

ASIAN HISTORY



Victoria Eaves-Young

Writing Japan's War in New Guinea

The Diary of Tamura Yoshikazu

Amsterdam
University
Press

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Writing Japan's War in New Guinea

Asian History

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Prologue

Background

My interest in Japanese soldiers was sparked over forty years ago as an undergraduate student of Japanese language and history. My father had been in the Australian Airforce (RAAF) during the Pacific War, and many of my childhood neighbours and schoolfriends had fathers who had fought in New Guinea. Like most returned servicemen, they rarely talked about their experiences, yet there was an all-pervasive undercurrent of disdain for the behaviour of the Imperial Japanese soldiers, ‘those dirty yellow bastards’ during the Pacific War.¹ The commonly held view of Japanese soldiers was bleak and brutish indeed. Such descriptions as those provided by Samuel Hynes in his book about war abound. Hynes quotes George MacDonald Fraser, who wrote *Quartered Safe Out Here*, a recollection of his time spent in Burma:

No one underestimated Jap [sic]: he might be a subhuman creature who tortured and starved prisoners of war to death, raped women captives, and used civilians for bayonet practice, but there was no braver soldier in the whole history of war, and if he fought to a finish [...] there is no question that he was viewed in an entirely different light from our European enemies. Would the atomic bomb have been dropped on Berlin, Rome, or Vienna? No doubt newspaper reports and broadcasts have encouraged us, civilians and military, to regard him as an evil, misshapen, buck-toothed barbarian who looked and behaved like something sub-Stone-Age; the experience of Allied prisoners of war demonstrated that the reports had not lied and reinforced the view that the only good Jap was a dead one. And we were right, then.²

The disdain, and indeed hatred, held for the soldiers of Japan was, though perhaps warranted, in direct juxtaposition to the way we remember the contribution of our servicemen in military conflicts. The fascination with and memorialization of war in Australia (as with many other ‘victor’ countries) has seen the elevation to hero status of the service personnel who

1 Hubert Henry (Harry) Bell, *From Wee Waa to Wewak*, 2 vols. (Bowral, NSW: self published, 2010), vol. 2, p. 227. Stories abound of anything manufactured in Japan being discarded or shunned.

2 As quoted in Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers’ Tale* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), pp. 164-165.

fought in campaigns such as Gallipoli, the Somme, and Passchendaele in the First World War, followed by those who fought on the Kokoda Track in New Guinea and the 'Rats of Tobruk' of the Second World War, the prisoners of war who struggled to build the infamous Thai-Burma Railway or suffered terribly in the death camps of Changi and Sandakan Death March (to name but a few), and more recently, though a bit more fraught, those who fought in the Battle of Long Tan in Vietnam. Their sacrifices for their country were enormous and have been duly granted the prestigious position of legends, the stuff that promotes reverence, sincere gratitude, and above all patriotism. There is no denying that their intrepidity and bravery – not to mention suffering – on behalf of 'King and Country' were indeed laudable, deserve commemoration, and should never be forgotten.

One of the ways we show our indebtedness in Australia is through the exhibits at the Australian War Memorial (AWM). The AWM stands in a lofty position in the nation's capital, Canberra, in direct line of sight across the iconic Lake Burley Griffin to both the original Parliament House and the current Parliament House. Conceived after the First World War and opened on Armistice Day (11 November) 1941 (during the Second World War), this museum to honour the war dead and those who fought during all the conflicts in which Australian forces participated is due for a government-sponsored upgrade of 500 million Australian dollars to enable the memorial to also honour the 'Invictus Generation', those service persons who have served in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Solomon Islands, and East Timor. The memorialization of war such as this in Australia is seen to be the basis of our 'national character', so much so that Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison referred to the war memorial and its impending upgrade as 'a place of commemoration and understanding as the soul of the nation'. The AWM's Director, Dr Brendan Nelson, went on to assert that "There is one national institution in this country that reveals more than anything else our character as a people, our soul".³ The Australian War Memorial, then, appears to signify part of our 'collective-autobiographical remembering', where through this memorialization and the commemoration that are inherent to them, we create our identity, culturally shape our history, and set the standards of value.⁴ Our recognition of our own soldiers and those who were allied to us

3 Jordan Hayne and Jon Healy, 'Australian War Memorial's \$500 million expansion to honour "Invictus Generation"', [www.abc.net.au, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-01/australian-war-memorial-to-expand-to-remember-recent-conflicts/10456896](http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-01/australian-war-memorial-to-expand-to-remember-recent-conflicts/10456896).

