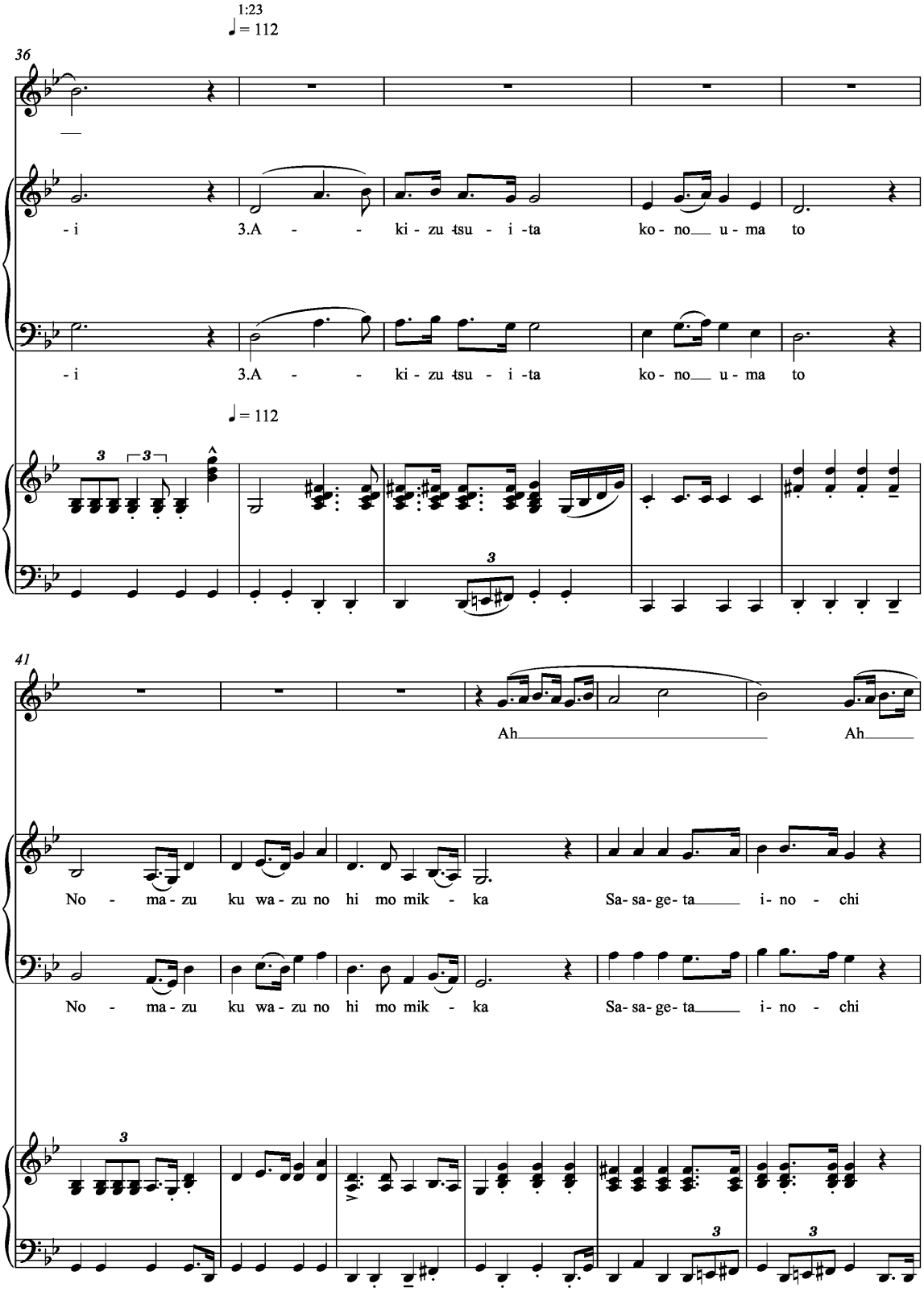
Ah Ah

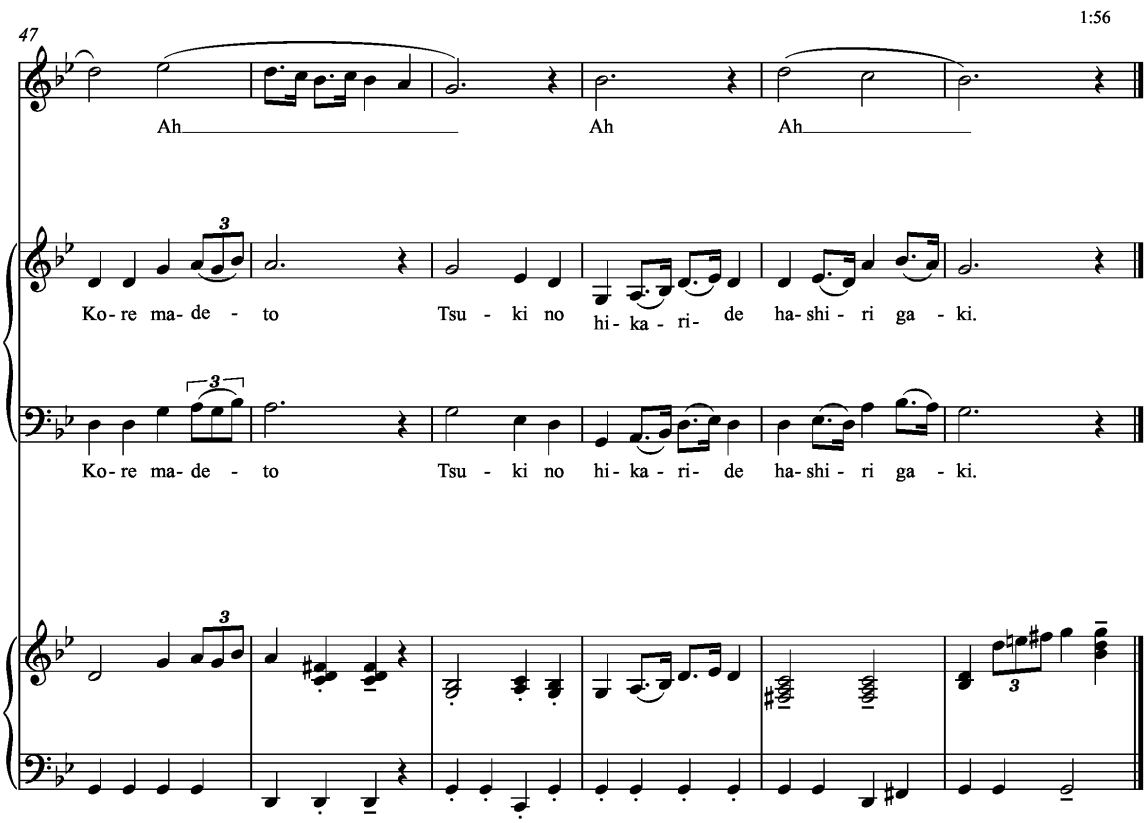
ku- mo- ma ni ma- ta u- ka - bu. 2.A - do - do no yu- so - se-

ku- mo- ma ni ma- ta u- ka - bu. 2.A - do - do no yu- so - se-

♩= 108


24
Ah
n Sa - ra ba so- ko - ku yo sa - ka- e a - re Ha- ru- ka ni
n Sa - ra ba so- ko - ku yo sa - ka- e a - re Ha- ru- ka ni
30
Ah Ah Ah Ah
o - ga - mu kyu - jo no So - ra ni chi ka - ta ko- no ke- tsu -
o - ga - mu kyu - jo no So - ra ni chi ka - ta ko- no ke- tsu -


1:23
♩= 112
36
- i 3.A - - ki - zu -tsu - i -ta ko - no u - ma to
- i 3.A - - ki - zu -tsu - i -ta ko - no u - ma to
♩= 112
41
Ah Ah
No - ma - zu ku wa - zu no hi mo mik - ka Sa- sa- ge- ta i- no - chi
No - ma - zu ku wa - zu no hi mo mik - ka Sa- sa- ge- ta i- no - chi


47
1:56
Ah Ah Ah
Ko-re ma-de - to Tsu - ki no hi-ka-ri- de ha-shi-ri ga - ki.
Ko-re ma-de - to Tsu - ki no hi-ka-ri- de ha-shi-ri ga - ki.

Appendix B. Songs Studied with Tanaka Shōri

I studied the following songs at *karaoke* lessons with Tanaka Shōri at the Yūki Club in Ginza, Tokyo. I performed them at events held by the Unabarakai and Kōhikai, as well as at *gunka* clubs Otakebi Kai, Yōsoro, and Music Saloon Chika. My focus was on official military songs of the navy as well as *senji kayō* from the final years of the Asia-Pacific War.

"Aikoku no Hana"	Flowers of Patriotism
"Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta"	Father, You Were Brave
"Gōchin"	Instant Sinking
"Kansen Kinmu"*	Battleship Duties
"Kudan no Haha"*	Mother at Kudan
"Ikani Kyōfū"	Whatever Storms May Blow
"Parao Koisha"	My Palau Lover
"Rabauru Kaigun Kōkūtai"	The Rabaul Naval Air Corps
"Shanghai no Hana Uri Musume"	The Flower Girl of Shanghai
"Umi no Shingun"*	Advancing on the Ocean
"Umi Yukaba"*	If I Go to the Sea

I performed the songs marked with an asterisk at Unabarakai and Kōhikai events. I sang the other songs with various *gunka* communities during field research.

Appendix C. Most Recent Collection of Japanese Military Songs (*Saishin Nihon Gunkashū*) Preface

Since the recent outbreak of trouble between Japan and China, Japan's dullness and stagnation needs to be revived, and the national spirit is in need of reawakening.

The emperor's imperial army has had many active exploits in Asia. One should by fired up and burst with good faith along with a multitude (8,000,000) of comrades, and with love and good faith in the nation!

