

## **From Decoy to Cultural Mediator: The Changing Uses of Tourism in Allied Troop Education about Japan, 1945–1949**

**Daniel MILNE**

This paper explores the role of tourism in soldier indoctrination by applying the concept of the “militourist gaze”—ways of representing, perceiving, and interacting with others that combine militarism and tourism—to analyze Allied military media, soldier memoirs, and photographs from World War II and the Occupation of Japan. The first part of the paper shows how in guides to Japan for U.S. military personnel published in the closing stages of the war, the tourist gaze is blamed for blinding the U.S. to Japan’s war plans. The second and third sections explore how the privileges of the Occupation enjoyed by the Allied military were reinforced through participation in bombsite and sex tourism in the immediate postwar. The final two sections focus on the late 1940s, and argue that, with Japan being recast as a vital Cold War ally, Occupation soldiers were gradually encouraged to forget World War II and embrace prewar touristic notions of their former enemy. The paper concludes that both during war and the Occupation, the militourist gaze became a tool in Allied army soldier indoctrination. Over the short span of four years (1945–1949), soldier education regarding Japan shifted from utilizing this gaze to intensify hatred and suspicion to encourage friendship and trust. The militourist gaze, the author argues, is vital not only in building amity and overlooking past hatreds to form new war alliances, but also in mobilizing soldiers for war.

**Keywords:** tourist gaze, tourist-soldier, militourism, military media, photography, indoctrination, World War II, Allied Occupation, Japan, cross-cultural encounter

### **Introduction**

In the final climactic months of a “war without mercy,” as appallingly high casualty rates were recorded at Iwo Jima and elsewhere, and a planned invasion of the Japanese mainland threatened further Allied soldier deaths, the U.S. Army released a guidebook for its soldiers

that took aim at an unexpected enemy: the tourist gaze.<sup>1</sup> “Many Americans think of Japan as a land of cherry blossoms, painted tea cups, giggling damsels, and Mount Fuji,” the booklet explains, before stating, “This is the story-book and fairytale version. It is not the twentieth century reality.”<sup>2</sup>

Why, after demonizing Japanese to the extent that soldiers had become desensitized to their indiscriminate killing, did the U.S. Army feel the need to warn soldiers about the dangers of believing in touristic imagery?<sup>3</sup> What does this example indicate about the relationship between war and tourism, as well as the uses of tourist discourse in war? How did the U.S. and other Allied armies deal with this tourist gaze as their relationship with Japan transformed in the early and later stages of the Occupation?<sup>4</sup> What part did the tourist gaze play in shaping the perceptions of Japan held by U.S. and other Allied Occupation soldiers, and how did this gaze mold their behavior? This paper seeks to answer such questions, and so help form a better understanding of how tourism can become a tool of indoctrination, war, and peace.

Previous research has established that overlaps between war and tourism are multiple and complex, including in ways central to the concerns of this study, such as how soldiers may perceive and behave like tourists while in conflict or stationed abroad, or the utilization of tourism in propaganda efforts to shape foreign views of war and conflict.<sup>5</sup> However, the role of tourist discourse in army education and indoctrination—such as that found in the U.S. Army guidebook discussed above—has received comparatively scarce attention.<sup>6</sup> As will be explored in the paper, by the early to mid-twentieth century tourism had become such an ubiquitous practice and powerful discourse in modern societies that the U.S. and other Allied armies came to draw on it in soldier indoctrination.

This paper uses the concept of “gaze”—connected ways of seeing, representing, acting, and interacting with the surrounding world—and explores how “tourist gazes,” “militarist gazes,” and hybrid “militourist gazes” were utilized in army media produced for Allied soldiers.<sup>7</sup> Carolyn O’Dwyer has defined the concept of the militourist gaze as “a visual point of violence where the scopophilic gaze of the desiring tourist meets the eye of military surveillance.”<sup>8</sup> O’Dwyer and others have used the concept to reveal how in cases of war, occupation, and at military bases abroad the privileged, objectifying, and consuming gaze of tourism can combine with the masculine, controlling, and belligerent gaze of the military. These gazes reinforce each other and form unique ways of perceiving and interacting with the world.

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1 The term “war without mercy” is John Dower’s (Dower 1986).

2 USAFIED 1945, p. 31.

3 Dower 1986.

4 This paper primarily focuses on the U.S. Army, but in order to better understand the Allied Occupation as a whole it also considers materials from the New Zealand contingent of BCOF (British Commonwealth Occupation Force).

5 Buchanan 2016; Gerster 2008; Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016; Holguin 2005; Kushner 2006; Lisle 2016; O’Dwyer 2004.

6 For notable exceptions to this, see DeRosa 2006; Laderman 2009; Shibusawa 2010.

7 For simplicity, I refer to these diverse gazes primarily in the singular. However, they can also be conceived of in the plural, such as when breaking down “tourist gazes” into romantic, group, and postmodern tourist gazes. See Urry and Larsen 2011.

8 O’Dwyer 2004, p. 36. For more, see Ginoza 2016; Lisle 2016.

The paper is divided into the following five parts: the first section examines the U.S. Army's use of tourism in the guidebook quoted at the start of the chapter; the second explores how the Occupation integrated the tourist gaze into military representations of Japan in the early Occupation period, primarily in bombsite tourism; the third looks at the emergence and political function of prostitution as a form of occupation tourism; and the fourth and fifth analyze the role of photography, distance, and the militourist gaze in the Occupation army's reshaping of soldier practices and attitudes towards Japan in a Cold War context.

### Treachery and Tourism

The 1945 *Pocket Guide to Japan* was part of a larger series covering tens of countries produced by the Army Information Branch (AIB) of the Information and Education Division (IED) of the U.S. Army, which produced film, radio, and print media for U.S. soldiers.<sup>9</sup> The AIB also published the two primary newspapers of the U.S. military, *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*, analysis of which is the primary focus of the analysis of the Occupation period in parts two to five. For the AIB and other branches of the military, the guidebooks played an important role in troop indoctrination. Guidebook author identities remained secret, and content was thoroughly reviewed at various levels of the military and at the State Department.<sup>10</sup> Though definite dates are not clear, the 1945 edition of *Pocket Guide to Japan* was published in mid-1945—before the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and informed soldiers about their central role in a planned land-based invasion and postwar occupation. Through a series of captioned photographs, the guide's authors draw extensively on tourist imagery to refute, then reemploy, the tourist gaze of Japan.

While the U.S. Army almost certainly took the series' last three photographs during wartime, it is likely that prewar tourists, promoters of Japanese tourism, or anthropologists took the remaining twenty-one.<sup>11</sup> The photos are full-page, take up over one-quarter of the booklet, and are centrally located, intimating their vital role for authors. Through photographs of iconic tourist symbols, and a visual narrative that movie-like develops rapidly and ends dramatically, the sequence of photos is designed to entertain; in this they bear similarity with *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (1945) and other propaganda films of the period.<sup>12</sup> The guide also drew on the popularity of photojournalism and amateur photography to appeal to soldiers of low literacy levels.<sup>13</sup>

Authors linked the booklet's photographs through captions, which serve to develop a three-act narrative across the photo series: prewar tourists had an impression of Japan as peaceful, exotic, and friendly; this impression was a veil concealing Japan's plot for, and secretive advancement towards, world domination by war; finally, this plot was in the process of being thwarted by the U.S. military. This story hinges on the deceptions of prewar tourism, and essentially blames this tourist gaze for Japan's deception of the U.S.