4 Astrid Erl, 'Why "Memory"?', in *Memory in Culture*, eds. Andrew Hoskins and John Sutton, trans. Sara B. Young, Memory Studies (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), p. 106.

echoes the fact that ‘Martyrdom allows the living to say that soldiers did not die in vain’.⁵ Martyrdom, though, is only the trophy of the victor. In reality, ‘our war literature is obsessed with the experience of a very small portion of the large populations implicated in modern warfare. Over and over again, we hear the story of the white English or American soldier, as though it was the only presence on the field of war.’⁶ The story is also almost always that of the victor and not of the vanquished. But what of those who fought on the other side? Were they the ‘soul’ of their nation, willing participants in the bloodbath of war, or a sinister manifestation of what their nation required of them?

After I graduated from university, I went to Japan to live and work as an English teacher in the mountain region of Nagano Prefecture. A group of my students were older men, returnees from the 50th Infantry Matsumoto Unit who had been members of the Central China Expeditionary Army. These men had been part of the infamous Battle of Nanjing, and yet to me they were full of the cheerfulness and kindness of country gentlemen moving into their elderly years. They had fought in one of the most shameful and inhumane battles in the war on the China Mainland, yet they exhibited none of the merciless behaviours that would have precipitated these abominable deeds. At the time, I was too young and possibly too naïve to pursue these questions, yet questions they remained. Why did these people seem to have gone to war so willingly, and how could they have become so embroiled in such detestable behaviour? Was every Japanese soldier the monster that history had steered me to believe? Were they willing participants, or had they been coerced into aggression?

Many years later, I was engaged in a study of *sengoha* [post-war authors] who had been soldiers of Imperial Japan. One author sparked my interest again. Umezaki Haruo, one of the first *sengoha* authors, had been a very reluctant soldier who had tried various methods to evade conscription into the army. This was a departure from the vision of the dedicated, even fanatical Japanese soldier who fights willingly and to the death. In the dying stages of the war, when conscription regulations were relaxed due to a dire shortage of military personnel, it became impossible for Umezaki to continue to elude service, and he was drafted as a sentry on the island of Sakurajima in the south of Japan. He wrote a short but insightful novel *Sakurajima* based on his experiences there. His work certainly painted Japan and Japanese soldiers in a rather dim light. Was this due to his own

5 Akiko Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 9.

6 Lynne Hanley, *Writing War: Fiction, Gender, and Memory* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts, 1991), p. 6.

personal remorse, survivor guilt, or outside factors such as the 'Japan as victim' mentality? Or was it part of the censorship prevailing under the American Occupation of Japan, and more specifically through General MacArthur's Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP) which wielded colossal power over the media of Japan through censorship and specific input requirements after the war. This power related to all mass media, such as newspapers, radio broadcasts, magazine articles, novels, and memoirs, even down to the types of films that could be shown at movie theatres, be they foreign or domestic.⁷

The words of an Australian soldier are instructive here.

It's a terrible thing, war. It's all right for people that are victorious, to march in, but think of the defeated people going back, the horror of it all. It makes you think, you know, the kindness of people in war, the horror of war, the sorrow for the afflicted, the vanquished, the people that were. How great they fought, and yet how much they lost.⁸

Certainly, the end of the war for Japan signalled a degree of *kyodatsu*: the word used to describe the 'distracted' and 'dejected' condition of the people upon their defeat in the Second World War.⁹ This disillusionment and dejection was apparent in the retrospective works of *sengoha* authors like Ōoka Shōhei (1909-1988) and Hino Ashihei (1907-1960), both of whom saw active service. Their works display 'survivor syndrome' characteristics including *sensō sekinin* [war guilt] and the *kyodatsu* [disillusionment and physical despair] that they as *haizanhei* [defeated soldiers] suffered and can clearly be attributed to their wartime as well as their immediate postwar experience. The underlying anguish over the war itself is prevalent in these accounts, and this supports the assertion that 'few Japanese remember supporting the war with any great fervour [...] most remember the coercion they experienced as well as the deprivation'.¹⁰

7 John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: Norton & Co, 1999), p. 206.

8 W.E. Harney, *Bill Harney's War* (South Yarra, Victoria, Australia: Currey O'Neil Ross, 1983), p. 52.

9 Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, p. 89.

