

Author :: Manuel SCHILCHER

University of Arts and Design, Linz Austria

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Translated Title :: 日本のプロパガンダを創る - ドイツ・イタリア・ファシズムの手法で国家を形成する

Abstract :: 1931年9月の満州事変をきっかけに、日本のメディアや芸術は、植民地としての日本の強さを強調し、国民の私生活を国家の監視下に置き、均質な国民集団を形成するようになった。日本はアジア文化の正当な保護者であり、アジアにおけるイデオロギーの覇権を争うとプロパガンダされ、作家、ジャーナリスト、アーティスト、建築家、写真家などが、この努力を伝える重要な役割を果たした。日本政府観光局、南満州鉄道、コンコルディア協会は、マルクス主義、アバンギャルド、プロレタリアニズムに以前から関わっていたにもかかわらず、異なる政治的信念を持つこれらの人々を雇ったのである。満州国で彼らのユートピ的なビジョンを展開するという約束は非常に説得力があり、日本ファシズムの形態は、アーティストたちの基本的なイデオロギー的コミットメントに確実に合致していたのである。

欧米のプロパガンダを知り、理解するために、1930年代の終わりまで、数多くの英独の研究書が翻訳され、研究された。また、ヨーロッパでの手法や成果を一般に知らしめるために、日本でも学会や展示会が開かれた。

国家的な宣伝広告の旗手である『NIPPON』誌の創刊により、日本の公式な歴史物語は、1944年まで少なくとも8カ国でさまざまな言語で読むことができるようになった。ドイツの設計図に基づいたこの雑誌は、国内では近代的な自己表現として始まり、国際的には日本の中国侵略から読者の目をそらすのに役立った。

印刷メディアによる宣伝に加え、日本と植民地の劇団は、同胞であるアジア人に対して文化の権威を称えました。汎アジア的な共栄のビジョンは、戦時中のドラマを通じて宣伝され、日本帝国に含まれる広大な地理と文化に親しんでもらうことを目的としていた。

本文の最後には、1940年に東京の皇居前で行われた、5万人を招待した日本の王朝2600年祭について書かれている。

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## Creating Japan's Propaganda

### Shaping the Nation by Implementing Methods of German-Italian Fascism

07 2020

Triggered by the intervention in Manchuria, the methodology of Japanese foreign propaganda in the 1930s began to be increasingly oriented towards the European models of fascist Germany and Italy. Technological advances in the transportation infrastructure, rising publishing industries and mass media played an intrinsic role in how Japanese developed the nation's image and its identity with China as the other.

The growing desire for news by the public became an essential task which was satisfied with photography as the primary medium for presenting the news. With accurate depiction of current events after the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, photographs showed living conditions and combat scenes, rarely with any scenes of suffering or resistance.

Only hours after the Manchurian Incident, leading newspapers began to report and called on governmental account for solidarity with the soldiers on the battlefield and demanded from civilians devotion to the war as much. By the end of the year the *Asahi Shinbun* had sent at least thirty-three special correspondents and the *Mainichi Shinbun*, had dispatched fifty reporters to the scene.

From the time of the Incident, the Japanese formed the 'Pacification Unit' *Senbuhun*, a propaganda agency tasked to appeal the Chinese population for the Imperial Army. With many former Chinese bureaucrats as staff members they underscored the ideas of peace and protection. Emphasizing the legitimacy of an imperial and traditional culture, the

Japanese propaganda portrayed Communism to the Chinese population in the occupied territories as a primitive and foreign ideology and representing themselves as defenders of 'orthodox' Chinese culture.

The government used the Manchurian Incident to call for solidarity with the soldiers on the battlefield and to devote as civilians to the war as much. Propaganda worked on many levels, emphasizing the strength of Japan as a colonial power and bringing the citizens private lives under state surveillance to form a homogenous national body.<sup>1</sup> Photographs and posters emphasized the 'same culture, same race' ideology *dobundoshu*, portraying the Japanese as mentors, soldiers befriending Chinese children by giving them candy and food, and propagating the illusion of fraternal relations with China. The 'East Asian Cultural Association' was established in Beijing, proving that the Japanese empire represented the antithesis of Western imperialism.

Propaganda regarded Japan as the legitimate protector of Asian culture, fighting for ideological supremacy in Asia and later against the West. In efforts to validate the tenuous legality of Manchukuo as well as to encourage emigration, Japan's publishing and film industry inundated the public with photograph, books, movies, and news articles aimed at convincing the world that the colony and its citizens were prosperous.

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<sup>1</sup> After the Japanese increasingly promulgated the ideal of the 'New Order in East Asia' on November 3, 1938, the goal was to illustrate the Japanese occupation of China as peaceful.

## War Tourism

Trained artists increasingly lent their skills to businesses at the intersection of modernist advertising and national propaganda. In doing so, they helped to highlight the multi-layered interest in marketing the Japanese Empire and its appealing modernity. In the process, tourism also became a major economic activity in the mid-1930s and a source of foreign exchange earnings. With increasing war expenditures the profits of 100 million yen of 42,568 tourists in 1936, which ranked fourth place after cotton (483 million yen), silk (392 million yen) and rayon textile (149 million yen) were quite in need. Established under the Ministry of Railways in April 1930, the International Tourism Bureau created promotional brochures, guidebooks, photo magazines and films which produced valuable work opportunities for artists in this sector.<sup>2</sup>

To promote international goodwill, positive public opinion towards Japan, and to improve the trade balance with foreign currency after the Great Depression the cultural propaganda masked the true face of Japan's imperial inspiration.<sup>3</sup> In a vast effort the Japan Tourist Bureau engaged SUGIURA Hisui (1876-1965), student of KURODA Seiki (1866-1924) while he was attending the Tokyo School of Art, and design chief of the *Mitsukoshi* department store, to design the first touristic representations of Japan as early as 1913.

With the establishment of the *Manetsu*, the South Manchurian Railway Company after the first Sino-Japanese War and the connection between the Japanese and Trans-Siberian Railway the field of touristic operation and also the military strategic supply

2 The Japan Tourist Bureau (predecessor of Japan Travel Bureau JTB) was founded in March 1912 and was a semi-governmental organization founded to promote international tourism under the direction of the Japanese Government Railways. The Bureau promoted tourism for the railways of Korea and Taiwan, and the South Manchuria Railway, and shipping lines, such as Nippon Yusen, and Toyo Kisen. It also assisted service facilities, such as the Imperial and Fujiya hotels, and the Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya department stores.

The travel magazine, *Tabi* (translates trip) started in 1924 with its first issue featuring an advertisement for travel to China. By 1934 around twenty thousand issues of 'Tabi' were being printed monthly.

See: Nakagawa Koichi: Prewar Tourism Promotion by Japanese Government Railways, *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, March 1998, p.23

In 1937, with the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War travel for pleasure purposes was officially discouraged and in May 1940 it was banned completely. In July 1941 the government banned all companies other than 'JTB' from operating travel businesses, making it the government's travel agent, arranging the transport for new army recruits, as well as for troop transfers and evacuations.

3 Kida Takuya: Visit Japan: Travel Posters as 'Self-Portrait' of Japan, in the exhibition catalogue: Visit Japan: Tourism Promotion in the 1920s and 1930s, National Museum of Modern Art, 2016, pp.89-93

chain was geographically significant enlarged. Victories by the Imperial Army, after the outbreak of war between Japan and China in July 1937, interrupted the business only brief, as tourists followed the footsteps of the soldiers.

Only fourteen month after the Nanjing massacre in December 1937 to January 1938, the Japan Tourist Bureau opened a representational office in March 1939 to promote the city as a tourist destination and published a short, inexpensive travel guide touting Nanjing's attractions. A convenient bus tour of the city's sights was operating eight attractions, presenting beside temples and mausoleums, two gates where Japanese troops had poured into the city identified by wooden markers placed on top of the wall.<sup>4</sup>

On the long term the overseas interventions expanded the circuit of exciting heritage destinations available to leisure travellers.<sup>5</sup> Memorial monuments at those battle sites served as pedagogical reminders of the ongoing sacrifice to maintain the imperial project, its costs and benefits.

## Artists on the Frontline

The first notable artist who visited Manchuria, at the invitation of SMR Company *Mantetsu*, was novelist NATSUME Sōseki (1867-1916) in 1909. Much like the later observations of the avant-gardist visitors, in a mixture of proletarian sympathy and imperialist revulsion he expressed sympathy for the poverty of the lower classes but also regarded their abjection as aspect of China's elemental backwardness.

After serving a three- and-a-half-year prison term for his left-wing beliefs, journalist and writer YAMADA Seizaburō (1896-1987) became an exemplary propagandist for the Kwantung Army. During his six- year sojourn in Manchukuo, he wrote overly optimistic reports about rural development projects

4 The markers represented Lieutenant Colonel Itō Yoshimitsu and other Japanese soldiers who had died during the successful attack. See Kenneth Ruoff: Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938-1943, *Japan Review* 27, 2014 p.185

5 A site related to Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa in Taiwan, who had led the campaign against local resistance and died of malaria during the operation, became an attraction to be visited by Japanese tourists. Battle sites from the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), almost overnight became destinations for Japanese tourists.