9 Also known as Troop Information and Education (TIE). For more on these, see DeRosa 2006.

10 DeRosa 2006; Laderman 2009.

11 The photo on page 42 was also used in BCOF Occupation guidebooks, indicating that they were available to U.S. allies. BCOF 1946.

12 See Dower 1999.

13 While the U.S. Army required recruits to have at least a fourth-grade education, hundreds of thousands of illiterate men were taught basic reading and writing in Special Training Units. See Kennett 1997, p. 18.



Figure 1. "For years American tourists were impressed and charmed by the strange beauty of the Japanese landscape which filled them with a feeling of peace." USAFIED 1945, p. 34.

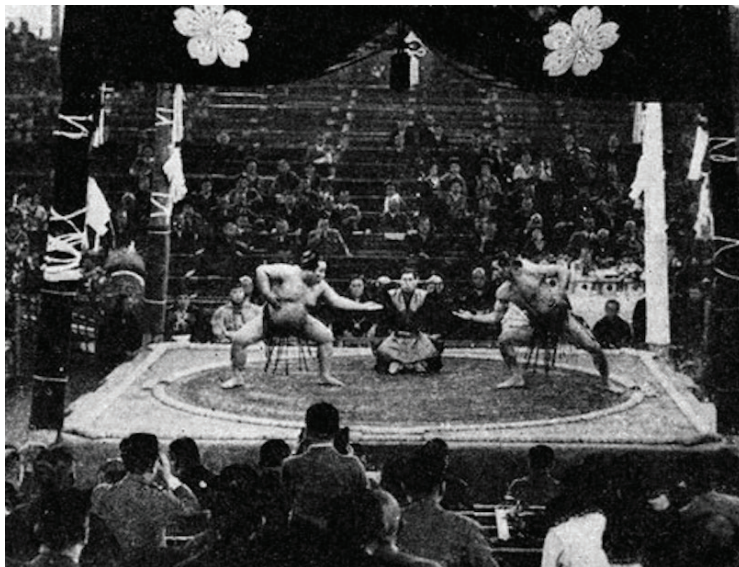


Figure 2. "We were puzzled by their sports—such as 'Sumo,' their wrestling, which looked to us like nothing more than fat men pushing each other around with funny ceremonial gestures." USAFIED 1945, p. 44.

In this story of the war, U.S. tourism is given a central role in a representation of Japan as treacherous.

The topic, framing, and composition of the first eleven photos of this series (see figure 1 and figure 2 for the first and tenth respectively) are typical of prewar tourist photos. They display a beach, rice paddies, pearl divers, silk weaving, tea picking, sumo wrestling, and other images of a traditional and exotic Japan. Accompanying captions then directly tie the photos to this prewar touristic image of Japan: “For years American tourists were impressed and charmed by the strange beauty of the Japanese landscape which filled them with a feeling of peace”; “Practically everything we saw in Japan gave us the idea that it was a peace-loving little country”; “... all-in-all, as prewar tourists, we thought the Japanese were pretty good people.”<sup>14</sup>

From the thirteenth to the twenty-first photograph, however, the narrative shifts direction to portray this prewar tourist image as a mask concealing Japanese military efforts to mobilize citizens for a war to conquer the world. This transition is effected by the language used, which switches from “Japan” to the derogatory “Jap.” Through an assemblage of touristic characters depicted as people Americans may have met while travelling in Japan—boys practicing kendo, pilgrims climbing a mountain, women cleaning a traditional house, a man selling birds (along with, by implication, his young kimono-clad female customer), and a man gazing at Mt. Fuji—the authors implicated diverse objects of the tourist gaze in the country’s military aggression. The photos in this section continue to evoke tourism, though one showing a large group of people deeply bowing points to the rise of militarism.<sup>15</sup> Captions specify exactly what was overlooked in the U.S. tourist gaze:

The little man swimming with his feet out of the water was learning to carry military code messages between his toes “in front of the enemy stealthily.” The boys practicing “Kendo” were really strengthening themselves for war by beating each other over the heads with sticks. The bowing and scraping to the Emperor was part of a state religion which made their ruler divine. It was the absolute obedience which the warlords needed to accomplish the Jap mission: “All the world under one roof”—world conquest.<sup>16</sup>

The last four photos draw on tourist imagery in order to close the narrative of the photo series. They transition dramatically from a typical tourist photo of Mt. Fuji (figure 3), to a photo of Mt. Fuji first in the periscope sights of a submarine (figure 4), and then under the wings of a clearly marked U.S. war plane (figure 5), before finishing with the only image showing combat, an overhead photo of bombs hitting factories or storehouse-like buildings in a large port (figure 6). The captions accompany and enhance this transition, starting with a man living near Mt. Fuji:

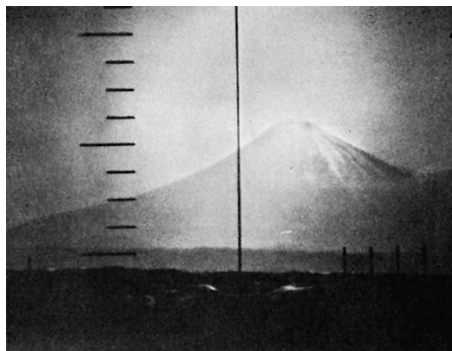
The smiling, bowing little man who saw Sujiyama [sic] from his doorway was part of this scheme ... a scheme that was to backfire, brining [sic] the periscopes of American submarines within view of Fuji ... and swarms of our American war planes to the

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14 USAFIED 1945, pp. 34–36, 45.

15 USAFIED 1945, p. 50.

16 USAFIED 1945, pp. 48–50.



Figures 3 (left) and 4 (right): A scenic Mt. Fuji and Mt. Fuji in a submarine's periscopes. USAFIED 1945.



Figures 5 (left) and 6 (right): Mt. Fuji under the wings of a U.S. warplane and bomb destruction below a warplane. USAFIED 1945.

“sacred” air over her peaks ... to bomb and destroy the great factories which spawned the Jap planes the warlords had thought would help them conquer the world.<sup>17</sup>

Mt. Fuji, an iconic prewar and contemporary tourist symbol of Japan, symbolizes the annihilation of a romantic tourist gaze—a peaceful, welcoming, and benevolent Japan —, and Japan’s imminent defeat at the hands of the U.S. Army. It is precisely this touristic perspective of Japan that the booklet’s authors condemn. The booklet portrays this perspective as a fabrication, and potential source of complacency among U.S. soldiers still at war with Japan and scheduled for mainland invasion and occupation.

The guidebook reflects the widespread popularization of tourist imagery and discourses in contemporary America across social classes. AIB leaders trusted that troops were sufficient “semioticians” of tourism to understand the layered meanings of these tourist

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17 USAFIED 1945, pp. 56–59.

symbols, such as the image of Mt. Fuji under the wing of a U.S. warplane symbolizing both the lifting of the tourist veil and Japan's imminent defeat.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, the *Pocket Guide* shows that the heads of the U.S. Army viewed militarist and tourist gazes as incompatible; that the former was accurate and authentic while the latter was misleading and fictional. This division likely drew on stereotypes contrasting the deep insights of the unmediated and independent "traveler" to the superficial understandings of the mediated and dependent "tourist."<sup>19</sup> The U.S. Army's conception of militarist and tourist gazes may also have been common among soldiers: a military newspaper from soon after the war reports an experienced soldier complaining that Occupation recruits are "like a bunch of tourists, and I'm afraid that the Nips are taking them in."<sup>20</sup> Military heads and some soldiers, it seems, believed that tourism provided a false perspective of Japan, while war revealed the reality.