However, the current conflict has caused many troubles, and one cannot predict the dangers that are to come. We, the people of Japan must meet the obstacles that we face with a firm resolution together. The current tensions are not eternal; no, as love for your nation flourishes and with high spirits and national unity we can turn toward the future and progress with courage.

This is to say, the people of Japan should rise up and sing *gunka* proudly, in order to increase the power of the people's spirit with unparalleled strength of mind; this urgency must be made clear.

The dynamic lyrics and inspiring, brave melodies will raise morale when sung alone and when sung in groups will encourage a fighting spirit. When sung, they create deep emotion and excitement, and when heard, the produce joy and pleasure.

When these war songs are sung loudly, they stir up patriotism and a war cry will burst forth.

Of course, this book includes popular *gunka* related to the recent conflicts in China. In addition, songs from the early Meiji period and the Russo-Japanese war, if they can be called *gunka*, have not been omitted, so this is a fairly complete collection of *gunka* that has been compiled.

Sing these *gunka* proudly to raise up the nation! These are the glorious songs of the emperor's nation of Japan!

April 1932
Compiled by Committee

Appendix D. Contents of the 2010 *Dōki no Sakura Kai Songbook*

Dōki no Sakura (Cherry Blossoms of the Same Class)
Aa Waga Sen'yū (Oh, My War Comrade)
Aa, Montenrupa no Yo wa Fukete (The Night Deepens in Muntinlupa)
Aa Kurenai Chi ga Moyuru (Oh, the Red Blood Boils)
Aikoku Kōshinkyoku (Patriotic March)
Aikoku no Hana (Flowers of Patriotism)
Akatsuki ni Inoru (Prayer at Dawn)
Ikoku no Oku (The Hills of the Foreign Land)
Ika ni Kyōfū (How Many Strong Winds)
Umi Yukaba (If I Go to the Sea)
Umi no Shingun (Advancing on the Sea)
Katō Hirobusa Sento Tai (Katō's Falcon Air Squad)
Kansen Kinmu (Duties on Ship)
Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin (Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Friday)
Genkō (Mongol Invasions[45])
Gōchin (Instant Sinking of a Ship)
Suishiei no Kaiken (The Meeting at Suishiei)
Shussei Heitai wo Okuru Uta (Song to Send the Soldiers Off to War)
Shonen Nippon: Shōwa Ishin no Uta (Young Boys of Japan: The Showa Restoration Song)
Sen'yū (War Comrade)
Sokoku no Mamori—Oyama Genshi wo Mamoru Uta (Protecting the Motherland)
Sen'yū no Ikotsu wo Daite (Holding the Ashes of my War Comrade)
Sora no Shinpei (Military Gods of the Sky)
Sora no Yūshi (Courageous Men of the Sky)
Taiwangun no Uta (Song of the Taiwanese Army)
Tachibana Chūsa (Colonel Tachibana)
Chichiyo Anata wa Tsuyokatta (Father, You were Strong)
Teki wa Ikuman (There are Many tens of Thousands of Enemies)
Tōhikō (Manchurian Irregular Army)
Tokkan no Uta (Battle Cry and Charge Song)
Hirose Chūsa (Colonel Hirose)
Fujin Jūgunka (Wife Joins the Army)
Hōhei no Uta (Song of the Infantry)
Hokushi Haken gun no Uta (Song of Dispatch to Northern China)
Hoshiochi Shūfū Gojōgen (Song describing a battle in China, Third Century)
Hohei no Uta (Infantry Song)
Mugi to Heitai (Wheat and Soldiers)
Yasukuni Jinja no Uta (Yasukuni Shrine Song)
Yūkan naru Suihei (The Brave Sailor)
Yuki no Shingun (Advancing in the Snow)

---

[45] Refers to the Mongolian invasions of 1274 and 1281 and the intervention of storms (called *kamikaze*, divine winds). This story was a source of Japanese national spirit mobilization during the Asia-Pacific War.

Rabauru Kaigun Kōkūtai (Rabaul Naval Division)
Rabauru Kouta (Song of Rabaul)
Ryūsha no Mamori (Protection of Manchuria)
Roei no Uta (Bivouac Song)
Wakawashi no Uta (Song of the Young Eagles)

Glossary

aikokushin 愛国心　patriotism

bidan 美談　literally "beautiful stories," didactic tales that tell of military heroism

bushidō 武士道　the way of the warrior

butaika 部隊歌　Japanese regiment songs

damasareta だまされた　to have been tricked, often used by Japanese to describe the experience of ordinary citizens during the war; critics suggest it is a denial of responsibility for war crimes

Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai 英霊にこたえる会　"The Glorious War Dead Society," a group that supports the activities of the Yasukuni Shrine

enka 演歌 a popular song genre that incorporates traditional Japanese scales and vocal techniques

furisode 振り袖　a formal long-sleeved kimono worn by girls and unmarried women

gagaku 雅楽　music of the Imperial Court

gungakutai 軍楽隊　military band music

gunka 軍歌　military songs

gunkoku kayō 軍国歌謡　militaristic songs

hakama 袴　culottes worn over a kimono; school girls wore *hakama* before 1945

hayashi 囃子　a musical ensemble of flutes and drums

heitai songu 兵隊ソング　songs written by enlisted soldiers and sailors

hinomaru 日の丸　the rising sun, the red circular sun on a white background that is the current Japanese flag

hōgaku 邦楽　traditional music of Japan

honne 本音　one's true feelings that are not expressed outwardly (cf *tatemae*)

hyōjō 平調　the *gagaku* court music mode built on E

ichikotsu 壱越調　the *gagaku* court music mode built on D

isamashii 勇ましい　brave, courageous, manly, dashing, stirring

kakko ii かっこいい　cool, stylish

kanashii 哀しい　sad, tragic

Kigensetsu Nisen Roppyaku Nen 紀元節二千六百年　Two thousand six-hundredth anniversary of the mythical founding of Japan by the first emperor Jimmu, celebrated in 1940

kokumin gakkō 国民学校　wartime elementary school, "people's school"

kō, otsu, kan 甲乙官　the three levels of naval trainees, from highest to lowest

kosupurē コスプレー　from "costume play": a hobby that involves dressing as a favorite character from animation, video games, TV shows, or history.

koto 箏 or 琴　thirteen-stringed long zither

makoto 誠　sincerity

Man'yōshū 万葉集　*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves* poetic anthology, compiled around 759 AD, the oldest Imperial Poetic Anthology

marusu マルス　term for march, adopted by early fife and drum corps in Japan

min'yō 民謡　regional folk songs
miyako-bushi 都節 "capital" scale, pentatonic scale with half-steps frequent in traditional Japanese music.
natsumero ナツメロ　nostalgic songs, a broad category of older popular songs
nagauta 長唄　"Long songs," a genre of dance piece used in kabuki theater and concerts. Songs are accompanied by *shamisen,* flute, and percussion ensemble.
nō 能　traditional masked theater, developed by the upper classes in fourteenth century
otokorashii　男らしい　manly, masculine
pachinko パチンコ　a type of game in Japan similar to pinball
ryōka 寮歌　dormitory songs and school songs
sanbika 賛美歌　Christian hymns; in Japan the majority of hymns are of Protestant origin
sanshin 三線　Okinawan long-neck lute with two snakeskin heads
seishiki gunka 正式軍歌　official songs written for use in the Japanese military
senji kayō 戦時歌謡　wartime popular songs
sensō sekinin 戦争責任　war responsibility, a topic of discussion usually among Japanese academics
shamisen 三味線　three-stringed long-necked lute, used to accompany a variety of genres (art, theatrical, folk) in the Edo Period and later
Shintaishi 新体詩　*Selection of Poems in the New Style*, 1882, a poetic anthology of the Meiji Period, including translations of foreign poems and new poems in foreign styles
shōka 唱歌　public school songs, many adapted from or inspired by European songs, used in elementary schools since the Meiji Era
tatemae 建前　proper outside behavior, one's public face (cf. *honne*)
tennōsei 天皇制　the emperor system
tokubetsu kōgekitai (abbr. *tokkōtai*) 特別攻撃隊（特攻隊）　special attack forces, known in the West as *kamikaze* suicide pilots
tonarigumi 隣組　neighborhood associations
Unabarakai 海原会　"Across the Sea" group. An association of former Asia-Pacific War pilots that holds war commemorations and peace events in Japan, the USA and the Pacific to honor the war dead
uyoku 右翼　the far right-wing political view
yamato-damashii 大和魂　the spirit of Japan
Yasukuni Shrine/Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社　A shrine whose name means "Peaceful Nation Shrine." Founded in 1869 and state-supported until 1945, it memorializes all who died in Japanese wars. It is controversial because many war criminals' spirits are enshrined there.
yokaren 予科練　naval pilot trainees
yōgaku 洋楽　Western music; usually refers to European classical music in Japan

References

Alcoff, Linda Martin. 1995. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." In *Who Can Speak?: Authority and Critical Identity*. Edited by Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, 97-120. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Anonymous. 1892. *Nihon Gunka.* Tokyo: Ōbashi Shintarō.

Anonymous. 1932. *Saishin Nihon Gunkashū* [Most Recent Collection of Japanese Military Songs]. Tokyo: Shūkyōsha.

Arajuo, Samuel, et. al. 2006. "Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro." *Ethnomusicology* 50(2): 287-313.

Asai Motofumi. 2007. "Barefoot Gen, the Atomic Bomb and I: The Hiroshima Legacy. Nakazawa Keiji interviewed by Asai Motofumi." Translated by Richard H. Minear. *Japan Focus: An Asia-Pacific E-Journal.* http://www.japanfocus.org/products/details/2638 (accessed 29 March 2008).

Asano Jun. 1990. *Kayōkyoku no Subete: Besuto* 967 [Complete Collection of Popular Songs: The Top 967]. Tokyo: Zen-on Gakufu Shuppansha.

