CHERRY BLOSSOMS AND RISING SUN--A SYSTEMATIC AND
OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF GUNKA (JAPANESE WAR SONGS)
IN FIVE HISTORICAL PERIODS (1868-1945)

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree Master of Arts

by
Satoshi Sugita, B.A.
The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by
Adviser
School of Journalism
ABSTRACT

This study in content analysis attempts to determine the major recurring themes and emphasis on these themes appearing in Japanese war songs during five major war-time periods in modern Japanese history. Using purposive sampling, seventy-five war songs that are considered to best represent the war periods and that enjoyed the greatest popularity were selected. According to years in which they were written, the samples were then divided into five historical periods that include Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, Manchuria Incident, Pre-Pacific War, and Pacific War periods. Using frequency and directional analysis methods, the changes and trend of emphasis on seven themes were recorded.
PREFACE

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

On a summer evening in 1967, this researcher, who happened to visit the festival merely to be immersed in the festive mood, witnessed a bizarre group of people gathered to offer prayers in a dark corner of the tree-studded compound. They began to sing.

The occasion, the researcher learned later, was "A Night to Dedicate War Songs to the Heroic Souls of the War Dead," and those in attendance were former soldiers and sailors who had survived the last war. As if hypnotized, with tears streaking down their cheeks, these men sang a dozen or so songs before quietly dispersing into the dusk.

The ceremony was the researcher's first direct exposure to such songs sung by people who obviously had vivid moving memories from the actual war. Ever since then this researcher has greatly been intrigued by the lingering attraction of war tunes.
In January, 1969, this researcher was sent by Tokyo's Asahi Evening News on a writing assignment to Palau in the western Caroline islands, one of the bloodiest battlefields in World War II on which 13,000 Japanese servicemen perished (almost equal to the present population of the chain of 200-odd islets). It is now a part of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

In this modern-day Pacific version of Peter Pan's "never-never land," native Palauans in their late thirties and upward, who were educated under Japanese rule (1914-45), still feel nostalgic about the now-defunct empire.

War songs are as much a part of their life as are the remains of rusting war tanks, landing ships, and Zero fighters scattered on the beaches of Peleliu and in the mountains of Babelthaup, alongside bleached bones of unknown soldiers.

Local radio stations regularly broadcast the old militant Japanese tunes at the request of the older people, in whom the spirit of older Japan—which underlies the war songs—is still alive. One Palauan, who fought in New Guinea as an "Emperor's soldier" told this researcher that he had continued to cherish the same unchanged feeling of reverence and loyalty toward His Imperial Majesty the Emperor.

Through his contacts with Southeast Asians from nations and regions formerly under Japanese control, this researcher has been surprised to learn that quite a few of them still
remembered several war songs as they used to listen to
Japanese soldiers often singing them. The former Indonesian
President Sukarno, for one, favored "Flowers of Patriotism,"
a Manchuria Incident period song about female noncombatants,
and he has translated it into the Indonesian language.

Today the modern version of Japan's military, known by
the awkward euphemism of Japanese Self-Defense Force (Japan
abandoned all war potentials in its new postwar constitution;
therefore, it does not officially have any military forces)
has its own "morale boosters," which sound somewhat like
nursery rhymes taught in grammar school. One of them
translates as follows:

"JSDF Song"

Even a small tree has the freedom
To grow up into the sky,
Protect it from storms,
with your hands,
And with our hands,
Protect the peace of a growing Japan!

In singing hours, old instructors who have been in the
Imperial Army like to teach the prewar barracks songs, which
are actually preferred by the men for their valiant and
soldierly overtones, according to interviews this researcher
conducted at Ground Self-Defense Force (i.e., Army) Camp
Shinodayama near Osaka in the summer of 1969. It is, however,
their policy to avoid songs that are "too belligerent."
It is not only the JSDF personnel, and former Imperial military men and Japanese subjects who sing what may appear to be anachronistic songs in the midst of the current nationwide boom of war songs. War songs are particularly popular among the young Japanese born without experiencing the bitterness of war and nurtured in peace. TV stations in Japan regularly feature the songs in what the Japanese call natsu-mero (memorable melody) programs.

It is not known, of course, how long the boom will last, but this researcher believes that the war songs clearly represent changing periods in Japan's history and that they deserve to be analyzed for this reason.

This study will be of interest to Japanese and foreign historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists who are interested in knowing the sentiments and the ways of thinking of the Japanese people at times of wars.

Satoshi Sugita

Columbus, Ohio

August, 1972
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This researcher, first of all, wishes to acknowledge his appreciation for assistance extended by his friends in Tokyo, Japan, in particular Misa Yasue Aramaki, an editorial staff writer of the Asahi Evening News, who took time to explore Tokyo libraries. She found a copy of Gunka to Nippon-jin (War Songs and Japanese), which had gone out of print, in the morgue of the Asahi Shimbun and sent me a Xerox copy of it. Akihiko Yamaki, chief of the Cultural Department of the Hochi Shimbun sports daily and author of Gunke de Miru Nippon Senso-shi (Japanese History of wars Seen Through War Songs) was kind enough to furnish this researcher with a personal copy of his book, which had also gone out of print. In Columbus, Ohio, Mrs. William J. Oertel and Mrs. Peggy Grace took the trouble of reading the manuscript for grammatical, idiomatic, and spelling errors. Last but not the least, Dr. Erik L. Collins of Ohio State University School of Journalism, had the patience to serve as my adviser and give criticism. The researcher has great respect for his scholarship and personality. Anyone reading this thesis in the future and interested in further study in the subject is asked to contact this researcher at his permanent address in
Japan, for the study of war will perhaps become the researcher's lifetime hobby. The researcher also wishes to take this opportunity to express his deep gratitude to Prof. Paul S. Underwood and Prof. James C. MacDonald of the School of Journalism, who took the trouble of reading the thesis and serving on the instructional committee.

Satoshi Sugita
c/o Akira Takeuchi
251 Wada, Gyoda
Saitama 361, Japan
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ............................................. ii
PREFACE ........................................... iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT ..................................... vii
I PURPOSES ........................................... 1
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ...................... 5
III THE PROBLEM ..................................... 11
IV OPERATIONAL PLAN ............................... 16
V DATA ANALYSIS ................................... 21
VI RESULTS .......................................... 84
APPENDIX 1 ......................................... 91
APPENDIX 2 ......................................... 94
APPENDIX 3.1 ....................................... 96
APPENDIX 3.2 ....................................... 98
APPENDIX 3.3 ....................................... 99
APPENDIX 3.4 ....................................... 100
APPENDIX 3.5 ....................................... 102
APPENDIX 3.6 ....................................... 102
APPENDIX 3.7 ....................................... 103
BIBLIOGRAPHY ...................................... 104

- ix -
CHAPTER I

PURPOSES

Introduction

More than a quarter century ago, Japan lost the bitter and grueling war in the face of massive buildup of the Allied forces. Japan's unconditional surrender in 1945 signified the defeat of "spiritual strength" of the nation against the cold reality of overpowering scientific and technological development. The Japanese had been led to believe that, in the absence of adequate material, it was possible to repel the Allied war tanks on the strength of bamboo spears—and a determined Yamato spirit.

This spiritual power was derived, to a significant extent, from the war-time songs, ballads, and marches sung and performed on frequent occasions by both the general public and the fighting men.

A militaristic Japan has ceased to exist since August 15, 1945, generally known outside Japan as the V-J (Victory over Japan) Day. Strangely, for a nation that has become so allergically sensitive to the most distant smell of gun powder and that is the first nation in the world to perpetually
remounce war in its constitution, war songs have never completely died away.

In reaction to a period immediately following Japan's surrender in which anything remotely connected with war was condemned, war songs revived. The current boom is said to have started in 1960, when King Record Co. placed on the market a set of three LP records titled "Natzukashi no Gunkasha" (A Collection of Memorable War Songs) (p. 53 Nippon Guniga).

However, there are, naturally, voices that are critical of the current popularity of war songs. In fact, there is a deep-rooted antipathy in Japan against its national anthem, "Your Reign" (Kimigayo). It is one of the earliest patriotic songs established as a national anthem in 1893 in the reign of Emperor Meiji. An ancient ode, it is found in Kokin Wakashu (Songs of Ancient and Modern) compiled in the tenth century. Originally a song to celebrate the longevity, it has come to be used particularly to wish the long reign of the Emperor.

"Your Reign"

May your reign
Last thousands upon thousands
Of years,
Until a massive rock
Turns into pebbles

Critics of "Your Reign," which was the most frequently sung patriotic song during the war, say that it is too
unhappily reminiscent of the dark era which saw Japan expand its invasion of neighboring countries. For a similar reason, the national flag, "Hinomaru" or Rising Sun, is also abhored by some people.

Japan's largest (circulation 10 million daily) and most influential daily, Asahi Shimbun, sees an ominous sign in the current popularity of the war songs. In its "Today's Problem" column on August 8, 1969, the newspaper editorialized as follows:

"We must clarify here what the war songs are. To be sure, they are representative of a certain period in our history. Then what kind of a period was it?

"It was a period in which we were forced to be soldiers and soldiers' wives first and human beings second. It was a period in which we had to consider our life proverbially 'as light as a feather' and had to be prepared to accept the assignment of death as a 'shield for the populace.' It was a period in which the militant mother was not allowed to shed tears at the death of her son on the battlefield. The war songs were the bugle of such a period.

"The youngasters may know the melodies of the war songs, but are they aware of their essence? Did the 'war generation' accurately recount it to the apres-guerre generation who never experienced the war?

"...There are ominous omens. We cannot be singing the songs nonchalantly. We ought to be fully prepared, lest we should be forced to sing these songs again."

Writing in the foreword of Nippon Gunka (Japan's War Songs), Akihiko Yamaki takes a defensive position.
"Granted that wars in general can be negated, it is not justified to frivolously negate the wars the Japanese fought in the past for the sake of their country.

"In the midst of the rampaging 'leisure boom,' it is, indeed, easy to simply negate, ideologically, the path Japan took to the past wars. It may be permissible to give labels of 'war lovers' to those who get intoxicated and moved to tears by the war songs or accuse them of trying to revive militarism.

"But we do not want anyone to negate the blood, the sweat, and the tears of our ancestors in the Meiji, Taisho, and the early Showa period known as the 'prewar' period, who were greatly instrumental in building up the Japan that has recorded the phenomenal growth.

"And who are we to stand to negate the war songs which are the concrete crystallization of their endeavors?"

It is not the aim of this thesis to determine whether or not these war songs are contributing to the alleged revival of militarism in Japan or why they are appealing to the young Japanese. Rather, this thesis attempts, fundamentally, to analyze the messages the war songs conveyed to the people engaged, either directly or indirectly, in a war and how they changed over certain periods.

Except for essays and collections of war songs, no research is known ever to have been done on the subject of Japanese war songs. References to Japanese war songs written in English are extremely scarce. This study will be the first comprehensive, systematic, and objective analysis of this important phase of Japanese history.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Methods of Selection of Sources

This researcher first tried to find English-language literature on Japanese war songs. He examined literature published by the U.S. Department of Defense and looked for such subject headings as, "war songs," "military songs," "soldiers' songs," and "patriotic songs" in the Readers' Guide and the New York Times Index for years during and immediately following the war.

Contacts were made with several libraries in Tokyo and the Asahi Shimbun to find appropriate newspaper and magazine articles and books written on this topic. Authors of books on this subject were asked to provide books which had gone out of print and any other pertinent information available to them.

The researcher used bibliographies appearing in books concerning the methodology of content analysis in the search for articles and books on statistical and content analyses.
Integrative Narrative Summary of Pertinent Literature

Each of the six following sources, written in Japanese, listed thirty to 200 war songs each considered most popular, with or without explanations. All of them classified the songs into different historical periods or according to the type of songs.

Omoide no Gunkashu (A Collection of War Songs to be Remembered) published by Nobarasha is the simplest, in that it just contains 206 songs with words and music but without any explanations. The songs are classified into Meiji (1867-1912), Taisho (1912-26) and early Showa (1926-45) eras.

Nippon no Gunka (War Songs of Japan) by Keizo Horiuchi, one of the noted writers of war songs, lists 156 songs with explanations attached to them, mostly personal recollections and episodes about writers and composers of the songs and explanations about the historical background of the period in which the songs were written. Its historical classifications include the early period, Sino-Japanese War, pre-Russo-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, and Showa.

More than 100 songs are listed in Gunka to Nippon-jin (War Songs and Japanese) by Koji Kada, but it also has a section on his personal viewpoints about the songs, his experience about the songs, and historical explanations of
the eras in which they were written.

_Gunka de Miru Nippon Senso-shi_ (Japanese History of Wars Seen Through War Songs) by Akihiko Yamaki, complete with five LP records containing twenty-six songs in all, lists the words of fifty popular war songs. It is heavy on historical explanations and carries quite a few pictures. Especially useful is the supplementary chronological list showing the years in which some 275 songs were written. The list also refers to social, military, and cultural developments of each of the comparable periods.

_Nippon Gunka_ (Japan's War Songs), compiled by Gyoji Osada, carries 274 songs and classifies them into Army-Navy Ceremonial Songs, Army, Navy, GI Songs, Home Front, and Wartime Ballads. Historically, the book classifies the songs into (1) 1868-87, (2) Sino-Japanese War, (3) Russo-Japanese War, (4) World War I, (5) Manchuria Incident, (6) China Incident, and (7) Pacific War. This book provided explanations about circumstances in which each song was written.

Thirty songs are contained in "Nippon Gunkashu" (A Collection of Japanese War Songs), which is a set of two stereo LP records released by Columbia Record Co., with explanations by Akihiko Yamaki about the meaning of each song and how it was written.

The preceding works, all written in Japanese, differ from the researcher's current study in that they do not attempt
any systematic analysis of trends in the songs over a period of time. Instead, each book spares considerable space in explaining the situation in which the songs were written, more often than not by way of personal reminiscence. Authors intuitively felt that certain themes appear frequently in these songs and the emphasis on themes changes over certain periods, but none attempted to analyze objectively and systematically.

About the only available English-language reference to Japanese war songs was *The Military Side of Japanese Life* by Captain M. D. Kennedy. The book, written in 1923, has a brief section (four pages) on war songs. Kennedy carries partial and rather inaccurate translations of two songs, which he categorizes as "military geisha songs." One is *Rappa Bushi* (Bugle Song) and the other is *Manshu Bushi* (Manchurian Song). (The latter is included in this study under the title "War Comrade."