10 Simon Partner, *Toshie: A Story of Village Life in Twentieth Century Japan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004), p. 61. See also, for example, Samuel Hideo Yamashita, *Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000).

There have also been memoirs of the war experience written by returned soldiers, but again, these accounts are fraught with problems. Because they were written from a memory standpoint, this means that the information they purport to be 'truths' are not always historically and factually sound; they are indeed 'at best blurred'.¹¹ In fact, these memory narratives were potentially 'stained' and 'distorted' by the environment to which the soldiers returned, which potentially meant that these memories were not set in concrete but rather a fluid reconstruction which had much of its basis in the present rather than in the past.¹²

Aside from the disdain from outside Japan, there was for returned Japanese soldiers the stigma within their home country of having fought a losing war and of having survived that war when others 'gloriously' died on behalf of the imperial cause. There was also the 'Japan as victim' scenario and the 'Japan as shame' label with which returnee writers had to grapple. This often meant that, in the representation of their war experience, their accounts, like those of diarists as returned soldiers, have often been the products of 'refurbishment' after the war, allowing for correction and rethinking. Not all changes were stylistic alone; some alterations also 'affected' the content of the diary or memoir.¹³ Aaron Moore notes that 'visitors to Chiran (arguably the spiritual home of the *kamikaze* pilots) may encounter obstreperous tour guides who criticize wartime diaries, as well as farewell letters and poems as "inauthentic" products of coercion. To discover the "true" thoughts of a soldier, they proclaim, one must seek out "private" diaries.'¹⁴

It became increasingly evident that in order to garner a more accurate sense of what was occurring with soldiers during the Pacific War, I needed a diary that had not been tampered with in any way. A diary written in situ by a soldier who did not return from the war would present a fair chance that there would be an 'immediacy and vividness' that was not filtered through the 'selective haze of retrospection or shaped by ex-posto facto-rationalization'.¹⁵ A chance meeting with Dr Keiko Tamura (no relation to the diarist studied here) in 2005 provided me with the 'private' diary that is the focus of this study, affording me a glimpse of the 'true' thoughts of a soldier who did not return from the war. This short but insightful journal

11 Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat*, p. 21.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

13 Aaron William Moore, 'The Chimera of Privacy: Reading Self-Discipline in Japanese Diaries from the Second World War (1937-1945)', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 173.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

15 Yamashita, *Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies*, p. 8.

offered the opportunity to read and analyze the rarely heard real-time voice of a soldier in the combat zone.

Tamura Yoshikazu's diary had been in the possession of an Australian soldier, Alan Connell, who had somehow acquired it during the conflict in New Guinea. Considering that Connell was involved in intelligence gathering in New Guinea, it is likely that Tamura's diary was merely kept by Connell as a souvenir of the war, although it may also be that he knew that it would otherwise be destroyed and desired to save it from that fate.¹⁶ However, since the diary was discovered by Connell's family only after the Australian soldier's death, it is impossible to ascertain precisely when or how he came across it or whether or not Tamura was already deceased at the time Connell came into possession of it.¹⁷ The original diary was given by the Connell family to the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.¹⁸ Eventually, the diary came to the attention of Japanese author and documentary filmmaker Shigematsu Kiyoshi, who tracked down Tamura's family in Japan. In due course, the diary was repatriated to them. The diary remains the most important possession in the family's Buddhist altar in the original farmhouse where Tamura lived as a child.¹⁹ The contents of this diary assured that it was not considered to convey anything of a strategic nature and so was of no value to either the Allies or the Japanese military. The fact that it slipped through the net into the hands of an Australian soldier has insured its legacy is available for scrutiny.

16 Donald Keene recalls being torn about having to destroy some very eloquent diaries and having tried to hide them, and of being found in possession of them and having to destroy the diaries. Keene, *Chronicles of My Life: An American in the Heart of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 37.

17 See Keiko Tamura's description of Tamura's diary at the Australia Japan Research Project website, <http://ajrp.awm.gov.au/ajrp/ajrp2.nsf/088031725e4569e4ca256f4f00126373/6fdc30e8806ec7d9ca256b73000e4618?OpenDocument>. While AJRP is no longer in existence, the web page that was created to reflect Dr Tamura's research is still available.