Askew, Kelly. 2002. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bannister, Roland. 2002. "How Are We to Write Our Music History? Perspectives on the Historiography of Military Music." *Musicology Australia* 25: 1-21.

Bradley, James. 2003. *Flyboys: A True Story of Courage.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Brown, Roger, and James Kulik. 1982. "Flashbulb Memories." In *Memory Observed: Remembering in Natural Contexts*. Edited by Ulrich Neisser and Ira F. Hyman, 23-40. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co.

Buchanan, Donna. 2006. *Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ceribašić, Naila. 2000. "Defining Women and Men in the Context of War: Images in Croatian Popular Music in the 1990s." In *Music and Gender.* Edited by Pirkko Moisala and Beverley Diamond. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Condry, Ian. 2007. "Youth, Intimacy, and Blood: Media and Nationalism in Contemporary Japan." *Japan Focus: An Asia-Pacific E-Journal.* http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2403 (accessed 2 May 2008).

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crown Prince Akihito Scholarship Foundation. 2009. "Crown Prince Akihito Scholarship General Information (American Applicant) 2009-2010." **http://www.jashawaii.org/acpas.asp** (accessed 13 February 2011).

Daiichi Kōshō. 2008. *DAM Karaoke.* Tokyo: Daiichi Kōshō.

Doi Takeo. 1985. *The Anatomy of Self: The Individual Versus Society.* Tokyo: Kodansha.

Dower, John W. 1986. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War.* New York: Pantheon Books.

———. 1999. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II.* New York: Norton.

Dümling, Albrecht. 1993. "On the Road to the 'Peoples' Community' (Volksgemeinschaft): The Forced Conformity of the Berlin Academy of Music Under Fascism." *The Musical Quarterly* 77(3): 459-83.

Duus, Peter. 1998. *Modern Japan, Second Edition.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Enloe, Cynthia. 1983. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Womens' Lives.* Boston, MA: South End Press.

———. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eppstein, Ury. 1995. *The Beginnings of Western Music in Meiji Era Japan.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 1993. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives, Second Edition.* London: Pluto Press.

Farmer, Henry George. 1950. *Military Music*. New York: Chanticleer Press.

Frühstück, Sabine. 2007. *Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory, and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fujie, Linda. 1989. "Popular Music." In *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture.* Edited by Richard God Powers and Hidetoshi Katō, 197-220. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Gakusuikai, ed. 1984. *Kaigun Gungakutai: Nihon Yōgaku no Genten* [The Naval Bands: The Original Western Music of Japan]. Tokyo: Kokusho Kikō Kai.

Gellner, Ernest. 1996. "Reply to Critics." In *The Social Philosophy of Ernest Gellner.* Edited by John A. Hall and Ian Charles Jarvie, 623-85. Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.

Gilbert, Shirli. 2005. *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gilman, Lisa. 2010. "An American Soldier's iPod: Layers of Identity and Situated Listening in Iraq." *Music and Politics* 4(2): 1-17.

Goldstein, Joshua S. 2003. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice-Versa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gronow, Pekka and Ilpo Saunio, editors. 1998. *An International History of the Recording Industry*. Translated from the Finnish by Christopher Moseley. London: Cassell.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory.* Edited, translated and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, John A. and Ian Charles Jarvie, eds. 1996. *The Social Philosophy of Ernest Gellner.* Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.

Hayashi Hidehiko. 2002. *Umi Yukaba, Yama Yukaba: Nihonjin to Gunka* [If You Go to the Sea, If You Go to the Mountains: The Japanese and Military Songs]. Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo.

———. 2008. *Nihon no Gunka wa Geijutsu Sakuhin dearu* [Japanese Military Songs are Works of Art]. Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo.

Hicks, George. 1997. *Japan's War Memories: Amnesia or Concealment?* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition.* Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoganson, Kristin L. 1998. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Horiuchi Keizō. 1942. *Gunka Monogatari: Gunka Meibanshū Kaisetsusho* [The Story of Military Song: Book of Explanations for the Famous Gunka Record Collection]. Tokyo: Japan Victor Records.

———. 1969. *Teihon: Nihon no Gunka* [Standard Collection of Japanese Military Songs]. Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha.

Hosokawa Shūhei, Matsumura Hiroshi, and Shiba Shun'ichi, editors. 1991. *A Guide to Popular Music in Japan.* Takarazuka, Hyōgo: International Association for the Study of Popular Music in Japan (IASPM-Japan).

Hunter, Justin R. 2009. "Observations of Re-representing Music of the Other: Western Military Music, Transcription, and Modernization in Pre-Meiji Japan." Master's thesis, University of Arkansas.

Hutcheon, Linda and Mario J. Valdés. 1998-2000. "Irony, Nostalgia, and the Postmodern: A Dialogue." *Poligrafías* 3: 18-41.

Igarashi, Yoshikuni. 2000. *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Illiano, Roberto, editor. 2004. *Italian Music During the Fascist Period.* Turnhout: Brepols.