Other people have examined messages contained in songs. Donald Horton, for one, analyzed popular songs in his article titled "The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs" (1957) in *The American Journal of Sociology*. He says that the lyrics of American popular songs consist largely of elements of dialogue appropriate to a limited range of situations and relationships in the cycle of courtship. The lyrics of over eighty percent of the popular songs published in 1955 were found to fit into a series of "acts" depicting the course of
romance: Prologue (wishing and dreaming), Act I (courtship), Act II (the honeymoon), Act III (the downward course of love), and Act IV (all alone).

In a similar study of song analysis, Hans Sebalp uses a comparative content analysis to recognize cultural values in a systematic way to compare the songs of youth groups in Nazi Germany and the United States. In an article titled "Studying National Character Through Comparative Content Analysis" (1962) in Social Forces, he states that German sources stressed national loyalty, obedience, and heroic death, and paid less attention to the beauty of nature, play, and Christianity. He has made a frequency and percentage distribution analysis of attitudes toward "universal dimensions."

As for reference materials on methodology, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities by Ole R. Holeti is an introduction and guide to content analysis as an approach to documentary research. The book integrates a model of the communication process, research designs, and techniques of content analysis. It has references to a great variety of content analysis studies.

Content Analysis of Communications, a joint work by Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, contains material that is useful to the beginning researcher and gives illustrations of methods that can be used to investigate many
kinds of messages. The bibliography, which accounts for a third of the book, contains more than 300 entries.

An article by I. L. Janis and R. Fadner in The Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics has evolved a statistical concept for measuring imbalance called the coefficient of imbalance. The researcher applied the coefficient in measuring the characteristic trend in the Japanese war songs. According to the authors of this book, the coefficient can be applied to any type of communication, provided it can be classified into the categories of favorable, unfavorable, and neutral content. The coefficient, by definition, provides a single figure which shows the relationship between favorable and unfavorable material.

Sidney Siegal's Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (1956) is a useful aid for conducting nonparametric tests on data. It is useful not only for its explanations of statistical tests but also for general statements about research methods and testing hypotheses. The researcher applied a nonparametric technique of hypothesis testing suggested by the book.
CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM

QUESTION

This thesis is an attempt to answer the following question:

What are the major recurring themes and emphasis on these themes in Japanese war songs during five major war-time periods in modern Japanese history?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

war song—The original Japanese word is gunka (pronounced guhn' kah'), which breaks down into two Chinese ideographs—gun (military) and ka (song). The researcher has chosen to take a wider interpretation of this term. In this study, the term will be applied not only to purely patriotic songs but also to other war-time numbers, ballads, and marches—with varying degrees of weariness and patriotism expressed toward war efforts—that were sung by both the servicemen and the general public, both overtly and covertly,
in reference to various aspects of warfare, military life, and life at the "home front." Patriotic war songs, as envisaged by the leaders of the military government, had three objectives (Gunka to Nippon-jin): to boost the morale, to diffuse militaristic ideas, and to unify the nation toward common goals. Some war-time songs, however, contained negative elements from this point of view.

Enemy—A military adversary of Japan. The term has been applied to domestic dissidents of the Emperor, to the Chinese in the Sino-Japanese War, to the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War, and finally to the Allies in the Pacific War.

Emperor—His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, the sovereign monarch of the Empire of Japan, considered to be a living deity.

Chrysanthemum—The national flower of Japan. Crest of the Imperial Family, hence a symbol of the Emperor.

Cherry blossoms—A symbol of soldierliness or glorious death.

Yasukuni Shrine—A former national shrine dedicated to the souls of martyred servicemen. Located at Kudan, Tokyo, hence it was sometimes referred to simply as Kudan.

Samurai—Originally, a member of a military class in feudal Japan, the word has come to mean in some contexts a soldier.

Kamikaze—Literally meaning "divine wind," it was the
last spiritual resort of the Japanese in a war. The people had been led to believe that the "divine wind" would some day blow and help Japan win the war.

Specific Hypotheses

H1: The major recurring themes correspond to themes generally found in war-time Japanese literature. Possibly, they include such concepts as friendship, death, Emperor, courage, loyalty, enemy, glory, empire, endurance, and victory.

H2: There are few statements in war songs that are unfavorable to concepts pertaining to patriotism, since an important function of these songs was to boost the morale of the people who hear and sing them.

H3: More emphasis is placed during the Pacific War period on morale, courage, bravery, and soldierliness as the people became weary of the long-drawn-out wars and it was necessary to heighten the morale.

H4: The image of Japan’s foes declined with the progress of wars, as the people’s hatred of the foes grew stronger.
H5: Under the rigid thought control by the military, people had to give a vent to their pent-up feeling, and their gripes and discontentment about war are reflected in the songs.

Assumptions

The composition of patriotic songs was encouraged by the government, and the public was often invited to send in their works in contests sponsored by war departments and major dailies. Only those compatible with the national policy were adopted or approved by the government, as the practice of censorship was exercised in war-time Japan, with intensified rigidity before and during the Pacific War.

However, it is assumed that the songs had to denote more than mere military propaganda to be popular. They also had to reflect the predominant sentiments of the people toward the war and the resulting state of affairs.

Also the fact that the songs still enjoy popularity in Japan indicates that the underlying ideas of these songs are germane to the Japanese tradition.

The way to the Pacific War (Taiheiyo Senso e no Michi), a multi-volume Asahi Shim bun publication about Japan's war history, calls the war songs the "best indicator of prevailing
Limitations of the Research

The primary limitation of the research is that it has disregarded all the phonological aspects of the songs. The study has been limited to written messages in the songs, without regard to specific ways in which the songs are sung.

Second, translation of the verses from Japanese into English posed some problems. It may have resulted, perhaps due to the linguistic limitations of the researcher, in the inadequate representation of the delicate delineation of the original Japanese words and phrases.

Japanese is a very expressive language and it is difficult at times to find suitable English counterparts of original terms, especially if they are traditionally Japanese or Oriental concepts. The researcher, however, tried to explain the connotative meaning and background of original Japanese whenever possible.
CHAPTER IV

OPERATIONAL PLAN

Research Method

This will be a one-shot descriptive study in content analysis.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
  t_1 & t_2 & t_3 \\
  \hline
  - & - & M
\end{array}
\]

M stands for measurement, while \( t_1, t_2, \text{ and } t_3 \) indicate different points in time. (pp. 13-14, How to Evaluate Mass Communications by Jack B. Haskins) The format means that a sample of songs is drawn, and then they are measured for their general trend. Five measures will be taken in the present study to compare the characteristics of different groups.

It is difficult to learn the exact number of war songs that were once sung between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and Japan's surrender in 1945, the years in which Japan's first and last war songs, as defined in this thesis, were written.

Nippon Gunka contains 274 war songs, the largest
number of songs found to be listed in a single volume. In the compiler's note, however, Osada states that several writers had refused to have their works included in the book "in order not to open up old wounds." He writes that he had some 100 unpublished songs, in addition.

Although not identical, Gunka de Miru Nippon Senso-shi also carries a list of 275 songs arranged in a chronological order. If consideration is to be taken of parodies of original war songs or songs of platoons, squadrons, companies and so forth that enjoyed limited popularity only at certain areas and at certain periods in history, the population of Japanese war songs is enormous.

As the sampling method, this researcher employed purposive sampling. By definition, this procedure is a type of "best-guess selection based on the analyst's own knowledge" (p. 24, Content Analysis of Communications by Budd, Thorp, and Donohew). The researcher must personally decide which songs would best represent the area in which he is doing the research.

This method was adopted because the fundamental purpose of this study is to analyze the comprehensive trend and changes of those war songs that were most frequently sung by the fighting men as well as the general public, and not those of all war songs ever composed.

To help select the samples of the most popularly and widely sung songs that best represent each of the historical
periods with the least amount of subjectivity, this researcher went to six sources: *Nippon Gunka*, *Coinde no Gunkashu*, *Gunka to Nippon-jin*, *Gunka de Miru Nippon Senso-shi*, *Nippon no Gunka*, and *Nippon Gunkashu* (two stereo LP records).

Those which were included in three or more of the sources were selected, which brought the total to sixty-five. The researcher felt that the use of these sources in deciding the samples was the best, since the editors actually experienced the days in which these songs were sung and are in a better position to measure the popularity.

The samples were divided into five historical periods according to the years in which they were written. The classification, therefore, does not indicate the popularity of a group of songs for a given period. Some songs continued to enjoy popularity for successive periods while others were popular only in the period in which they were written or only in later period(s).

The five historical classifications are as follows: (A) Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War Period, 1868-95, (B) Russo-Japanese War Period, 1897-1914, (C) Manchuria Incident Period, 1928-38, (D) Pre-Pacific War Period, 1939-41, and (E) Pacific War Period, 1941-45. The table on the following page indicates the number of songs sampled in each of the five periods. (Note: Few songs were written between 1915 and 1927, hence the blank.)
TABLE 1
HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATIONS AND
THE NUMBER OF SAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Samples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Russo-Japanese War</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Manchuria Incident</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Pre-Pacific War</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Pacific War</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those songs that did not gain widespread popularity (therefore not included in more than three of the sources mentioned earlier), for one reason or another, were eliminated as objects of this study. (e.g., "Fighting Prime Minister Tojo," "Who Should be Afraid of Air Raids?" and "Adm. Yamamoto" written during the Pacific War)

The sixty-five songs were coded for directional and frequency analyses in terms of themes. They were studied over the five historical periods to determine how the emphasis on the themes shifted from one period to another. Care was taken to scrutinize the themes in context, so that the same theme may be categorized under different themes with different directions depending on the context in which it appeared. A theme, every
time it appeared, was classified under F (favorable), N (neutral), or U (unfavorable).
CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher, in this chapter, will analyze, using historical data and statistical analysis, the characteristic trend of war songs in each historical period and how it differed from one period to another.

In doing this, he counted all units of content that were relevant to war songs. Some related units were categorized into a theme. By tallying the relevant units of content that appeared in the sixty-five samples, it was discovered that there were seven major consistently recurring themes, which are, in order of frequency of occurrence: bravery and morale (recorded 350 times), nation (143), hostility (136), death (133), sentimentalism (87), Emperor (86), and justice (71).

The characteristic trend was judged on the basis of the frequency and direction of the seven major themes.

The songs were divided into five historical periods that lasted seventy-seven years in all: Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, Manchuria Incident, Pre-Pacific War, and Pacific War periods. They correspond to major wars in which Japan participated.
Although Japan did enter into war against Germany in World War I, no popular war song was composed in this period.

In Part One of this section, the researcher examined the historical and social background of each period in relation to the songs written. It is followed in Part Two by supportive statistical analysis.

PART ONE

**Historical Analysis**

(A) **EARLY MEIJI AND SINO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD, 1868-95**

The researcher scrutinized thirteen of Japan's earliest war songs listed below in a chronological order. The first and third songs were written about domestic wars. Original Japanese titles are given in parentheses following unofficial English translations.

**Samples**

(1) "Your Highness" *(Miya-san, Miya-san)*

(2) "Pacification of the Nation" *(Kuni no Shizume)*

(3) "A Band With Drawn Swords" *(Batto-tai)*

(4) "Defense of the Empire" *(Kokoku no Mamori)*
(5) "If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands" (Teki wa Ikuman)

(6) "The Way is 680 Ri" (Michi wa Roppaku-Hachiju-Ri)

(7) "Mongolian Invasion" (Genko)

(8) "Camp of Formation Under the Moon" (Gekka no Jin)

(9) "Triumphal Return" (Gaisen)

(10) "Song of Military Nurses" (Fuji Jugun-ka)

(11) "A Brave Sailor" (Yukan-naru Suihe)

(12) "Patriotic Song of Triumphal Return" (Gaisen Gunka)

(13) "March on Snow" (Yuki no Shingun)

What is generally known as the first Japanese patriotic war song is "Your Highness." It is about an 1868 war between the advocates of the Emperor (Satsuma, Choolu and Tosa clansmen) and the "rebels" who supported the shogunate. The title in the song is in reference to Prince Arisugawa, leader of the expedition team.

Around 1880, the Army and Navy composed several songs that were used for ceremonies and rites, including "Pacification of the Nation" and "Your Reign" (Kimigayo, national anthem).

The first war song that sounded more like latter-day versions is "A Band with Drawn Swords" which was first performed by the Army Band in July, 1885, at the Rokumeikan Hall in Tokyo, about the only Western-style social gathering place of those days. The music was composed by Frenchman
Charles Leroux, an Army Band instructor. It was in reference to a civil war in 1877, in which the leader of the rebels was Takamori Saigo, a former Army general.

"A Band With Drawn Swords"

We are the Imperial Army,
And our enemy
Is the Emperor's enemy
Never to be pardoned by Heaven,
The enemy general is a hero
Unequalled in bravery
And his men are intrepid
And fearless of death,
But since time immemorial,
Plotter of treason
Condemned by Heaven
Never saw prospering times

In the above song, rebel leader Saigo, who was popular with the public, is given such labels as a "hero unequalled in bravery" and his soldiers are called "intrepid and fearless of death" and "having dauntless courage."

In the 1880's, there were many diplomatic clashes between Japan and China. The troubles centered on Korea, whose colonization was sought by Japan against China's efforts to protect their own rights there. With the Japanese leaders wishing to unify the domestic opinion by stressing the antagonistic relations with China, the war against the then powerful neighbor was considered inevitable.

Between 1881 and 1892, many songs that envisaged China as a hypothetical enemy were composed, including "Defense of
the Empire," "If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands," and "The Way is 680 Ri." (One ri is equivalent to 2.5 miles.) They were all designed to arouse hostility against China.

Subtle suggestions of a war against China were included in "Formation of Camp Under the Moon," which portrayed a winter bivouac on a "vast plain away from home."

Less subtly, "Mongolian Invasion" referred to the invasion attempts on southwestern Japan and subsequent loss of the Mongols in 1281, thereby implanting in the people the idea that the Chinese are vulnerable and that Japan is always protected by the "divine wind."

References to the enemy in this particular song include "barbarians," "conceited and rude," "cannot live (with the enemy) under the same sky," and "Heaven is ired, and in the midst of surging billows, more than 100,000 Mongols who attempted invasion of our country, were sent to the bottom of the sea, excepting for three."