Through representing Japan as treacherous, the U.S. military aimed to sustain enmity and remind soldiers to remain vigilant in preparation for invasion and occupation. However, this representation also has deeper historical significance. Treachery has long been a basic element of Western discourses about the Orient generally, and more specifically, of Western discourses about Japan.<sup>21</sup> Patrick Porter has explained how war in the West is often represented as honest and direct, and war-making in the East as deceptive and duplicitous.<sup>22</sup> The booklet's representation of Japan, in this sense, was built on orientalism.

The idea of Japanese as dishonest took on exceptional significance in Allied responses to the surprise attacks of 7/8 December 1941 on the U.S. Navy Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, American-controlled Philippines, and British Malaya that initiated the war between Japan and the Allies. The Pearl Harbor attack enraged the U.S. military, political leadership, and general population to the point that the primary motivating force in war with Japan was revenge. As John Dower explains, "The single word favored above all others by Americans as best characterizing the Japanese people [during World War II and the Occupation] was 'treacherous.'"<sup>23</sup>

Pearl Harbor also prompted criticism of U.S. military intelligence and command for underestimating Japan's militaristic capabilities and intent.<sup>24</sup> Though Pearl Harbor is not directly referenced in the series of captioned photos, the portrayal of Japan as treacherous helps to absolve the U.S. of blame for not adequately predicting the attack and protecting the Pacific Fleet: it was not because of the failure of U.S. military intelligence but the veil of goodwill provided by tourism. This representation also posits ingrained Japanese treachery as an explanation for why Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in the first place, and overlooks U.S. embargoes and competition among Euro-American and Japanese imperialist forces in the Asia-Pacific prior to the war.<sup>25</sup> The series of captioned photographs can therefore be read as

18 On tourists as semioticians, see Culler 1981.

19 See MacCannell 1999; Thompson 2011.

20 *Yank* 7.12.1945.

21 For example, see Littlewood 1996; Porter 2009; Said 1995.

22 Porter 2009.

23 Dower 1986, p. 36. The release of information about Pearl Harbor—as well as the Doolittle fliers and atrocities such as the Bataan Death March—was carefully calculated to maintain and inflame hatred towards Japan. See Dower 1986, chapter 3.

24 See Dahl 2013; Dower 1986.

25 See Dower 1986; Gonzalez 2013.

an attempt to stimulate feelings of vengeance and explain the cause of the Pacific War—and Pearl Harbor—in terms of Japan’s treachery. In so doing, the series reminds soldier-readers of the primary rationale for risking their lives in war with Japan: vengeance.

The depiction of Japan and the war found in this booklet, therefore, is formed through touristic imagery that vilifies the tourist gaze and affirms the militarist gaze. As will be shown later in the paper, however, these two gazes did not remain polar opposites in military media and photography; they began to merge and blend during the Occupation.

### **The Occupation and Gazing at Bomb Destruction**

Between mid-1944 and August 1945, the U.S. Air Force destroyed many of Japan’s urban centers—both industrial and residential—before dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.<sup>26</sup> The Soviet Union’s declaration of war with Japan helped bring about surrender on 15 August 1945, and on 2 September the official surrender ceremony formally beginning the Allied Occupation took place. The Occupation was commanded by the U.S.A. through General MacArthur and the rest of the SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) leadership headquartered in Tokyo. From 1946, the BCOF (British Commonwealth Occupation Force, which included Australia, India, New Zealand, and Britain) occupied Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and other prefectures in western Honshu.<sup>27</sup> By the end of 1945 there were already about 430,000 Allied soldiers in Japan, though this number gradually decreased until the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950.<sup>28</sup> From June 1946, these soldiers were joined by tens of thousands of wives, children, and other family members.<sup>29</sup> From 1947, in the context of a rapidly escalating Cold War in Europe and East Asia, and the election of a socialist government in Japan, SCAP policies shifted towards shaping Japan into a democratic, capitalist bulwark in East Asia. As part of this, in September 1949 the Occupation took on a “pro-fraternization” policy, four years after doing so in Germany.

The following sections analyze how the U.S. and Allied military continued to employ the tourist gaze to strategically mold soldiers into their role in shifting relations with Japan. These sections focus primarily on articles in the two major U.S. military newspapers, soldier memoirs, and photographs from the beginning of the Occupation to 1949.<sup>30</sup> These newspapers are *Yank*, a weekly published during the war years with a worldwide circulation of two million, and *Stars and Stripes*, a daily with a circulation of over one million for its European and 70,000 for its Pacific edition.<sup>31</sup> These newspapers were central to the U.S. military’s efforts to educate soldiers about the Occupation and were reputedly highly trusted.<sup>32</sup>

For some Occupation soldiers, gazing at the destruction brought about by U.S. bombing provided a motivation for visiting and photographing particular sights. Studies by Ran Zwigenberg and Robin Gerster have revealed that a tourism industry rapidly emerged in postwar Hiroshima catering to Allied soldiers interested in sights and souvenirs of atomic

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26 For example, approximately 65 percent of all residences in Tokyo were destroyed. See Dower 1999, p. 45.

27 On the BCOF, see Nish 2013.

28 Kovner 2012, p. 19.

29 Alvah 2007.

30 My purpose here is to point out similarities with touristic stories of travels in many of these accounts of the Occupation; I do not intend to simply equate militarism and tourism. Veteran biographies are invaluable accounts of the events and experiences of war and occupation, and important records of life stories.

31 DeRosa 2006, p. 13.

32 See Roberts 2013.



bomb destruction.<sup>33</sup> For Zwigenberg, Hiroshima and Nagasaki attract people—then and today—because they, like other “dark tourist sites,” symbolize the anxieties of modernity, in this case the capacity of modern technologies to destroy humanity.<sup>34</sup> This does not mean that soldier-visitors were necessarily critical of U.S. bombing and weaponry; indeed, they may have visited atomic and other bomb sites out of support for and pride in U.S. military superiority. In addition, the bomb destruction of Japanese cities also dissuaded many soldiers and helped attract them to cities that had escaped widespread destruction.