See Kate L. McDonald: The Boundaries of the Interesting, Itineraries, Guidebooks, and Travel in Imperial Japan, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2011. pp. 182-184 and Gao Yuan: *Journal of Global Media Studies* 7, September 2010

directed by Japanese settlers and oversaw efforts to foster multicultural cooperative harmony, by editing collections of literature by writers of different ethnic groups.<sup>6</sup>

Many artists and writers with leftist sympathies or an avant-garde style flocked to Manchukuo during the period of crucial state-building under Imperial Japan. Artists, writers and photographers such as Yamada Seizaburō, FUKUZAWA Ichirō (1898-1994), Ai Mitsu (ISHIMURA Nichirō 1907-1946), FUCHIKAMI Hakuyō (1889-1960), HARUYAMA Yukio (1902-94) and KAWABATA Yasunari (1899-1972) created modern reflections of a new state. As leading exponents of modernism in Japan in the 1930s and 1940s, they had previously belonged to either a radical aesthetic such as surrealism or a politics such as proletarianism. On the trip to Manchukuo, representatives of the avant-garde openly represented their attachment to imperial Japan, and received an important boost for their careers, strengthening their role as cultural authorities in Japan in the process.

Oil painter KITA Renzo (1868-1912), who lived in Manchuria at the time with other Japanese, combined the genre of traditional beautiful woman painting with Chinese and Russian atmosphere for advertisement produced to attract foreign tourists.

Artist and group member of *Hakkasha* 'Association of Eight Flames' ITO Junzō (dates unknown) was employed by the publicity division of the South Manchurian Railway. His illustrations helped to establish Manchuria as a multi-ethnic ideal country, consisting of five nations: Japanese, Korean, Manchurian, Mongolian and Han Chinese, living in harmony.

Depicting Manchurian beauties in their native costumes for the posters demonstrated the Japanese superior position as a colonial seducer. YOSHIDA Hatsuburō (1884-1955) and nihonga painter NAKAMURA Gakuryō (1890-1969) were another artists whose artistic works depicting 'Beautiful Japan' created propaganda to promote international goodwill and to offset anti-Japanese international opinions, by reflecting the nation's territorial expansion and aspirations for a multi-ethnic empire. Not only towards foreigners those images also had the purpose to encouraging Japanese in the colonies to look at themselves as nationalistic community.

Many of those painters, writers, and photographers, working in mostly surrealist avant-garde, who were invited to Manchukuo, quite encouragingly used their art to convey a kind of propaganda in alliance with their fascist patrons. Most of them had formerly been involved in left-wing politics such as the Proletarian Arts movement, making them targets of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law and the Special Higher Police.

After fascist powers expanded and centralized governmental control over politics in domestic Japan, the crackdown on liberal and left-wing thought in universities and the mass arrests of communists, led around 95 percent of them Japanese intellectuals to renounce their political ideals. Committing *tenkō*, the apostasy or recantation of their prior beliefs, they realigned themselves.

After undergoing political conversion the Manchukuo sojourn became an important path for the convergence of their ideologies, by participating in the creation of a reflected utopia, an ideological framework for the new state. As part of their rehabilitation, with the establishment of the state of Manchukuo in 1932 the formation of the utopia functioned as a collaborative project for media-makers of all stripes. Interestingly, also those who maintained their proletarian sympathies, viewed Manchukuo as the potential setting for their utopian visions.

Despite of different ideological believe, a shared commitment to modernization and modernity allowed seemingly politically disparate reformers to join forces with the state. In Manchukuo, science, modernity, and Westernisation merged with Asian-inspired principles to form a compelling reason to support the new nation. In building this utopia, they found the support of the imperial government, which enabled them to realise a concept for a new society. Their interests lay with both indigenous workers and rural immigrants.<sup>7</sup> This promise of developing a new nation was quite convincing, and the form of fascism advocated by the Japanese was certainly in line with basic ideological commitments of the artists. To help

7 In the early stages some unsuccessful emigration ventures before the Manchurian Incident seemed to validate official and academic arguments against emigration to Northeast Asia. The pro-Manchuria migration side was offset by a vast body of collected evidence and experience that called into question some of the fundamental underlying assumptions of the emigration proposals.

Mariko Asano Tamanoi: A Road to a 'Redeemed Mankind': The Politics of Memory among the former Japanese Peasant Settlers in Manchuria, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 99, No.1, 2000, pp. 163- 189

6 Annika Culver: *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*, UBC Press, 2013, p.34ff

impoverished workers, and by the end of the day, to stay out of Japanese prison. Sponsored by the state, the military, or the South Manchuria Railway, the avant-gardists transmitted their messages through their respective media, in a certain continuity with their earlier aesthetic and literary styles.<sup>8</sup>

A kind of right-wing proletarianism was embraced, letting the artistic experimentalism continue but for some very different politics in support of Japan's imperial expansion. Government propaganda organizations like the Manchukuo Publicity and News Bureau worked closely with South Manchurian Railway which enlisted these artists and intellectuals to saturating Japan with positive media representations of Manchukuo. This was done by creating a visual pantheon of heroic emigrant settlements, providing images of a new paradise of bountiful harvests and healthy babies, and underscoring the vital importance of the settlement mission to the creation of a harmonious and stable state. Avantgarde in the service of the colonial task was categorized as modern to be used as cutting edge propaganda vehicles, rather than indicating a left-wing political orientation in the sense of the early 1920s definition of that term.<sup>9</sup>

Japan's foremost theorist on surrealism, painter Fukuzawa Ichirō, and two of his assistants, SHIMIZU Toshi (1887-1945) and SUZUKI Yasunori (1891-1974), toured Manchuria on invitation in 1935, substantially enhancing their respective careers within the arts community. Lecturing and exhibiting they toured modern cities and rural areas in Manchukuo, which led to more competitive opportunities for displays and sales at home.<sup>10</sup>

Despite his earlier involvement in the Tsukiji Little Theatre and his involvement with Marxism, Ai Mitsu had come to Manchukuo in 1935 at the invitation of the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMRC). Despite his membership in an important avant-garde artists' group and sympathy for the proletariat, the modernity of his work was able to help strengthen Manchukuo's emerging cultural scene. Although Ai

Mitsu's images of Manchuria were often ambiguous, they aroused the interest of the Japanese public.

In the support of large-scale recruitment and propaganda movements, artists geared up to mobilize farmers to move to Manchuria, and escape domestic over-population, lack of sufficient work for the agricultural population, and impoverished conditions of rural communities.<sup>11</sup> Army planners, insisting, that emigration was an essential component of state-building in Manchuria, moved right to the practical matter of dispatching settlers to the colony and shaping the organizational agencies of the emigration campaigns.

Japanese emigrants, protected by Kwantung Army soldiers, moved into the rural areas of Manchuria and took up farming as a kind of vanguard for Japanese imperialism in the outlying parts of Northeast China.<sup>12</sup> Due the cross-promotion of Japan's victorious army, in the first month after the Manchurian Incident 1.7 million people attended nearly 2,000 events nationwide.

### A New Paradise

For the first six months of 1932, theatres and movie houses featured highly patriotic productions, together with the army and the mass media spreading the message about crisis in the empire, the heroism of battle, and the glory of sacrifice.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, the advertisement of a 'New Paradise' ignored meticulous in its pro-emigration propaganda the reality of hostile Chinese, extreme weather conditions, unfamiliar farming techniques, insufficient supplies of the first colonists. They rather constructed a heroic pion-

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11 By 1932, 84 local associations were organized with the aim of studying the possibility of emigration to the continent, outlining migration plans, and pushing the Tokyo government for funding and leadership. An article in *Contemporary Manchuria*, which was published by the South Manchurian Railway Company, prevailed the rationale behind emigration to the continent: 'From the standpoint of Japan, Japanese emigration to the new State is necessary; first on the grounds of her over-population, lack of sufficient work for her agricultural population, and impoverished conditions of her rural communities. This would then free up the land vacated by the emigrant farmers to the remaining families...' The Immigration of Japanese Farmers to Manchuria: Its Necessity and Chance of Success', *Contemporary Manchuria*, Vol. 1, 1937, pp. 96-97 in Louise Young: *Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, p. 313

12 Chinese peasants were pressed into selling their property at rock-bottom prices, and then given the choice of either moving out or working for the new Japanese owners.

Paul Guelcher: *Dreams of Empire. The Japanese Agricultural Colonization of Manchuria (1931-1945) in History and Memory*, University of Illinois, 1999, p. 144ff

13 Louise Young: *Japan's total empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, University of California Press, 1998, pp.130-140

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8 Annika Culver: *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo*, UBC Press, 2013, p.29ff

9 Peter O'Connor: *Japanese propaganda: selected readings: series 1, books 1872-1943*, Tokyo : Global Oriental, 2004

10 Kuwabara Kineo (1913-2007) was one of many who went for military purposes. His collection of photographs shows the diversity of Manchuria in 1940

earing discourse focused on their struggle at remote settlements and their role in raising the cultural standards of the local people. The stories of Japanese farmers, portrait with guns in their right and hoes in their left, safeguarding Asian peace, fashioned into legend by artistic promoters into pamphlets, magazines, journals, and travel brochures, fed the second mass-migration push from 1937 to 1945 with quite a success.<sup>14</sup>

Information had become a valuable commercial commodity during the Sino-Japanese War and the enormous increase in sales of newspapers and magazines, sparked by that war, awakened publishers to develop an infrastructure capable of satisfying the public's growing desire for news of the world. New mass media performed not only the essential task of informing Japanese of the nation's recently acquired greatness, but the new technology in the form of photographs, that portrayed the scenes with ever more accuracy, played an intrinsic role in how Japanese developed the nation's self-image, as the concept of China as the other.<sup>15</sup> Fostered by the technological breakthroughs of the time, the mass media capitalized on a certain degree by targeting Japanese society by selling at low prices large quantities of images that appealed to a broad spectrum of the public. Some village sites in Manchuria, such as Iyasaka and Chifuri, therefore became popular tourist destinations as the deluge of visitors was so overwhelming that many settlers were reportedly forced to give up farming altogether in order to devote full time to showing people around.<sup>16</sup>