Distinct among the series of anti-Chinese war songs is "Triumphal Return," written in 1892, two years before the Sino-Japanese War in anticipation of a victory against an unnamed country. This song, however, retained its popularity after the war was over, too. It goes like this:
"Triumphant Return"

How joyous, how pleasing to win a war,
Our foe for hundreds and thousands
Of years is all gone,
How joyous, how pleasing
To achieve this victory,
Let's sing, let's celebrate this victory!

Also to be noted in the songs of the same period is the lack of concreteness in words intended to increase hostility, understandably because of the absence of actual war experiences. For instance, "Defense of the Empire" goes as follows:

"Defense of the Empire"

Go fighting, go fighting
Let us defend the Empire
The surging enemy may be numerous in number,
But don't be afraid of them,
Don't be afraid,
Do not retreat even if you die,
For the Empire and
For the Emperor

Elsewhere in the song, death is encouraged through these passages: "Now is the time for those who have Yamato spirit to die. Don't disgrace yourself by procrastinating," "If death is for loyalty and if death is worthy, it will not be regretted," and "Now I am about to die for the Emperor and for the nation. To cast away is life. If the body should perish, the honor of dying for loyalty will long remain in worlds to
The third stanza of "If the Enemy" reads as follows:

"If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands"

It is a national shame to lose and retreat,
It is a personal honor to advance and die,
Better die in the attempt
Than remain idle
It is not the way of samurai to die on tatami*
Warrior's probity will be proven
When his body is kicked under hoofs
And left weather-beaten,
Why should the enemy be feared?

*straw mat

Japan's militarization further progressed after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, and the subsequent periods saw the emergence of a great number of songs like "A Brave Sailor" that eulogized brave or suicidal conducts by war heroes.

The typical epic, "A Brave Sailor" is about the 1894 Battle of Yellow Sea, in which the 4,300-ton Japanese flagship Matsushima was bombarded by a 30-inch gun of the 7,000-ton Chinese warship Teien (Chinese name, Ting-yuan), causing some 80 casualties. In the course of the sea battle, Seaman Torajiro Miura, though seriously wounded, asked Comdr. Shinkichi Mukoyama "if Teien had yet sunk" moments before his death.
The eight-stanza song moralizes that, "although the seaman's last utterance was short, it will long be remembered by the people who are deeply concerned about their country."
The following is a news article, upon which this story was built.

"In this sea battle, a certain sailor suffered injuries at more than a dozen spots on his body, his face was burned and was having difficulty breathing. Seeing Comdr. Mukoyama pass by, however, he addressed the commander, and made painful efforts to ask if Teien had sunk. Comdr. Mukoyama replied, 'Don't worry. We have already destroyed the ship to the extent it can no longer fire, and now we are going to launch our attack on Chin-en (Chin-yuang). The sailor smiled and said, 'Please get a revenge on them' before he passed away."

(Jiji Shimpo, October 6, 1894)

Japanese war songs written during the Sino-Japanese War included humane factors, however. In four stanzas, "Marching on Snow" expressed the following sentiment: In the enemy land, the war is difficult to pursue and the supply is scarce; it is probably not possible to live to see the homeland again.

This spoke for the depressed feeling of the soldiers. On the grounds of "demoralizing effect," this song was banned with the start of the Pacific War later. Even the official order, nevertheless, could not prevent the servicemen from singing it covertly.

Another song that has a humanitarian overtone is "Song of Military Nurses." This is about Red Cross nurses who "stretch out white slender hands to wash the flowing blood and
place bandages, with the sleeves of their white uniforms stained in red, as they give kind treatment not only to our soldiers but to enemy soldiers who do not understand the language."

The Sino-Japanese War started in August, 1894, and came to an end by the surrender of China's fleet in February of the following year. The Shimonoseki Treaty was signed on April 17, 1895. Japan, keeping the superior position over China, took a step closer toward colonization of Korea and the invasion of the vast Chinese continent that lay behind it.

Japan's victory established it among the ranks of the great powers. The Japanese were jubilant over this first victory over a foreign power, which was considered a powerful "sleeping lion." The songs about the triumph (although one was composed before the war) are included in this period. The second song was written by Gen. Maresuke Nogi, a hero of the Russo-Japanese War.

Many of the songs of this era were sung till the end of the Pacific War. Especially, "If the Enemy" was used before Army-related announcements of war achievements released by the Imperial Headquarters during the Pacific War.
(B) RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD, 1870-1914

The period leading to and following the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) produced a great number of crude songs that depicted victorious battles and self-sacrificing conduct of war heroes. In comparison with the number of songs written in this period, however, few songs remained because of their quality (p. 26, *Nippon Gunka*). Twelve of them are listed here for analysis.

**Samples**

(14) "Warship" (*Gunkan*)

(15) "Parting at Sakurai" (*Sakurai no Ketsubetsu*)

(16) "Comdr. Hirose" (*Hirose Chusa*)

(17) "Japanese Navy" (*Nippon Kaigun*)

(18) "Lt. Col. Tachibana" (*Tachibana Chusa*)

(19) "Japanese Army" (*Nippon Pikgun*)

(20) "Battle Near Mukden" (*Hoten Fukin no Kaisen*)

(21) "Triumphal Return" (*Gaisen*)

(22) "War Comrade" (*Senyu*)

(23) "Encounter at Shuishiying" (*Suishiie no Kaiken*)

(24) "Song of Infantrymen" (*Hohei no Uta*)

(25) "Battle of Japan Sea" (*Nippon-kai Kaisen*)
The Russo-Japanese War broke out in February, 1904, as a showdown between the newly emerging capitalist country, Japan, and czarist Russia over the control of Manchuria. The war produced several heroes.

To undermine the function of Port Arthur, at which the major portion of Russian fleet was berthed, the Japanese Navy chose to sink old vessels at its mouth. Three suicidal campaigns were carried out to blockade the port. Eighty-two Japanese servicemen died in the series of operations. They were not successful in completely blocking it, but scared the enemy and enhanced the morale of the Japanese men-at-arms.

Comdr. Takeo Hirose, who had also taken part in the first operation, died in the second attempt on March 27, 1904. According to a popular story, he was about to blow up an old vessel when a torpedo from an enemy destroyer killed one of his men, Petty Officer First Class Magoshichi Sugino. (Nippon Gunka, p. 140, maintains that Sugino had fainted because of injuries and was later captured and made prisoner by the Russians. Perhaps, this fact was concealed, since it was the worst thing for Japanese military personnel to be captured alive.)

Not knowing this, Comdr. Hirose, who had moved on to a rescue boat, returned to the sinking vessel three times to search for him. In despair not having found Sugino, Comdr. Hirose finally went back to the boat when an enemy bullet hit
him.

The song praises the sacrificial behavior and concern of the commander for his subordinate man.

"Comdr. Hirose"

Roaring guns and flying bullets,
On the deck washed by raging waves,
Heard is the cry of the commander,
Piercing through the darkness
"Where is Sugino?"
"Is Sugino here?"

In a battle near Liao-yang (south of Mukden) on August 31, 1904, Lt. Col Shuta Tachibana died a "glorious death" (all deaths in action were modified by the adjective "glorious" in Japanese military announcements) and joined the ranks of gunshin (war heroes) together with Navy Comdr. Hirose. Brandishing a Japanese sword at the war front, he killed enemy soldiers despite injuries received all over his body, before he finally succumbed to an enemy bullet.

Lt. Col. Tachibana's last moments are depicted in thirty-two stanzas, the longest epic known to exist about wars. This length represents the high public esteem toward the officer, but the people of the Meiji era, who were used to listening to gidayu and shinnai (forms of ballad drama) for hours, generally enjoyed singing and listening to lengthy epical songs. It takes fifteen minutes to perform this song in
full, not including the prelude.

However, with the ever-increasing tempo of society, the long epics went out of fashion. Also related to the shrinking length of songs is the shift in the poetic style of the songs from epic to lyric. Gunka to Nippon-jin comments:

"Almost all early war songs were epics, in which the state of war was described in a concrete narrative form. As the time went by, however, the motifs present in the war songs were narrowed down almost exclusively to the enhancement of hostility and morale, thus resulting in the transition in the poetic form of the songs from epic to lyric. This is also related to the attitude of record companies, who since early Showa period (around 1925) put more emphasis on lyrics, on the basis of the fact that the single unit of recording time was three minutes." (p. 127)

Perhaps as great a hero in the Russo-Japanese War was Gen. Nogi, engineer of the Japanese attack on the fortress at Port Arthur, which the Russians boasted as the firmest in the Orient. The fortress was fell in January, 1905, at the cost of 59,000 Japanese casualties and five months of war efforts.

Following the seizure of the fortress, Gen. Nogi met with the enemy leader, Lt. Gen. A. M. Stoessel at Shushihying. In "Encounter at Shushihying," the Russian general is depicted as a courageous and fair fighter. The song says, "yesterday's foe is today's friend," and "In a candid conversation, I praised his defense, and he praised our bravery."

Interestingly enough, however, the Encyclopaedia Britannica refers to him as a "man not only grossly incompetent,
but also corrupt (who) sent out the white flag without reference to his officers." (Russo-Japanese War)

The image of the enemy during this period is remarkably high. Instances of other favorable references to the enemy also are found in "Battle of Japan Sea," in which the enemy is given such an adjective as "gallant." The second stanza of "Lt. Col. Tachibana" reads:

"Lt. Col. Tachibana"

To assail Japan's highly trained three forces,
The enemy general was gallantly determined
And recruited 200,000 soldiers, well fortified
And prepared for a battle,
So we hear

The Russo-Japanese War was a contest for the control of a colony between the two countries and was not an invasion on the part of the either power. So Japan could afford the luxury of applauding the enemy. It fought knowing its military and economic inferiority to the Russians, and so it was able to maintain its respect of the enemy.

Perhaps the most famous of all songs in this era is "War Comrade." The fourteen-stanza epic depicts the death of a friend on the battlefield. It was banned after the Manchuria Incident for "demoralizing effect" and "violation of military code." The story goes as follows:

- 34 -
"Hundreds of miles away from home, under the red evening sun of Manchuria, my war comrade sleeps in the wilderness below a stone. It is sad to think of him leading the attacks and troubling the enemy only until yesterday. Here the courageous warrior lies.

"In the midst of the battle, my comrade suddenly fell. Despite myself, I ran up to him. Although the military code strictly prohibits this, how can anyone overlook this? With words of encouragement, I lifted the upper part of his body and applied first-aid dressing in the midst of the rain of bullets.

"As the battle cry rose then, my friend finally raised his head and said, with tears in his eyes, 'Don't be late. Don't care for me. You have duties for the country.' I felt reluctant to leave, but I shouldn't be reluctant to fight. I bade him farewell, but little did I know that it was farewell for good.

"When the fighting ended and it became dark, I went back searching for him, praying that he be alive, that he would say something. In vain, his soul had returned home. It was all the more sad that his watch was ticking in his pocket.

"In retrospect, when the boat left the port last year and we could no longer see the country, we shook hands and introduced ourselves on the Sea of Genkai. That was our first encounter. After that, we shared cigarettes and showed letters to each other we had received.

"We used to say to each other that we might die any day and if one of us should die, the other would take care of his remains. Little did I dream that I would survive my friend and dig a hole for him under the red evening sun of Manchuria.

"The moon is bright. I pick up a pen and write a heartfelt letter about his last moments to his parents. The pen writes slowly but thinking of his parents' feeling as they read the letter by a lantern, I shed a tear drop on the letter."

Two other epics describing battle scenes are "Battle Near Mukden" and "Battle of Japan Sea."

"Japanese Navy" proudly praises the defense power of
Japan, and in this song all the names of Japanese warships are included. This makes the meaning not too significant, but through this song the school children memorized the names of war vessels.

On the other hand, "Japanese Army" is a ten-stanza narrative description devoted to departure for the front, of scouts, engineers, gunners, infantrymen, horse soldiers, transport soldiers, medics, and their triumphal return, and final peace. This song, stressing justice, was often sung when sending out soldiers to the front. Here is the first stanza:

"Japanese Army"

To punish the injustice in the place of Heaven,
Our soldiers, unequalled in bravery,
Are about to leave the country of their parents,
In the midst of a hearty send-off,
Brave are they to pledge no return
If they secure no victory

"Warship" portrays the gallant figure of the warship floating on the sea, and the determination of the military men who are willing to die in defense of their own country. The Navy made it a rule to perform the song at naval reviews and at the time a warship leaves or enters a port. During the Pacific War, it was used as the theme music of Navy news of war achievements. (It later surprised the Japanese when
the United States occupation forces, which had banned all patriotic songs after the war, played "Warship" and praised it as an outstanding war march.)

Exhausted financially and fearing a long-drawn-out war, the Japanese asked U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt to arrange mediation to end the Russo-Japanese War. The peace treaty was signed on September 5, 1905, at Portsmouth, Va.

(C) MANCHURIA INCIDENT PERIOD, 1928-38

In World War I, Japan declared war against Germany in August, 1915, and occupied the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana islands. The victory was an easy one, and because of the domestic war-procurement and shipping booms, the Japanese found it unnecessary to stress self-sacrifice and bravery in war songs. Hence, few patriotic war songs and certainly no popular war songs were written between 1915 and 1927.

The Manchuria Incident Period, in which equal numbers of epics and lyrics are recorded, saw the transition from long narrative songs to shorter and more militant propaganda-oriented lyrics. For the first time, two songs about the "home front" are included. Thirteen songs were analyzed for this period.
Samples
(26) "Wild Cherry Flowers Glowing in the Morning Sun" (Asahi ni Nio Sakurabana)
(27) "March" (Shingun)
(28) "Three Human Bombs" (Bakudan San-yushi)
(29) "Subjugation of Chinese Rebels" (Tohiko)
(30) "Song of Bivouac" (Roiei no Uta)
(31) "Patriotic March" (Aikoku Koshin-kyoku)
(32) "Sea Faring" (Umi Yukaba)
(33) "Song of the Wild Eagles" (Arawashi no Uta)
(34) "Rising Sun March" (Hinomaru Koshin-kyoku)
(35) "Flowers of Patriotism" (Aikoku no Hana)
(36) "A Letter from Shanghai" (Shanhai Dayori)
(37) "Mother of the Empire" (Kokoku no Haha)
(38) "Barley and Soldiers" (Mugi to Heitai)

The severe blow of the Depression was felt in Japan in 1930, and unemployment soared rapidly. The government started a full-scale invasion of the Chinese continent, thereby unifying the domestic opinion through war policies, gaining new colonies, and finding a breakthrough in the extended war in China. The primary target was Manchuria. It was under such circumstances that the Manchuria Incident was sparked off in 1931.

