

INTRODUCTION

War, Tourism, and Modern Japan

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In 1982, the Japan Travel Bureau (Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha 日本交通公社, now JTB) celebrated its seventieth anniversary with a publication detailing the company's history, and the history of modern tourism in Japan, from the early twentieth century.¹ For its frontispiece, the book reproduced a full-color print of “Travel Customs” (Tabi no fūzoku 旅の風俗) by illustrator Nishijima Takeo 西島武郎 taken from the cover of that year's JTB calendar. The image offers a visual synopsis of the course of modern tourism in Japan, which takes up most of the page, and its prehistory, using an illustration of Japanese travelers (and, occasionally, foreign travelers in Japan) on the move, snaking in a long line from the top of the page (Nara-period travelers) to the bottom (present-day travelers). Half-way down, the three figures marking the period 1937–1945 stand out as the only obvious signs of war in the entire chronology: a woman on the home-front dressed in *monpe* もんぺ trousers and an air-raid hood (*bōkūzūkin* 防空頭巾); and two soldiers in the khaki uniforms and wrapped leggings of the Imperial Japanese Army. While the illustration implies that Japan's wars can be delimited to this short period in the mid-twentieth century, and that war(-related) tourism has no place in the ostensible peacetimes that precede and succeed them, the image nevertheless offers a rare acknowledgment that tourism can and does take place during wartime.

When we embarked on this project, with a panel entitled “Touring Discourses of the Pacific War: Memories, Records, and Practice in Japan” at the 2014 Asian Studies Conference Japan (ASCJ), it seemed all but *de rigueur* to begin any academic discussion of war and tourism with a statement regarding their putative incompatibility.² Just the year before the conference, in an edited book, *Tourism and War*, Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul had begun by noting how “tourism is generally regarded as a phenomenon that needs peace in order to flourish.” Tourism—connected in the popular imagination with leisure and recreation—is seen as a distinctly peacetime practice, and war its negation. Building on the limited previous studies about the topic, Butler and Suntikul positioned

1 Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha Shashi Hensan Shitsu 1982.

2 Three of the four participants in that panel (Andrea de Antoni, Andrew Elliott, and Daniel Milne) are represented in this special issue. Professor Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 of Dokkyo University, who gave an excellent paper about *tokkō* 特攻 (“kamikaze”) memory and postwar tourism, was unable to participate in this publication, but his contributions both to the panel and to the inception of this project are very much appreciated.

their volume as an intervention, challenging the “simplistic idea that war and tourism are always in opposition.”³

This special issue of *Japan Review* focuses on the shifting and diverse entanglements of war/tourism, and explores them in terms of wartime and war-related tourism in modern Japan, from the 1880s to the present. In particular, it picks up three key themes: 1. Tourism as a modern “disciplinary tool” par excellence, allowing observation, producing knowledge, and encouraging the internalization and embodiment of social norms; 2. State involvement in tourism, as public diplomacy designed to promote soft power overseas, and as a means to pursue national policy domestically and across the empire; and 3. War memory and its (re-)shaping through tourism practices and representations, including the touristification of war-related sites.

We start from the assumption that previous scholarship has now sufficiently advanced the fundamental case for a relationship between war and tourism. This has rendered all but unnecessary the kind of opening statements regarding peace/tourism and war/non-tourism (dis)connections that were previously so common. As implied by the home-front traveler and soldier-tourists who look out at us from the frontispiece of JTB’s corporate history, it is clear that the links between war and tourism can directly be traced. Thus, rather than approaching war as an abstract or universal phenomenon, we give examples and case studies of war as a specific event(s), and thereby provide a diachronic exploration of war and tourism in modern Japan. In so doing, we seek to overcome the methodological shortcoming found in much previous literature, which typically uses the end of World War II as a point at which to conclude or commence a study, to reveal the interrelated nature of war, empire, and tourism across the 1945 divide. We show the almost continuous presence of tourism in some form since the Meiji period, through putative “peacetimes” and “wartimes”; we also emphasize the productive nature of militarism, as opposed to its more commonly highlighted repressive aspects. Military policy and infrastructure, wartime mobilization and propaganda, battles and battlefields, postwar reconstruction and reconciliation, memories and memorials of war, military marketing, war-related media: in Japan over the last 150 years, these and other examples of the many workings of militarism, its effects, and its counter forces have produced, and in cases have been produced by, touristic performances, practices, representations, perspectives, and policy.

The purpose of this introduction is to map out some of the features of this special issue’s historical and theoretical terrain. First, we define our key terms—tourism and war—before summarizing the multiple connections that have been drawn between them in scholarship preceding and succeeding Butler and Suntikul’s edited volume. Then in more detail, we review previous literature on war, tourism, and Japan through a survey of war and militarism in modern Japan. Finally, we introduce each of the papers and their main arguments.

3 Butler and Suntikul 2013, pp. 1–3. Important studies of war/tourism, or related topics such as thana- or dark tourism that precede this include Endy 2004; Fyall, Prideaux, and Timothy 2006; Holguin 2005; Laderman 2009; Lennon and Foley 2000; Ryan 2007; Seaton 1999; Smith 1998; Weaver 2011; Winter 2009.