Stimulated by Japan's ambition to build in the vast open spaces of Manchukuo, from around 1935 to 1940 many Japanese modernist architects, of whom some had studied under Le Corbusier (1887-1965), like MAEKAWA Kunio (1905-1986) and SAKAKURA Junzo (1901-1969), who won the competition for the Japanese Pavilion at the 1937 World Exposition in Paris, engaged in design competitions. They experimented in Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia and Shang-

hai on a scale unthinkable in Japan, gaining their first experience of large-scale planning. Architects of all kinds participated in the imperial adventure of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by building government buildings, city halls, bank buildings and large-scale structures. One quite outstanding project was the masterplan for Datong in Mengjiang, Inner Mongolia, a collaboration between UCHIDA Yoshikazu (1885-1972) and TAKAYAMA Eika (1910-1999), professors of architecture at Tokyo Imperial University, together with Uchida's son Yoshifumi (1913-1946) and KASAHARA Toshiro (1882-1969). It was clearly a Japanese utopian city built around an old Chinese city, along with completely new developed areas. In another competition held by the Architectural Institute of Japan, TANGE Kenzo (1913-2004) won in 1942 with a design for a monument regarding the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.<sup>17</sup>

### International Cultural Relations

In proclaiming Japan's image as an Asian cultural hegemon, it promoted comprehensive cultural activities, by establishing organizations for cultural affairs, at both the public and private levels. Therefore the KBS *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* 'Society for International Cultural Relations' (predecessor of the present Japan Foundation) was established on April 11, 1934 with financial support from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and led cultural policy together with the Ministry of Education. Initial figure and first president was KONOE Fumimaro (1891-1945), who later became Prime Minister in June 1937, one month prior to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, when the Japanese army clashed with Chinese troops near Peking and launching a general assault within three weeks.<sup>18</sup>

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17 During the war Tange won two major competitions held by the Architectural Institute of Japan: the first was for the monument to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in 1942, a union of international modernism and Japanese traditional art. Tange designed a concrete shrine (never built, because of the war) to be built at the bottom of Mount Fuji; it was closely based on Ise Shrine, with two identical square buildings either side of a main trapezoidal building. The second was for the Japanese-Thai Cultural Center in Bangkok in 1943, which makes them both, in a sense, Tange's debut projects. After Japan's surrender in the war, he won the competition for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, which was completed in 1954.

Interview by Rem Koolhaas with Isozaki Arata in Koolhaas, Obrist: Project Japan. Metabolism Talks, Taschen, 2011

18 Nobuhito Takamatsunomiya, a younger brother of the Showa Emperor, was its governor, as most prominent intellectuals of the time were member.

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14 See Scott E. Mudd: Graphic Propaganda: Japan's Creation of China in the Prewar Period, 1894-1937, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, 2005

15 These factors combined to fuel the development of Japan's communications and transportation infrastructure as well stimulate technological progress in the printing and publishing industries.

Benedict Anderson: Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London: Verso, 2003

16 Louise Young: Japan's Total Empire, Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism, University of California Press, 1998, p.383

In competition with other countries to propagate the culture of their own, the KBS was the Japanese outcome of a comprehensive formal institution with an undisguised nationalistic purpose.<sup>19</sup> To deliberate expansion of Japan's overseas cultural policy the society launched a comprehensive program and to achieve legitimacy they set up branches in Paris, Berlin, New York, and Rome. In cooperative efforts with Japanese and foreign experts cultural activities were organized in different countries, Asian studies were promoted through publications, lectures, exhibitions and research institutes. Exchange programs for scholars and students were organized to encourage them for the benefit of the empire and spread the Japanese ideology throughout Asia.

Approaches and strategy differed between Western branches of equal level of culture where they campaigned to achieve legitimacy of the aggressive expansion in Asia and a betterment of international politics. On the other hand the societies cultural policy in Japan's occupied 'barbarian' regions was to educate and promote the superior aspects of a Greater Asian ideology.

Director of the Manchukuo Publicity and News Bureau MUTŌ Tomio (1904-1998) and others believed that an effective way to realize the 'cultivation of cultural values and attitudes' was to mobilize culture and the arts for propaganda purposes. Impressed by Nazi Germany's successful use of images in film, art, and literature in support of the fascist regime he also considered the activities of Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) as a model for Manchukuo.<sup>20</sup>

While Mutō helped both control Manchukuo's culture and publish various propaganda materials in Japanese, Chinese, and English, he also engaged in cultural production, first in his role as propaganda director of the Concordia Association *Kyōwakai* and later as state propaganda chief, which led in 1941 to the 'Prospectus for the Guidance of the Arts and Culture' *Geibun shidō yokō*.

19 The KBS made a cultural treaty with Thailand in October 1942, and set up the Center for Culture of Japan and Thailand *Nichi-Tai Bunka Kaikan* to invite scholars, artists, and translators from Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Philippines, Java, and Sumatra, promoting exchanges of books and arts.

20 Although, the Japanese state did not employ the services of a genius of propaganda like Joseph Goebbels, or of an architect such as Albert Speer to transform physical space, or of a philosopher such as Alfred Rosenberg to change the shape of the arts. The Japanese did produce films meant to inculcate a citizenry with the ideals of the state, but there was never a national cinema with the reach to inculcate citizens univocally. See Aaron Gerow, "Narrating the Nationality of a Cinema: The Case of Japanese Prewar Film," in Alan Tansman ed.: *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, Duke University Press, 2009

Invited by South Manchurian Railway, the Kantō Army, or various other organizations, such as the Concordia Association, a Manchukuo tour was an important way for leftist artists displaying their allegiance to Imperial Japan. For some of them, the trip gave an important boost to their careers and even strengthened their role as cultural authorities back in Japan, even when they prior suffered police persecution due to their left-wing orientation.

However, Japanese propaganda was not an Orwell 'Big Brother' concept of total censorship and control as it never attained the level of sophistication achieved by other nations such as Nazi Germany in World War II or Great Britain in World War I.

Prior to the formation of the Cabinet Information Bureau the government encountered persistent problems in enforcing censorship regulations as self-censorship played a fundamental role throughout the prewar period. Discussed since the end of World War I, the military lacked unified coordination until in January 1935 a research group proposed to establish a government agency to coordinate propaganda efforts, based on the German model.<sup>21</sup>

The escalating war with China in 1937 saddled the agency with the need for effective propaganda. To disseminate its message the Cabinet Information Bureau relied on its magazine *Weekly Report Shūhō*, published since September 1936 and from February 1938 on, the magazine was joined by a second periodical, the 'Photographic Weekly Report' *Shashin Shūhō*.

Both efforts were accompanied with suggestions to achieve better social mobilization from organization even outside the government.<sup>22</sup> One approach to direct people's opinions and behaviour was the magazine *Puresuaruto* 'Press Art', published from 1937 by privately advertising groups to attract

21 The German predecessor was formed in March 1933. For more see Barak Kushner: *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, University of Hawaii Press 2006

22 The Kyoto school of philosophy obtained from November 1938 on financial support from the business community in the Kansai area to conduct research on geopolitics in order to help in carrying out total war. Strongly influenced by the Imperial Japanese Army, the *Sōgō Chiri Kenkyūkai* 'General Geographical Study Group' was organized by Takashima Tatsuhiko and was linked with the department of the press and propaganda for domestic and foreign spheres. They criticized the 'simple imitation of German Geopolitik' and tried to contribute to the creation of an 'ideal' world centred on the Japanese emperor.

See Shibata Yoichi: *Ideas and Practices of the Kyoto School of Japanese Geopolitics*, in Shimazu Toshiyuki eds., *Languages, Materiality, and the Construction of Geographical Modernities: Japanese Contributions to the History of Geographical Thought*, 2014, 10, pp.55-69

Chinese audiences more subtle on Japanese efforts as tourism and infrastructure in China.<sup>23</sup>

With an ongoing war in China the government embarked its National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign and after this the Imperial Rule Assistance Association IRAA *Taiseiyokusankai* which expanded into an umbrella organisation bringing all preexisting association together and employing the new discipline of social science and the technique of statistics.

Trying to understand the population at urban and rural lectures the organisation polled domestic public opinion to determine the effect of the governments message.<sup>24</sup>

### How to Promote Propaganda

To benefit the governmental particular interests, numerous English and German studies were translated and researched, to learn and understand Western propaganda. The government pushed different programs to inform the public of the new official information agencies and their roles.

Conferences and exhibitions were held, so the new system of communication would not appear as being imposed. Modernist pictorial strategies began to be deployed in both the graphic arts and exhibition display design. Explaining propaganda as the cultivation of values with as much participation from individuals as possible, the first 'Ideological Warfare Exhibition' *Shisōsen tenrankai* in February 1938 at Takashima Department Store in Nihonbashi, downtown Tokyo, was curated by the newly formed Cabinet Information Division *Naikaku jōhōbu*.<sup>25</sup>

23 Their writers toured Southeast Asia to report from the battlefield as a privately owned media.

24 The fascist machinery of censorship and propaganda allowed for a linguistic vacuum that the government called *shisōsen*, the "war of ideas", and which was filled with the repetitive language of self-sacrifice clichés. From 1936, the Empire dominated the language of propaganda with phrases like "eight corners of the world under one roof" *hakkom ichiu*. And from 1937 onwards, such slogans replaced news about war victims in the mass media, conjuring up images of blood, race and heroism.