One of the earlier songs of this period is "March,"
which was the theme music of a Shochiku movie of the same title. It goes as follows:

"March"

Warriors of the country of the Rising Sun
Are about to go into the battlefield,
Flags wave in the wind and the blood dances,
As cheering voices and bugles are heard

If the battle is not won,
we shall not return alive
To the country of our parents,
we shall come back dead
If no distinguished services are made

The war soon spread to Shanghai. The Chinese put up a tenacious defense against the Japanese and the first full-scale suicidal campaign method was employed. Three soldiers, said to be delinquents, died in the attempt to break through the enemy line on February 22, 1933, with a live bomb attached to their bodies. A newspaper account of this incident follows:

"...The Chinese had installed a major barbed-wire wall. Privates Ozaki, Kitagawa, Eshita, Sakue, Sakai, and Kakita of the Kurume battalion successfully attacked the barbed wire carrying bombs with them, thereby achieving the initial purpose. In this attempt, Eshita, Kitagawa and Sakue finally died glorious deaths." (Noochi Shimbut, February, 1933)

In reality, it was suspected of an accident in the ignition system; however, the story was beautified in various patriotic songs that won newspaper contests, and the privates were posthumously promoted to corporals. This story was later
introduced into grammar school textbooks as an instance of utmost bravery and altruism and taught blind loyalty to the schoolchildren in the Pacific War era, thus forming a moral pillar for the kamikaze suicidal attackers.

The Asahi, Mainichi, and Hochi newspapers invited the public to compose songs on this theme, and the Mainichi song became the most popular.

This is the period Japan's air troopers started making some achievements, but the main emphasis in the war on the continent was still the infantrymen.

To propagandize the Chinese army as a "criminal gang," they were called hizoku (rebels). "Subjugation of Chinese Rebels" is the song of Japanese soldiers who fought the difficult guerrilla warfare against the Chinese. This song pictured soldiers who marched two days without anything to eat or who placed flowers on the bodies of dead enemy soldiers. Later with the turn of the tide of the war against Japan, this song, too, was banned.

"Song of Bivouac" was a great hit that sold 600,000 records in six months after its announcement. This song was selected in a nation-wide Mainichi Shimbun contest. According to Gunka de Miru Nippon Senso-shi (p. 31), this was a runner-up and the winning entry was a marching song. The two songs were placed on both sides of a record but the runner-up became more popular for its sad and melancholy tune. The entire song goes
as follows:

"Song of Bivouac"

Gallantly I left the country,
Fledging to win a victory,
So how can I die without distinguishing myself?
Every time I hear the bugle
I can visualize the waves of flags

The earth, grass and trees are ablaze,
Marching on the endless plain
Are the Rising Sun and helmets
Patting the mane of the horse,
No one knows our life tomorrow.

Bullets, tanks and bayonets
Are pillows for a nap at bivouac,
Appearing in a dream,
Father encourages me to come home dead,
I wake up and flare at enemy skies

To think of it, in today's battle,
Lying in a pool of blood,
My war comrade smiled and said,
"Long live the Emperor" before he died,
How can I forget his voice?

I have been prepared to face death
Once I go onto the battlefield,
So don't you cry for me, grasshoppers,
If for the sake of peace in the Orient,
Why should I hold my life dear?

The Cabinet Information Bureau, which was formed in late 1937 for the unifications of the national thought, invited the public to write a new kind of patriotic song that could become a "second national anthem." Of more than 57,000 entries, a song by a 23-year-old youth from Tottori in western Japan was selected (p. 222, *Nippon Gunka*). Title:
"Patriotic March," the recorded song was released from Columbia, Victor, King, Teichiku, Polydor, and Taihei companies and sold an unprecedented one million copies. This song was sung not only in sending soldiers to battlefields but at ceremonies and gatherings at schools and companies.

"Patriotic March"

Lo, the skies of Eastern Sea have dawned,
The Morning Sun glows high,
The spirit of the earth and heaven is bright,
Hopes hover on the Japanese archipelago,
In the midst of bright morning clouds,
The figure of Mt. Fuji is perfect and majestic,
It is the pride of Japan.

In November, 1937, the Kono Cabinet launched upon the "National Spirit Emphasizing Week," and as a part of it the Cabinet announced a one-stanza song based on a poem written by Iemochi Otomo and contained in Manyoshu (Japan's oldest collection of odes written in the eighth century A.D.) and composed by a Tokyo School of Music instructor.

It was used as the theme music for "death for honor" news during World War II; it expresses the determination of the people to die together with the Emperor. (In December, 1943, it was decreed that this song, titled "Sea Faring," be sung at all public meetings.

Since this period, newspapers played a part in announcing patriotic war songs with the support of government agencies.
Public contests of war songs were, of course, connected with the expansion of circulation. "Rising Sun March" which sold 150,000 copies was a winning entry in a contest sponsored by the Osaka Mainichi and Tokyo Nichinichi newspapers.

Two songs were made about female noncombatants at the home front: "Flowers of Patriotism" and "Mother of the Empire." (Indonesia's late President Sukarno was said to have liked "Flowers of Patriotism" and translated it into his own language.) Having to accept the death of a soldier as an utmost honor, a woman was not allowed to weep at the death of her loved ones. The following are the first stanza of "Flowers of Patriotism," and "Mother of the Empire" in its entirety.

"Flowers of Patriotism"

With the purity of snow-capped Mt. Fuji
As a strong mental shield,
Women who contribute to the nation.
Are wild cherry trees of the glorious reign,
They are flowers of the nation glowing on earth

"Mother of the Empire"

Hearty cheers and waves of flags,
The voice said, "Take care,"
This is the last letter from the battlefield,
Today, too, I hear the bugle afar
Yes, it was rainy that day,
The boy was sleeping on my back,
with my shoulder as the pillow,
But his tears glistened on the cheek

"I wish your safe return," I said,
But you replied heroically,
"I shall see you in April next year
Under the cherry trees of the Yasukuni Shrine"

If for the cause of peace in the Orient,
Why should I cry?
For the nation you died,
And as your keepsake, I will
Make a fine man out of our boy

(D) PRE-PACIFIC WAR PERIOD, 1939-41

Navy-related songs increased in this period as the
government directed the attention of the people to the
Pacific. The valiant melodies of marches heralded the
imminent war. Thirteen war songs were analyzed.

Samples
(39) "Courageous Men of the Sky" (Sora no Yushi)
(40) "March of Beloved Horse" (Aiba Shingun-ka)
(41) "Pacific March" (Taiheiyō Koshinkyoku)
(42) "Father, You Were Strong" (Chichi yo Anata wa Tsuyokatta)
(43) "Thanks to Soldiers" (Heitai-san yo Arigato)
(44) "A Mother at Kudan" (Kudan no Haha)
(45) "Military Ditty" (Guntai Xouta)
(46) "Burning Skies" (Moyuru Ozora)
(47) "People's March" (Kokumin Shingunka)
(48) "Praying at Dawn" (Akatsuki ni Inoru)
(49) "Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Friday" (Gatsu, Gatsu, Ka, Sui, Moku, Kin, Kin)
(50) "Danchone" (Danchone Bushi)
(51) "March on the Sea" (Umi no Shingun)

War slogans cried, "Think of the ordeals of the officers and soldiers" and "Be prepared for a drawn-out war." Two songs were written along this line: "Thanks to Soldiers" and "Father, You Were Strong." Both are winning entries in Asahi Shimbun contests.

"Thanks to Soldiers"

Today I can go to school,
Shoulder by shoulder with my brother,
Thanks to the soldiers
Who fought for the nation

At meal-time in the evening
Family members can engage in a pleasant chat,
Thanks to the soldiers
Who were wounded for the nation

- 45 -
"Father, You Were Strong"

Father, you were strong,  
Under the scorching heat that melts the helmets,  
You slept with enemy corpses,  
Drank muddy water and ate grass,  
Marching on the wild mountains and across rivers  
For thousands of ri.  
Thanks for destroying the enemy

The second through fourth stanzas of the latter song praise the courage and hard efforts of husbands, brothers, friends, and children as fighting men. Through these songs the yearning for the military and professional military men was nurtured in young Japanese boys.

Since this period, the major emphasis in the war efforts was shifting from the Army to Navy Air Corp. "Courageous Men of the Sky" was a winning work selected in December, 1939, by the Yomiuri Shimbun in a contest supported by the Army Department.

"Courageous Men of the Sky"

Getting the Imperial gift cigarettes,  
On the night I decide to die the following day,  
Even the wind of the wilderness smells of blood,  
At the enemy sky I glare, where a couple of stars twinkle

"Pacific March" was announced in May, 1939, when the invasion of Manchuria deadlocked and the war-weary feelings
prevailed in Japan. It was selected by the Mainichi Shimbun with the support of the Navy Department on the occasion of the institution of the Sea Memorial Day (May 27—the day Japan scored a major victory against the Russian fleet on Japan Sea).

The diffusion of maritime thought had been lagging since the Navy was stationed in coastal areas, but with the announcement of this song, the people’s attention was directed from the Chinese continent to the Pacific.

"Pacific March"

All sea people and all men
Have had the longing once
To navigate in high spirits
On the Black Current of the Pacific
Now the day has come,
Our blood boils with joy

As the result of the Washington Naval conference in 1923, the Japanese Navy accepted the distribution of navy war vessel tonnage at the rate of five for the United States, five for Great Britain, and three for Japan. On the same day, it was resolved that the lesser tonnage would be supplemented by the quality and spiritual power of the Navy personnel, if Japan should ever go into a war against the two foreign powers. Hard grueling training without any holidays started. "Monday, Monday" characterizes such a rigid Navy
life. It was announced in the fall of 1940, but did not receive much attention till the outbreak of the Pacific War (p. 156, Nippon Gunka).

"Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Friday"

'Tis the morning, 'tis the dawn,  
The tanned chests inhale the breath of tide,  
It is full of pride of a man of the sea  
Working at the fleet  
Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Friday

"Burning Skies" was the theme song of a Toho film of the same title released in September, 1940, about Navy fliers. "Marching on the Sea" was also selected by the Yomiuri Shimbun and the Navy Department in a public contest.

In 1939, the Army wanted to spread the idea that the horse is an important weapon in the war on the continent. Mechanization had not been completed and Japan was suffering from the shortage of gasoline, as illustrated by the popular war-time slogan: "A drop of gasoline is a drop of blood."

To encourage the increased production of horses, the Army Department invited the public to send in songs about military horses. The following is the winning piece.
"March of Beloved Horse"

It's been several months since we left the country,
Determined to die together with this horse,
We marched across mountains and rivers,
We understand each other through the bridle.

Another great hit of this period was "Praying at Dawn,"
the theme song of a 1940 Shochiku movie of the same title,
which was also promoted by the Army Department.

Two GI songs are included in this period, literally,
the first one translates as a "heart-breaking son." It
portrays the devil-may-care attitude of the Navy fliers who
faced death any moment.

"Danchone"

Neither sea gulls in the offing nor fliers
Know where they die,
Where they perish.

When I die, I will wave a handkerchief
To my friend and to my sweetheart,
Sayonara*

Bullets are flying and the mast has broken
Now is the time
To die.

When I die, I will gather devils
At River Styx
And will wrestle with them

"No flier is to marry my daughter"
But the girl wants to go with me
Go with me.
"No flier into marry my daughter
Today's bride will be
Tomorrow's widow

*Japanese for goodbye

"Military Ditty"

Clinging to the military sword on the hip,
"Take me wherever you are going," she says,
"I would like to,
But no woman is allowed on fighters (destroyers, etc)"

"If no woman is allowed on fighters,
I will cut the long black hair
To be disguised as a man and will
Follow you wherever you are going."

(E) PACIFIC WAR PERIOD, 1941-45

This final historical period produced many war songs
oriented toward the Navy and emphasizing the spiritual
strength and sacrifice to win the "holy" war. At the same
time, abhorrence of the war and of the military life is
mentioned in GI songs. A great number of war songs were
written in this period under strict military censorship, but
people no longer reacted to all of the propaganda-filled
government-backed songs.
Samples

(52) "Zundoko" (Zundoko Bushi)
(53) "Darling Su" (Kawaii Su-chan)
(54) "Great East Asia War Navy Song" (Daitō Senso Kaigun no Uta)
(55) "Great Sea Battle of Hawaii" (Hawai Dai Kaisen)
(56) "Rabaul Ditty" (Rabauru Kouta)
(57) "With the Ashes of a War Comrade in my Hands" (Senyu no Ikotsu o Daite)
(58) "Divine Fighters of the Sky" (Sora no Shimpei)
(59) "Kato 'Duck Hawk' Air Squad" (Kato Hayabusa Sento-tai)
(60) "Song of Young Eagles" (Wakawashi no Uta)
(61) "Rabaul Navy Air Corp" (Rabauru Kaigun Kokutai)
(62) "Instant Sinking" (Gochin)
(63) "Ah, the Red Blood Boils" (Aa Kurenai no Chi wa Moyuru)
(64) "Till the Day of Victory" (Shori no Ki made)
(65) "Cherry Trees of the Same Class" (Doki no Sakura)

The Pacific War started with Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 (December 8 in Japan), 1941. The whole nation went jubilant by the news of the initial war achievements against the United States. The Japan Times on the "day of infamy" carried the following dispatch.
"The Navy Department of the Imperial Headquarters at 11 a.m. today announced to the effect that the Japanese Navy planes this morning conducted bombings on the air and military establishments in Hawaii.

"The Japanese Army and Navy entered into a state of war with the United States and British forces in the western Pacific at dawn today, it was announced by the Army Department and the Navy Department of the Imperial Headquarters at 6 a.m. today."

"Great Sea Battle of Hawaii" is outstanding among the numerous songs written about the Pearl Harbor attack.

"Great Sea Battle of Hawaii"

Two suns do not shine in the sky,  
How can the Stars and Stripes outshine?  
Acting on the Imperial mandate,  
Dashing toward this battle like the wind,  
Ten thousand ri away in the Pacific  
with the destination as Hawaii's Pearl Harbor

Who could have thought  
Of the dream-interrupting bombing at dawn?  
Lo, breaking through the clouds  
with roaring thunder,  
The Sea Eagles launch the attack  
Submarines draw nearer

The radio played an important role in popularizing these songs, as they were repeatedly broadcast at the beginning of news broadcasts about war achievements, which were greatly magnified toward the end of the war. Now the major emphasis in the Pacific theater definitely shifted to air and sea battles. This has given rise to songs related to the Navy and Navy Air Corp. "Great East Asia War Navy Song,"
written by an Asahi Shimbun man, also pertained to the Pearl Harbor attack.