IMDb.com, Inc. 1990-2010. "Roei no Uta." The Internet Movie Database. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0030687/ (accessed 8 May 2009).

Japan-America Society of Hawaii. 2008. "Activities and Accomplishments." http://www.jashawaii.org/act1.asp (accessed 16 December 2008).

Kanazawa Masakata. 2007. "Nobutoki Kiyoshi." In *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20009, (accessed 8 December 2010).

Kan'i Seiō, editor. 1904. *Jōshi Gunka* [Women's Military Songs]. Tokyo: Nomura.

Kater, Michael H. 1997. *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Katō Kōji. 1965. *Gunka to Nihonjin, Tsuke Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa Gunkashū* [Gunka and the Japanese, with a Collection of *Gunka* from the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras]. Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten.

Keesing, Roger. 1989. "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific." *The Contemporary Pacific* 1:19-42.

Koizumi Fumio. 1979. "Scales in Japanese Music." In *Asian Musics in an Asian Perspective.* Edited by Koizumi Fumio, Tokumaru Yoshihiko, and Yamaguchi Osamu, 73-9. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Konishi Junko. 2001. "How Educators Negotiate with Tradition?: The Survival of Dance and Music in Yap, Federated States of Micronesia." In *Tradition and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania, Essays in Honour of Barbara B. Smith*. Edited by Helen Lawrence, 197-212. Sydney: University of Sydney Press.

Kozakura Maiko. 2010. "Dai Rokujuyonkai Mitama Matsuri: Kudan no Haha" (The Sixty-fourth Mitama Festival: Mother at Kudan). *Kozakura Maiko no Sakura Musubi.* http://blog.goo.ne.jp/sakuramusubi-gs/e/b3a0a77b9d47d130a7d6e77008ec277c (accessed 5 September 2010).

Levi, Erik. 1994. *Music in the Third Reich.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Linnekin, Jocelyn. 1991. "Text Bites and the R-Word: The Politics of Representing Scholarship." *The Contemporary Pacific* 3: 168-171.

Low, Morris. 2003. "The Emperor's Sons Go to War: Competing Masculinities in Modern Japan." In *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan.* Edited by Kam Louie and Morris Low, 81-99. London: Routledge Curzon.

Malm, William P. 1971. "The Modern Music of Meiji Japan." In *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*. Edited by Donald Shively, 257-300. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Masshardt, Brian. 2007. "Mobilizing from the Margins: Domestic Citizen Politics and Yasukuni Shrine." *East Asia* 24(3): 319-35.

McClain, James. 2002. *Japan: A Modern History.* New York: Norton.

McCormick, Ryuei Michael. "Ohigan 2005: Dharma Talk given at the San Jose Nichiren Buddhist Temple." http://nichirenscoffeehouse.net/Ryuei/ohigan_05.html (accessed 24 October 2011).

Mish, Frederick C., ed. 2003. *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Eleventh Edition.* Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Incorporated.

Moreno, Joseph L. 2006. "Orpheus in Hell: Music in the Holocaust." In *Music and Manipulation: On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music.* Edited by Steven Brown and Ulrik Volgsten, 264-86. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 2005. *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History.* London, New York: Verso.

Muramatsu Teijirō. 1995. *Westerners in the Modernization of Japan*. Tokyo: Hitachi.

Nagel, Joane. 1998. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 242-69.

Nakazawa Keiji. 2004. *Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon Story of Hiroshima, Volume One.* Translated by Project Gen. San Francisco: Last Gasp.

Narayan, Kirin. 1993. "How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" *American Anthropologist,* New Series 95(3): 671-86.

Narusawa Akira. 1997. "The Social Order of Modern Japan." In *The Political Economy of Japanese Society: The State of the Market, volume 1.* Edited by Banno Junji, 193-236. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NHK. 2002. *Broadcasting in Japan: The Twentieth Century Journey from Radio to Multimedia.* Tokyo: NHK.

Nitobe Inazō. [1905] 1969. *Bushidō: The Soul of Japan, Revised and Enlarged Edition.* Rutland, VT: Tuttle.

Nomura Kōichi. 1956. "The Importation of Occidental Music." In *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era.* Edited by Komiya Toyotaka, 451-8. Tokyo: Ōbunsha.

Oba, Junko. 1995. "From Miyasan Miyasan to Subaru: The Transformation of Japanese War Songs from 1868 to Today." Master's thesis, Wesleyan University.

———. 2002. "To Fight the Losing War, to Remember the Lost War: The Changing Role of Gunka, Japanese War Songs." In *Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia.* Edited by Timothy J. Craig and Richard King, 225-45. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

———. 2008. "Performing Kimigayo: Japanese National Anthem and the Sonorous Undoing of the Collective Voice." *Asian Musicology* 12:85-124.

Ogawa Kandai. 2005. *"Umi Yukaba" wo Utatta Koto ga Arimasuka?* [Have You Ever Sung "Umi Yukaba"?] Tokyo: H&I Press.