After 1937, newspapers, radio, magazines, books, songs, comic books, films, and photographs were all subject to strict codes or else subjected themselves, out of pragmatic necessity, to self-censorship. Left-wing political organizations and journals were squelched, and language thought to deter the war effort and the unity of a citizenry behind it came under harsh review. As certain kinds of language were shut out, other kinds were pumped up.

Barak Kushner describes how the "war of ideas" was fought through popular music, comedy, advertising, photography, print, and censorship. See Barak Kushner: *The Thought War - Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006

25 The National Spiritual Mobilization Movement *kukumin seishin sōdōin undō* was formed in October 1937, with the aim of maximizing individual contributions to the war effort through cost-cutting measures in individual households and the conservation of critical resources.

With materials related to the the Soviet Union, the Spanish Civil War, contemporary propaganda from Italy and Germany, and anti-governmental movements inside the empire as material produced by Nationalist China, the exhibition promoted the unifying Japanese spirit as essential to triumph over these attempts by foreign countries to wage ideological warfare. The invasion of the Chinese mainland in 1937 was portrayed as an extension of a global thought war against communism, requiring all imperial subjects to purify themselves of foreign influences and mobilize for national thought defence.

After been visited by over 1.3 million people in Tokyo alone the show toured nine cities, usually hosted by department stores including Seoul, Korea.<sup>26</sup>

Around the same time the Cabinet Information Division held also a 'Thought-War Symposium' *Shisōsen kōshūkai* with bureaucrats, military officers, media executives and academics to discuss propaganda following the invasion of China.<sup>27</sup> The second exhibition in February 1940, was also at Takashima Department Store and showed with the methods of modern commercial design an analysis of ideologies and foreign propaganda tactics with photomontages from European countries embroiled in World War II, including a saluting Hitler as an example of positive propaganda.<sup>28</sup>

Those efforts were not only examples of an expression of the greatness of the Yamato race and by extension, national destiny, but also expressed a fascist worldview in a sequence of displays, dioramas, photomontages, and illuminated maps. In their modern and unpretentious way such consumer activities formed, educated and engaged participants sharing those promoted values.

### *Nippon Magazine*

The flagship of national publicity and propaganda production, was inaugurated in 1934, with the magazine *NIPPON*, which published thirty-six issues until 1944. Available in at least eight countries, it

26 Nanba Kōji: *Uchiteshi yamamu. Taiheiyo sensō to hōkoku no gijit-susha tachi*, Tokyo Kodansha, 1998, pp. pp. 42-43 in David C. Earhart: *Certain Victory, Images of World War II in the Japanese Media*, M.E. Sharpe New York, 2008, p.134

27 See Max Ward: *Crisis ideology and the articulation of fascism in interwar Japan: the 1938 Thought-War Symposium*, Japan Forum-Volume 26, 2014 - Issue 4, pp.462-485

28 Art critics, formerly engaged to introduce contemporary Avant-garde from the West, now like Uemura Takachiyo (1911-1998) in 1937, considered it useful to translate Eugène Wernert's book about Nazi art.



was printed regularly in four and sometimes as many as six languages as invitation to understand Japan. Founded by NATORI Yōnosuke (1910–1962) and his Nippon Kōbō Japan studio, the magazine served as a quasi-governmental organ of national propaganda, with support from state agencies such as the Japan National Board of Tourist Industry and the 'Society for International Cultural Relations' KBS *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai*, and the Imperial Army.<sup>29</sup>

In a way, the magazine was created amidst uncertainty about Japan's position in foreign relations following its 1933 departure from the League of Nations. Aiming to promote Japan to Western audiences, *Nippon* presented Japan not from the Orientalist point of view common in Western media, but as a country whose cultural and societal qualities allowed it to excel as a modern nation-state. A form of modern self-representation on the domestic market, the magazine served internationally as tourist invitation, offering a view behind the scenes on actual life and events and distracting the reader from the Japanese aggressions in China.

It started after Natori was, due to restrictions on foreign immigration imposed by the Nazi regime, unable to return to Germany where he worked for Jewish-owned Ullstein Press.<sup>30</sup> In Germany, a pioneering country in the publications of illustrated magazines at the time, he was influenced by the Bauhaus aesthetic of rational design and some of the best publishers as Kurt Szafranski (1890-1964), Kurt Korff (1876-1938). Other people who were pivotal in the development of photojournalism as Stefan Lorant (1901-1997), Erich Salomon (1886-1944), Martin Munkácsi (1896-1963), and Herman Landshoff (1905-1986) also worked with him.<sup>31</sup>

Natori founded *Nippon Kōbō*, in August 1933 to-

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29 The textile company *Kanegafuchi Bōseki* 'Kanegafuchi spinning company' Kanebo, provided a substantial loan to bankroll the launching of NIPPON through its president Tsuda Shingo. With the begin of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, three years after the magazine started being published, *Nippon*'s production costs were fully covered by the Japanese state.

30 Natori studied applied crafts, commercial art, and photojournalism from 1928 until 1932 in Munich and Berlin, where he met designer Erna Mecklenburg (1901–1979), who soon became his wife and partner in design activities. The director of Ullstein Press, Kurt Szafranski, hired Natori as a photographer two months after the Kwantung Army had invaded Manchuria 19 September 1931. he covered the Japanese intervention in Manchuria and its subsequent military skirmishes, for which he stayed three month in 1932 and again between February and May 1933 in China. On a break in Japan he was informed that it had become impossible for German media to employ 'non-Aryan' staff.

31 Szafranski was director of the 'Berliner Illustrierten Zeitung', which was until 1933 the largest illustrated newspaper of the world with a circulation of 2 million. Being of Jewish heritage he decided to flee in 1935 to New York where he founded in 1936 together with Kurt Korff

gether with photographer KIMURA Ihei (1901-1974), critic INA Nobuo (1898-1978), and designers HARA Hiromu (1903-1986) and OKADA Sōzō (1903-1983). He presented, two years after the 'German International Travelling Photography Exhibition' *Doitsu kokusai idō shashinten*, that toured Tokyo and Osaka in 1931, his understanding of documentary photography.<sup>32</sup> The group mounted a widely recognized exhibition during its first year and published a pamphlet titled 'Concerning Photojournalism' *Hōdō shashin ni tsuite*. In March 1934, Nippon Kōbō's second exhibition opened at Kinokuniya at Ginza, where the group successfully presented innovative photojournalism. The group folded in early 1934 and Natori soon reestablished a new group of associates and began publishing *NIPPON* in October.<sup>33</sup> Photographers who contributed to *Nippon* included members of the 'Association for the Study of New Photography' *Shinkō Shashin Kenkyū kai*: HORINO Masao (1907-2000), WATANABE Yoshio (1907-2000), and FURUKAWA Narutoshi (1900-1996), Ina Nobuo (1898-1978), and Kimura Ihei, who published the innovative photography journal *Kōga*.

Others were photographers DOMON Ken (1909-1990), FUJIMOTO Shihachi (1911-2006), FURUKAWA Narutoshi (1900-1996), and designers YAMANA Ayao (1897–1980), KŌNO Takashi (1906-1999), and KAMEKURA Yūsaku (1915-1997).

As the Japanese photography community had in general exceptional strong ties to Germany, many of the *Nippon Kōbō* photographers shared the cultural space of photography and the avant-garde in their affiliation with modernist photography associations.

Sponsored by industry, the Japanese Government Railways, the Ministry of Communication, and the Japan Broadcasting Association, the agency produced promotional services for Japanese imperialism focused on foreign markets. As a major player for the production of state propaganda in the East Asian colonies, *Nippon Kōbō* became the *Kokusai*

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(1876-1938) the LIFE magazine.

Salomon also worked for Ullstein and being of Jewish heritage he fled to the Netherlands with his wife and continued his photographic career in The Hague. He declined an invitation from Szafranski and Korff to move to the United States and work at Life Magazine. He was captured in 1940 and died in Auschwitz on 7 July 1944.

Munkácsi, a Hungarian photographer worked for Ullstein and for Harpers Bazaar in New York. Landshoff worked in Munich and flew to Paris and later New York, where he became a fashion photographer and influenced Richard Avedon und Irving Penn.

32 Organised in April 1931 by Murayama Tomoyoshi, and Okada Sōzō

33 In mid-1939 they changed the name to become the International News Company, or *Kokusai Hōdō Kōgei Kabushikigaisha*

*Hōdō Kōgei Kabushiki Kaisha* in 1939, with its head office in Tokyo and branches in Japan and China.

Natori was due his connections and skills he earned in Germany, a pioneer in Japan's efforts and became therefore an associate of KBS.<sup>34</sup> Beside the many designs produced by *Nippon Kōbō*, Natori established publishing companies in Tokyo and Shanghai, to propagate publications in Chinese for KBS and the Imperial Army, and his company implemented propaganda photo exhibitions for a Chinese audience.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand he supported the government with his expertise to convince the United States and the West on Japan's good intentions in China to expand those consumer markets. For Japanese world's fair pavilions in Paris 1937, San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 and the New York World's Fair in 1939 and Chicago 1940, the group designed photo-murals fusing photography and space in a Bauhaus idealized method.

YAMAWAKI Iwao (1889–1987) was in charge of the design using photographs by Domon Ken, Watanabe Yoshio and Kanamaru Shigane for the spectacular large-scale montage displays at the travel and communications section of the Japanese pavilion, commissioned by the Society for International Cultural Relations.<sup>36</sup>

34 By 1937, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the inter-ministerial 'Information Committee' *Geimushō Rikukaigun Jōhō linkai*, were burdened by the production costs of NIPPON.