Wartime and postwar media representations of the destruction of Tokyo often drew on the discourses of popular tourism. In “3 Beaten Cities,” a *Yank* article published soon after the war, the reader is given a virtual tour of the mass destruction of Tokyo, Nagasaki, and Hiroshima.<sup>35</sup> As seen in figure 7, the destruction of Tokyo is represented through a photo of two Caucasian men in white, possibly U.S. Navy servicemen, standing in ruins with the tall buildings of Ginza in the background.<sup>36</sup> Since being developed in the 1880s into a tree-lined shopping thoroughfare of brick buildings based on London’s Regent Street, Ginza had been a symbol of Japan’s Westernization and a center of both domestic and international tourism.<sup>37</sup> For example, in *Terry’s Guide to the Japanese Empire* of 1928, the only interwar foreign-authored English-language tourist guidebook series for Japan, Ginza is recommended as one place to visit on a one or two-day tour of Tokyo.<sup>38</sup> In “3 Beaten Cities,” the image of Ginza as a Westernized shopping mecca for tourists is suggested through the presence of the impressive Hattori clock building (Hattori Tokei Ten 服部時計店) in the background on the left with its “H” marked roller-doors. Located at the center of Ginza, this building was a prewar symbol of the shopping district and remains so today.<sup>39</sup> The use of a stylized oriental font in the “Tokyo” title further emphasizes the touristic nature of the photo. A similar photograph in a later edition of *Yank* demonstrates the significance of the imagery here. This photo (figure 8) shows sailors and GIs walking in Ginza against precisely the same background.<sup>40</sup>

The foreground of the Tokyo photo from “3 Beaten Cities” in figure 7 is primarily the product of a militarist gaze seeking to observe the devastation wrought upon Tokyo by U.S. aerial bombing. The massive twisted steel beams and columns, on which one figure stands, highlight the tremendous strength of the blasts, as does the centrality, size, and foregrounding of the ruined building. This foreground also has elements of a prototypical tourist photo, such as the traveler abroad surrounded by symbols of a foreign and exotic land. This photo suggests both the domination of Japan by the U.S. and Allies through military destruction, and its ownership and occupation through the militarist gaze of the men standing in and observing the rubble. The photo thus relies on a combination of tourist and militarist gazes. The former is provided by the Hattori building in the background, a landmark of Tokyo

33 Gerster 2008; Gerster 2015; Zwigenberg 2016.

34 Zwigenberg 2014; Zwigenberg 2016. For more on the concept of dark tourism, see Lennon and Foley 2000, as well as De Antoni and Seaton in this volume.

35 *Yank* 5.10.1945.

36 *Yank* 5.10.1945.

37 Fujimori 2004.

38 Terry 1928, p. 121.

39 This building was requisitioned by the Occupation and converted into the Tokyo P.X., a store for Occupation members to purchase everyday goods and souvenirs, around December 1945. Handō 2007, pp. 95, 106; Taiheiyō Sensō Kenkyūkai 2007, p. 205.

40 *Yank* 23.11.1945.



Figure 7. Photo of Ginza from an October 1945 edition of *Yank*. *Yank* 5.10.1945.



Figure 8. Photo of Ginza from a November 1945 edition of *Yank*. *Yank* 23.11.1945.

and symbol of Westernization, wealth, consumption, and tourism, and the latter by the destruction in the foreground, which symbolizes the military destruction and domination of Tokyo by the Allies.

The militourist gaze evident here reemerges at the end of the “3 Beaten Cities” article. The author writes that, while talking to an elderly Japanese man and gazing from a moat towards the partly bombed imperial palace, “a B-29 sightseeing tour roared low over the palace grounds.”<sup>41</sup> Not only was this journalist visiting the imperial palace as a sightseer; so too were many Occupation soldiers, including the group observing the palace from the air.

Photographs taken both by the Army Special Service as stock photos for army publications and privately by individual soldiers also show how tourism and militarism overlapped during the Occupation period. Stock photos, primarily overhead shots of sections of Tokyo in which damaged buildings stand among rubble, were provided to soldiers as mementos of their time in the Occupation force.<sup>42</sup> Some personnel found these photos valuable enough to take them home and even keep them for decades as souvenirs. Figures 9 and 10 are one soldier’s photos of destruction around the imperial palace and rivers of central Tokyo, perhaps a similar view to that seen by soldiers on the B-29 sightseeing tours mentioned previously. Soldiers and other Occupation personnel not only received photos of the destruction of cities but also took them themselves, such as the 1945 photos of Yokohama and Tokyo in figures 11 and 12.

These stock and personal photos reflect both tourist and militarist gazes, and presumably functioned in a similar manner to typical tourist photos and postcards. They were at least partly intended to be sent or taken home as souvenirs to show family, friends, and others. In addition, they often included major landmarks (for example, the imperial palace) and objects deemed worthy of sightseeing (destroyed buildings and rubble). For members of the Occupation, the photos perhaps also functioned as symbols of the superiority and righteousness of the Occupation.

While some soldiers were attracted to wartime ruins, many tried to avoid them. Soon after Japan’s surrender *Yank* reported that the “whole Tokyo Bay area used to be pretty messy due to crowded living conditions, and with the added attraction of Allied bomb damage it should have very little appeal today.”<sup>43</sup> A later edition stated that big Japanese cities are “uninteresting” as “their shops, restaurants and theatres are mostly destroyed,” while seeing districts “burned flat by our incendiaries gets more depressing the more you see of it.”<sup>44</sup> Visiting Kobe, Denton W. Crocker, a member of the Army’s 31st Malaria Survey Unit, took a photo of the city’s war ruins backed by mountains, and wrote rather dejectedly that it must have been a beautiful city before being bombed.<sup>45</sup> This feeling of being a belated visitor, someone who arrived shortly after the destination lost its exotic charm—typically through its modernization or Westernization—is common in Anglophone writing about the Orient, and can be traced back at least to the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Rather than arousing touristic interest in modernity’s destructive force, as is the case with dark tourism,

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41 *Yank* 5.10.1945.

42 Military-issued field postcards were provided to U.S. soldiers since at least World War I. Lisle 2016.

43 *Yank* 14.9.1945.

44 *Yank* 9.11.1945.

45 Crocker 1997, p. 259.

46 Behdad 1994.



Figure 9. U.S. Army stock photo titled "U.S. OCCUPIES JAPAN" and with description, "Emperor Hirohito's palace (left) still standing in Tokyo although ill-aimed bombs during last spring's raid leveled the 'outer palace' (right)." Guralnik 1945. Courtesy of David Guralnik.



Figure 10. U.S. Army stock photo of destruction of Tokyo with written note "TOKYO 1945." Guralnik 1945. Courtesy of David Guralnik.



Figure 11. "Damaged Buildings in Tokyo or Yokohama 1945." U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command online collection, Howard W. Whalen (NH 104425-KN).



Figure 12. "Bomb damage in Japanese city, 1945." U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command online collection, Howard W. Whalen (NH 104439-KN).

however, this feeling of belatedness leads to disappointment and a desire to find exotic sites unaffected by modernization.

This desire drew many soldiers—primarily in R&R (Rest and Relaxation) time—to travel to destinations away from the devastation of war. Such travel destinations included rural areas but was especially focused on Kyoto, as suggested by a 1945 *Yank* article devoted to the city titled “Old Japan.”<sup>47</sup> The article reports on the emergence of a lively tourist trade based around the Occupation forces, explains districts where souvenirs can be purchased, and describes the major red light areas, before concluding that the “sacred city of Japan stands here today, with gaudy rich temples, wealthy prostitutes, and hungry laborers, the only spot on the island that hasn’t been destroyed.” The article reveals that city leaders were actively attempting to build the economy through attracting Occupation soldier tourists. The journalist interviews the mayor and president of the Chamber of Commerce, and quotes the latter as saying that, “The first step in the rebuilding of Kyoto’s lost commerce is to produce souvenirs for the GIs to take stateside with them.” In another article from later in the Occupation, Kyoto is described as “the quintessence of Japan” to which “hundreds of visitors flock” for shopping, sights, and history.<sup>48</sup>