18 A copy of the diary remains housed at the Australian War Memorial AWM ATIS PR 02305 Tamura Yoshikazu, 'Diary of Tamura Yoshikazu', (Canberra, Australia: AWM, circa 1943).

19 Shigematsu Kiyoshi, 'Saigo no Kotoba', <http://archives.nhk.or.jp/chronicle/B10002200090308160030137/> The documentary 'Saigo no Kotoba' (Final Words), presented by documentary filmmaker and author Shigematsu Kiyoshi, examines the diary of Tamura Yoshikazu, among other South West Pacific diarists. It was aired on 7 December 2003. See also Shigematsu Kiyoshi and Watanabe Kō, *Saigo no kotoba: senjō ni nokosareta 24-man ji no todokanakatta tegami* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2004), pp. 152-206.

The Role of ATIS in Intelligence Gathering

Many of the documents referred to in this work were scrutinized during the war by the Allied Translator and Interpreter Service. As part of the Allied intelligence gathering process, captured documents (among them, diaries) that were considered of a strategic nature were first translated by the Allied Translator and Interpreter Service (hereafter, ATIS).²⁰ Earlier in July 1942, the Australian version of the British CSDIC (Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre) was established in Melbourne with sixteen linguists with a 'passable' knowledge of the Japanese language. This unit was commanded by a non-linguist whose knowledge of Japan – its people, its culture, its language, and its military structure – was negligible.²¹ Based in the northern part of Australia in Brisbane, ATIS was formed in September 1942, drawing on Australian officer linguists, and eventually second-generation [*nisei*] Japanese linguists.²² From January 1943, however, ATIS also established several advanced echelons closer to the battlefields to the north of Australia to provide preliminary examination and translation of captured material as well as to interrogate prisoners. When it was formed, ATIS was comprised of 25 officers and 10 enlisted men. The magnitude of the work they undertook saw the ranks swell to 250 officers and 1,700 enlisted men and women by 1945.²³ Many of the captured documents had suffered some kind of damage – 'rain-drenched, soil-crushed, with stains and solid matter attaching to used toilet and kitchen wastes, the blood of dead soldiers and the rot of decomposing bodies'.²⁴ The amount of captured documents secured by ATIS was astonishing, including not only operational material such as orders, diagrams, field sketches, maintenance records, maps, and pay books but also 'personal and military diaries, identity discs, intelligence reports, private letters, military correspondence, postcards, magazines [...]'.²⁵ The complete carelessness of the Japanese in leaving behind such vast quantities of items of strategic interest was mind-boggling to the ATIS staff.²⁶ In fact, it

20 The translated versions of these diaries largely remain housed at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra, Australia.

21 Arthur Page, *Between Victor and Vanquished: An Australian Interrogator in the War against Japan* (Loftus, Australia: Australian Military History Publications, 2008), pp. 72-73.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

23 Arthur Page was one of the interpreters employed by ATIS, having grown up in Japan with a reasonable grasp of the Japanese language. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

appeared that the Japanese forces did not believe that anyone would be able to decipher and decode their system, let alone be capable of translating from Japanese, and were therefore quite cavalier in disposing of these materials.²⁷

The diaries translated by ATIS (and now housed at the Australian War Memorial Research Centre in Canberra) were of a strategic ilk, and as such, the intelligence they contained ensured their value to the Allies. The translated portions of these diaries are either 'translated in full' or are 'excerpts' containing only those sections that were considered to be of strategic value, and so it is not possible to ascertain whether these diaries also contained musings of a more personal nature.²⁸ Once the diaries were processed by Australian personnel, the originals were forwarded to the United States of America. Unfortunately, by the end of the war, the majority of these materials had been either lost or summarily destroyed, and thus this material (in its original form) rarely remained publicly accessible once the war ended. As a result, Japanese war diaries in their original format from the Pacific campaign, and particularly New Guinea, are quite rare. Although the AWM in Canberra holds a substantial archive of translated copies of Japanese strategic military diaries, Tamura's text has particular significance as one of the few extant original diaries written in New Guinea by a non-commissioned member of the Imperial Japanese Army.²⁹

Methodology

The Japanese proverb 'to die like a carp on the cutting board' [*sojō no koi*] conjures up a resigned and passive determination to die unquestioningly.³⁰ Apparently, a carp on a cutting board is resigned to its fate and doesn't flap

27 Ibid., p. 79.

28 A translator's note attached to the translation of a diary from Kokoda reads 'personal philosophy has been largely omitted from the remainder of the diary'; see AWM ATIS 54 577-7-26, 'Diary of a Japanese Officer Kokoda', (Canberra: AWM).