Shirayama, Mari: Natori Yōnosuke no shigoto 1931-45, (Natori Yōnosuke's work 1931-45), In: NIPPON. Fukkokuban bessatsu, Tokyo Kokusho Kankōkai, 2005, pp. 5-33

35 Magazines: NIPPON (from 1934 on for KBS and Imperial Army), COMMERCE JAPAN (April 1938 for Japanese Central Trade Organization Bōeki Kumiai Chūōkai), SHANGHAI (November 1938, for Naka Shina Hakengun), CANTON (April 1939, for Nan-Shi Hakengun), SOUTH CHINA GRAPHIC (April 1939), MANCHOUKUO (April 1940, for South Manchurian Railways), EASTERN ASIA (1940, for South Manchurian Railways), CHUNHA (for Naka Shina Hakengun), and others. The propaganda magazine KAUPĀPU KAWANŌKU [East Asia Picture Post] was produced in Thai language with some English and katakana captions, and propagated the Japanese advances in South East Asia. See Nakanishi, Teruo: Natori Yōnosuke no jidai [The era of Natori Yōnosuke], Tokyo Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981, p.126  
Natori established between 1938 and 1944 a publishing company in Tokyo called Natori Shoten (1940), a printing company, requisitioned in Nanking by the Japanese Army, and the publisher Taihei Shokiyoku (1942).

See Andrea Germer: Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia – The Case of Natori Yōnosuke, *The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus*, Volume 9 Issue 20 Number 3, May 2011, p.11

36 Kawahata Naomichi: Fusing Photography and Space: Iwao Yamawaki's Photo Murals for New York World's Fair, in *Kolloquium über Bauhausfotografie*, Kawasaki: Kawasaki City Museum, 1997, pp.124–133.

The five photomurals titled 'Advancing Japan' *Yakushin Nippon* for the Japanese exhibit at the New York World's Fair's Hall of Nations were each fourteen feet high and nine feet wide.

NIPPON covered the exhibitions with montage layouts in the magazine in a blur of avant-garde art, national propaganda and photojournalism, that directly paralleled the exhibition environments constructed for the fairs. After the professional ban for non-Aryans in 1933, due the good relationship between the two nations, Natori could return with his wife to Germany to cover the Berlin Olympics and work for his former employer the BIZ 'Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung'.<sup>37</sup> Owned by Jewish publishing house 'Ullstein Verlag' the newspaper was now firmly in custody of Joseph Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry becoming an organ of Nazi propaganda in March 1934. Natori contributed to the Second Olympic Special Edition of BIZ photos of the opening ceremony, being prominently printed on page two and an three page article about silver-medal winner in the pole vault Nishida Shuhei, among others. After Berlin he headed to New York, where his former colleagues published his work in *Life* magazine. They invited him to continue shooting photographs for *Life*, but after driving to the West Coast, he went in September 1937 to Asia to cover the Sino-Japanese War. Natori and his wife Erna Mecklenburg worked again in Germany the very next year organizing shows and two exhibitions for the KBS. Shortly after the 'Degenerate Art' *Entarte Kunst* exhibition was shown in Leipzig and when Austria was annexed on March 12, they helped organizing the Japanese representation at the Leipzig Spring Fair in March 1938 and later at the 'First International Handicrafts Exhibition' *Erste Internationale Handwerks-Ausstellung* from May 28 to July 10 1938 in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> Later that year, back in Japan Natori praised in an article the understanding of photographic propaganda *shashin senden* by the functionaries of the Nazi party in Germany, wishing for the same appreciation in Japan.<sup>39</sup>

37 Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935

38 Organized by painter Adolf Ziegler (1892-1959) and the Nazi Party in Munich from 19 July to 30 November 1937, the 'Degenerated Art' exhibition presented 650 works of art, confiscated from German museums.

Photos of Natori are published in the exhibition catalogue: *Erste Internationale Handwerks-Ausstellung 1938*. Berlin 1938, 28. Mai bis 10. Juli, Ausstellungsgelände am Funkturm. Amtlicher Katalog u. Ausstellungsführer, Ausstellungs- und Messeamt der Reichshauptstadt Berlin (Herausgeber): Verlag: Berlin, ALA Anzeigen-Aktiengesellschaft, 1938

The Japanese exhibit won an award presented by the Reichswirtschaftsminister 'German minister of economy' Walther Funk, who had been Secretary of State of the Ministry of Propaganda until 1938. see Mari Shirayama: Natori Yōnosuke no shigoto 1931-45 (Natori Yōnosuke's work 1931-45). In Fukkokuban NIPPON bessatsu, p5-33, Tokyo: Kokusho Kank kai. 2005, p.18

39 Natori, Yōnosuke. 1938. ōbei no hōdō shashin (Press photography in Europe and America), *Serupan* 1 January, p.110-112, in Andrea

Being in Germany at the time when the degenerated art was discussed, Austria was annexed and only month prior to the *Reichskristallnacht*, Natori must have been aware of the political conditions under which artists, writers, intellectuals and non-Aryans had been suppressed.

It was in an atmosphere of extending cultural exchange in 1938, when the Harada foundation presented seventy-seven precious dolls to the German *Führer* as a gift, the Berlin Volks-art Museum *Völkerkundemuseum* showed paintings from Nara, and among other events, and the all-girls Takarazuka revue toured Germany. At this time Natori collaborated with the idea, Goebbels so successfully utilized, using the chance to distinguish himself in his own country.<sup>40</sup>

In an intensified pressure on photographers to contribute to the war efforts, the March 1939 issue of the magazine 'Foto Taimusu', published by the commercial company Oriental, showed a reproduction of the photomural entitled 'Dedicated to Eternal Peace and Friendship Between America and Japan'.<sup>41</sup>

Produced by FURUKAWA Narutoshi (1900-1996), it featured children from Japan and the United States gathered around monumental symbols of their countries. Reporting on both Surrealist and photojournalistic practices in their meetings, by 1939 the term avant-garde fell out of grace, proclaiming plasticity as the new way of photography. Under a pretext of a cultural exchange but essentially to promote the country's war campaigning, Watanabe Yoshio and Abe Yoshifumi engaged by the Oriental publisher, organized photography exhibitions to stimulate exchange with local photographers in the occupied territories of Northeast China and Korea.<sup>42</sup>

In the late 1930s *Nippon Kōbō* took up work with branches in occupied East and South East Asia, as it expanded into the Japanese colonies and onto the war front. With Kōno Takashi running the Shanghai-

based press operation *Nippon Kōbō* served as the official press union for the imperial army propaganda department, helping to proliferate the 'culture of fascism'.<sup>43</sup> Focusing on the Western viewer as intended audience, the reports would mute the cultural violence implicit in Japanese imperialism to soften the rising anti-Japanese sentiment abroad according to the aggressive expansion into Asia in the 1930s.

The magazine highlighted the international exchange of culture and in particular the enhancement of Japanese and Oriental culture, never mentioning the tensions between Japan and its colonies, as the continuous raids on Japanese settlers in Manchuria. With the approach to satisfy the exotic tastes and quest for adventure, the magazine's layout design displays culture as an exhibition, mounting the visitor as cut-out figure in front of the tourist attractions.<sup>44</sup> Sponsored by The Board of Tourist Industry *Kankōkyoku* the magazine helped to increase the numbers of foreigners visiting Japan and its colonies.<sup>45</sup>

On the home front, mental preparation for war meant guarding against hostile ideologies while fostering proper attitude and alertness linked to Japan's war effort. For the Japanese audience, which was overflowed by constant propaganda and intensified preparations for the war, *NIPPON* formed a single, symphonic, orchestrated expression of identity.<sup>46</sup>

Modelled after the German magazine *Die Böttcherstrasse* (1928-1930), which assembled artists, intellectuals and politicians to carry racist ideas in an aesthetic design, half cultural review and half advertisement paper.<sup>47</sup> Japan was presented as an urban,

Germer: Visual Propaganda in Wartime East Asia – The Case of Natori Yōnosuke, *The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus*, Volume 9 Issue 20 Number 3, May 2011, p.39

40 Hans-Joachim Bieber: *SS und Samurai: Deutsch-japanische Kulturbeziehungen 1933–1945*, IUDICIUM Verlag, 2014, p.544

The Tripartite Alliance of Japan with Germany and Italy that formed the Axis powers of World War II, signed on 28 September 1940, was headlined in *NIPPON* magazine as leading 'Toward a New World Order.'

41 There was a range of similar periodicals, including the national policy journal *Shashin shūhō* Photographic weekly, published by the Cabinet Information Office from 1938 until 1944.

42 Namigata Tsuyoshi: *Ekkyō no abangyarudo (Border-Crossing Avant-Garde)*, Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2005, pp. 66-67

43 1937 Natori managed to strike a deal with the Shanghai Expeditionary Army whereby three *Nippon Kōbō* staff members would serve as photographers for the Army Press Unit. Nakanishi, Teruo. 1980. Natori Yōnosuke wa nani o nokoshitaka (6): Chūgoku de Nihongun no taigai senden ni netchū [What did Natori Yōnosuke leave behind? (6): Passionately producing the Japanese Army's foreign propaganda]. *ASAHI CAMERA* 6. pp.227-231

44 *NIPPON*, no. 19, 1939

45 By 1935, according to estimates by the Ministry of Finance, the amount spent by foreigners in Japan nearly equaled the Japanese export trade in silk textiles. Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, *The Japan Year Book, 1937*, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1937, pp.663–665

46 Crafts were heralded in the pages of *NIPPON* for displaying the Japanese people's adroitness at adapting the cultural achievements of other nations, like China, Korea, and Western countries.