In 1949, Kyoto made plans to build a commemorative tower expressing gratitude that the city was not damaged by the war (*hi-sensai kansha kinen tō* 非戦災感謝記念塔).<sup>49</sup> This plan was eventually cancelled due to local opposition, perhaps because, as Nishikawa Yūko 西川祐子 proposes, Kyoto had actually been bombed (though with relatively little damage), and planners expected Kyoto citizens to fund the monument.<sup>50</sup> The idea to build the monument may have been informed by contemporary discussion within Japan about why Kyoto was not substantially bombed.<sup>51</sup>

Representatives of the Kyoto City Tourism Association (Kyōto-shi Kankō Renmeikai 京都市観光連盟会), local politicians, and others, seem to have planned the monument partially to help invigorate Kyoto’s economy through attracting more Occupation soldiers. As the “Old Japan” article introduced previously reveals, this strategy began early in the Occupation.<sup>52</sup> Here, it is implied by the planned location of the monument immediately outside Kyoto station, adjacent to a large English sign detailing the war history of the occupying Eighth Army, and opposite Hotel Rakuyō ホテル ラクヨー, the primary hotel in the city for military R&R.<sup>53</sup> A *Stars and Stripes* article describes how representatives of the Occupation force were present at a religious ceremony to consecrate ground chosen for the monument (*jichinsai* 地鎮祭) involving Shinto, Buddhist, and—perhaps in an effort to draw Occupation personnel sympathy and interest—Christian priests. The article describes it as a “peace monument” that expresses “gratitude for passing through the war unscathed

47 *Yank* 14.12.1945. While parts of Kyoto were actually bombed during the war, damage was slight in comparison to the majority of other Japanese cities. See Nishikawa 2017.

48 *Stars and Stripes* 7.11.1948.

49 *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949; Handō 2007, p. 125.

50 Nishikawa 2017, p. 223; *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.

51 See Cary 1979. Though not widely known at the time, one reason that Kyoto was not targeted by conventional bombing was that it was—for some time—a primary target for atomic bombing. For more on why Kyoto was not bombed, see Kelly 2012.

52 Nishikawa 2017, pp. 223–24.

53 Nishikawa 2017, pp. 223–24; *Stars and Stripes* 1.8.1948.

by bombs.”<sup>54</sup> Army media thus represented Kyoto to Occupation soldiers as an enticing tourist city that had escaped bombing, while Kyoto’s leaders attempted to utilize this same discourse to attract more soldier-tourists by providing an additional conveniently located attraction that acted as a symbol of welcome for the Occupation force.

Personal accounts also highlight the significance of Kyoto in the touristic experiences of Occupation personnel. Elvyn V. Davidson, an African-American soldier, later recalled his stay in “old Kyoto,” from which he visited hot springs in an outlying town.<sup>55</sup> Though complaining that his two hour trip for sightseeing and souvenir hunting to Kyoto was on a “terribly crowded train,” Denton W. Crocker nevertheless wrote that “it was worth it” to visit the “shrine city of Japan.”<sup>56</sup> Crocker justified his trip as a visit to “one of the few large unbombed cities,” stopped by the “beautiful” former imperial palace, and noted that the “narrow side streets, lined with small shops are the main attraction” of the city.

Kyoto had of course been a popular tourist destination in the prewar; however, the fact that it was not greatly bombed imparted it with additional touristic value for Occupation personnel, and could symbolize the “benevolence” of the U.S. and Allies. As such, not only Hiroshima and Tokyo but even Kyoto was framed within and experienced through a militourist gaze in which war history was always, at least implicitly, present.

### **Sex, Leisure, and Occupation Privilege**

Prostitution catering to Occupation soldiers increased rapidly throughout Japan due to the relative wealth of Occupation soldiers, bomb damage to established brothel districts, and widespread poverty.<sup>57</sup> During the early Occupation, the primary official venues for such prostitution were the RAA (Recreation and Amusement Association) centers set up by the Japanese government. These drew on wartime Japan’s “comfort women” (*ianfu* 慰安婦) system in which many women—primarily Korean and Chinese—were coerced into organized prostitution in Japan’s colonies and places of military occupation.<sup>58</sup> Many women working in RAA centers were financially desperate and had been deceived by state recruitment ads, which emphasized the perks of the job while only providing a vague description of the work involved.<sup>59</sup> The RAA centers were open from August 1945 until January 1946, when SCAP banned soldiers from visiting them due to fear of the spread of venereal diseases and of unfavorable media coverage at home.<sup>60</sup> This ban did not reduce the number of Occupation members seeking prostitution outside RAA centers, however, and resulted in street prostitution becoming more conspicuous. Occupation soldiers generally referred to prostitutes as “geisha girls,” and the brothels they worked in as “geisha houses.” As seen in these expressions, geisha—an iconic tourist symbol of Japan from before the war—became almost inseparably associated with prostitution during the Occupation.<sup>61</sup>

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54 *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.

55 Davidson 2000, p. 77.

56 Crocker 1997, p. 259.

57 Kovner 2012.

58 Kovner 2012; Soh 2008.

59 Dower 1999; Kovner 2012.

60 Koshiro 1999; Kovner 2012.

61 Kovner 2012; Lisle 2016. On the history of geisha in the Western imagination, see Okada 2010.

It is clear that military media and veterans viewed prostitution as a major source of recreation during the early stages of the Occupation. An edition of *Yank* from mid-September 1945 explains that, “Prostitution is well-organized, as Yanks who have occupied areas recently left by the Japanese Army know.”<sup>62</sup> This comment recognizes the prevalence of prostitution within Japan and hints at the willingness of some in the U.S. military to inherit a system of prostitution from former enemies. An article in a later edition of *Yank* states that, “The American soldier has no other form of recreation other than what he finds in geisha houses,” while another features an interview with a group of GIs who explain that for “recreation” they watch movies at their billet or “take a subway ride to geisha houses.”<sup>63</sup> Likewise, one Occupation soldier talking about his R&R trip to Nagasaki in 1946 comments that, “It was quite a place because, pardon my French, they had all kinds of cathouses there.”<sup>64</sup> Another recalls how during the Occupation spending time with “geisha girls” was “about all you can do.”<sup>65</sup>

Prostitution often involved touristic travel. An article on Kyoto from the first months of the Occupation details the size and popularity of the city’s brothel districts, reporting that, “Kyoto boasts nine separate red-light districts. Two of which are huge, the largest covering over one square mile,” adding that, these “districts are the most crowded areas in Kyoto.”<sup>66</sup> Clearly revealing its role as more travel guide than simple reportage, the article then goes on to explain that in “the heart of each district is a U.S. Army PRO [prophylactic] station.” In case the reader still has some trepidations about safety or welcome, the article then describes how “employees and houses are strictly inspected every five days by Jap doctors, and licensed by the government,” and that “one house greets GIs with a large white sign: “Welcome, American heroes—one touch 30 yen—no lower price for the second.” The writer asserts that prostitutes are “the highest-paid workers in the city,” and thereby helps allay the reader’s moral qualms about prostitution being exploitative.

Military media also reveals the tensions within the military about openly discussing prostitution by Occupation soldiers. For example, in 1945—even before the ban on visiting RAA brothels—one article describes how a captain starts to “discuss in a loud voice the relative merits of the Japanese and Filipino women,” before being quickly silenced by a senior officer.<sup>67</sup> “Geisha houses” were not always exclusively places of prostitution, but also provided opportunities for soldiers to interact with Japanese people. For example, in one article a GI earnestly explains that he can “learn a lot of Japanese” when he visits “geisha houses.”<sup>68</sup>

Purchasing the services of “geisha girls” allowed Occupation soldiers to enjoy the privileges of military victory and power of the Occupation. This point is highlighted in the recollections of one veteran who recalls how he “hired a small Japanese band and with two Japanese girls [...] rented a hotel room in a fashionable hotel and proceeded to party.”<sup>69</sup> Ignoring the desk clerk’s repeated requests to “get those girls out of my room and quiet

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62 *Yank* 14.9.1945.