War and Tourism: Definitions and Previous Research

Tourism

Tourism, as John Urry and Jonas Larson define it from a sociological perspective, is a leisure activity that involves a temporary “departure,” physical or metaphorical but typically both, from one’s everyday surroundings and practices. It commonly involves movement through space to a new place or places, and a period of stay there. Tourism, in this sense, is a distinctly modern practice, partly because of its dependence on mass media, communication, and transport technologies that allow large numbers of people to be mobilized in this way, but more fundamentally because the emergence of tourism presupposes “its opposite, namely regulated and organized work.” Tourism, Urry and Larson continue, “is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies [... It] is bound up with major transformations in paid work [... and] has come to be organized within particular places and to occur for regularized periods of time.”⁴

In Japan, *kankō* 観光 and *tsūrizumu* ツーリズム are two common terms used to refer to these leisure activities and the industry that concomitantly developed from the late nineteenth century. Yet, within tourism studies and related fields, these terms are frequently contested.⁵ *Kankō* is said to have been derived from the *I Ching* 易經 (The Book of Changes) to mean “Look at the light=glory of the kingdom.”⁶ It emerged with the beginning of modern tourism in Japan, appearing in the late Edo and Meiji periods, during which—in reflection of the early links between tourism and war in modern Japan—it became the name of Japan’s first steam-powered warship (*Kankō Maru* 観光丸). One of the earliest records of its usage in relation to touristic practices was in 1897, in the wake of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), when thirteen indigenous leaders were brought from Taiwan on the first of a series of colonial tours of the metropole referred to as *naichi kankō* 内地観光.⁷ The term enjoyed widespread usage in the Taishō (1912–1926) and early Shōwa periods (1926–1989), where it was commonly used, along with other neologisms like *tsūrisuto* ツーリスト (from the English word “tourist”), to signify “pleasure tourism” and “sightseeing”—as seen in the names of official agencies such as the Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン ツーリスト ビューロー, established in 1912) and the Board of Tourist Industry (Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 国際観光局, established in 1930).⁸

Kankō is still a common term in Japan today, including in academia. However, in order to better fit international definitions, as well as bypass the complicated etymology of *kankō*, including its colonial associations as a “civilizing function [... as] duty to a sovereign,” many

4 Urry and Larson 2011, p. 4. Another commonly utilized definition of tourism, especially in quantitative tourism research, is that provided by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO); see UNWTO 2008.

5 Morikoshi 2014; Satake 2010.

6 Sand 2014. See also Seaton in this special issue.

7 McDonald 2017; Sand 2014.

8 Ruoff 2010, p. 191, note 13; Ueda 2008. See Soyama in this special issue for a discussion of the similarities, and different nuances, of *kankō* and *tsūrizumu*. *Ryokō* 旅行, typically translated in English as “travel,” is another neologism that appeared in the Meiji period to refer to the new forms and practices of mobility that emerged with industrialization and modernization; see Guichard-Anguis 2008. For a discussion of “travel” versus “tourism” debates in the modern Anglophone world, see Buzard 1993. Bimonte (2015) defines “pleasure tourism” as the pursuit of “feeling[s] of happiness, satisfaction, or enjoyment” through travel. “Sightseeing” refers to a form of tourism founded on vision rather than other senses; see Urry and Larsen 2011.

scholars state a preference for the term *tsūrizumu* or the romanized “tourism.”⁹ As will be seen, contributors to this special issue, and the contemporary sources they draw on, use both expressions; where necessary, English translations note the original term.

War and Tourism

A basic definition of modern war is armed conflict between states, ethnic and religious groups, ideological movements, terrorist organizations, and other non-state actors. It is with war's absence, “commonly referred to as peace,” that tourism has been closely associated, especially in post-1945 discourses of international society.¹⁰ As put by Taleb Rifai, the president of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), in 2012, “Tourism is not only an important economic activity, it [is] also about the millions of conversations and interactions that take place every day as visitors and host communities come together. And it is because tourism means exchanging ideas and beliefs that it can be one of the most effective tools to promote mutual understanding, tolerance and peace.”¹¹

There are obvious, fundamental problems with the familiar categorizations of “peacetime” and “wartime,” which arise because of the terminology we fall back on, Eurocentrism and other forms of perspectivism, and gaps in historical consciousness. Even during periods of putative “peacetime,” such as the “interwar” years between World War I and World War II or the “postwar” after World War II, armed conflict was an ever-present feature of the global geopolitical environment.¹² In the case of modern Japan, commonplace understandings of “wartime” (*senji* 戦時) tend to foreground the Pacific War (1941–1945) or Asia-Pacific War (1937–1945) at the expense of all previous armed conflicts, including civil war, other conflicts in which the Japanese military was engaged outside, and wars and other military operations that various Japanese governments have supported in the years after 1945. In delimiting modern war to relatively short periods of time, such categorizations have obscured the continuance of tourism during war and, in turn, the close relationship that tourism has enjoyed with war and militarism more generally.

The myriad, complex entanglements of war and tourism have been increasingly well documented in the last two decades.¹³ Taken as a whole, research has revealed how war has often worked as a trigger for, or played a role in the development of, tourism; or on the other hand, how tourism has been used as a means to seize territory, which has then led to war, and as a propaganda tool to justify war and colonial expansion.¹⁴ Tourism has helped establish peaceful postwar relations, and highlighted a community's plight under

9 Sand 2014; Satake 2010.

10 Timothy 2013, p. 13

11 UNWTO 2012.

12 One example of war's prevalence through the twentieth century comes from an article in the British newspaper, *The Guardian*, which points out that from 1914 “British soldiers, sailors and air crews [have been continuously] engaged in fighting somewhere” in the world; see MacAskill and Cobain 2014.

13 A particularly comprehensive study is Lisle (2016), which builds on, and extends, Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez's earlier work on the roles that tourism and militarism have played in the expansion of U.S. power in the Pacific; see Gonzalez 2013. Furthermore, the 2016 *American Quarterly* special on the relationship between tourism and militarism in regard to the USA has greatly enriched the field by bringing together a range of articles by leading researchers; see Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016.