29 Working with translated diaries is fraught, as the original meaning may have been distorted. Donald Keene, who acted as a translator in the United States, notes that 'translating such materials was so tedious that we tried making it more interesting by rendering the Japanese documents into old fashioned English or the language of popular fiction'. Keene, *Chronicles of My Life*, p. 36.

30 *Sojō no koi*. There is also a saying *sojō no sakana mo dōzen de aru* which means 'be doomed' (literally left to one's fate like a fish on a chopping board). The carp is the most quoted fish for dying unquestioningly. There is a belief that a carp will lie quietly on the cutting board waiting for its fate of death. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 60.

about like other doomed fish tend to do; rather it lies in dignity awaiting the blade. Japanese soldiers were believed to have that same ability to die with poise and without hesitation and with a degree of resignation to their fate. But did all soldiers die so willingly and impassively? Were Japanese soldiers committed to their goals due to coercion rather than volition?³¹ Or was it possible and indeed plausible that soldiers did have a personal and individual view that was not part of the 'homogenous' subordination of Imperial Japan?³² This book's close reading of Tamura's diary is undertaken in the hope that some of the myths will be exposed, confirmed, and/or expunged. It goes without saying that one man's experience is by no means the experience of all those who fought in the jungles of New Guinea. One man's experience is the sum of his influences, life events, and predilections in life. While this study is based on the diary of only one soldier, a key objective is to interrogate whether there is, indeed, a variance from the quintessential vision of the coerced Japanese soldier. In her discussion of student *tokkōtai* (special attack forces, more popularly known as *kamikaze*) pilots, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney notes that the 'letters, diaries and memoirs' of these doomed young men 'remain as testimony to their humanity' and that 'their voices [are] too powerful to be buried for good'.³³ This position aptly reflects one of the purposes of this study.

Early on in my research for this book, I was counseled to 'let the diary speak for itself' and to resist the temptation to overanalyze Tamura's words or to load them with meaning that may not have been his intention. It was wise counsel. But somehow, I had to peel back the layers of this diary and find out just who Tamura was and what his words mean for his audience now. Tamura's diary is a narrative that examines both the events and underlying moralities of his life as they pertain to his role as a soldier of Imperial Japan.³⁴ Just how was I to uncover the motivations, intentions, and meanings of Tamura's narrative?

Aaron Moore, writing on the diaries of Japanese, Chinese, and American soldiers in the Second World War, concedes that 'all the most useful solutions to these problems [difficult questions such as what "truth" means in a soldier's account of battle] cannot be found in a single discipline or

31 Kazuko Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 97.

32 John W Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), p. 31.

33 Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze Diaries*, p. 37.

34 Colette Daiute and Cynthia Lightfoot, eds. *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), p. xii.

methodology.[...] The issues involved in studying war diary writing are complex and confusing [...].³⁵ The complexity of studying Tamura's diary necessitated a very interdisciplinary approach designed to '*examine phenomena, issues and people's lives holistically*' [italics in the original], and while I have aimed to allow Tamura's diary to speak for itself, subsequently, by examining the diary 'holistically' I have taken a pathway that '*permits the incursion of value and evaluation into [my] research process*' [italics in the original].³⁶ Taking an interdisciplinary style necessitates accepting that there is a 'certain ambiguity' but also a considered '[exchange] between fields that remain distinct [together with] a rather more intimate blending of domains with already blurred edge'.³⁷

As a starting point, this diary is in fact a piece of literature, and so for part of my analysis I looked through the lens of literary criticism, what has been said and left unsaid, tropes that are more frequent within the text, endeavouring to establish some patterns; those things that the work 'like an unconscious wish [...] both conceals and reveals'.³⁸ The work is also historical data in that it was written in the past, during a very important time in the history of the twentieth century. History is, of course, communication with the past, and working with a very personal historical document such as a diary creates a 'basic intellectual bond between the historian and the material from the past'. And it is precisely this bond, including an emotional sensitivity and sensibility to the subject matter by the objective observer, that allows for an uncovering and interpretation of the 'unconscious connections in a communication'.³⁹

The challenge has been to remain as detached as is possible in forming my opinions of Tamura's motivations, thought processes, strengths, and weaknesses. Yet there is, of course, analytical judgement based on a considered 'listening' of Tamura's written voice, and it is through this considered 'listening', couched within a socio-historical framework, that I can confidently say, in the words of anthropologist George Devereux, 'and

35 Aaron W Moore, *Writing War: Soldiers Record the Japanese Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 7.

36 Daiute and Lightfoot, eds. *Narrative Analysis*, p. xiii [italics in the original].

37 Quote by Ludmilla Jordanova as cited in Cristian Tileagă and Jovan Byford, eds. *Psychology and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 5.