63 *Yank* 9.11.1945.

64 Nowadzky 2010.

65 Davidson 2000.

66 *Yank* 14.12.1945.

67 *Yank* 9.11.1945.

68 *Yank* 7.12.1945.

69 Bastian 2011.



down,” he “partied all night,” showing how he “played hard and also fought hard.” This anecdote, and the centrality of “geisha girls” to the leisure of many soldiers during the Occupation as shown above, reveal how readily the privileged gazes and practices of tourism and military occupation can overlap through prostitution.

### Photography and Distance

Urry and Larsen argue that the medium of photography is “the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze.”<sup>70</sup> As this section will show, photography provided a powerful way for soldiers and other Occupation personnel to reconfigure their militourist gaze of Japan as relations between the U.S.-led Allies and Japan warmed at the onset of the Cold War. Photography, especially the forms it took in the Occupation’s camera clubs, helped restore touristic images of romantic Japan among soldiers only a few years after they were dismissed as dangerously misleading.

Soldiers were taking photos of Japan from the very beginning of the Occupation, and amateur photographers like Howard W. Whalen had even taken photos against orders while in combat.<sup>71</sup> Photography units were dispatched to document the Occupation and provide photographic images for media back home. The official photographers of the so-called “J Force,” the New Zealand contingent of BCOF, provided a series of photos shown in figures 13 and 14 that document them scouting the remote island of Mishima 見島.<sup>72</sup> Both the caption—“New Zealand troops were the first Europeans to land on the island of Mishima”—and the photos themselves frame this event as an act of discovery rather than the practical scouting expedition that it was. Figure 13 shows a contingent of about nine soldiers marching through a small village of houses with traditional thatched and tiled roofing and stone walls. Captioned “Making friends with Japanese children is the [sic] one of the easiest things in the world to do. Pte H E Tolley (Wellington), and Pte R V Tiley (Invercargill) ‘fraternize’ in a small way,” figure 14 shows two soldiers squatting at the level of a young girl who carries a baby on her back. The same girl stands on a small bridge in the previous photo. In contrast to the caption, the girl’s smile seems forced and she does little to hide her fear, a fear that is perhaps shown on the crying face of the baby. The soldiers’ interest in the children was surely genuine; indeed, many Occupation soldiers adopted homeless children or supported orphanages.<sup>73</sup> However, with all other villagers huddled in a separate group in the background and the girl’s forced smile, the photo appears staged in an attempt to represent J Force as civilized, paternal, and benevolent.

These images demonstrate how contingents of the Occupying forces drew on tropes of masculine travel and adventure as a way to present armies and their role abroad in a positive light both to themselves and home audiences. For the U.S.A., questions of framing were vital, as they were for New Zealand too, a young country that had taken a big step towards independence just a few decades before in 1907 when it became a Dominion of the British Empire. For New Zealand, occupying a foreign country was a unique experience

70 Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 155.

71 Whalen 1945.

72 J Force was part of BCOF between 1946 and 1948 and was headquartered in Yamaguchi prefecture. Nish 2013. These and other J Force photos introduced here are without specific dates, but labeled as between 1946 and 1948.

73 For example, see *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.



Figure 13. “New Zealand troops were the first Europeans to land on the island of Mi-shima.” New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0261-F). Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.



Figure 14: “Making friends with Japanese children is the [sic] one of the easiest things in the world to do.” New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0267-F). Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

that, like the Gallipoli campaign of World War I, had the potential to greatly shape national identity.<sup>74</sup> These photos present J Force, both to themselves and home audiences, as a well-drilled, civilized, and civilizing military capable of occupation without cruelty or oppression. While photographers can stage and frame their photos to suit a particular narrative, however, their attempts are not always completely successful, so that images designed to reflect touristic harmony can be easily disrupted to reveal the reality of military force and fear of armed strangers.

After the initial year or two of the Occupation, soldiers and other personnel increasingly took up photography as a pastime. “Almost every serviceman in Japan is a strong addict of photography,” states one *Stars and Stripes* article.<sup>75</sup> An American abroad would appear “out-of-uniform” without a camera, states another.<sup>76</sup> Articles introduced photography trips to destinations all over Japan, such as the Hamarikyu Onshi Teien 浜離宮恩賜庭園 gardens in Tokyo, Dazaifu Tenmangū 太宰府天満宮 shrine in Kyushu, and the ruins of Nakagusuku 中城 Castle in Okinawa.<sup>77</sup> In *Stars and Stripes*, a three-part series on photography ran throughout May 1948; along with cars, cameras were the most common items for sale in the “Bulletin Board” section.<sup>78</sup> An important impetus in both the growing prevalence of photography among Occupation personnel and the popularity of such tours was the rapid increase in the arrival of wives (“dependents”), many of whom had both the free time for pursuing hobbies and a more positive impression of Japanese than soldiers who had engaged with them in war.<sup>79</sup> Supported by the Eighth Army’s Special Services—which was in charge of R&R and soldier leisure activities—a number of camera clubs had by this stage emerged in Occupation bases across Japan.<sup>80</sup>

The Tokyo camera club, which led weekly photographic tours to places of “scenic beauty” and regular photographer advice sessions, helped shape the gaze of Occupation soldiers through prewar imagery of Japan.<sup>81</sup> Actors from *Madame Butterfly*, an opera performed regularly for Allied soldiers with support from the U.S. Army’s Information and Education Division, were employed to dress and pose in character for the photographs of club members (figure 15).<sup>82</sup> *Madame Butterfly* was a key pre-World War I theatrical work in the formation of orientalist ideas of Japan as exotic, picturesque, subservient, and feminine.<sup>83</sup> It tells the story of a Japanese woman who tragically kills herself after her lover—a *U.S. navy officer*—abandons her, taking their illegitimate son to return home with his American wife. The narrative of the opera may have been seen by the Occupation soldiers for whom

74 Gerster makes a similar argument regarding Australia’s role in the Occupation. Gerster 2008. For more on the importance of Gallipoli for New Zealand national identity, see Slade 2003.

75 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

76 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

77 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948; *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948; *Stars and Stripes* 7.11.1948.

78 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

79 Alvah 2007.

80 *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

81 *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

82 *Stars and Stripes* 4.6.1949. This practice harks back to early Meiji photography for Western consumption that drew on imagery provided by photographs, novels, and plays to recreate an “old Japan” through the use of sets, costumes, and modeling of Japanese subjects. See Hight 2011, chapter 5.

83 This Giacomo Puccini opera premiered in 1904, and remains one of the most frequently performed operas of all time. Puccini drew on earlier written and theatrical works—mostly American—about Japan for the story. See Wisenthal et al. 2006.