14 Baranowski et al. 2015; Demay 2014; Gonzalez 2013; Holguin 2005; Laderman 2009; Hom 2012; Semmens 2005; Slade 2003.

military occupation.¹⁵ While tourist sites and infrastructures are sometimes targeted by combatants, case studies have shown that tourism does not end; rather, these tourists are typically redirected to new places, which leads to new destinations emerging.¹⁶ Conversely, a conquering army may bring tourists as well as soldiers; R&R stops become popular tourist spots for sex and other forms of tourism; and since at least the Napoleonic Wars, there has been explicit travel to war zones, for sightseeing or other kinds of witness.¹⁷ Tourism infrastructures, including trains, ships, and hotels, have aided wartime mobilization—and vice-versa, as when technologies developed by the military are utilized in tourism, while touristic ways of seeing and representing often overlap with the militaristic gaze, one supporting the other.¹⁸ After the fighting has stopped, tours head to sites of battles and atrocities, the routes of forced marches and resupply.¹⁹ War cemeteries, museums, and commemoration sites become popular places to visit for a range of purposes including the touristic, and these often become a center for the production and circulation of—and sometimes conflict between—regional, national, and transnational memories of war.²⁰

This body of work has approached tourism/war entanglements from a range of methodological and theoretical positions, but some patterns are evident. As can be seen, the shaping of war memory through tourism is a recurring theme. Dark tourism, or the similar concept of thanotourism—both of which refer to tourism at sites connected with death and suffering—is another common frame of reference used to understand war-related sites and tourist motivations.²¹ Many studies, especially those from a tourism management studies perspective, focus on the effects of conflict on tourist numbers, or the practical aspects of developing war-related or war-affected sites for future tourism.²² Others, especially by scholars working in fields such as new imperial history, cultural studies, international relations, or postcolonial studies, have approached wartime or war-related tourism in terms of propaganda or cultural diplomacy, imperial expansion and (neo-) colonial discourse, terrorism, and international political relations.²³ Lastly, there has been a tendency in English-language scholarship at least to choose case studies connected to the USA and Britain and, to a lesser degree, World War II and its effects.²⁴

15 Endy 2004; Hazbun 2008, especially chapter 4; Isaac, Hall, and Higgins-Desbiolles 2015; Kelly 2016; Kim and Prideaux 2003.

16 Most famously, this can be seen in the development of domestic tourism in Great Britain when continental tourist routes were cut off during the Napoleonic Wars; see Towner 2013. See also Gordon 1998; Koshar 2000; Lisle 2016, chapter 5; Urry and Larsen 2011.

17 Buchanan 2016; Ginoza 2016; Gonzalez 2013; Gordon 1998; Lisle 2016, chapter 3; O'Dwyer 2004; Ryan 2007; Seaton 1999; Suintikul 2013; Zwigenberg 2016.

18 Endy 2004; Gonzalez 2013; Lisle 2016; O'Dwyer 2004; Teaiwa 1999; Weaver 2011.

19 Gonzalez 2013; Koshar 2000; Lennon 2017; Ryan 2007; Sion 2014.

20 Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 2000; Gonzalez 2013; Laderman 2009; Seaton 1999; Slade 2003; Winter 2009.

21 See, for example, Seaton 1999; Sharpley and Stone 2009; Sion 2014. See chapters in Sharpley and Stone especially for a range of views on the merits, shortcomings, and alternatives to the concept of dark tourism. See De Antoni and Seaton in this special issue for a fuller discussion of dark tourism's approaches to war-related sites.

22 See, for example, Agrusa, Tanner, and Dupuis 2006; Corak, Mikacic, and Ateljevic 2013; Lee 2006; Ryan 2007.

23 See especially, Gonzalez 2013; Holguin 2005; Lisle 2016; Hom 2012.

24 See, for example, Endy 2004; Gonzalez 2013; Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016; Lisle 2016; Seaton 1999; Smith 1998.

War and Tourism in Modern Japan

During a similar period, scholars working in a range of disciplines on the study of modern Japan have also contributed groundbreaking research on war and tourism. These reveal the continuities, and discontinuities, of the Japan case with other national and transnational trends, and have helped develop more nuanced understandings of the specific, and shifting, ways in which tourism and war relate more generally. In the following section, we attempt a historical overview of war and modern Japan in parallel with relevant war/tourism-related research. We hope that this survey of previous literature and its key themes and conclusions will also provide a gateway to this special issue for general readers and academics who are not Japan specialists.

Bakumatsu

Histories of modern Japan typically begin with the bakumatsu period (1853–1868). This was a time of political unrest and civil war that began with the arrival of the U.S. diplomatic mission led by Commodore Matthew Perry and his fleet of steam-powered warships, and ended with the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate, the de facto authority for more than 250 years. This period of both internal and external warfare (for example, the 1863 Anglo-Satsuma War) ended at the battle of Hakodate 箱館, the final conflict of the Boshin War 戊辰戦争 (1868–1869) between the Tokugawa shogunate army and the newly-formed Imperial Army. The bakumatsu period also saw modern inbound tourism begin in the wake of Perry's arrival, as the signing with the United States of the Kanagawa Treaty in 1854 then the Harris Treaty in 1858 led to the opening of five port towns for foreign residence and trade. At first, foreign travelers were limited in where they could go and what they could do outside the treaty ports; but restrictions on "interior travel" (*naichi ryokō* 内地旅行) were eased during the 1860s and 1870s, and ended when the revised treaties came into force in 1899.²⁵

Despite battles, battle sites, and related figures from the bakumatsu and Boshin War playing a significant role in tourist sites/sights and routes of many regions across Japan—including Yamaguchi, Kochi, Kyoto, Fukushima, and Hokkaido—the period is comparatively under-researched in terms of war and tourism. Two studies from 2015, however, do explore tourism and bakumatsu war memories, in the early twentieth century and more recently. The first shows how narratives of Commodore Perry were utilized in the tourism marketing of Shimoda—one of the first ports opened to U.S. ships—in varying ways across the twentieth century, including as a symbol of U.S.–Japan friendship in the build-up to the Pacific War.²⁶ Second, Shirakawa Tetsuo 白川哲夫 reveals the transition that has occurred in exhibitions at Kyoto's Ryozen Museum of History 靈山歴史館, from memorializing the wars of bakumatsu to focusing on celebrities of the period such as Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬.²⁷ As temporal distance from the time of conflict increases, tourism plays its part in signifying processes whereby the meaning of a war is reshaped in response to changing sociopolitical contexts, including (as in this case) new consumer desires.