38 Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, second ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 158.

39 Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publishers, 1996), pp. 3-5.

this I perceive'.⁴⁰ Drawing on my own perceptions and indeed experiences in life, I am emboldened by Sigmund Freud's assertions that 'everyone possesses in his own unconscious an instrument with which we can interpret the utterances of the unconscious in other people'.⁴¹ Loaded with the desire to perceive and expose the effects of Tamura's life experience, cultural inclinations, and social conditioning, including that of the ideological discourse of the *kokutai* [national polity], I set about to analyze Tamura's diary, a personal experience of war, imbued and infused with the ideological background of the times, told through 'the mediating forces of the stories, metaphors, myths and images' embedded in Tamura's diary.⁴²

The following is a synopsis of my approach. Firstly, given that a major aim is to decipher the extent of the socio-political influence of Imperial Japan, I have devoted considerable space to analyzing the development of the *kokutai* discourse and Japan's militarization following the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The diary is, of course, a narrative piece and as such occurs as 'embodiments of cultural values and personal subjectivities', so considerable effort has been focused on understanding the culturally loaded messages and musings on personal emotions and thought patterns within the diary.⁴³ Tamura's diary is also laden with remembering past events, and I have devoted some discussion to the processes involved with memory.

An understanding of the way the Imperial Japanese Army performed during the New Guinea campaign is better facilitated by a recognition of the pathways Japan had taken over history. The warrior class of the feudal period of Japan would form a strong backbone of the military created after the Meiji Restoration, as would the recreation of the Emperor-centred myth of Japan's creation as a divine and unique land. In order to also understand the context of Tamura's war situation in New Guinea, I have also outlined the history of the conflict in New Guinea.

Tamura's work is, of course, a diary, and diary literature has a significant place in Japan's literary tradition, so discussion of this genre is also undertaken. Part of the diary tradition of Japan is the propensity for poetic language to be utilized, and Tamura's diary is a very solid example of this. Given the importance of nature and landscape not only in the Japanese poetic tradition but more importantly within the *kokutai* discourse (and

40 As quoted in *ibid.*, p. 5.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

42 Rita Felski, *Uses of Literature* (Malden, Massachusetts and Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2008), p. 16.

43 Daiute and Lightfoot, eds. *Narrative Analysis*, p. x.

indeed, nationalist discourses more generally), it was vital to further explore Tamura's referencing of seasonal markers and the familiar natural imagery of Japan as a contrast to the very alien surroundings of New Guinea. An analysis of the way in which Tamura interacts with, subverts, and re-configures his natural environment leans towards the concept of psycho-topography, which suggests 'an all-encompassing connection between landscape and emotion and attempts to outline the intricacies of this, subsequently providing new ways of mapping the landscape, in particular, a re-mapping of emotional and psychic responses [to it]'.⁴⁴

By taking an interdisciplinary approach, it is hoped that there has been 'the importation of useful concepts' that will shed further light and raise other questions about the plight of Japanese soldiers in New Guinea under the *kokutai* regime.⁴⁵ This complex and interdisciplinary style of analysis ensures that the narrative messages deciphered will consider 'how complex cultural, interpersonal, and aesthetic factors' have shaped this diary and will, therefore, allow the work to be of interest to a broader body of researchers such as historians, anthropologists, literature scholars, and peace educators.⁴⁶

44 R.L. Litchfield, '(Re)Imagining Los Angeles: Five psychotopographies in the fiction of Steve Erickson', (PhD, University College of London, 2010), p. 3. <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/19721>.

45 Joan W. Scott, 'The Incommensurability of Psychoanalysis and History', in *Psychology and History*, eds. Cristian Tileagă and Jovan Byford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 42.

46 Daiute and Lightfoot, eds. *Narrative Analysis*, p. xvii.