"Great East Asia War Navy Song"

Look up at the memorable Z-flag*
Flying up on the mast
The time has come
And the mandate has been received,
On the morning of December 8,
The Stars and Stripes was broken first
Giant vessels were damaged and sunken

*meaning, "The rise and fall of the empire depends on the outcome of this battle. Everybody, do your best." First used in the Battle of Japan Sea.

Other Navy-oriented songs of this period included

"Divine Fighters of the Sky," "Kato 'Duck Hawk' Air Squad,"
"Song of Young Eagles," and "Rabaul Navy Air Corp." For the first time, a submarine song was written:

"Instant Sinking"

Loaded with darling torpedos,
The blue bananas have ripened yellow,
In the womanless household,
Everybody behaves as he is,
Beards and whiskers grow
On unshaven faces

Steering the course westward
In the midst of spray of water
Standing on watch
When can we come across our first game?
Today's drawing to an end,
The crew is itching for an action
Made on the occasion of the fall of Singapore on February 15, 1942, is "With the Ashes of a War Comrade in My Hands."

"With the Ashes of a War Comrade in My Hands"

Wishing to be the first rider in a charge,
My war comrade has gone,
I now enter the morning streets of Singapore,
with his ashes in my hands

GI songs in this era reflected increased weariness toward the war. Especially, "Darling Su" explicitly expressed the strong abhorrence of the military life.

"Darling Su"

In the name of service to the country,
Some are foolish enough to enlist
In the military that everybody else hates,
After a tearful farewell with Su

Awakened early in the morning
To do scrubbing and cleaning,
Dislikeable superior officers make the day
Tough for you,
Spent in tears, how long each day seems

Without so much as a time to take
A bite at crackers,
"Lights out" sounds,
A five-foot bed and straw bedding
This is our bed of dreams

Awakened in the middle of the night,
You must keep a night watch,
If you should fall into a doze,
You must go to the cell
Far removed by seas and mountains,
There is no one to visit you,
How glad it is to receive a letter
From darling Su

A parody of this song, sung by the inmates of Tokyo's Nerima Juvenile Penitentiary (known as Nerikan), became popular in the early 1960's and it was made into a record with the title "Nerikan Blues." The delinquents found the circumstances of World War II servicemen similar to theirs.

In this period, a parody of "A Band With Drawn Swords" was made along the line of the war-time policy. It was repeatedly played on the radio.

We are the people, and our enemy
Is luxury never to be pardoned by Heaven,
The enemy general is self-centered egoism
And his foolish men are
Leisured women and dandy men
But since time immemorial, no one has seen
Prospering times for engaging in pleasure,
Not allowed in view of the current circumstances

With the progress of the war, poets were forced to write patriotic morale-boosting songs, but they were not allowed to refer to humanitarian or poetic sentiments. The main thing was to divert the fear and attention of the people from the sad news of deaths and retreat through the singing of gallant tunes.

During the war, some eighty songs were written (Gunka de
Miru Nippon Senso-shi) under strict government censorship, but they were not too successful. People rather elected to sing only a few of them, while covert GI songs and other songs of previous wars, that were officially banned by government order, retained their popularity.

In 1944, the government adopted the Student Mobilization Law, and to supplement the shortage of plant workers, senior students, including girl students, were ordered to work at plants engaged in war production, instead of attending school. The following is a song about such students, recommended by the War Procurement Department.

"Ah, the Red Blood Boils"
Young cherry trees in buds,
It is the honor of the students to serve
Their country at a time of crisis,
With their whole body,
Ah, the red blood boils

"Follow me," brother's voice is heard,
Now is the time for all courageous men
To cast away the pen
And engage in the production
Sure to bring about victory!

As the year 1944 wore on, victory seemed more and more remote, but with false news of war achievements, the militant government continued to fool people and led them to believe that the day of victory was not far away. The next song was written at such a time.
"Till the Day of Victory"

Our eyes looking up
At the Rising Sun flag
Waving on the hill
Are filling with tears of appreciation,
The fire in our hearts start kindling,
We will fight to the best of our strength,
Till the day of victory,
Till the day of victory

"Cherry Trees of the Same Class" is the last of the popular war songs written in 1945 before Japan's surrender on August 15. Only two other songs are known to have been composed in the last year of the Pacific War—"Thus Kamikaze Blows" (Kakute Kamikaze wa Fuku) and "Song of Sure Victory" (Hisshoka). The titles indicate the last and vain hope of a victory. No victory, however, is hoped for in "Cherry Trees of the Same Class," but only the determination of the youths to die gloriously when the time comes for them to do so.

"Cherry Trees of the Same Class"

You and I are cherry trees of the same class,
Blooming on the compound of the naval school,
Once the flowers are in bloom, they must fall some day,
Let them fall brilliantly for the sake of the nation

You and I are cherry trees of the same class,
Blooming on the compound of the naval school
We did not share our blood and flesh,
But we find it hard to part from each other
You and I are cherry trees of the same class,
Should we fall separately,
Let us meet on a spring branch
At Yasukuni Shrine in the capital city

PART TWO

Statistical Analysis

Here is an analysis of the seven major reoccurring
themes and the direction, in which F means favorable, N
means neutral, and U means unfavorable.

1 Hostility

The Japanese phrase "sending salt to the enemy"
originated from a sixteenth-century story of a feudal war
lord near the sea who, in the midst of hostilities, sent salt
to his antagonists up on the mountain. This story represented
the idea of "fair play" in Japan. The Japanese have always
showed respect and integrity to the enemy that fought well--
as long as the Japanese were winning. Toward the end of
the series of wars, the Japanese abused the Allies as "devils
and beasts." In reference to the United States and Great
Britain, they invented special ideographs (秣,犘)--conventional
Chinese characters representing the U.S. (秣) and Britain (犘),
modified by the symbol (ά), meaning beast. One of the war-
time slogans said, "Down with the U.S. and Britain--Devils and

- 58 -
Beasts" (Kichiku Bei-Hi).

F: all items praising the enemy or enemy courage, recognizing justice for the enemy, references to equal treatment for enemy soldiers, and sympathizing with the enemy

N: all factual statements about the enemy or enemy strength

U: all items attacking, condemning, criticizing or finding fault with the enemy, ideas that the "unjust" will never prosper or that the enemy is weak and is without courage, and description about the loss or powerlessness of the enemy

2 Emperor

Soldiers are said to have often used the battle cry "Tenno Heika Banzai!" (Long Live the Emperor) in go-for-broke banzai attacks. A living deity whose ancestry is directly traceable to the first emperor-deity Jinmu (who legendarily mounted the throne in 660 B.C.), he was often modified by the adjective bansei-ikkei (a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal). In the military his name always had to be pronounced at the position of "attention."

F: all items eulogizing or praising the Emperor, statements "for the sake of the Emperor" or "long live the Emperor," all references to the Emperor
with favorable adjectives (e.g., bansei-ikkai, benevolent), stress on loyalty

N: all factual statements about the Emperor without favorable adjectives and about his symbols (e.g., cypress Imperial crest, Emperor's flag)

U: all items negating the Emperor

3 Death

To die on the battlefield ranked high in public esteem. Since a loyal death was to be praised, a mother of the deceased was not supposed to shed tears at the news of her son's death. Death was only incidental and it was much worse to be captured alive and become a prisoner. Death to save the country was encouraged by such war-time slogans as Shichisho-Hokoku (to serve the country for seven lives, inclusive of the present one), Uchiteishi Yaman (stop only after death), or Ichikoku Gyokusai (honorable death for 100 million Japanese).

F: all items encouraging, glorifying or beautifying death, death for loyalty, statements that death should not be feared, death is honorable or now is the time to die.

N: all factual statements about death

U: all items lamenting death, discouraging or fearing death, wishes for safe return from battlefields
4 Nation

The following symbols were often used to represent the patriotic image of Japan—divine country, Emperor's country, Mt. Fuji (Japan's highest peak of 12,395 feet, object of nature worship), "Hinomaru" or Rising Sun flag or simply the flag. The Japanese were led to believe by the militarists that their country is protected by kamikaze or the "divine wind," which would some day blow, and lead the nation toward victory. In the Mongolian invasions of Japan in the late thirteenth century, the Japanese were on the verge of defeat when a powerful storm (presumably a typhoon) suddenly hit southwestern Japan and sank Mongol vessels. According to legends, only three Mongols survived. Kamikaze is also the name of the suicidal flotilla that made the famous kamikaze attacks toward the end of the Pacific war.

F: all items expressing love for the nation, sacrifice for the sake of the nation, glory for the nation, positive defense for the nation

N: all factual statements about the nation, its symbols

U: all items criticizing the nation and sacrifice for the nation

5 Justice

The Japanese militarists tried to justify the objectives of the "sacred war" with the following slogans: Kokutai Goji
(maintenance of the national structure), Seimeisen (life line),
Daita Kyoei-ken (Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere), and
Hakko-Ichiu (eight corners of the world under one roof, or the
universe-is-one principle).

F: all items justifying the cause of the war, use of
various war slogans to justify the war purposes,
ideas that the war is sacred, and the defense of
justice, national structure, and "just peace"

N: all factual statements about the cause of the war

U: all items doubting the war purposes

6 Bravery and Morale

The Japanese were taught to believe that they are a
superior race and that they had a distinctively firm nature
that is capable of accomplishing anything despite hardships.
It was called Yamato spirit, Yamato being an ancient name for
Japan. A valiant Japanese serviceman prided himself on the
fact that he is a direct descendant of the courageous samurai,
who put honor above everything else and did not hesitate to
die for his master.

Of various symbols of bravery and morale, one of the most
frequently employed was cherry blossom. It blooms into
beautiful blossoms in spring but it has only a short period of
full bloom as strong April winds soon blow them away. Thus,
it was compared to the life of fighting men who made distinguished
services in a battle and then, when the time comes, die glorious deaths. Cherry tree is to Japan what the rose is to Western nations. Poets have sung it for centuries, and Norinaga Motoori once exclaimed:

Shikishima no
Yamato gokoro o
Hito towa ba,
Asahi ni niou
Yamazakura-bana

which translates, "If one should inquire about the spirit of a true Japanese, point to the wild cherry blossoms shining in the morning sun." A Japanese proverb says, "The cherry is first among flowers, as samurai is first among men."

Another symbol of bravery and death is the Yasukuni Shrine, one of the most important of the 110,000 Shinto shrines in Japan. It was established to comfort the souls of martyred servicemen and encourage the morale of the fighting men and officers of the Imperial Army and Navy. The shrine is mentioned in many war songs and it was the highest honor to be enshrined there. It was a sort of password to say, "Let's meet at the Yasukuni Shrine (or Kudan, where it is located in Tokyo)" for kamikaze fliers before boarding their Zeros for the last one-way flight.

F: all items encouraging bravery, soldierliness, manliness, upholding honor, valor, victory, and achievement in combat, and all items designed to enhance morale

N: all factual statements about combat, bravery, and
honor, and the use of signs denoting such (e.g., samurai, cherry blossoms, kamikaze, Yasukuni Shrine, Japanese sword)

U: all items in reference to the futility of courage, bravery, soldierliness, and honor, hopes for the early end of the war, complaints of military life, scarcity of supplies, difficulties in the war situation, and defeat

7 Sentimentalism

It is considered a virtue in Japanese society to conceal one's emotions. By western standards, therefore, the Japanese expressions of sentiments are much more reserved.

F: all items expressing sentimentalism, longing for family members, affection for the loved ones, and crying over death or other sad events

N: all factual references to sentimental concepts (e.g., parents, home, love, tears, memory, keepsake, and death)

U: all items denying sentimentalism

Using statistics, the researcher supports the historical and social explanations he expounded earlier in this chapter.

Table 2 indicates the frequency at which the themes
occurred in the thirteen samples in the Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War period. The table shows how many times the themes occurred and with varying directions. Based on the total number of relevant units of content, the percentage distribution of each theme is also indicated at extreme right.

TABLE 2
FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN THE EARLY MEIJI AND SINO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37 (14.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 (9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43 (16.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44 (16.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>94 (35.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14 (5.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>266 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the direction of themes based on the coefficient of imbalance (p. 56, Content Analysis of Communications). The coefficient is designed so that it will

1/ Increase in the positive direction when the frequency of favorable content increases.
2/ Increase in the negative direction when the frequency
of unfavorable content increases.

3/ Equal zero if all the units of content are neutral or if there is no relevant content.

4/ Equal zero if the number of units of favorable content are equal to the number of units of unfavorable content.

The statistical formulas necessary to compute the coefficient of imbalance are as follows:

\[ C_f = \frac{f^2 - fu}{rt} \quad f > u \]

\[ C_u = \frac{fu - u^2}{rt} \quad f < u \]

Where \( f \) = favorable units of content
\( u \) = unfavorable units of content
\( t \) = number of units of total content
\( r \) = total units of relevant content

Note \( r \) = favorable + unfavorable + neutral units of content
\( t \) = favorable + unfavorable + neutral + nonrelevant units of content

\[ \text{TABLE 3} \]

DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN THE EARLY MEIJI AND SINO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>( \frac{4 \times 27 - 27^2}{27 \times 27} = \frac{-621}{1369} = -0.45 )</td>
<td>(-0.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>( \frac{12^2 - 12 \times 0}{24 \times 24} = \frac{144 - 0}{576} = 0.25 )</td>
<td>(0.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>( \frac{36^2 - 36 \times 2}{43 \times 43} = \frac{1224}{1849} = 0.66 )</td>
<td>(0.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>( \frac{16^2 - 16 \times 0}{44 \times 44} = \frac{256}{1936} = 0.13 )</td>
<td>(0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>( \frac{5^2 - 5 \times 0}{10 \times 10} = \frac{25}{100} = 0.25 )</td>
<td>(0.25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
| 6  | Bravery        | \[
\frac{62^2 - 62 \times 8}{94 \times 94} = \frac{3348}{8836} = 0.38
\] |
| 7  | Sentimentalism | \[
\frac{0 \times 1 - 1^2}{14 \times 14} = \frac{-1}{196} = -0.01
\] |

In this period, the word enemy was applied both to domestic dissidents of the Emperor and to the Chinese. To see if the songs represented any difference in attitude between domestic and foreign foes, the statistical formula for the calculation of the coefficient of imbalance was applied to "Your Highness" and "A Band With Drawn Swords," both based on civil wars, as well as to the rest of the songs. It was discovered, as a result, that an almost identical attitude was expressed toward the two in this period.