47 The first draft of the magazine was produced by Natori, together with graphic designer Kōno Takashi (1906-1999) and the editor of the German magazine *Albert Theile* (1904-1986). As an opponent of the Nazis, Theile emigrated to Chile via Norway, France, India, Japan, China, the Soviet Union and the USA.

The German magazine was financed by the coffee industrialist Ger-

industrialized, expansionist imperial power, a timeless land with friendly natives gathering around national symbols as Mount Fuji, but also an equal technical and commercial partner to the West.

In a most modern design, a symmetry between rural and urban communities was maintained, featuring the strong connection between crafts and the everyday life of the people. Sheltered from an oppressive modern world by a benevolent government, consumer life and consumption habits were directed through compelling visual strategies.

Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet-state is featured in 1939 (no.19) with depiction of the different races living together in utopian harmony and promoting intermarriage of Japanese and native population.

Soldiers are portrait with shovels and historical ties are documented by archaeological evidence in a museological framework.<sup>48</sup>

### **FRONT magazine**

Another form of private organized propaganda was the illustrated overseas propaganda magazine FRONT, published between 1942 and 1945 by the company Tōhōsha 'Far East Company.' Initiated by Natori's former partner OKADA Sōzō (1903-1983), the magazine was designed in a mix of Russian Constructivism, German New Objectivity and Bauhaus photography. A quite similar multi-language magazine as NIPPON, with modernist art forms as graphic design and photography that was used to persuade Western nations of the benefit of Japanese imperialism. Okada studied in Germany between 1920 and 1923, where he may have met with Murayama Tomoyoshi with whom he organised in April 1931 the influential 'German International Travelling Photography Exhibition' *Doitsu kokusai idō shashinten* in Japan. With other members of the first Nippon Kōbō 'Nippon Studio' group, namely INA Nobuo (1898-1978), Kimura Ihei, and HARA Hiromu (1903-1986), and others, Okada Sōzō formed a new

hard Ludwig Wilhelm Roselius (1874-1943) and co-edited by artist Bernhard Hoetger (1874-1949). The magazine was not supported by the NSDAP, as Hitler strongly rejected the magazine at a speech in Nuremberg on 9 September 1936. 'Wir haben nichts zu tun mit jenen Elementen, die den Nationalsozialismus nur vom Hören und Sagen her kennen und ihn nur zu leicht verwechseln mit undefinierbaren nordischen Phrasen, und die nun in irgendeinem atlantischen Kulturkreis ihre Motیفorschung beginnen. Der Nationalsozialismus lehnt diese Art von Böttcher- Straßen-Kultur schärfstens ab.' Robert Eikmeyer: *Reden zur Kunst- und Kulturpolitik 1933-1939*, Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 99 -117

48 See Genifer Weisenfeld: *Japan as Museum*, positions 8:3 Winter 2000,

group called *Chūō Kōbō* 'Metropolis Studio' in 1934.<sup>49</sup> After the group dissolved in 1941 many of its members worked together in the newly established company Tōhōsha, which published the magazine FRONT.<sup>50</sup> Established in 1941, it employed major photographers such as Kimura Ihee, HAMAYA Hiroshi (1915-199) and SHUNKICHI Kikuchi (1916-1990). Modelled after the Soviet propaganda magazine *SSSR na stroike* 'USSR in Construction' (1930-1941), which was designed by Alexander Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, Okada and his partner Katsuno Kinmasa invested private money to launch the new magazine with the assistance from the military. At this time by 1941, it was the only possibility to work as photographer or photojournalists, as production materials like film and paper were only distributed to government- or military-related professionals who were expected to fully serve the national interest.<sup>51</sup> Especially after 1940, the growing lack of the basic materials necessary to publish may have been a most effective way to enforce censorship during the war years.<sup>52</sup> In December 1941, in the aftermath of Pearl Harbour and the outbreak of the Pacific War, the government issued some new regulations to limit freedom of speech, tighten official control over the media, and restrict the civilian right of assembly. The art press was accordingly reorganized, thirty-eight magazines, which published in Tokyo until then were all dissolved and eight new magazines were established, which also merged in January 1944 into one single publication *Bijutsu*, which published for example photographic reproductions of sculptures and paintings from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.<sup>53</sup>

49 Okada co-founded the Kokusai Kōga Kyōkai International Photography Association, and also joined the Sobiēto no Tomo no Kai Association of Friends of the Soviet Union that was established in 1931.

50 They worked at a facility called Kudan Office where military staff and civilian experts contributed their expertise to process information from the Soviet Union and creating anti-Soviet propaganda. The office was secretly run by the 'Army General Staff Office' *Rikugun Sanbō Honbu* since 1938

51 Materials were controlled by the *Nippon Kankō Zairyō Seizō Kōgyō-ōkai* 'Japan Photosensitive Material Manufacturers' Association.'

52 The National Total Mobilization law, legislated on 24 March 1938 gave the government the authority to control the distribution of raw materials needed for the war effort.

53 These eight consisted of two Western art specific magazines: *Shinbijutsu* (Western art for professionals), *Seikatsu bijutsu* (Western art for the general public), and furthermore of *Kokuga* (Japanese art for professionals), *Kokumin bijutsu* (Japanese art for the general public), *Garon* (critical review of all art), *Kikan bijutsu* (a seasonal magazine), *Junkan bijutsu shinpo* (published every-ten-days), and *Bijutsu bunka shinbun* (published weekly). Magazines like *Bijutsu* published photographic reproductions of sculptures and paintings from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy as art played an important role in disseminating their common ideology.

The armed forces directly assigned and trained thousands of photographers to be embedded in combat units for a variety of tasks, ranging from intelligence to technical documentation. As there was no Army Art Association equivalent for photographers, for large-scale public relations work, however, the armed forces gladly used external studios with which they had a privileged relationship.

One of these was GT Sun, the photography agency founded by Yamahata Shōgyoku, which produced the 'Soldiers Never Retreat' *uchite shi yamamu* poster campaign of 1943 based on the snapshot by KANAMARU Shigene (1900-1977). Wartime publications like *Nippon* and *FRONT* manufactured the imagined realization of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, presenting authenticity in every day activities and promoting the integral role of Japanese culture. Instead of using photojournalism to portray the Japanese cultural reality, these magazines captured designed spreads that were intended to illustrate the Japanese state's power, strength, and modernity. Supporting and profiting from the devastating Japanese wars of invasion in East and Southeast Asia, Japanese avant-garde graphic design, photojournalism and photography were integral to the development of modern Japanese propaganda and promoting fascist culture.

Without any critical function art was utilized as fiction and became regardless of its documentary expertise an instrument in manufacturing an affirmative illusion of state power. By the time of Japan's capitulation, Natori had returned to Nanking. Following an order of the Army, he destroyed his negatives and other material accumulated during the war.

The same was done with any compromising material (all except cultural photographs) in the main Tokyo branch.<sup>54</sup> It is instructive to realize that Natori and his team were actively reproducing and 'designing' the propaganda that the Japanese Government and Imperial Army invented, not covering such as Unit 731, which began operating in 1932 in the Manchu puppet state and tortured and killed several thousand mostly Korean and Chinese political prisoners, POWs and civilians.<sup>55</sup>

Mayu Tsuruya: War Campaign Documentary Painting: Japan's National Imagery of the 'Holy War' 1937-1945, University of Pittsburgh, 2005, p.75

54 Because Natori had to have an emergency operation and his new wife Tama was giving birth just at that time, it was not until April 1946 that they returned to Japan via Nagasaki.

55 Jing Bao Nie, Nanyan Guo, Mark Selden, Arthur Kleinman: Japan's

With the help of the leftist vanguard, the state's modernisation campaign in Manchuria could be portrayed in a positive and progressive way to Japanese and foreign audiences. In the process, the Japanese organisers of the experiment continued an ideological soft war of persuasion in support of Japan's imperialist expansion in Asia. The contradictory commitment of the formerly left-wing intellectuals probably also explains the generally inadequate historical representation of the Japanese colonies during the interwar and wartime periods.

### Art on Tour

Creating the female image of housewife, mother, and unpretentious devotee to the war, the military government dispatched female theatre troupes to Hokkaido, Sakhalin, Chōsen, Taiwan, Ryu-kyu, Manchuria, and China, to amuse soldiers of the empire at the frontline and to mobilize the audiences in occupied territories.

The famous *Takarazuka* dance revue sent theatre corps to North China from August to September 1939, right after a tour ended in America in July. The troupe, founded by KOBAYASHI Ichizo (1873–1957) a leading entrepreneur and cabinet minister in 1913, expanded its activity into Mongolia, French-Indochina, and later the South Seas, where they collaborated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to invite female dancers from Thailand and French-Indochina to participate in the show.<sup>56</sup> Another group, the 'Toho Dance Corps' also had its first performance in Chōsen in June 1940, and went to Manchuria, China, and French Indochina in 1941, after the KBS emphasized propaganda within the Greater Sphere of East Asia. To amuse soldiers, they completed about eighty performances at big theatres in Shanghai and Nanjing over thirty-seven days, and mobilized a total audience of 100,000 people.

Wartime Medical Atrocities: Comparative Inquiries in Science, History, and Ethics, Routledge, 2013

Sheldon H. Harris: Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932-45 and the American Cover-Up, Routledge, 1994

56 Kobayashi Ichizo, introduced the all-girl revue in 1913 at Takarazuka, then a resort town near Osaka, as an attraction for his development. The organization became famous for spectacularly staged musicals and revues and grew to add a Tokyo theater in 1934. Takarazuka uniquely managed to combine seemingly different elements both the very domestic Japanese and the aspiring Western aura at the same time in an hybrid juxtaposition which evoked a high degree of interculturality.