25 See Elliott 2012.

26 Sensui 2015.

27 Shirakawa 2015, chapter 7.

Meiji Period

In the early Meiji period (1868–1912), there was fierce debate among members of the new government about the future of the military. Eventually, however, factions that advocated universal conscription, dissolving the samurai class, and further westernizing the military prevailed. The new conscript army established in 1873 was put into action, first overseas, in a military expedition to Taiwan in 1874, then domestically in 1877, against the Satsuma Rebellion of disaffected samurai led by Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛.

The biggest test for the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy came in two wars fought primarily for influence over Korea. Japan had used gunboat diplomacy to force a treaty on Korea in 1876, but it was victory over the Qing Empire in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and then the Russian Empire in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) that transformed geopolitical dynamics in the region and beyond. These victories resulted in the territorial gains of Taiwan, Karafuto 樺太 (southern Sakhalin), and two ports and a railway line in southern Manchuria, the origin of the South Manchuria Railway. They led also to Korea becoming, in 1905, a Japanese protectorate, before being annexed under treaty in 1910. Military conquests, as well as inter-imperial cooperation in China (for example, the multinational military force in which Japan participated in the Boxer War (1900–1901)) were given as proof, domestically and internationally, that Japan was now, or would soon be, a “great power.”

Tourism played a key role in cementing imperial Japan’s control over its expanding empire. Tours of the metropole were used to impress colonial subjects with Japan’s military superiority and modernization—not always successfully, as Jordan Sand and Kate McDonald note—and produce identification with the empire.²⁸ Conversely, “observation tours” (*shisatsu dan* 視察団) by Japanese, many on school trips (*shūgaku ryokō* 修学旅行), to battle sites and newly-nationalized heritage sites in Taiwan and new territories on the continent, aimed to shape travelers into patriotic citizens with affective ties to these battles and the lands they were fought on.²⁹ Travelers were transported around the empire on new routes using new technologies, many of which were put to touristic, trade, and military uses, as Soyama Takeshi 曾山毅 has shown in relationship to the development of rail lines and services in colonial Taiwan.³⁰ Tourism-related mass media had an important role as well, attracting tourists and framing sites in ways that often occluded the violence of conquest and naturalized colonial relations. Visitors may not always have read places as intended but, as Hyung Il Pai has explored for colonial Korea, postcards and other tourism texts tended to justify territorial claims by constructing a shared cultural heritage between Japan and Korea, and foregrounding examples of the purported success of Japan’s “civilizing mission.”³¹

Domestically, tourism also played a key role in the spread of an emperor-centered nationalism that was an important ideological justification for military expansionism. As Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志 has demonstrated, new sites of national heritage were produced, including imperial burial mounds (*tennōryo kofun* 天皇陵古墳), signs of a putatively-unbroken imperial line (*bansei ikkei* 万世一系), and Kyoto and Nara as old imperial capitals

28 McDonald 2017, p. 47; Sand 2014.

29 McDonald 2017; Soyama 2013.

30 Soyama 2003. Also, on telecommunication technology and the empire, see Yang 2011.

31 Pai 2010; Pai 2013.

(*koto* 古都), repositories of a unique national culture.³² Imperial-focused expositions helped shape these narratives, and tourism to these expositions fueled—and was fed by—the emergence of powerful affective ties to the nation in the first Sino-Japanese War.³³

War led to the diffusion of new national symbols such as the *somei yoshino* 染井吉野 variety of cherry tree, that was spread through commemoration of the Russo-Japanese War and later became an icon of Japan in domestic and international tourism marketing.³⁴ This war also generated increased opportunities for the performance of touristic identities. As Naoko Shimazu shows, both Japanese soldiers and Russian prisoners of war in Matsuyama adopted, or were encouraged to adopt, touristic identities. Writing about the first group, she suggests that, because few had traveled outside of their home region before, the “mobilization to the front was a sort of ‘Grand Tour’ for many conscripts, turning their war diaries into travel writing.”³⁵

World War I to the Asia-Pacific War

Japan’s support for the Triple Entente in World War I brought with it further territorial gains on the continent, of German railways and military bases on China’s Shandong Peninsula. When revolution brought the collapse of the Russian Empire in the final years of the war, Japan became the largest and—by two years—longest military contingent in the Siberian Intervention, a failed attempt to protect Allied stockpiles and support anti-Bolshevik troops in far eastern Russia. The length of this campaign, not to mention its economic and human costs, prompted antiwar opposition in Japan. In 1922, Japan, Britain, and the United States agreed to curb naval competition and expenditure by restricting their warship capacity. This was followed by several years of relative constraint that ended when Japanese troops were sent to northeast China (Shandong) in the late 1920s to protect and expand national interests.

The beginning of war in Asia is commonly given as 1931, with the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and subsequent invasion of Manchuria, or 1937, with the outbreak of full-scale war between China and Japan following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Four years later, with simultaneous attacks on the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, the U.S.-controlled Philippines, and the British-controlled Malaya Peninsula, the Pacific War began. Among several different names that exist for this series of interlinked conflicts, this volume follows current academic convention in using the term “Asia-Pacific War.”³⁶

Recent research by historians of modern Japan and empire challenges the “dark valley” perspective of the war years as a time of extreme deprivation and suffering. It reveals how tourism and other leisure practices not only continued until relatively late in the Asia-Pacific War, but were given a crucial role to play in imperial expansionism carried out through military means and, particularly from 1937, the war effort on both home and battle front.

32 Takagi 2006; Takagi 2010; Takagi and Imao 2017.

33 Takagi 2006. Alice Y. Tseng’s recent book on Kyoto also touches on the importance of such expositions for the modern development of Kyoto (Tseng 2018).

34 Takagi 2006, appendix (*boron* 補論). Further, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney shows how the symbol of the cherry tree was manipulated before and during World War II, especially to beautify and justify the *tokkō* (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002).