Domestic \[
\frac{3 \times 13 - 13^2}{17 \times 17} = \frac{-130}{289} = -0.45
\]

Foreign \[
\frac{1 \times 14 - 14^2}{20 \times 20} = \frac{-182}{400} = -0.46
\]

However, the researcher observed earlier that, to arouse hostility toward the Chinese, songs—written immediately before the Sino-Japanese War—carried ideas condemning the Chinese. Six songs written before this war have no favorable references to the enemy, three neutral references, and twelve unfavorable references. The coefficient of imbalance for this particular period of time is computed at -0.64.

\[
\frac{0 \times 12 - 12^2}{15 \times 15} = \frac{-144}{225} = -0.64
\]
This period scored the second highest frequency of favorable references to death in terms of percentage (16.0%), and the coefficient of imbalance indicated the most favorable direction (0.66) out of the five historical periods.

This theme occurred most frequently in "A Band With Drawn Swords" (twenty favorable and two neutral references; coefficient of imbalance, 0.83).

\[
\frac{20^2 - 20 \times 0}{22 \times 22} = \frac{400}{484} = 0.83
\]

All of the eight unfavorable references to bravery and morale derived from "Marching on Snow" which was later banned.

**TABLE 4**

**FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>55 (23.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22 (9.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (1.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78 (32.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>239 (100.0%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5

DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>$\frac{12 \times 19 - 19^2}{55 \times 55}$ = $\frac{-133}{3025}$ = -0.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>$\frac{9^2 - 9 \times 0}{22 \times 22}$ = $\frac{81}{484}$ = 0.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>$\frac{11^2 - 11 \times 4}{43 \times 43}$ = $\frac{27}{784}$ = 0.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>$\frac{11^2 - 11 \times 0}{28 \times 28}$ = $\frac{121}{784}$ = 0.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>$\frac{2^2 - 2 \times 0}{4 \times 4}$ = $\frac{4}{16}$ = 0.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>$\frac{43^2 - 43 \times 3}{78 \times 78}$ = $\frac{1720}{6084}$ = 0.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>$\frac{4^2 - 4 \times 0}{24 \times 24}$ = $\frac{16}{576}$ = 0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared with the preceding period, the image of the enemy, now the Russians, recorded a considerable improvement. This period scored a total of fifty-five references to the enemy (23.1% of the total units of content), the highest frequency, and the coefficient of imbalance of -0.04, the most favorable direction throughout the five historical periods. No other salient trend was detected in this period.
TABLE 6
FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN
THE MANCHURIA INCIDENT PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16 (7.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 (12.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39 (19.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19 (9.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67 (33.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16 (8.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>201 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7
DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN
THE MANCHURIA INCIDENT PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>( \frac{1 \times 6 - 6^2}{16 \times 16} = \frac{-170}{2809} = -0.12 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>( \frac{10^2 - 10 \times 0}{24 \times 24} = \frac{100}{574} = 0.17 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>( \frac{15^2 - 15 \times 1}{20 \times 20} = \frac{210}{400} = 0.53 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>( \frac{5^2 - 5 \times 10}{39 \times 39} = \frac{25}{1521} = 0.02 )</td>
<td>(continued)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7 (continued)

5 Justice \[
\frac{12^2 - 12 \times 0}{19 \times 19} = \frac{144}{361} = 0.40
\]

6 Bravery \[
\frac{15^2 - 15 \times 10}{67 \times 67} = \frac{75}{4489} = 0.02
\]

7 Sentimentalism \[
\frac{0^2 - 0 \times 0}{16 \times 16} = 0
\]

People were getting tired of the extended war but the military censorship was not so strong as in the subsequent periods. These factors contributed to the least favorable attitude toward bravery and morale (coefficient of imbalance, 0.02) of all periods. No other salient trend was detected for this period.

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN THE PRE-PACIFIC WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8 (6.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12 (9.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15 (11.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23 (17.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35 (26.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34 (25.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7 (5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>134 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 9

**DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN THE PRE-PACIFIC WAR PERIOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>$\frac{0 \times 5 - 5^2}{8 \times 8} = \frac{-25}{64} = -0.39$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>$\frac{1^2 - 1 \times 0}{12 \times 12} = \frac{1}{144} = 0.01$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>$\frac{10^2 - 10 \times 0}{15 \times 15} = \frac{100}{225} = 0.44$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>$\frac{11^2 - 11 \times 0}{23 \times 23} = \frac{121}{529} = 0.23$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>$\frac{18^2 - 18 \times 0}{35 \times 35} = \frac{324}{1225} = 0.26$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>$\frac{13^2 - 13 \times 6}{34 \times 34} = \frac{91}{1156} = 0.08$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>$\frac{0^2 - 0 \times 0}{7 \times 7} = 0$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This period saw the enforcement of the total National Mobilization Law, under which able-bodied youths were conscripted and freedom restricted by military censorship. Theme 5 (justice) scored the highest frequency (26.3% of total units of content for this period) and Theme 4 (nation) indicated the most favorable direction (0.23). No other salient trend was detected for this period.
TABLE 10
FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN
THE PACIFIC WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20 (12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27 (16.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9 (5.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Justice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bravery</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>77 (46.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sentimentalism</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26 (15.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>166 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 11
DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THEMES IN
THE PACIFIC WAR PERIOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hostility</td>
<td>(\frac{0 \times 16 - 16^2}{20 \times 20} = \frac{-256}{400} = -0.64)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Emperor</td>
<td>(\frac{0^2 - 0 \times 0}{4 \times 4} = 0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Death</td>
<td>(\frac{16^2 - 16 \times 2}{27 \times 27} = \frac{224}{729} = 0.31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Nation</td>
<td>(\frac{4^2 - 4 \times 1}{9 \times 9} = \frac{12}{81} = 0.15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
TABLE 11 (continued)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>$\frac{3^2 - 3 \times 0}{3 \times 3} = \frac{9}{9} = 1.00$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bravery</td>
<td>$\frac{20^2 - 20 \times 12}{77 \times 77} = \frac{160}{5929} = 0.03$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sentimentalism</td>
<td>$\frac{8^2 - 8 \times 0}{26 \times 26} = \frac{56}{676} = 0.08$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three GI songs of this period, "Zundoko," "Darling Sa," and "Rabaul Ditty," scored a negative attitude toward bravery and morale, and a favorable attitude toward sentimentalism.

Theme 6 (bravery and morale)

\[ \frac{0 \times 12 - 12^2}{14 \times 14} = -0.73 \]

Theme 7 (sentimentalism)

\[ \frac{5^2 - 5 \times 0}{16 \times 16} = 0.09 \]

This last period of the series of wars witnessed the most negative direction about the enemy (coefficient, $-0.64$), which is identical with the treatment of the Chinese enemy before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. There are relatively few references to the Emperor (2.4%), nation (5.4%), and justice (1.8%), but close to half of the total references (46.3%) in this period concerned bravery and morale.

* * *

- 74 -
In comparing the frequency of themes, the researcher depended on the percentage distribution within each period rather than on the raw figures. This is because of the varying number of songs in each period and the great discrepancy in the length of songs, as indicated by the average number of stanzas in one song given in the following table.

**TABLE 12**

**AVERAGE NUMBER OF STANZAS IN ONE SONG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Average Number of Stanzas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War Period</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russo-Japanese War Period</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchuria Incident Period</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Pacific War Period</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific War Period</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage distribution of the seven themes was then compared over the five historical periods. Figures in parentheses at the bottom of each bar indicate the absolute number of total units of content.
The researcher must now determine, in terms of probability, whether or not the observed differences in the frequency of the seven themes are merely due to chance (p. 104, Nonparametric Statistics). The nonparametric technique of chi-square test was administered to see if each theme takes up a fairly consistent portion of total units of content throughout the five periods and if the discrepancy in percentage from one period to another is statistically significant.
The null hypothesis may be tested by

\[ 2 = \sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{k} \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}} \]

where \( O_{ij} \) = observed number of cases categorized in ith row of the jth column

\( E_{ij} \) = number of cases expected under the hypothesis to be categorized in ith row of the jth column

\[ \sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{k} \] directs one to sum over all (r) rows and all (k) columns, i.e., to sum over all cells. (See Appendix 2 for equations)

**Theme 1** Hostility: \( \chi^2 = 14.6 \)

**Theme 2** Emperor: \( \chi^2 = 6.1 \)

**Theme 3** Death: \( \chi^2 = 2.6 \)

**Theme 4** Nation: \( \chi^2 = 8.9 \)

**Theme 5** Justice: \( \chi^2 = 49.3 \)

**Theme 6** Bravery and Morale: \( \chi^2 = 6.6 \)

**Theme 7** Sentimentalism: \( \chi^2 = 8.5 \)

For four degrees of freedom, the five percent level of significance is \( P(4, 49\chi^2_{10}) = 0.05 \). Hence, \( \chi^2 = 14.6 \) (Theme 1) and \( \chi^2 = 49.3 \) (Theme 5) are significant.

This means that there were significant differences in
the percentage distribution of the both themes over the five historical periods. Other themes took up fairly consistent portions of total units of content throughout the five periods.

It may be concluded, therefore, that Theme 1 (hostility) scored the greatest attention (23.1%) in the Russo-Japanese War period, while it was also stressed, to a lesser degree, in the Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese war period, and the Pacific War period over the other periods, in which the percentage ranged from 1.7% to 9.5%.

The researcher then again applied the chi-square test for directional analysis to the raw data to compare the portions of favorable, neutral, and unfavorable references about each of the seven themes in one historical period with the portion of them in other periods.

Theme 1 Hostility: \( \chi^2 = 25.8 \) (See Appendix 3.1)
*Theme 2 Emperor: \( \chi^2 = 9.1 \) (See Appendix 3.2)
Theme 3 Death: \( \chi^2 = 16.0 \) (See Appendix 3.3)
Theme 4 Nation: \( \chi^2 = 12.2 \) (See Appendix 3.4)
*Theme 5 Justice: \( \chi^2 = 3.4 \) (See Appendix 3.5)
Theme 6 Bravery: \( \chi^2 = 48.9 \) (See Appendix 3.6)
Theme 7 Sentimentalism: \( \chi^2 = 16.0 \) (See Appendix 3.7)

*no unfavorable references

For fourteen degrees of freedom (or nine degrees of freedom for Theme 2 and Theme 5 which did not score any unfavorable references), the five percent levels of significance
are $P(23.69 < \chi^2 < \infty) = 0.05$ and $P(19.68 < \chi^2 < \infty) = 0.05$, respectively. Hence, for the five percent level of significance, $\chi^2 = 25.8$ (Theme 1) and $\chi^2 = 48.9$ (Theme 6) are significant.

Here is a roundup of the findings about each of the seven themes:

Theme 1 Hostility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.45</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2

Both the percentage distribution and the proportion of favorable, neutral, and unfavorable units of content proved to be significantly different from one period to another. The frequent references about the enemy in the Russo-Japanese War period corresponded to the least unfavorable attitude, although still negative, while the relatively frequent references about the enemy in the Early Meiji and Sino-Japanese War, and the Pacific War periods corresponded to the more unfavorable attitude. Peaking at the Russo-Japanese War period, the attitude toward the enemy recorded a significantly consistent decline as the wars went on.
Theme 2  Emperor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3

No significant changes were detected either in the frequency analysis or directional analysis. This theme appeared in the five historical periods with fairly consistent percentage distribution, and with favorable to neutral attitudes.

Theme 3  Death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4

No significant changes were detected either in the frequency analysis or directional analysis. This theme appeared in the five historical periods with consistent percentage distribution, and with favorable attitude.
Theme 4 Nation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 5

No significant changes were detected either in the frequency analysis or directional analysis. This theme appeared in the five historical periods with fairly consistent percentage distribution and with favorable attitude.

Theme 5 Justice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 6

No significant changes were detected in directional analysis, but frequency analysis showed a significant difference in percentage distribution. In terms of frequency, the theme was stressed, beginning with the Manchuria Incident period and most strongly in the Pre-Pacific War period. This coincides with the government effort to try to justify the
expansionist policy in East Asia through the use of various war slogans: Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Hakko-Ichiu, etc.

Theme 6 Bravery and Morale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 7

A considerable portion of relevant units of content concerned this theme, and no significant changes were detected from one period to another in frequency analysis. The directional analysis, however, showed a significant difference. Negative elements appeared in an increasing number in the latter periods, thus indicating the people's criticism of the war policy.

Theme 7 Sentimentalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 8
No significant changes were detected either in the frequency analysis or directional analysis. This theme appeared in the five historical periods with fairly consistent percentage distribution, and with slightly unfavorable to slightly favorable attitudes.
CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

Verification of Hypotheses

The data analysis in the previous chapter showed that there were significant changes in the emphasis on some themes over the five historical periods and that the changes were compatible with the historical and social background of each period in which the war songs were written.

The researcher now proceeds to verify the five hypotheses which were established earlier in this thesis in response to the major question:

What are the major recurring themes and emphasis on these themes in war songs written in five historical periods in Japan's modern history?

The first hypothesis answers the first part of the question:

H1: The major recurring themes correspond to themes generally found in war-time Japanese literature. Possibly, they include such concepts as friendship, death, Emperor, courage, loyalty, enemy, glory, empire, endurance, and victory.

This researcher has already proved, by counting the relevant units of content each time they appeared in war songs and categorizing related units into major themes, that the
recurring themes were, in order of frequency, bravery and morale, nation, hostility, death, sentimentalism, Emperor, and justice.

H2: There are few statements in war songs that are unfavorable to concepts pertaining to patriotism, since an important function of these songs is to boost the morale of the people who hear and sing them.

There were no unfavorable references to the Emperor and nation. Nevertheless, nine of 133 (6.8%) references to death and 39 of 350 (11.1%) references to bravery and morale were unfavorable. Therefore, the hypothesis does not stand.

H3: More emphasis is placed during the Pacific War period on morale, courage, bravery, and soldierliness, as the people became weary of the long drawn-out war and it was necessary to heighten the morale.

This hypothesis does not stand, either. Although 46.3 percent, the largest portion, of total units of content in the Pacific War period pertained to Theme 6 (bravery and morale), the increase was not statistically significant.