See Jennifer Robertson: Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan, University of California Press, 1998

At the height of Japanese imperialist aggression in Asia, performances like that of *Takarazuka* revue or the 'Toho Dance Corps' celebrated the expansion of Japanese culture to fellow Asians into global markets and alluded to its cultural authority.

The all-female Takarazuka troupe staged musicals by recreating in a sequence of montages heroic battles, reproducing Japanese life, sentiment and morale to the colonial audience as a useful vehicle for disseminating and enacting a pan-Asian vision of co-prosperity. Premised on a doctrine of assimilation, the troupes, infused with a Confucian morality, conducted a mission to civilize and equalize the peoples of Asia, to acquire bodily and behavioural markers of Japaneseness, despite they were neither encouraged nor allowed to metamorphose into Japanese.

In the state's interest to mobilize the colonial population, the relationship with the revue theatre was more a matter of mutual convenience and opportunism than of seamless consensus and control over forms of popular and mass entertainment.

Japanese colonial policy was both erasing and reinscribing the cultural difference embodied by colonial subjects and revues like *Takarazuka* were useful in creating a accordingly vision of a global hierarchy headed by Japan, with all nations and races at their proper place.<sup>57</sup> Actors were promoting the pan-Asian vision of co-prosperity through wartime dramas, set in the colonies, designed to familiarize the public with the vast range of geographies and cultures contained within the Japanese Empire.

Shaping popular attitudes about colonial subjects and the indisputable superiority of Japanese culture, the shows on tour in the colonies manipulated quite successful, not different than their counterparts in Germany, Russia, Italy or the United States, the relationship between entertainment and social engineering.

Another theatre activity, established by the Bureau of Information and the IRAA as the Japanese Federation of Mobile Theatres on June 9, 1941, was performed by trained actors and controlled and distrib-

57 Austrian composer and conductor Joseph Laska (1886-1964), first worked as a piano teacher for the Takarazuka theatre and in 1924 formed the first permanent symphony orchestra with the participating musicians.

Irene Suchy: Mehr als Maschinen für Musik, Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-japanischen Beziehungen, Literas Universitätsverlag Wien, 1990

uted only through the state's network.

The Federation arranged schedules and checked the routes of performance with the purpose of comprehensive education programs and cultural propaganda. Organized with the neighbourhood associations *tonarigumi*, at informal gatherings after the play, social behaviour of daily practices and public order were discussed and air raid evacuation drills were practiced. From mid 1941 to the end of 1943, when the program was dismissed, the movement expanded under state guidance all around Japan with about 3,500 performances and a total audience numbering nearly 4,5 millions.<sup>58</sup>

Due a lack of funding the Federation could not manage enough troupes to cover all regions and lost control of the program, which was based on the critical support of private organizations. For those who remained in business with partial autonomy, the sometimes grateful experiences and general benefits from state patronage did not compensate the high maintenance and travel costs, as the Federation strongly prohibited earning private profits.

Indeed the Japanese state succeeded to persuade commercial theatres to share financial burdens and human resources in expanding the propaganda movement, but also encountered the dilemma of loosing control to the whole practice of the movement. However, initiated as cooperative engagements instead of cultural consumption, those movements succeeded in their intention to mobilize the population and rallying the population for war.

### Mass Spectacle

After the fall of France in June 1940, artists and critics argued that Japan should shift its artistic model from that of democratic France to that of totalitarian fascist Italy and Germany and strive to express unique characteristics of its race.<sup>59</sup>

In order of the Celebration of 2600th jubilee of imperial dynasty, on 11 November 1940, a small delegation of six members of the Hitler Youth and an even smaller one, consisting of members of the

58 Murasaki Shobo: Nihon Idō Engeki Renmei, Idoō engeki zushi. Tokyo Geijutsu Gakuin Shuppanbu, 1943, in Sang Mi Park: Wartime Japan's Theater Movement, Princeton, 2007

59 *Furansu bijutsu wa doko e iku* 'Where Will French Art Go?', Mizue, August 1940;

*Kokubō kokka to bijutsu: gaka wa nani o subekika* 'National Defense State and the Fine Arts: What Should Artists Do Now?', Mizue, January 1941

*Deutsche Arbeitsfront* 'German Workers' Front', were visiting Japan.<sup>60</sup> Arriving with the Trans-Siberian Railway due to the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939, they first visited the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo and Korea.

Impressed by the idealism, sense of national identity, commitment, strong will, and courage of the young Japanese who were trained to become farmers and settlers in the colonies, they arrived in Japan.<sup>61</sup> The delegation was greeted with music and flags, displaying both the swastika and the rising sun, and performed songs on Japanese radio several times as the first delegation in 1938.

Its members even recorded the German version of a Japanese song written on the occasion of the signing of the Tripartite Pact, which was sold as a gramophone. During their six-week tour of the country, the delegation's members traveled from Beppu to Hokkaido, and visited universities and religious places, visited schools, barracks, and the mythological birthplace of the family of the Tenno.

This kind of fascist spectacle, quite uncommon to Japanese people as a demonstration of the totalitarian state, instead provided a well known method of the West to illustrate history within aesthetic and art-scientific categories to make them malleable at all and propagandistically effective. At a time when the publishing of new history books for educational reasons was still in development, the Nazis in Germany succeeded in presenting a interpretation of their history in an aesthetically pleasing form through public spectacles, in order to justify it without even minimal objective argumentation.

In the course of the opening of the *Haus der deutschen Kunst* in Munich on Sunday, 18 July 1937, the procession on the theme '2000 Years of German Culture', conceived with immense commitment, gave the population a feeling of participation in a decisive political movement. Designed as a prototype of such festivities in the Reich, it required sufficient financing, extensive institutional precautions and spatial-architectural arrangements throughout the entire urban space. The elaborate cladding of

the house walls turned the streets into huge interiors in which actors, Nazi representatives and visitors merged to form the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Thematically, the procession was based on the romantic tradition of the national idea of a unifying cultural origin and presented a mythologized German history chronologically structured in the epoch categories of art. With it, the NS concept of culture was concretized and a positive image of the German being and explicitly German achievements was created, which went hand in hand with a fragmentation of historical objectivity. The staging lined up warrior formations in uniforms typical of the time, floats with replicas or symbols of selected works of art, scientific achievements or heroic rulers.

The Germanic early period and the Nazi present moved into common mythical spheres. In the depiction of sacrifice, faith, and loyalty, the observing individual experienced his higher meaning in the blood community. Under strict direction, masses of uniformed people in block-like formations alternated with lyrical scenes, combining theatrical elements with the ornament of the masses to form a living sculpture.<sup>62</sup>

The highlight of the delegation's visit, the jubilee of the 2,600th anniversary of the Japanese dynasty, to which corresponding festivity 50,000 guests had been invited, was held in front of the imperial palace in Tokyo in 1940.<sup>63</sup> The way in which thousands of people were mobilized, gathered into ordered rows, and induced to practice mass rituals echoed the mass gatherings in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

The most important celebratory event took place on November 10, and began with a speech by Prime Minister Konoe, followed by the national anthem, then a speech by Emperor Hirohito, and then a performance of music specifically produced for the celebration.

The Japanese government commissioned music from composers of six nations to mark the anniversary and on behalf of Germany, Joseph Goebbels assigned the request to Richard Strauss, who contributed his 'Japanese Festival Music' *Ja-*

60 With the outbreak of the war in Europe in September 1939, however, ocean travel from Germany to Japan became quite impossible. The Trans-Siberian Railway remained as the only connection between Germany and Japan. Furthermore, young Germans were then conscripted into military service.

61 They published an illustrated report in the periodical of the Hitler Youth: 'Japans Lebensraum', in: Junge Welt, Nov. 1940, p.8f

62 A total of 21.167 participants in the procession.

Heinrich Hoffmann, Albert Burckhard Müller: Tag der Deutschen Kunst, Diessen am Ammersee o. J., 1937, p.35ff

63 Hans-Joachim Bieber: Zen and War: A Commentary on Brian Victoria and Karl Baier's Analysis of Daisetz Suzuki and Count Dürkheim, The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 13, Issue 19, No. 2, May 19, 2015

*panische Festmusik* op. 84.<sup>64</sup> Often described as one of his weakest compositions, the premiere was at the Kabukiza Theatre, Tokyo on December 14, 1940, and Helmut Fellmer, a music professor in Tokyo at the time, conducted the orchestra.<sup>65</sup> At 11:25 am, all participants shouted 'Long Live His Majesty the Emperor' *banzai* three times, which was broadcast over the radio and echoed by those who could not attend.<sup>66</sup>

Actually, the City of Tokyo had as the first non-Western country successfully lobbied to host the 1940 Summer Olympics and projected also the Grand International Exposition of Japan for the very same year. The grand plans were dashed by the escalating war in China and also by the beginning of war in Europe in 1939 and Japan forfeited the Olympics. Instead, Japan decided to expend all of that pent up festival energy for the 2600th anniversary of the founding of Japan by the mythical Emperor Jimmu.<sup>67</sup>

The first exhibition celebrating the anniversary to make the rounds of the department stores opened at Takashimaya in Tokyo on 12 April 1939, drawing more than forty thousand visitors the very first day. After being on display for two weeks at the Tokyo store, the exhibit moved to Takashimaya's branch in Osaka and Kyoto stores for May and June, and was then hosted by department stores in Kyoto, Fukuoka, Kagoshima, Nagoya, Sapporo, Hiroshima,

Korea's capital city Keijo, and in four cities in Manchuria: Shinkyo, Harubin (Harbin), Hoten (Mukden), and Darien.<sup>68</sup> 4.4 million people attended this patriotic exhibition, which continued until 1940 and despite it produced no direct revenue, made good business sense for Takashimaya as it brought potential consumers into the stores.<sup>69</sup> The mass media in general embraced the 2600th anniversary celebrations for their own purposes which led to countless events and activities that celebrated the glorious national history of Japan. Encouraged by the success of this initial touring exhibition, the 'Association to Celebrate the 2600th Anniversary' and six department store companies in Tokyo teamed up in January 1940 to stage seven simultaneous exhibitions celebrating the nation: 1) 'Our Lives: Historical Section' (Matsuzakaya's Ueno store); 2) 'Our Lives: New Life Section' (Matsuzakaya's Ginza store); 3) 'Our Spirit' (Matsuya); 4) 'Our Country' (Shirokiya); 5) 'Our Ancestors' (Mitsukoshi); 6) 'Our Imperial Military' (Takashimaya); and 7) 'Our New World' (Isetan).