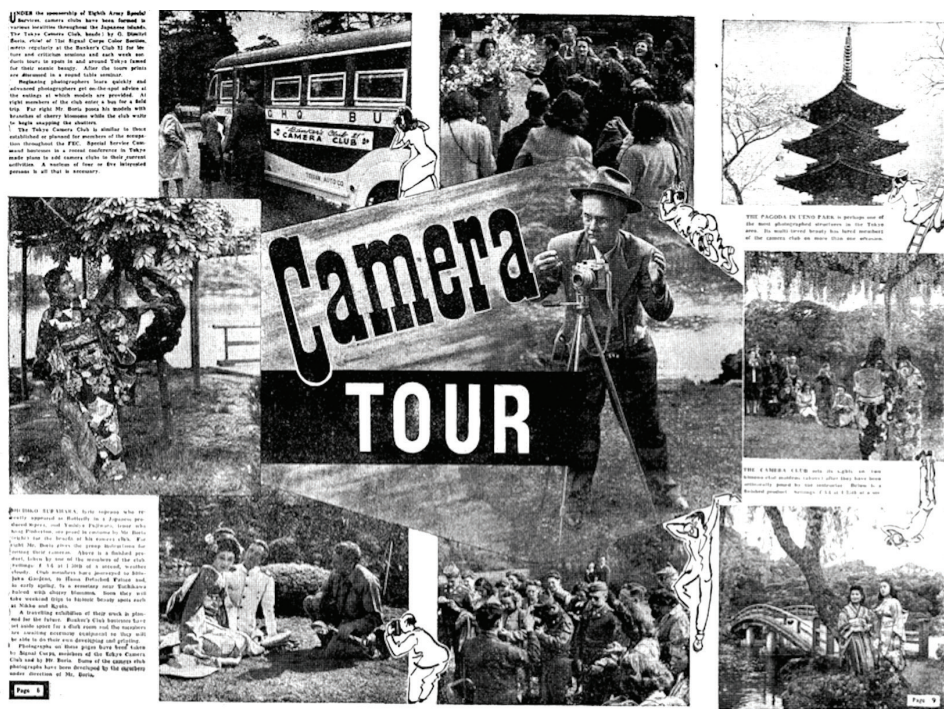


Figure 15. “Camera Tour.” *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

it was performed as justifying the power of the Occupation over Japan, and legitimizing the sexual exploitation of Japanese women. The club encouraged and guided soldiers to actively employ this militouristic gaze of Japan through photography, reinforcing the idea of themselves as privileged members of a white, male, U.S.-led military force occupying a “feminized” Japan.<sup>84</sup> The example of the Tokyo camera club demonstrates that, through touristic activities, Occupation soldiers helped justify their presence by dealing with Japan in ways that returned to earlier orientalist discourses.<sup>85</sup>

While the camera club and other Occupation photographers engaged in a prewar romantic tourist gaze of Japan, both the cameras and use of models served to create a permissible distance between members of the Occupation and touristic ideas of Japan. Using models from the theater and guided by professional photographers, the camera club members were under no illusion that their photographs reflected an objective reality. They enjoyed the touristic fantasies of an exotic Japan while never being fully immersed in them.

Figures 16 and 17, which like those of Mishima Island were taken by official J Force photographers between 1946 and 1948, similarly allow the soldier—as well as the home audience they were primarily produced for—to enjoy the tourist gaze of Japan from a distance. A souvenir photo taken at a studio provided for the Occupation enables the soldier in figure 16 to adopt a tourist’s identity. However, via the use of a fake Mt. Fuji backdrop,

84 For more on the feminization of Japan, see Shibusawa 2010.

85 On the role of orientalism and racism during the Occupation, see Dower 1999; Koshiro 1999.



Figure 16. “Japanese photographer takes special care photographing a New Zealand soldier at the studio in the YMCA provided for New Zealanders of J Force at Yamaguchi (Japan).” New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0385-F). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library.



Figure 17: “Gunner E Wilkinson [...] at a Yamaguchi department store, tries on a beautiful and expensive 1500-yen kimono.” New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0311-F). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library.

and framing that includes the photographer and his equipment, both the soldier and viewer are reminded that the scene is fabricated.

Figure 17 is of a soldier being dressed in a Yamaguchi department store in kimono. However, the soldier's knowing wink, his army beret, protruding army shirt, and the smiles of himself and the women dressing him make it clear that the scene is not supposed to be taken seriously. This photo is strikingly similar to many nineteenth-century portraits of non-Japanese taken in Japan, including—in its employment of humor and costume—a 1872 photograph of Charles Longfellow in which he jokingly dresses as a samurai.<sup>86</sup> Unlike Longfellow's portrait however, which assumes a masculine identity, the soldier's costume—a vibrant *furisode* 振袖 kimono typically worn on special occasions by young women—indicates the adoption of a Madame Butterfly-like feminine identity that is heightened through the images of geisha, flowers, and birds in the background. These symbols of Japanese femininity, however, contrast conspicuously with the soldier's beret and uniform—symbols of masculine militarism—and his wink. The soldier is not embracing the archetype of the exotic and tragic Madame Butterfly but parodying it and the touristic symbols of Japan it represents. As Christine Guth explains, however, mimicry and irony are powerful tools of colonial power.<sup>87</sup> The photo in figure 17, therefore, can be further read as an assertion via touristic imagery and objects of the masculine military power of the Occupation over Japan, and more specifically, over Japanese women.

Tourist photos are caught up in the power inequalities between “host” and “guest” that are common to tourism and radically amplified under military occupation.<sup>88</sup> Within this political context, these photographs—especially of Mishima Island and Madame Butterfly actor/models—can be understood as an assertion of power and a feminization of Japan that justifies masculine domination by the military Occupation.<sup>89</sup> They also present Japan as a vulnerable female ally in need of male military protection from the new evil of communism. Through *Stars and Stripes* and camera clubs, Occupation soldiers and family members not only viewed these images but were also encouraged to capture and embody them. Tourism was therefore doubly used as a way to confirm the superiority of Occupation forces while helping to soften soldiers' perspectives of Japan—which nonetheless remained distanced—in line with U.S. Cold War goals.

### 180 Degree Turn of the Militourist Gaze

Denounced during the war as dangerously naive, the romantic tourist gaze of Japan was by around 1948 being enjoyed by soldiers and promoted in military media, though typically through using the distancing effects of photography and humor. From 1949, this distance rapidly diminished, so that soldier indoctrination completed a 180-degree pivot from denouncing this gaze to encouraging it. This shift in ways of representing Japan can be seen as an effort by the U.S. military to shape Japan into an important ally in the Cold War, which after the successes of the Communist Party in China had become a primary concern for the U.S. and its Western bloc allies. This is a good example of the complex relationship

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86 Guth 2004, pp. 125–26. For more on nineteenth-century photography and Japan, see Hight 2011.

87 Guth 2004, p. 126. Original from Bhabha 1994.

88 Lisle 2016; O'Dwyer 2004; Urry and Larsen 2011.

89 For more on representations of gender during the Occupation, see Shibusawa 2010.

between tourism and war/peace, for while the U.S. aimed to use militourism to encourage peaceful relations with Japan, their larger goal was the fulfilment of Cold War strategy.