On the other hand, Theme 6 indicated a significantly downward trend over the historical periods. The patriotic emphasis in the songs was counterbalanced by the increasing negative factors toward the end of the series of wars.

H4: The image of Japan's foes declined with the progress of wars, as the people's hatred of the foes grew stronger.

With the image of the enemy peaking at -0.04 (closes to the neutral attitude) during the Russo-Japanese War period,
it dropped to its lowest level during the Pacific War period.

This endorses the hypothesis that the longer the Japanese fought
the poorer the image of the foe grew.

H5: Under the rigid thought control by the military,
people had to give vent to their pent-up feeling,
and their gripes and discontentment about war are
reflected in the songs.

Negative references to Theme 3 (death), Theme 4 (nation),
Theme 5 (justice), and Theme 6 (bravery and morale), and
positive references to Theme 7 (sentimentalism) are interpreted
to indicate gripes and discontentment of the people toward the
war and the war regime. There was a consistently similar
percentage of references to sentimentalism in every period.

Further attesting to the prevailing discontentment is
the fact that the servicemen, as well as the general public,
continued to sing "March on Snow," "War Comrade," "Song of
Bivouac," and other GI songs that were officially banned by
government order.

Discussion

POSSIBLE EXPLANATION: It was extremely difficult in
war-time Japan to criticize the Emperor and Japan's war
purposes, as attested by the fact that in the songs that were
no unfavorable references to the Emperor and justice, and only
one unfavorable reference to the nation. In a closely knit
Japanese society, ostracism was the heaviest penalty imposed
on those who were critical of these concepts even to the
slightest degree. The heavy concentration of negative
elements in Theme 6 (bravery and morale) is construed to mean
people's criticism toward the war policy of the nation in
general.

The frequency of references to the Emperor, both
favorable and neutral, was less than what the researcher had
expected in view of the great worship of the "Living deity."
It is probably because the Emperor was "too supreme" to be
often mentioned, an attitude quite prevalent in the military
during the war.

Human life in war-time Japan was valued cheaply. The
people were aroused by such slogans as "serve the country for
seven lives" and they were taught that it was the noblest
honor to die on battlefields for the sake of the Emperor and
for the nation. Altruistic death was held in extremely high
public esteem and people praised heroic deaths in accordance
with the traditional Japanese way of thinking about life and
death. For these reasons death probably scored the highest
frequency and most favorable direction in war songs.

The Russo-Japanese War period saw the most frequent
appearance of Theme 1 (hostility) and also the most favorable
attitude (although still negative) toward the enemy. This
period was still characterized by the Japanese maxims "to send salt to the enemy" and "yesterday's foe is today's friend."
The image of the Russians is superior to that of the Chinese, Japan's first foreign enemy.

This is attributable to two factors. First, as a result of the victory in the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese could afford to praise the enemy, whereas in the earlier war they were not sure if they could beat their then powerful neighbor. Secondly, it is related to the deep-rooted prejudice against the Chinese race that existed (and still exists) among the Japanese. The Chinese and Koreans have been regarded as inferior races.

**IMPLICATIONS:** One of the major arguments critical of the war songs is that hundreds of thousands of Japanese were killed, injured, crippled and underwent utmost misery as they sang or were forced to sing these songs. The people were "brain washed" through these songs that the enemy should be hated like pests, that our fighters are courageous and strong, that it is beautiful to die, and that the day of victory is imminent.

If the war songs had constituted merely of government propaganda, however, they would not have attained the degree of popularity they gained among the general public and the servicemen during the war, as attested by the tremendous sales of records. Nor would they now be enjoying the boom among the
prewar as well as the postwar generations in Japan.

People were not always fooled. "Demoralizing" war songs were frequently sung through all periods of war despite the government ban on them. No matter how much the government strived to urge, the people did not sing what they did not choose to sing.

This study has clarified the point that these war songs, while serving the purpose of arousing the depressed morale of the people in a war, reflected their gripes and discontentment, too.

In the study of Japanese history, analysis of war songs will discuss the value judgments of the Japanese people during war time. There is a tremendous stress on spiritualism throughout the songs. In some sense, they explain why Japan lost the war. The Japanese tended to stress abstract spiritual concepts in war and did very little by way of actual concrete efforts. They had believed that the war could be won by the "spirit to win."

**FUTURE RESEARCH EFFORTS:** There was often a discrepancy between what the people liked and what the people rejected, as far as the war songs are concerned. For instance, the government in 1942 tried to forewarn the people for what seemed to be eventual air attacks on Japan proper by the Allied bombers and to minimize the psychological chaos expected to result from sorties. Two songs were composed that year: "Who Should be
Afraid of Air Raids? (Kushu Nanzo Osoru Beki) and "Down With Air Raids" (Nanda Kushu). Neither song attained any degree of popularity. The damaging effects of bombs dropped by B-29's were worth a thousand words.

Nor did "Song of Showdown on the Philippines" (Hi-to Keiseen no Uta) become popular, either. It started with "Come out, Nimitz and MacArthur/ we'll send you back to hell..."

As a future extension of this study, it should be interesting and worthwhile to compare the findings in this thesis with an analysis of "unpopular" war songs and see if there are any significant differences between the two groups of songs, and attempt to discover which ideas the people in war-time Japan preferred most. It seems to this researcher that a great deal of spiritualism--always a favorite theme for the Japanese--present in the war songs has been handed down to contemporary popular songs. A research project for the future would be to find out if some of the major themes present in the war songs appear in Japanese songs of today.

Another project is to compare the war songs of Japan with those of Germany or Britain, whose people sang a great number of war songs during the war, and see what concepts are stressed by different nations.
APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF JAPANESE WAR SONGS
AND SOCIAL EVENTS
1868-1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>War Songs</th>
<th>Social Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>&quot;Your Highness&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>&quot;Your Reign&quot; established as national anthem</td>
<td>Capital moved from Kyoto to Tokyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>&quot;Pacification of the Nation&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>&quot;A Band with Drawn Swords&quot;</td>
<td>Japan's first cabinet formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>&quot;Defense of the Empire&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>&quot;The Way is 680 Ri,&quot; &quot;If the Enemy Should Come in Tens of Thousands&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>&quot;Triumphal Return,&quot; &quot;Mongolian Invasion,&quot; &quot;Formation of Camp Under the Moon&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>&quot;Song of Military Nurses&quot;</td>
<td>birth of Hawaiian Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>&quot;A Brave Sailor,&quot; &quot;March on Snow,&quot; &quot;Patriotic Song of Triumphant Return&quot;</td>
<td>Sino-Japanese War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>Return of Liaotung Peninsula, occupation of Taipei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>&quot;Warship&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>&quot;Parting at Sakurai&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boxer Trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen defects to Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anglo-Japanese Alliance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Sino-Japanese War Period)
1904 "Japanese Navy," "Comdr. Hirose"  
"Japanese Army," "Lt. Col. Tachibana"  

05 "War Comrade," "Triumphant Return"  
"Battle Near Mukden"  

06 "Encounter at Shuishiying"  

10 "Song of Infantrymen"  

14 "Battle of Japan Sea"  

---

17 Bohsheviki Revolution  
19 Versailles Treaty  
20 League of Nations formed  
21 Limitation of Armament Confab at Washington, termination of Anglo-Japanese Alliance  
27 Lindberg's successful transatlantic flight  

(Manchuria Incident Period)  

28 "Wild Cherry Blossoms Glowing in the Morning Sun"  
29 "March"  
30  
31 "Three Human Bombs"  
32  
33 "Subjugation of Chinese Rebels"  
36  
37 "Song of Eivouac," "Sea Faring," "Patriotic March"  
38 "Mother of the Empire," "Rising Sun March," "Flowers of Patriotism," "Song of Wild Eagles," "Barley and Soldiers"  

---

- 92 -
(Pre-Pacific War Period)


40 "Burning Skies," "Praying at Dawn," "People's March," "Monday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Thursday, Friday, and Friday," "Tripartite Pact, rationing of matches and sugar"

(Pacific War Period)

41 "Great Sea Battle of Hawaii," "March on the Sea," "Darling Su," "Danchone," "Greater East Asia War Navy Song"

42 "Divine Fighters of the Sky," "With the Ashes of a War Comrade in My Hands," "Rabaul Ditty"

43 "Kato 'Duck Hawk' Air Squad," "Song of Young Eagles," "Rabaul Navy Air Corp"

44 "Ah, the Red Blood Boils," "Instant Sinking," "Till the Day of Victory"

45 "Cherry Trees of the Same Class"

Pearl Harbor attack, ban on performance of enemy movies
Bataan death march, fall of Singapore, first air raids of Japan by B-25's
Ban on enemy records, demise of Adm. Yamamoto, fall of Attu
Normandy landing, fall of Saipan, Tinian, Palau, first kamikaze attack
fall of Iwo Jima, Japan's surrender
### APPENDIX 2

**CHI-SQUARE TEST OF PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION DATA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Percentage</th>
<th>Expression and Calculation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 Hostility        | $14.0 + 23.1 + 7.5 + 6.0 + 12.1 = 62.7$  
                      | $62.7/5 = 12.5$             |
| 2 Emperor          | $9.1 + 9.2 + 12.0 + 9.0 + 2.4 = 41.6$  
                      | $41.6/5 = 8.3$              |
| 3 Death            | $16.0 + 11.7 + 10.0 + 11.2 + 16.3 = 65.2$  
                      | $65.2/5 = 13.0$             |
| 4 Nation           | $16.5 + 11.7 + 19.5 + 17.2 + 5.4 = 70.3$  
                      | $70.3/5 = 14.1$             |
| 5 Justice          | $3.8 + 1.7 + 9.5 + 26.1 + 1.8 = 42.9$  
                      | $42.9/5 = 8.6$              |
| 6 Bravery          | $35.3 + 32.6 + 33.5 + 25.3 + 46.3 = 173.0$  
                      | $173.0/5 = 34.6$            |
| 7 Sentimentalism   | $5.3 + 10.0 + 8.0 + 5.2 + 15.7 = 44.2$  
                      | $44.2/5 = 8.8$              |

**Hostility**

$$
\frac{(14.0 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(23.1 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(7.5 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} + \\
\frac{(6.0 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(12.1 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} = \frac{2.3 + 112.4 + 25 + 42.3 + 0.2}{12.5} \\
= \frac{182.2}{12.5} = 14.6
$$

**Emperor**

$$
\frac{(9.1 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} + \frac{(9.2 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} + \frac{(12.0 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} + \frac{(9.0 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} + \\
\frac{(2.4 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} = \frac{0.6 + 0.8 + 13.7 + 0.5 + 34.8}{8.3} = \frac{50.4}{8.3} = 6.1
$$
Death

\[
\frac{(16.0 - 13.0)^2}{13.0} + \frac{(11.7 - 13.0)^2}{13.0} + \frac{(10.0 - 13.0)^2}{13.0} +
\frac{(11.2 - 13.0)^2}{13.0} + \frac{(16.3 - 13.0)^2}{13.0} = 9 + 1.7 + 9 + 3.2 + 10.9
\]

\[= \frac{33.8}{13.0} = 2.6\]

Nation

\[
\frac{(16.5 - 14.1)^2}{14.1} + \frac{(11.7 - 14.1)^2}{14.1} + \frac{(19.5 - 14.1)^2}{14.1} +
\frac{(17.2 - 14.1)^2}{14.1} + \frac{(5.4 - 14.1)^2}{14.1} = 5.8 + 5.8 + 29.2 + 9.6 + 75.7
\]

\[= \frac{126.1}{14.1} = 8.9\]

Justice

\[
\frac{(3.8 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} + \frac{(1.7 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} + \frac{(9.5 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} + \frac{(26.1 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} +
\frac{(1.8 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} = 23.0 + 47.6 + 0.8 + 305.3 + 46.2 = \frac{423.8}{8.6} = 49.3\]

Bravery and Morale

\[
\frac{(35.3 - 34.6)^2}{34.6} + \frac{(32.6 - 34.6)^2}{34.6} + \frac{(35.5 - 34.6)^2}{34.6} +
\frac{(25.3 - 34.6)^2}{34.6} + \frac{(46.3 - 34.6)^2}{34.6} = 0.5 + 4.0 + 1.2 + 86.5 + 136.9
\]

\[= \frac{229.1}{34.6} = 6.6\]

Sentimentalism

\[
\frac{(5.3 - 8.8)^2}{8.8} + \frac{(10.0 - 8.8)^2}{8.8} + \frac{(8.0 - 8.8)^2}{8.8} + \frac{(5.2 - 8.8)^2}{8.8} +
\frac{(15.7 - 8.8)^2}{8.8} = \frac{74.9}{8.8} = 8.5\]

- 95 -
APPENDIX 3.1

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 1 DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(4.6)</td>
<td>(6.9)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
<td>(18.6)</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
<td>(2.7)</td>
<td>(6.7)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>(19.8)</td>
<td>(29.5)</td>
<td>(8.6)</td>
<td>(4.3)</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The null hypothesis is that the proportion of favorable, neutral, and unfavorable units of content in one historical period is the same as that of other periods. With such a hypothesis, the expected frequency for each cell will be found by multiplying the two marginal totals common to a particular cell, and then dividing this product by the total number of cases, N. Expected frequency is given in parentheses just above the raw figures. For instance, the expected frequency for the upper left-hand cell is

\[ E_{4} = \frac{(17) (37)}{136} \approx 4.6. \]
Chi-Square Test

\[
\frac{(4 - 4.6)^2}{4.6} + \frac{(6 - 12.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(27 - 19.8)^2}{19.8} + \frac{(12 - 6.9)^2}{6.9} + \\
\frac{(24 - 18.6)^2}{18.6} + \frac{(19 - 29.5)^2}{29.5} + \frac{(1 - 2)^2}{2} + \frac{(9 - 5.4)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(6 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} + \\
\frac{(0 - 1)^2}{1} + \frac{(3 - 2.7)^2}{2.7} + \frac{(5 - 4.3)^2}{4.3} + \frac{(0 - 2.5)^2}{2.5} + \frac{(4 - 6.7)^2}{6.7} + \\
\frac{(16 - 10.7)^2}{10.7} = \frac{(0.6)^2}{4.6} + \frac{(6.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(7.2)^2}{19.8} + \frac{(5.1)^2}{6.9} + \frac{(5.4)^2}{18.6} + \\
\frac{(10.5)^2}{29.5} + \frac{(1)^2}{2} + \frac{(3.6)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(1.4)^2}{8.6} + 1 + \frac{(0.3)^2}{2.7} + \frac{(0.7)^2}{4.3} + 2.5 + \\
\frac{(2.7)^2}{6.7} + \frac{(5.3)^2}{10.7} = \frac{0.4}{4.6} + \frac{42.3}{12.5} + \frac{51.8}{19.8} + \frac{26.0}{6.9} + \frac{29.0}{18.6} + \frac{110.3}{29.5} + \\
\frac{1}{2} + \frac{13.0}{5.4} + \frac{2.0}{8.6} + 1 + \frac{0.1}{2.7} + \frac{0.5}{5} + 2.5 + \frac{7.3}{6.7} + 281.1 + 10.7 \\
= 0.1 + 3.4 + 2.7 + 3.8 + 1.6 + 3.7 + 0.5 + 2.4 + 1 + 0 + \\
0.1 + 2.5 + 1.2 + 2.6 = 25.8
\]
### APPENDIX 3.2

**CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 2 DATA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(8.9)</td>
<td>(8.2)</td>
<td>(8.9)</td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
<td>(1.5)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(15.1)</td>
<td>(13.8)</td>
<td>(15.1)</td>
<td>(7.5)</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chi-Square Test**

\[
\frac{(12 - 8.9)^2}{8.9} + \frac{(12 - 15.1)^2}{15.1} + \frac{(9 - 8.2)^2}{8.2} + \frac{(13 - 13.8)^2}{13.8} + \\
\frac{(10 - 8.9)^2}{8.9} + \frac{(14 - 15.1)^2}{15.1} + \frac{(1 - 4.5)^2}{4.5} + \frac{(11 - 7.5)^2}{7.5} + 1 + \\
\frac{(4 - 2.5)^2}{2.5} = \frac{(3.1)^2}{8.9} + \frac{(3.1)^2}{15.1} + \frac{(0.8)^2}{8.2} + \frac{(0.8)^2}{13.8} + \frac{(1.1)^2}{8.9} + \\
\frac{(1.1)^2}{15.1} + \frac{(3.5)^2}{4.5} + \frac{(3.5)^2}{7.5} + 1 + \frac{(1.5)^2}{2.5} = 9.6 + 9.6 + 0.6 + \\
1.1 + 0.1 + 2.7 + 1.6 + 1.1 + 0.9 = 9.1
\]
APPENDIX 3.3

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 3 DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(28.4)</td>
<td>(18.5)</td>
<td>(13.4)</td>
<td>(9.9)</td>
<td>(17.9)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(11.7)</td>
<td>(7.6)</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
<td>(4.1)</td>
<td>(7.3)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
<td>(1.9)</td>
<td>(1.4)</td>
<td>(1.0)</td>
<td>(1.8)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Test

\[
\frac{(36 - 28.4)^2}{28.4} + \frac{(5 - 11.7)^2}{11.7} + \frac{(2 - 2.9)^2}{2.9} + \frac{(11 - 18.5)^2}{18.5} +
\frac{(13 - 7.6)^2}{7.6} + \frac{(4 - 1.9)^2}{1.9} + \frac{(15 - 13.4)^2}{13.4} + \frac{(4 - 5.4)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(1 - 1.4)^2}{1.4} +
\frac{(10 - 9.9)^2}{9.9} + \frac{(5 - 4.1)^2}{4.1} + 1.0 + \frac{(16 - 17.9)^2}{17.9} + \frac{(9 - 7.3)^2}{7.3} +
\frac{(2 - 1.8)^2}{1.8} = \frac{(7.6)^2}{28.4} + \frac{(5.3)^2}{11.7} + \frac{(0.9)^2}{2.9} + \frac{(7.5)^2}{18.5} + \frac{(5.4)^2}{7.6} +
\frac{(2.1)^2}{1.9} + \frac{(1.6)^2}{13.4} + \frac{(0.6)^2}{5.4} + \frac{(0.4)^2}{1.4} + \frac{(0.1)^2}{1.9} + \frac{(0.9)^2}{4.1} + 1 +
\frac{(1.9)^2}{17.9} + \frac{(1.7)^2}{7.3} + \frac{(0.2)^2}{1.8} = \frac{57.8}{28.4} + \frac{28.1}{11.7} + \frac{0.8}{2.9} + \frac{56.3}{18.5} + \frac{29.2}{7.6} +
\frac{4.4}{1.9} + \frac{2.6}{13.4} + \frac{0.4}{5.4} + \frac{0.2}{1.4} + \frac{0.0}{9.9} + \frac{0.8}{4.1} + 1 + \frac{3.6}{17.9} + \frac{2.9}{7.3} + \frac{0.0}{1.8} +
\frac{0.0}{0.0} + \frac{1}{0.2} + \frac{0.4}{4.0} + 0.0 = 16.0
\]

- 99 -
APPENDIX 3.4

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 4 DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Test

\[
\frac{(16 - 14.4)^2}{14.4} + \frac{(28 - 29.2)^2}{29.2} + \frac{(0 - 0.4)^2}{0.4} + \frac{(11 - 9.2)^2}{9.2} +
\]
\[
\frac{(17 - 18.6)^2}{18.6} + \frac{(0 - 0.2)^2}{0.2} + \frac{(5 - 12.8)^2}{12.8} + \frac{(34 - 25.9)^2}{25.9} +
\]
\[
\frac{(0 - 0.3)^2}{0.3} + \frac{(11 - 7.6)^2}{7.6} + \frac{(12 - 15.3)^2}{15.3} + \frac{(0 - 0.2)^2}{0.2} +
\]
\[
\frac{(4 - 3)^2}{3} + \frac{(4 - 6)^2}{6} + \frac{(1 - 0)^2}{0} = \frac{(1.6)^2}{14.4} + \frac{(1.2)^2}{29.2} + 0.4 +
\]
\[
\frac{(1.8)^2}{9.2} + \frac{(1.6)^2}{18.6} + 0.2 + \frac{(7.8)^2}{12.8} + \frac{(8.1)^2}{25.9} + 0.3 + \frac{(3.4)^2}{7.6} +
\]
\[
\frac{(3.3)^2}{15.3} + 0.2 + \frac{(1)^2}{3} + \frac{(2)^2}{6} + 0 = \frac{2.6}{14.1} + \frac{1.4}{29.2} + 0.4 + \frac{3.2}{9.2} +
\]
\[
\frac{2.6}{18.6} + 0.2 + \frac{60.8}{12.8} + \frac{65.6}{25.9} + 0.3 + \frac{11.6}{7.6} + \frac{10.9}{15.3} + 0.2 + 0.3 +
\]
\[
0.7 + 0 = 0.2 + 0.0 + 0.4 + 0.3 + 0.1 + 0.2 + 0.8 + 2.5 + 0.3 +
\]
\[
1.5 + 0.7 + 0.2 + 0.3 + 0.7 + 0 = 12.2
\]

\[-100-\]
### APPENDIX 3.5

**CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 5 DATA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(5.6)</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>(10.7)</td>
<td>(19.7)</td>
<td>(1.7)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
<td>(1.6)</td>
<td>(8.3)</td>
<td>(15.3)</td>
<td>(1.3)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Test

\[
\frac{(5 - 5.6)^2}{5.6} + \frac{(5 - 4.4)^2}{4.4} + \frac{(2 - 2.3)^2}{2.3} + \frac{(2 - 1.6)^2}{1.6} + \\
\frac{(12 - 10.7)^2}{10.7} + \frac{(7 - 8.3)^2}{8.3} + \frac{(18 - 19.7)^2}{19.7} + \frac{(17 - 15.3)^2}{15.3} + \\
\frac{(3 - 1.7)^2}{1.7} + \frac{(0 - 1.3)^2}{1.3} = \frac{(0.6)^2}{5.6} + \frac{(0.6)^2}{4.4} + \frac{(0.3)^2}{2.3} + \frac{(0.4)^2}{1.6} + \\
\frac{(1.3)^2}{10.7} + \frac{(1.3)^2}{8.3} + \frac{(1.7)^2}{19.7} + \frac{(1.7)^2}{15.3} + \frac{(1.3)^2}{1.7} + 1.3 = \frac{0.4}{5.6} + \frac{0.4}{4.4} + \\
\frac{0.1}{2.3} + \frac{0.2}{1.4} + \frac{1.7}{10.7} + \frac{1.7}{8.3} + \frac{2.9}{19.7} + \frac{2.8}{15.3} + \frac{1.7}{1.7} + 1.3 = 0.1 + 0.1 + \\
0 + 0.1 + 0.2 + 0.2 + 0.2 + 0.2 + 1 + 1.3 = 3.4
\]
APPENDIX 3.6

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF THEME 6 DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>(34.2)</td>
<td>(29.3)</td>
<td>(14.8)</td>
<td>(33.6)</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(42.5)</td>
<td>(35.2)</td>
<td>(30.4)</td>
<td>(15.3)</td>
<td>(34.8)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>(10.5)</td>
<td>(8.7)</td>
<td>(7.5)</td>
<td>(3.8)</td>
<td>(8.6)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Test

\[ \frac{(62 - 41)^2}{41} + \frac{(24 - 42.5)^2}{42.5} + \frac{(8 - 10.5)^2}{10.5} + \frac{(43 - 34.2)^2}{34.2} + \]
\[ \frac{(32 - 35.2)^2}{35.2} + \frac{(3 - 8.7)^2}{8.7} + \frac{(15 - 29.3)^2}{29.3} + \frac{(42 - 30.4)^2}{30.4} + \]
\[ \frac{(10 - 7.5)^2}{7.5} + \frac{(13 - 14.8)^2}{14.8} + \frac{(15 - 15.3)^2}{15.3} + \frac{(6 - 3.8)^2}{3.8} + \]
\[ \frac{(20 - 33.6)^2}{33.6} + \frac{(45 - 34.8)^2}{34.8} + \frac{(12 - 8.6)^2}{8.6} = \frac{(21)^2}{41} + \frac{(18.5)^2}{42.5} + \]
\[ \frac{(1.5)^2}{10.5} + \frac{(8.8)^2}{34.2} + \frac{(3.2)^2}{35.2} + \frac{(5.7)^2}{8.7} + \frac{(14.3)^2}{29.3} + \frac{(11.6)^2}{30.4} + \frac{(2.5)^2}{7.5} + \]
\[ \frac{(1.8)^2}{14.8} + \frac{(0.3)^2}{15.3} + \frac{(2.2)^2}{3.8} + \frac{(13.6)^2}{33.6} + \frac{(10.2)^2}{34.8} + \frac{(3.4)^2}{8.6} = \frac{441}{41} \]
\[ \frac{342.3}{42.5} + \frac{2.3}{10.5} + \frac{77.4}{34.2} + \frac{10.2}{35.2} + \frac{32.5}{8.7} + \frac{204.5}{29.3} + \frac{134.6}{30.4} + \frac{6.3}{7.5} + \frac{3.2}{14.8} + \]
\[ \frac{0.1}{15.3} + \frac{4.8}{3.8} + \frac{185.0}{33.6} + \frac{104.0}{34.8} + \frac{11.6}{8.6} = 10.8 + 8.1 + 0.2 + 2.3 + \]
\[ 0.3 + 3.7 + 7.0 + 4.4 + 0.8 + 0.2 + 0 + 1.3 + 5.5 + 3.0 + 1.3 = 48.9 \]

- 102 -
APPENDIX 3.7

CHI SQUARE TEST OF THEME 7 DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(1.9)</td>
<td>(3.3)</td>
<td>(2.2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3.6)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(11.9)</td>
<td>(20.4)</td>
<td>(13.6)</td>
<td>(6.0)</td>
<td>(22.0)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
<td>(0.1)</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square Test

\[
\frac{(0 - 1.9)^2}{1.9} + \frac{(13 - 11.9)^2}{11.9} + \frac{(1 - 0.2)^2}{0.2} + \frac{(4 - 3.3)^2}{3.3} + \\
\frac{(20 - 20.4)^2}{20.4} + \frac{(0 - 0.3)^2}{0.3} + \frac{(0 - 2.2)^2}{2.2} + \frac{(16 - 13.6)^2}{13.6} + \frac{(0 - 0.2)^2}{0.2} + \\
\frac{(0 - 1)^2}{1} + \frac{(8 - 3.6)^2}{3.6} + \frac{(18 - 22)^2}{22} + 0.3 = \frac{(1.9)^2}{1.9} + \frac{(1.1)^2}{11.9} + \\
\frac{(0.8)^2}{0.2} + \frac{(0.7)^2}{3.3} + \frac{(0.4)^2}{20.4} + 0.3 + 2.2 + \frac{(2.4)^2}{13.6} + 0.2 + 1 + \\
\frac{(1)^2}{6} + 0.1 + 0.1 + \frac{(4.4)^2}{3.6} + \frac{(4)^2}{22} + 0.3 = 1.9 + 0.1 + 3.2 + \\
0.2 + 0 + 0.3 + 2.2 + 0.4 + 0.2 + 1 + 0.2 + 0.1 + 5.4 + \\
0.7 + 0.3 = 16.0
\]
Gyoji Osada, *Nippon Gunka* (Japan's War Songs), Zen-on Gakufu Shuppan, Tokyo, 1970

Akihiko Yamaki, *Gunka de Miru Nippon Senso-shi* (Japan's History of Wars Seen Through War Songs), Keibunsha, Tokyo, 1967

*Omoide no Gunkashu* (A Collection of War Songs to be Remembered), Nobaraisha, Tokyo, 1969

Koji Kada, *Gunka to Nippon-jin* (War Songs and Japanese), Tokuma Shoten, Tokyo, 1965

Keizo Horiuchi, *Nippon no Gunka* (War Songs of Japan), Jitaugyo no Tsuho, Tokyo, 1969

*Nippon Gunkashu* (A Collection of Japanese War Songs), a set of two stereo LP records, Columbia Record, Tokyo, 1964

Motohisa Yasuda, *Nippon no Rekishi* (History of Japan), Shakai Shiso-sha, Tokyo, 1967

*Taiheiyoh Senso e no Michi* (Way to the Pacific War), Asahi Shimbun, T'kyo

Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Addison-Wesley, 1969


Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp, Lewis Donohew, *Content Analysis of Communications*, Macmillan, New York, 1967

Kurt Adler, *Songs of Many Wars*, Howell, Soekins, New York

Navy Song Book, Bureau of Navy Personnel Special Services Division Music Branch, 1958

Army-Air Force Song Book, Department of the Army and the Air Force, 1957