Ogawa Kazusuke. 2005. *Shōka, Sanbika, Gunka no Shigen* [The Origins of School Song, Hymns and Military Song]. Tokyo: Ātsu ando Kurafutsu [Arts and Crafts].

Ono, Kyle. 1997. *Western Military Field Music in the Late Edo Period: The Introduction of Western Music to Japan.* Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i.

Ohnuki-Tierny, Emiko. 2002. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Osada Gyōji. 1968. *Nihon Gunka Daizenshū. Gunka, Aikokuka, Senji Kayō, Guntai Rappa* [Complete Collection of Japanese Military Songs: Military Songs, Patriotic Songs, Wartime Popular Songs, and Military Bugle Calls]. Tokyo: Zen-on Gakufu Shuppansha.

Otakebi Editorial Board. 2003. *Otakebi* [Battle Cry]. Tokyo: Kaikōsha.

Pekkanen, Robert. 2006. *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members Without Advocates.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Penney, Matthew and Bryce Wakefield. 2008. "Right Angles: Examining Accounts of Japanese Neo-Nationalism." *Pacific Affairs* 81(4):537-55.

Pieslak, Jonathan. 2007. "Sound Targets: Music and the War in Iraq." *Journal of Musicological Research* 26:123-49.

Pilzer, Joshua. 2006. *My Heart, The Number One: Song in the Lives of Korean Survivors of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery.* PhD diss, Columbia University.

Reed, W.L. and M.J. Bristow. 1985. *National Anthems of the World, Sixth Edition.* Poole, Dorset: Blandford Press.

Ritter, Jonathan and J. Martin Daughtry, eds. 2007. *Music in the Post-9/11 World*. London and New York: Routledge.

Robertson, James E. and Nobue Suzuki. 2003. "Introduction." In *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa.* Edited by James E. Robertson and Nobue Suzuki, 1-19. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Robertson, Jennifer. 1998. *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sachs, Harvey. 1987. *Music in Fascist Italy.* New York: Norton.

Sakuramoto Tomio. 2005. *Uta to Sensō: Minna wa Gunka o Utatte Ita* [Songs and the War: Everyone Sang Gunka]. Tokyo: Atene Shōbo.

Samuel, Yoshiko Yokochi. 1998. "War Songs." In *Modern Japan: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture and Nationalism.* Edited by James L. Huffman, 284-5. New York: Garland.

Seaton, Philip. 2007. *Japan's Contested War Memories: The Memory Rifts of Historical Consciousness of WWII.* Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Seeger, Anthony. 1994. "Whoever we are Today, We Can Sing You a Song About It." In *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America*. Edited by G. Behague, 1-16. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Senshi Shiryōkan. 2010. "Dai Sanjugokai Gunka Gunsōsai" (The Thirty-fifth Military and Military Uniforms Festival). *Senshi Shiryōkan Nyūsu* (War History Museum News), http://sumera-ikusa.com/index.php?資料館ニュース (accessed 5 September 2010).

Seraphim, Franziska. 2008. *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Shillony, Ben-Ami. 1981. *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan.* London: Oxford University Press.

Slobin, Mark. 1993. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West.* Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

Sontag, Susan. 2003. *Regarding the Pain of Others.* New York: Picador.

Stevens, Carolyn S. 2008. *Japanese Popular Music: Culture, Authenticy and Power.* London: Routledge.

Stewart, Susan. 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stokes, Martin. 1997. *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place.* Oxford: Berg.

Sugita, Satoshi. 1972. *Cherry Blossoms and Rising Sun: A Systematic and Objective Analysis of Gunka (Japanese War Songs) in Five Historical Periods (1868-1945).* Master's thesis, Ohio State University.

Sumera, Matthew. 2009. Music and Violence: A Working Bibliography (August 31). http://msumera.blogspot.com/2009/08/blog-post.html (accessed 11 December 2010).

Tambling, Jeremy. 1996. *Opera and the Culture of Fascism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Tanimura Masajirō. 2000. *Kōshinkyoku Gunkan Hyakunen no Kōseki* [One Hundred Years in the Wake of the "Gunkan March"]. Tokyo: Ōmura Shoten.

Tansman, Alan, editor. 2009. *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Tengan, Ty Kawika. 2002. "Engendering Colonialism: Masculinities in Hawaii and Aotearoa." *Journal for Cultural Research* 6(3): 239-256.

Tonoshita Tatsuya. 2008. *Ongaku o Doinseyō: Tōsei to Gōraku no Jugonen Sensō* [Music and Mobilization: Control and Entertainment During the Fifteen-Year War]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha.

———. 2005. "Kokuminka Toshite no 'Umi Yukaba'" ("If You go to the Sea" as a National Song). Liner notes for the CD *Umi Yukaba no Subete* [Complete Recordings of Umi Yukaba]. Tokyo: King Records.

———. 2004. "Media wo Yomu" (Reading Media: Records). In *Rekishi wo Yomu* (Reading History). Edited by the Rekishi Kagaku Kyogikai and Ugai Masashi. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Tonoshita Tatsuya and Chōki Seishi, editors. 2008. *Sōryoku-sen to Ongaku Bunka—Oto to Koe no Sensō* [Total War and Music Culture: A War of Sound and Voice]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha.