35 Shimazu 2009, p. 71.

36 See Seaton 2007.

“Until the war situation deteriorated precipitously in mid-1942,” Ken Ruoff writes, “tourism thrived under Japan’s authoritarian government because it often served, or at least could be justified as serving, official goals.”³⁷ As with tourism in an earlier stage of territorial acquisition, tourist posters, postcards, and travel-related magazines directed at Japanese and colonial subjects supported official narratives of colonial Manchuria and north China’s “development” into a homeland for Japanese.³⁸ National heritage tourism, which Takagi has explored in its Meiji-period emergence, played an increasingly important role, both in colonial territories and Japan, as a form of self-administered citizenship training that, even during wartime, could harness active, individual desires for leisure and consumption to national goals.³⁹

Wartime tourism was also used as a tool for cultural diplomacy. Foreign visitors—especially Chinese, British, and American—had been coming to Japan in increasing numbers ever since the early Meiji period, which coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal, the American transcontinental railroad, and the launch of transpacific steamship services. Initially the government played little role in developing the industry, but from the early 1910s it began to invest in tourism services and marketing. In the 1920s, state interest in international tourism had focused on the need to bring in foreign capital and offset trade deficits, as well as promote goodwill between nations. However, into the 1930s, tourism marketing, tours of Japan and empire, and tourism infrastructure were increasingly understood by many in government as an effective means of mitigating international criticism of expansionism.⁴⁰ As Sandra Collins shows in her study of the planned 1940 Tokyo Olympics, not all agreed with these soft power efforts: there was tension and conflict between those in government who saw such mega events as an opportunity to attract inbound tourists and in the process “rebrand” Japan, and those who feared foreign boycotts and prioritized attention to the war in China.⁴¹

Occupation

When the war came to an end in August 1945, with the surrender of Japan following the fire-bombing of Tokyo and other urban Japanese centers, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, over 20 million Chinese, 3 million Japanese, 3 million in the Dutch East Indies, and 400,000 American soldiers and civilians had been killed.⁴²

The Allied Occupation of mainland Japan (1945–1952) and Okinawa (1945–1972) that followed surrender was initially carried out by a multinational force under U.S. command. Along with wide-scale disarmament and demilitarization, Article 9 of the new constitution that was enacted in 1947 renounced war and banned the maintenance of armed forces. However, rapid developments in the Cold War, especially the outbreak of the Korean

37 Ruoff 2010, p. 7.

38 Fukuma 2009.

39 Leheny 2000; McDonald 2017; Ruoff 2010; Ruoff 2014.

40 Kushner 2006; Leheny 2000; Nakamura 2007; Takagi 1999; Yamamoto 2012.

41 Collins 2007.

42 These casualty figures, and data for other nationalities, are given online by the National WWII Museum, New Orleans. These are estimates for World War II as a whole and totals differ greatly depending on the source.

War, prompted a realignment of Japan as a key ally of the United States, and encouraged steps towards remilitarization.

Tourism evolved and adapted to fit these transformed political realities. Soon after arrival, Occupation soldiers photographed and collected souvenirs, including A-bomb memorials, in places they were posted or visited on leave.⁴³ In obvious ways, such touristic practices and the encounters they generated helped underpin the privileges of the Occupation forces, but as Robin Gerster argues, they also played an important role in building sympathy and friendships that provided a foundation for postwar relations.⁴⁴ At the same time, Naoko Shibusawa's examination of the role of tourism and tourist discourse in the reconfiguration of U.S.–Japan relations from “enemy” to “ally” during and following the Allied Occupation reminds us that, at a national level at least, new relationships often continued to enact an uneven politics.⁴⁵

New tourist sites also emerged in the Occupation period. Some of these were war-related, as Ran Zwigenberg has shown in terms of the touristification of atomic bomb-related sites in Hiroshima, and the agency for this came from both Occupation forces, who were the first visitors, and local citizens, some of whom sought profit from Occupation tourism.⁴⁶ Other new or renewed sites of tourism, while not obviously war-related, reveal the effects of a continuing military presence in their process of touristification, a subject Gerald Figal explores in the development of Okinawa as a “tropical paradise.”⁴⁷ These studies, and debates at the time, show how tourism often works to sanitize war memory, occluding past (and present) military violence.

Postwar and the Present

Since the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Japan has been at peace. Anti-war sentiment is strong, there is no official army, and alone among modern states military aggression has been constitutionally renounced. On the Global Peace Index (GPI), which since 2007 has been ranking 163 independent countries on their level of peacefulness, Japan ranks consistently among the top ten most peaceful states in the world.⁴⁸

It is important to acknowledge at the same time, however, that Japan has played a key role as a site of frontline bases for the U.S. military in the Cold War and beyond, and since 1954 has maintained the Japan Ground, Maritime, and Air Self-Defense Forces (collectively called Jieitai 自衛隊, JSDF or SDF). U.S. bases have been overly concentrated in Okinawa, and despite a long history of local (and national) opposition they still cover almost one-fifth of Okinawa island and make up three-quarters of the total U.S. forces in Japan. Bases in Okinawa and elsewhere in Japan have been used as mission launching sites for conflicts involving the U.S. in Korea (1950s), Vietnam (1960s and 1970s), Kuwait/Iraq (1990s), and Afghanistan and Iraq (2000s). The SDF developed out of a controversial interpretation of the Constitution, which argued that Article 9 allowed for a militarized self-defense force.

43 Gerster 2015a; Gerster 2015b; Zwigenberg 2016.

44 Gerster 2008; Gerster 2015a.

45 Shibusawa 2010.

46 Zwigenberg 2016.

47 Figal 2012.

48 In 2008, Japan was in third place, but since 2014 has seen a slight decline. In 2018, Japan was ranked the ninth most-peaceful country in the world. See Vision of Humanity 2018.

Since the 1990s, it has been deployed in UN peacekeeping operations overseas, but in a non-combat capacity. However, in 2015, the Abe Shinzō 安倍晋三 government enacted new legislation that allows, for the first time since 1945, combat troops to be posted overseas for purposes of “collective self-defense” (*shūdanteki jie* 集団の自衛).