All of the exhibitions stressed imperial history in one way or another, altering between trumpeting Japan's primordial origin and its advanced modernity. More than 12,000 events involving 105 million imperial subjects took place on an unimaginable scale throughout the country over the course of the year. In addition, travel agencies and railroad companies organized group tours to visit historically important sites, such as Mount Takachiho in Miyazaki Prefecture, where the ancestor of the imperial family was said to have descended from the heavens. At the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum between October 1st and 22nd and November 3<sup>rd</sup> and again at the Osaka City Art Museum between December 1st and 15th of the same year arguably one of the most important art exhibitions took place in Japan during the

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64 The other were: • Hisato Ohzawa who wrote his Symphony no. 3, 'Symphony of the Founding of Japan' • Jacques Ibert who wrote an Overture de fête 'pour célébrer le 26e centenaire de la fondation de l'empire Nippon' • Ildebrando Pizzetti who wrote a Symphony 'In Celebrazione dell XXVIo Centenario della Fondazione dell'Impero Giapponese' • Sándor Veress who wrote his first symphony, 'Hungarian Greetings on the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Dynasty' • Benjamin Britten's Sinfonia da Requiem was also commissioned in this process, but was ultimately rejected by the Japanese foreign ministry as an insult.

Strauss, age 75, put aside composition on his opera 'Die Liebe der Danae' while staying in the Italian Tyrol, and completed the work on April 22, 1940 and received 10,000 Reichsmarks for his effort.

65 On the anniversary of Pearl Harbour in early December 1942, Helmut Fellmer wrote for the Japanese Navy a symphonic music for wind orchestra entitled 'Heldenklänge,' a musical homage to the heroic Japanese submarine crews.

66 Kenneth J. Ruoff: Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary, Cornell University Press, 2010, p.17

67 Instead the national (including the colonies) 11th Games at the Meiji Sanctuary (1923-1943) were held as a revenge for the cancellation of the Tokyo Olympic Games scheduled for the same year, which the Japanese Olympic Committee had to officially renounce on 16 July 1938 due to Japan's growing involvement in the war in China. In the end, the official report of the celebrations lists a total of 2,081 sporting events organized with more than 58,000 athletes participating.

Imaizumi Yoshiko: Sacred Space in the Modern City: The Fractured Pasts of Meiji Shrine, 1912-1958, Éditions Brill, 2013 p.346

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68 By 1939 eleven Japanese department store companies operated seventy outlets within Japan's formal and informal empire in addition to those in Japan mainland.

Hirano Takashi: Retailing in urban Japan, 1868-1945, Urban History 26/ 3 Cambridge University Press, 1999

69 At the exhibition a scroll drawn by nine leading artists that featured eleven scenes of the age of the gods was shown. The eleventh and final of these large scenes portrayed Emperor Jimmu's enthronement. Takashimaya sold duplicates of the scroll for ¥200 (\$50), making this patriotic representation of national history a luxury purchase. The second attraction was a diorama narrative of national history made up of thirty seven scenes focusing on the post-foundation period. The exhibition also featured photos of imperial tombs, historical artefacts, displays on the six major projects planned to mark the anniversary, and exhibits about the Fatherland Promotion Labor Service Brigades and the National Foundation Labor Service Brigades.



Second World War. With more than 300.000 visitors at the two exhibitions in Tokyo alone, artists such as YASUDA Yukihiko (1884-1978) who submitted 'The Arrival of Yoshitsun' and KOBAYASHI Kokei (1883-1957), who painted *Acalanatha* 'A furious Buddhist deity' reinforced the national celebration of Japan's myth and therefore were praised by art critics for contributing to the state and uplifting the spirit of the Japanese nation and race.

As an ideological construct in modern Japan from the Meiji period until the end of World War II, it was suggested, in accordance with the official mythologies, that Japan had been founded in 660 BCE by Emperor Jimmu, the great grandson of Ningi, himself the grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu and the first imperial ancestor to descend from heaven. Although the findings of archaeological research and comparative history since the end of the 19th century had definitely proven the legendary nature of this founding date, the promotion of the Japanese historic narrative, based on the oldest extant chronicle *Kojiki* 'Records of Ancient Matters,' became an extremely important event in wartime Japan.<sup>70</sup> However, the 2600th anniversary of the alleged foundation of the Japanese Empire was also celebrated among interested Germans with festival activities in Berlin during that year. The 'Japan Institute at Berlin' *Japaninstitut zu Berlin* and the 'Japanese German

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70 The nationalistic *kokutai* ideology was based on the unbroken sovereignty of the imperial line since Emperor Jimmu, and State Shintō was rooted on the idea of a homogenous Japanese family state understood as *shinkoku*, the 'country of the gods' with a deified emperor as its head. The first histories of the country, namely the *Kojiki*, dating from 712 A.D., and the *Nihon shoki*, which is dated to 720 A.D., served as sources for this central concept. *Kojiki* 'Records of Ancient Matters' is the oldest extant chronicle in Japan, dating from the early 8th century (711–712) and composed of a collection of myths, early legends, songs, genealogies, oral traditions and semi-historical accounts down to 641 concerning the origin of the Japanese archipelago. The *Kojiki* became elevated to the status of a holy book of State Shintō in modern Japan thanks to the influence of the Motoori Norinaga's (1730-1801) fundamental commentary *Kojiki-den*. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the first translator of the *Kojiki* into a Western language, opposed the idea of Japanese cultural homogeneity and exclusivity when he stated that the real history of the Japanese state must be regarded as 'more than a thousand years later than the date usually accepted.' Speaking before the *Asiatic Society of Japan* on April 12th and June 21st, 1882, in

Basil Hall Chamberlain: A translation of the 'Ko-ji-ki' or Records of ancient matters, Yokohama, Japan, R. Meiklejohn and Co., Printers, 1882. To the interpreters of the Meiji period (1868-1912), it was important to discover the 'authentic truth' hidden in the texts in order to legitimize an imperial rule that had only recently been restored. Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960) would go on to publish a book on the *Kojiki* in 1920, titled *Nihon Kodai Bunka*, in which he argued that the *Kojiki* had their origins in an oral tradition. This was important, since the influx of Chinese characters at the time the *Kojiki* were compiled, betrayed possible Chinese influences, a fact the Japanese were desperate to denounce. Many subsequent attempts were made to interconnect the *Kojiki* and the idea of a 'Pure Japanese Culture'.

W.G. Beasley: *The Meiji Restoration*, Stanford University Press, 1972

Culture Institute at Tokyo' *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut zu Tokyo* commemorated this festivity by presenting an enormous work of philological research, a new edition and a complete translation into German of the *Kojiki* by KINOSHITA Iwao (1894-1980).<sup>71</sup>

Under the slogan 'Japan, Land of the Gods' *Shinkoku Nihon*, the main event was held on November 11, 1940 and took place in the outdoor garden of Tokyo's Imperial Palace and consisted also of a majestic outdoor exhibition. Emphasizing the state of war that Japan was experiencing, by using the slogan 'The festival is over, let's get to work!' *Iwai owatta. Saa, hatarakō!*, the four day celebration ended on November 15 with an estimated audience of 1,210,000 people attending.

This celebration was a sign that despite rationing and slogans against "luxury", the war had not yet had a serious impact on life on the home front. On the contrary, in 1940 Japan experienced a consumption boom, magazines had their highest sales figures ever due to competitions on the occasion of the anniversary. Department stores attracted millions of customers to their free exhibitions and recorded high sales due to the purchasing power during the period of rearmament. Also, the celebrations of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of Japan stimulated travel by people from Japan, residents from the colonies and guests from other countries, making 1940 the peak year for travel to Imperial Japan.<sup>72</sup>

Spectacle and consumption became an outlet used to allow the masses to vent and disperse their discontent in order to maintain support for the war. "Panem et Circensis" was essential for maintaining morale on the home front. But both, consume and moral would collapse after 1943.

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71 The *Kojiki* without any question, is a very old source, but reinterpreted in the eighteenth century mainly as a mere product of an individual, Motoori Norinaga. Without his religiously motivated ideological work there would be no *Kojiki* as a sacred book for Shintō since the Edo period in particular. Further it also can be stated that its impact is very limited to Japan of the modern era after the Meiji restoration and under this point of view it may be regarded as a kind of 'invented tradition, re-invented and used for nationalistic propaganda as justification for a singular story line of history centered around Japan's origin.

See: Klaus Antoni: *Creating a Sacred Narrative – Kojiki Studies and Shintō Nationalism*, Japanese Religions, Vol. 36 (1 & 2): 3-30, 2011

72 Kenneth. J. Ruoff: *Japanese Tourism to Mukden, Nanjing, and Qufu, 1938–1943*, *Japan Review*, 27, 2014, p.84