Trask, Haunani Kay. 1991. "Natives and Anthropologists: The Colonial Struggle." *The Contemporary Pacific* 3:158-167.

Tsukahara Yasuko. 1993. *Jukyūseiki no Nihon ni Okeru Seiyō Ongaku no Jūyō* [The Reception of Western Music in Nineteenth Century Japan]. Tokyo: Shohan.

———. 2001. "Gungakutai to Senzen Taishū no Ongaku [Military Bands and Popular Music until the end of the Asia-Pacific War]." In *Burasu Band no Shakaishi: Gungakutai kara Utaban e* [A Social History of the Brass Band: From Military Bands to Vocal Accompaniment]. Edited by Abe Kan'ichi, Hosokawa Shūhei, Tsukahara Yasuko, Tōya Mamoru and Takazawa Tomomasa, 83-124. Tokyo: Seikyūsha.

Turino, Thomas. 1999. "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music." *Ethnomusicology* 43(2):221– 255.

Wang-Ngai, Siu and Peter Lovrick. 1997. *Chinese Opera: Images and Stories*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Waterhouse, David. 2007. "Japan: Popular Music to 1945." In *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press.

White, Goeffrey M. 2004. "National Subjects: September 11 and Pearl Harbor." *American Ethnologist* 31(3): 293-310.

Wilson, Sandra, ed. 2002. *Nation and Nationalism in Japan.* New York: Routledge Curzon.

Yano, Christine R. 2002. *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 2006. *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity, and Culture in Hawai'i's Cherry Blossom Festival.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Yasuda Hiroshi. 2009. Personal communication (e-mail and informal conversations) in Honolulu.

Yuval-Davis, Nira and Floya Anthias. 1989. *Woman-Nation-State*. London: MacMillan.

Videography

Eastwood, Clint. 2006. *Letters from Iwo Jima.* Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video. 2 DVDs, 140:00.

Kinoshita, Keisuke. 1988. *Twenty-four Eyes* [Nijūshi no Hitomi]. Produced by Ryotaro Kuwata. Videocassette. New York: Sony Video Software. Videocassette, 158:00.

Marre, Jeremy. 1994. *Sukiyaki and Chips.* Beats of the Heart Series. Newton, NJ: Shanachie. Videocassette, 60:00.

Mori, Masaki. 1999. *Hadashi no Gen—Barefoot Gen: A Cartoon History of Hiroshima.* Produced and written by Nakazawa Keiji. Chatsworth, CA: Image Entertainment. DVD, 83:00.

Morimoto, Risa and Linda Hoaglund. 2007. *Wings of Defeat.* New York: Edgewood Pictures, distributed in the U.S. by New Day Films. DVD, 89:00.

Sekiguchi Noriko. 1990. *Sensō Daughters* [Original title in Japan: Senjō no Onnatachi—Daughters of War]. New York: First Run Icarus Films. Videocassette, 54:00.

Discography

Japan Maritime Self Defense Force Band of Tokyo. 2007. *Rekishiteki Nihon Kaigun Kōshinkyoku—Kōshinkyoku "Gunkan" kara "Kaijō Jieitai Kōshinkyoku" made—Collected Historical Japanese Navy Marches: From the "Imperial Navy" to the "Maritime Self Defense Force March."* Compact Disc. Conductor and liner notes: Tanimura Masajirō. Liner notes in Japanese. Tokyo: SRK. SRK 050, R-790004 DE.

Misora Hibari. 2006. *Inori* [Prayer]. Compact Disc. Liner notes and song lyrics in Japanese. Columbia: COCP 33819.

Morishige Hisaya and Columbia Orchestra. 1968. *Kanashiki Gunka* [Sad Gunka]. Arranged by Ikeda Kōzō and Ichikawa Junshi, liner notes by Yamaki Akihiko. One phonodisc. Columbia. ALS - 4356.

Omnibus, Nihon Gasshōdan, Okuda Ryōzō, Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō, Ishikawa Kō, performers. 2005. *Umi Yukaba no Subete* [Complete Recordings of "Umi Yukaba."] King Records: B0009I8VQ8.

Various Artists. 1969. *Kayō no Hyakunen* [One Hundred Years of Popular Song]. Produced by Horiuchi Keizō. Twenty-one phonodiscs with liner notes. Japan Victor Corporation. July 1969. JN 11-13, JN 21-23, JN 31-33, JN 41-43, JN 51-53, JN 61-63, JN 71-73.

Various Artists. 2000. *The Rise of Modern Japan: Musical Selections*. Compact disc. Liner notes and song translations in English. Curriculum Research & Development Group, University of Hawai'i: CRDG-CD02.

Various Artists. 2006. *Gunka Daizenshū* [Complete Collection of Military Songs]. Two compact discs. Liner notes and song lyrics in Japanese. Columbia: COCP 33773-33774.