There is a tendency for research about modern Japan to cast its eye on one side or the other of a dividing line drawn through 1945. While important exceptions exist, this is also the case with war/tourism scholarship.⁴⁹ Especially in older or popular accounts of the postwar, the symbolic return of Japan to international society marked by the 1964 Tokyo Olympics is presented as the moment when tourism restarted after its long wartime hiatus. Tourism, as previous sections have shown, did not end until late in the war, nor was tourism unknown during the Occupation. But it is true that a general ban had been placed on outbound travel of mainland Japanese by Occupation authorities, in order to prevent an outflow of currency, and this was lifted in 1964 just as inbound tourism began to increase with the Tokyo Olympics.

Tourism in this period provided a significant economic boost at the local and national levels, and has played an important role in (re-)shaping war memory into the present day through the establishment of war-related sites such as museums and memorials, and the touristification of places of significance in wartime. In terms of the latter, tourism has effected historical amnesia, emptying particular places of their wartime significance. For example, site selection and site framing in Hawai‘i and Guam, two paradigmatic destinations for Japanese outbound tourists in the postwar, have helped obfuscate from the tourist gaze memories of the war, not to mention traces of their present-day militarization.⁵⁰ At the same time, tourism supported attempts across the ideological spectrum to recast the war in terms of national victimhood, often occluding signs of wartime aggression. For example, Ran Zwigenberg has argued that tourism helped Hiroshima in the 1960s not only rebuild infrastructure but also reinvent itself as a city of peace, sanctifying or “clearing” politics from the Peace Park.⁵¹

A key focus of research into the production of war memory has been the complex process by which collective memories are embodied at an individual or local level, and how memories are passed from one generation to the next. In case studies of Hiroshima’s Atomic Bomb Dome, Mabuni 摩文仁 in Okinawa, and sites related to *tokkō* in Chiran 知覧, Fukuma Yoshiaki 福間良明 reveals how external, especially national, perceptions are internalized under the influence of global, national, and local factors such as the international anti-nuclear/anti-war movement (Hiroshima) and rural de-population (Chiran).⁵² Similarly, war-related sites registered with UNESCO World Heritage or Memory of the World draw on international discourses of heritage preservation to frame them for international and domestic audiences. As well as boosting visitor numbers and bringing in outside funding, this furnishes an international platform for Japanese historical narratives of war and, in the case of Gunkanjima 軍艦島, international disputes over these narratives

49 Benesch and Zwigenberg 2019; McDonald (2017) also notes continuities in present-day touristic representations and practices.

50 Yaguchi 2011; Yamaguchi 2007.

51 Zwigenberg 2014, p. 209.

52 Fukuma 2015; also Fukuma and Yamaguchi 2015; see also Zwigenberg (2014) on Hiroshima.

to be staged.⁵³ In his research on Asia-Pacific War memory in Japan, Philip Seaton has also considered how war-related tourism, its practices and representations, are used in the postwar by competing groups to transmit often-opposing narratives of the war, but as these studies show, “peace” is a common invocation whatever one’s political agenda.⁵⁴

The emergence of “peace tourism” in the 1970s and 1980s is typically explained in terms of the demographic transition from those who directly experienced the war to those who did not—Marianne Hirsch’s “postmemory” generation.⁵⁵ For example, Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 has traced the emergence of Hiroshima as a mecca for peace-related school trips to a particular school’s efforts from the mid-1970s to stem the fading of war memories by having students learn directly from atomic-bomb survivors.⁵⁶ Yet peace discourses have also increasingly played a role in the marketing and practices of tourism to sites more commonly associated with right-wing and conservative perspectives on the war, including Chiran and the Yamato Museum 大和ミュージアム in Kure 呉, whose primary attraction is a to-scale replica of the Imperial Japanese Navy battleship *Yamato*.⁵⁷ The efficacy of “peace” as a floating signifier—a putatively neutral, uncontroversial concept that appeals to a wide audience and can be used to convey a diverse range of, sometimes contradictory, meanings—is not limited to the shaping of Asia-Pacific War narratives. Along with more obviously militarized imagery, the SDF has used slogans connected with peace, often tied to images of smiling young women, in public relations campaigns since the 1990s. Popular culture, including base tourism, is increasingly used as a means to appeal to a diverse range of audiences in the wider population.⁵⁸

As distance from the war increases and the postmemory generation grows in size, museums play an increasingly powerful role in the shaping of memories of the Asia-Pacific War. Seaton’s survey of Japanese university students suggests that museums are the second most powerful influence on their historical consciousness.⁵⁹ This makes the kinds of questions Yamaguchi asks about Chiran’s Hotaru Kan ほたる館 and Chiran Peace Museum (Chiran Tokkō Heiwa Kaikan 知覧特攻平和会館) all the more pressing: war narratives are simplified in these exhibitions, and authenticity—rather than, say, historical accuracy—plays a key role in appealing to, and persuading, audiences.⁶⁰ Whether this is a feature only of more nationalist war-related exhibition spaces or is true also of more progressive ones needs to be explored.

The first most important influence on students’ historical consciousness identified in Seaton’s survey is the mass media, namely documentaries, TV and print news, films, and manga. Research into the representation of history in Japanese media texts is

53 Kimura 2014; Takeuchi 2018. Gunkanjima (properly called Hashima Island 端島) is also an interesting case of how war-related sites have been incorporated into—and at times have starred in—the *haikyo* 廃墟 (ruins) boom that began in the late 1990s/early 2000s. On UNESCO Memory of the World registration, see Uesugi and Fukuma in this special.

54 Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012; Seaton 2007.