An article titled “GI Yabusame” (figure 18) describes how First Lieutenant George R. Clark, the manager of a hotel for Occupation personnel situated between Kamakura and the naval city of Yokosuka in a small resort town called Zushi 逗子, started practicing and organizing displays of *yabusame* 鎗流馬, a traditional horseback archery contest.<sup>90</sup> Clark was inspired to try *yabusame* after watching a performance at the popular shrine of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮 in nearby Kamakura, a center of heritage and temple tourism in the region. This Shinto shrine, which was built in the twelfth century by the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 to protect his new military and political capital, was dedicated to Hachiman 八幡, who from this time became the kami most closely associated with war, the samurai class, and archery.<sup>91</sup> Clark recruited others from the hotel, and together they started learning *yabusame* from local riders, performing in traditional samurai costume on the beach in front of the hotel. This was the beginning of Zushi’s *yabusame* festival, which continues today.<sup>92</sup> The publication of this article in *Stars and Stripes* indicates that the military was willing to promote the event and, more importantly, to encourage soldiers and other Occupation personnel to embrace a militourist viewpoint amicable towards Japan and Japanese military culture, and further, to embody this culture themselves. Significantly, this militourist gaze focused on ancient history, providing a way for Occupation soldiers to enjoy and partake in Japanese martial culture and bypass the horrors of World War II.

As another *Stars and Stripes* article from later in 1949 indicates (see figure 19), this reclaimed tourist gaze of Japan was even encouraged in soldier training.<sup>93</sup> It reports that, “A new note in troop education was sounded recently at Camp Younghans, Jimmachi, Japan when class-room style orientation periods for men newly assigned to the 7th Infantry Division’s artillery unit were replaced by real-life scenes introducing the customs of the Japanese.”<sup>94</sup> It then describes how as many as sixty local residents, a few local businesses, and the city government assisted in troop orientation through performances of traditional Japanese culture, including dance, tea ceremony, sumo, judo, wearing of “samurai” armor and sword, and a “geisha party.” This show was apparently performed at least four times to over five hundred new arrivals, regular troops, and resident families, and had become part of the orientation program. For locals it was an opportunity to display “part of our daily lives” in a way that overcame language barriers. This article indicates that the tourist gaze of Japan, and through samurai and military arts a militourist gaze, was being taught to Occupation soldiers and family members. Training in this way of understanding Japan provided soldiers with an insight into the everyday life of their hosts, no doubt partly in the name of intercultural understanding. This representation was not simply a reflection of the everyday lives of locals, however, but corresponded with a romantic tourist discourse of “old Japan.”

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90 *Stars and Stripes* 12.2.1949.

91 See Bender 1979; Scheid 2014.

92 Zushi Hayama web 2018.

93 *Stars and Stripes* 27.8.1949.

94 The Seventh Infantry Division occupied much of northern Honshu and Hokkaido from 1948. Camp Younghans is in Yamagata prefecture. Gardner and Stahura 1997.





The focus on tradition, including martial arts, helped both members of the Occupation and locals bypass the divisive issue of World War II and instead share in an idea of Japanese tradition that was attractive to the touristic sentiments of the soldiers and a source of pride for locals. Gonzalez and Lipman point out that after the war the U.S. military refashioned its various occupations in terms of “welcome, consent and leisure.”<sup>95</sup> Integration of these cultural “road shows” into troop training had similar goals: making new troops feel welcome in Japan and improving the local reputation of the military Occupation; encouraging a belief among soldiers and locals that, as a tradition-based society, Japan consented to the military Occupation and its guidance of Japan towards modern, capitalistic democracy; and presenting Japanese culture to soldiers as something to be enjoyed.

### Conclusion

This paper has explored how U.S. and other Allied militaries attempted to manipulate the tourist and militourist gazes of soldiers in order to engender enmity, sympathy, and friendship towards Japan. These ways of affective engagement were central to how soldiers encountered Japan during the last stages of World War II and the Occupation.

During the war, the U.S. Army Information Branch produced the *Pocket Guide* as a tool of soldier indoctrination. This guide represented Japan as treacherous by fusing militaristic and touristic imagery, and condemned the tourist gaze for occluding Japanese plans for war. Before the Pacific War started, Japan’s official tourist agencies had attempted to sway foreign attitudes to the war with China although, as Andrew Elliott’s study in this special explores, this had mixed results. Authors of the *Pocket Guide* did not explicitly blame Japanese institutions for intentionally misleading the U.S. through tourism; they pointed instead to the naivety of prewar American tourists. It is, however, clear that the U.S. Army Information Branch—like the Board of Tourist Industry and similar agencies in Japan—was well aware of the propagandistic possibilities of tourism.<sup>96</sup> Further research is needed to ascertain whether the Allies were conscious of and attempted to counter Japanese efforts to utilize tourism for propaganda. Further, while this paper attempts to understand soldiers’ embodiment of the tourist gaze through memoirs and photographs, it is not clear what soldiers thought of the *Pocket Guide* and related materials. It is possible that efforts at indoctrination had no effect on the soldiers’ thinking in regard to Japan. If this were so, it would help explain the early reemergence of prewar touristic ideas of Japan and touristic activities among Occupation soldiers.

Soon after the war, another hybrid militourist gaze developed that combined the power relations of military Occupation with touristic interest in the spectacular and exotic. This focused on wartime destruction and “geisha girl” prostitution, and helped justify to soldiers the privileges and superiority of the Occupation army. However, memoirs and military newspapers show that not all soldiers were interested in visiting sites conveying U.S. destruction of Japan. Still, destruction and war helped define the increasingly heterogeneous militourist gazes of soldiers and postwar tourist development of many cities, including

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<sup>95</sup> Gonzalez and Lipman 2016, p. 510.

<sup>96</sup> Holguin asserts that the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), which slightly predates the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937), is the earliest example of tourism being consciously utilized to alter foreign perceptions of a war in progress. Holguin 2005.

lightly-damaged Kyoto. Japanese people assisted in this urban touristification through their efforts to profit from and accommodate, or indeed resist, the militourism of Occupation soldiers.

As the Cold War developed, Allied militaries again attempted to shape Occupation soldiers' tourist and militourist gazes. Initially, soldiers took up touristic ideas of Japan tentatively or ironically, and these functioned to vindicate the Occupation through returning to earlier nineteenth-century tropes of white masculine dominance over a feminized Japan. Soon after, however, the Occupation army began encouraging soldiers to embody militourism as "GI yabusame" tourists, and learn about traditional Japanese culture—including military culture—through touristic shows in troop training. While such soldier instruction aimed to strengthen relations with Japan, their focus on premodern traditions elided World War II and the ongoing Occupation, a point Tze Loo's paper in this special also explores in relation to the Occupation of Okinawa.<sup>97</sup>

The militourist gaze is central to instances of modern war and occupation through "productions of difference."<sup>98</sup> Generally speaking, both tourist and militarist gazes strictly divide "self" and "other," especially along lines of national difference: the former focus on national symbols and stereotypes such as views of Mt. Fuji or quintessentially Japanese shrines; the latter on countries and national militaries as allies or enemies.<sup>99</sup> Tourism was developing into a mass practice, and—partly due to the mobilization of many hundreds of thousands of young soldiers—touristic ways of understanding the world spread rapidly among all classes of society in the developed world. By World War II, the militourist gaze had become both a pervasive way for soldiers to see and interact with the world, and important new tool in soldier indoctrination.

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<sup>97</sup> The point that touristification leads to the transformation, and often erasure, of war memories is central to other articles in this special, including De Antoni, Fukuma, Seaton, Uesugi, and Zwigenberg.

<sup>98</sup> This is a term Debbie Lisle has applied in similar contexts. Lisle 2016, p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> See Culler 1981; MacCannell 1999.

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