55 Hirsch 2012.

56 Yamaguchi 2012.

57 Uesugi 2012a; Uesugi 2012b; Yamamoto 2015. See also Seaton 2007, chapter 8, on museums and “peace” rhetoric.

58 Frühstück 2007, chapter 4.

59 Seaton 2007, p. 109.

60 Yamaguchi 2015.

well-advanced.⁶¹ In terms of war-related tourism, many of the war-memory studies cited above consider the role of the mass media in framing and popularizing sites, but questions of production at the industry level and audience reception—how audiences decode and respond to these media texts, and how media-induced tourism practices are affected—are still, typically, under-researched.⁶²

A recent journal special issue on war-related contents tourism takes up some of these issues. Its conclusions suggest that, while entertainment and leisure motivations drive not only media production of military images but also war-related tourism by anime or games fans, “when war is treated as entertainment, representations gravitate towards conservatism or nationalism,” and this representational bias would appear to be reflected in consumption patterns and effects as well.⁶³ In these cases, war-related contents tourism is shown, on the one hand, to be more likely to affirm existing (especially nationalist) historical views rather than challenge or educate, and on the other, to help build affective ties to present-day military institutions (for example, the SDF).⁶⁴

War, Tourism, and Modern Japan: The Special Issue

This special issue of *Japan Review* is the first dedicated volume to bring together scholars in Japan and outside working on all aspects of war/tourism: wartime tourism and war-related tourism during war, postwar tourism and war-related tourism in the postwar, tourism and war memory, media-induced tourism and war, war/tourism representations, and war/tourism practices. These issues are explored from a variety of academic disciplinary positions. Included here are articles by scholars working within anthropology, cultural studies, history, literature, media, sociology, and tourism studies. The papers cover the period from the first Sino-Japanese War, through the Russo-Japanese War, the invasion of Manchuria and the Asia-Pacific War, to the postwar and into the present day; and they encompass a broad range of locations, including places within prewar and postwar Japan (for example, Inland Sea islands, Hiroshima, Kyoto), pre-1945 overseas colonies (Taiwan and Korea), parts of the wider empire (Manchukuo), and regions on the frontline of wartime expansion (North China).⁶⁵

The special issue begins with three articles that examine the relationship between war and touristic practices, and national and imperial infrastructures and institutions. In the first paper, Soyama Takeshi maps the evolution of school excursion practices and discourses through most of modern Japan’s major wars. He points not just to the limits on state use of tourism as a disciplining tool, but to the multiple agendas in play at any one time, arguing that, while school excursions were exploited in order to instill nationalism and militarism in students, school leaders themselves exploited nationalistic ideology so that excursions could continue their important role of fostering student–teacher relations even during wartime.

61 See, for example, Berry and Sawada 2016; Rosenbaum 2013; Morris-Suzuki and Rimmer 2008.

62 See, for example, Fukuma and Yamaguchi 2015.

63 Seaton 2018 (not paginated). These conclusions are based on case studies from Korea as well as Japan, and might be explored further in relation to war-related media-induced tourism elsewhere in the world. For a definition of “contents tourism” (vis-à-vis “media-induced tourism”), see Seaton in this special issue.

64 Sugawa-Sawada 2018; Yamamura 2018.

65 One area this special issue does not cover, however, and a fruitful path for future research, is the postwar development and popularity (or otherwise) of sites depicting Japan’s colonial history and military aggression in mainland and Southeast Asia. For example, see Gonzalez 2013; Yamaguchi 2007.

In the second paper, Kate McDonald explores how battlefield tourism constructs and sustains collective memories in a multiethnic, imperial context through examining the production of collective memory at a major battlefield of the Russo-Japanese War: 203-Meter Hill in Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur), Manchuria. In particular, she reveals how changes in territory and ideology produced shifts in memory practices regarding 203-Meter Hill, and how the site served to produce a powerful sense of Korean national identity as much as it did a Japanese national identity.

In the third paper, Oikawa Yoshinobu 老川慶喜, provides a detailed exploration of the development of the domestic rail network from the Russo-Japanese War, through the “interwar” years to the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War, analyzing correspondence and points of fracture between touristic and military uses. Oikawa, like Soyama, highlights the fact that tourism and war are not always collaborative, as he finds that, at least on official and institutional levels, military uses of the railway came to subsume those of leisure in the early 1940s as state involvement became more intense and intrusive.

The next three papers look at how tourism and tourism discourse have shaped the experiences and accounts of Anglophone visitors to Japan and its empire during war and occupation. Andrew Elliott’s analysis of a selection of Anglophone travel texts about trips to the battle front from Japan during the second Sino-Japanese War explores how the usage and significance of orientalist tropes shifted in the 1930s, part of a process of inter-imperial ideational exchange that saw the touristic exotic taken up by official agencies and used to market Japan, territories on the continent, and regions on the frontline of military expansion. While the reach of tourism as a form of cultural diplomacy was ultimately limited, these texts nevertheless reveal tourism’s efficacy as a disciplinary tool, incorporating travelers into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

Daniel Milne’s study looks at how the U.S. and New Zealand attempted to educate/indoctrinate soldiers about Japan through manipulating tourist, militarist, and “militourist” gazes in photographic and written military media between 1945 and 1949. He finds that these gazes were exploited in different ways to intensify soldier enmity against Japan in the final push to end the Pacific War; to legitimize military dominance and sexual exploitation from early in the Occupation; and to foster paternal sympathy and affinity with the Japanese as part of a process of repositioning Japan as a Cold War ally. He underlines the versatility and flexibility of the tourist gaze at a range of levels from official discourse to individual practice.

In the sixth paper, Tze M. Loo explores how tourism functioned in strategies to normalize America’s long-term occupation of Okinawa from 1945 to 1972. Touristic imagery in military and war-related media can be seen even at the time of the devastating battle of Okinawa, so constituting a double vision of Okinawa as military base and touristic “paradise” that becomes entrenched after Japan’s surrender. Loo examines the epistemological innovations that were necessary in the U.S. military’s production of Okinawa as a place of occupation, and simultaneously of leisure and entertainment, for U.S. service personnel. Loo demonstrates how tourism and militarism can coexist, augment each other, and combine to play a vital role for the state and military in war, occupation, and empire building.

The following three papers trace shifting memories of war and touristification—as well as de-touristification and re-branding—of particular war-related sites in Japan. Ran Zwigenberg considers the changing significance and uses of Hiroshima Castle, from when it took on its role as a vital military center in the 1890s, through its destruction by atomic bombing at the end of World War II, to its reconstruction and rebirth as a symbol of recovery and peace in the postwar. He finds that the postwar touristification of the castle—especially its attachment to a glorified Edo period—resulted in the obfuscation of its wartime and imperial role.

The eighth paper, by Uesugi Kazuhiro 上杉和央, is a study of the naval port of Maizuru 舞鶴 in northern Kyoto prefecture from the 1900s to the 2010s. It shows how the city drew on its military heritage to attract tourists at various historical junctures, including the immediate postwar when it became a central reentry port for repatriates, and later as the city negotiated, then utilized, a military history that had become tarred by memories of war. The long time span allows not only an overview of the principal forms of tourism in modern Japan, but also reveals how the incorporation of a war-related site by these different touristic modes reflects and enables changes in attitudes to militarism and memories of war.

Fukuma Yoshiaki traces the touristification process that transformed Chiran in southern Kagoshima prefecture into the symbolic “home” of *tokkō* (“kamikaze”) that it is today. He begins with the establishment of an airbase in Chiran in the 1930s, then considers the town’s postwar transition, the “rediscovery” of its wartime history in the 1960s, and the process by which *tokkō* memories were internalized in the twenty-first century. He explores how external memories/discourses of Chiran and the war were adopted locally through processes of touristification and commemoration, leading to the valorization and decontextualization of *tokkō* and the erasure of memories of aggressive nationalism and violence.

In terms of their case studies and methodologies, the final two articles are the most obviously located in the present day, though their focus on hidden histories and mediated pasts offers connections to other studies included in this volume. Both authors consider how to define and theorize war-related tourism, but they develop remarkably divergent approaches to the sites they study. Andrea De Antoni uses ethnological fieldwork on recent ghost tours to the Kiyotaki 清滝 Tunnel in Kyoto to analyze (dark) tourism to haunted places as an “affective practice”; he focuses on the relationships between affect on the one hand, and discourse and power on the other. His paper sheds light on the processes through which certain actors are mobilized, and memories and discourses are created, thus becoming an integral part of the “meshwork” that constitutes one particular place. Further, it highlights how certain historical events—deaths of Korean laborers in construction in the 1920s and World War II—are strategically forgotten and silenced.

In the final paper, Philip Seaton takes a tour of the Inland Sea to examine the phenomenon of war-related contents tourism in five island case studies, arguing that representation of their war history in entertainment formats or through the promotion of tourism for “leisure and pleasure” has made war-related tourism seem more akin to “light/lite tourism” than “dark tourism.” The paper provides a critique of the concept of dark tourism—including its differing uses in Japanese and English—and develops the alternative concept of war-related content tourism, especially for an understanding of tourism by the “postmemory” generation of young Japanese.

Kenneth Ruoff rounds off the special with an afterword that provides a range of suggestions for future research into the connections and overlaps between war and tourism in modern Japan. Amongst other ideas, Ruoff proposes that there is need for research into the full extent and significance of tourism across Japan's multilingual empire, heritage tourism in Japan and its (former) colonies that crosses the 1945 divide, Confucian tourism in East Asia, soldier-tourism by Japanese troops, and of what he terms "heritage tourism of resistance."

Tourism, War, and Peace Reconsidered

In mapping the multiple linkages between war/tourism as a necessary critical intervention in academic and popular tourism discourses, we must not overlook the "natural" interdependence of tourism and peace that international organizations still articulate and, the popularity of dark tourism aside, wider cultural imaginaries still hold. In revisiting peace/tourism, we remind ourselves of what this imaginary relation occludes, and what it thereby sanctions in its name.

Research shows that examples of progressive or critical wartime and war-related tourism do exist. Such tourism tends to seek transnational political solidarity, underline state aggression and wartime culpability, and reject patriotism.⁶⁶ This potential for tourism as a peaceful and anti-militarist practice requires further research, as does the extent to which tourism and militarism "may hold out possibilities for stability, liberation, or even anticolonialism."⁶⁷ In addition, scholars have rightly cautioned against assuming participation in tourism during wartime, or an interest in war-related tourism, is a sign of nationalist or militaristic sympathies.⁶⁸

Yet, the papers in this special issue suggest that tourism is predisposed to obfuscate, if not to erase, war's violence and the need for the (national) subject to account ethically for that violence. One reason for this may be the formative place of "leisure" in modern tourism. Death and destruction can have touristic appeal, as much research has shown, but they are presumably a harder sell than pleasure and entertainment in an industry founded on promises of escape from the serious, workaday world. Secondly, peace/tourism's interdependence in discourses of international society and transnational cultural imaginaries casts tourism practices and representations as *always already* peaceful. This mythic, in the Barthean sense, functionality of tourism means that war-related tourism is arguably more easily mobilized for nationalist than progressive agendas, whatever the individual motivations or political affiliations of tourism producers and consumers.

In short, it may be asked whether tourism does not more readily support attempts to cleanse the nation of its own military violence and aggression than exhibit and demand attention to such histories or present-day realities. Future research may well reveal otherwise, but a number of contemporary news events related to war/tourism suggest this to be the case: the ongoing controversy over Gunkanjima's registration as a UNESCO World Heritage site, the choice of the Ise Grand Shrines (Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮) for the opening

66 See, for example, Gonzalez 2017; Moynagh 2008; Seaton 2007. See also Elliott, McDonald, Ruoff, and Seaton in this special issue.

67 Gonzalez and Lipman 2016, p. 518.

68 See, for example, Jaworowicz-Zimny 2018; Ruoff 2010. Also, Fukuma, Seaton, Soyama in this special issue.

ceremony of the G7 summit in 2016, or the recent decision to develop military fortresses as tourism resources by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (Kokudo Kōtsū Shō 国土交通省).⁶⁹ At the very least, these examples show how tourism continues to play an important role, not only in international diplomacy related to war, but also in local, national, and international memories of war and their transmission—internationally, and to current and future generations of Japanese.

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⁶⁹ *Japan Times* 2017b; Kimura 2014; Ota 2018; Takeuchi 2018; Yoshida 2016.

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