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the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere**

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Ambivalent Aspirations : Okinawans' Collaboration with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

Yuri Okubo

Focusing on Okinawan collaboration in the policy of migration to Southeast Asia in the 1940s to construct the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," this presentation aims to explore the tension between the Okinawan people's aspirations for the empire and their resistance to it.

Okinawan intellectuals emphasized the importance of Okinawa as the “pioneer region of the southward advancement” based on its rich experience of their migration to Southeast Asia, because they wanted to be recognized a member of the Japanese Empire. The Okinawa Prefectural Office showed their collaboration by establishing training centers for southern migrants upon a request from the Ministry of Colonial Affairs which conducted the policy. However, such collaboration was sometimes in conflict with the Okinawan identity.

In its twilight years, what did the Japanese Empire demand the Okinawans to construct the Co-Prosperity Sphere, and what did the Okinawans offer? How did the contradiction and ambiguity appear discursively? My presentation examines the idea of the southward advancement in the early 1940s proposed by Okinawan intellectuals in *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa* and explores the two training centers above by using newspapers, movies, and official documents.

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“Ambivalent Aspirations: Okinawans Collaboration with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere”

Introduction

This paper aims to shed light on the Okinawa Takunan Training Center (沖縄拓南訓練所), which was established in 1941 as part of Okinawa Prefecture's southward advance policy, and through it to analyze the structure of collaboration by Okinawan people in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

Okinawa once formed the Ryūkyū Kingdom and had their own history and culture. However, Okinawans have been discriminated against on this basis ever since they were incorporated into the Japanese Empire in 1874. As a result, Okinawa's modern history has been marked by an ambivalence between the desire to become a part of the empire "on par with other prefectures (他府県並)" and the assertion of Okinawa's uniqueness.

When the Japanese Empire was in the process of collapse in the 1940s, what did Okinawans have to offer, how did they resist, and what problems did they face when the military compelled them to cooperate in the construction of the Co-prosperity Sphere? This paper focuses on Okinawa's southward advance policy that developed in response to the empire's southward advance policy. It explores the structure of this cooperation at three levels: the national government (the Ministry of Colonial Affairs 拓務省), the Okinawa prefectural authorities, and Okinawan intellectuals.

The term "Takunan (拓南)", an abbreviation for "southern development (南方開拓)," was used in the 1940s. It was adopted so as to remove the nuance of invasion from the "southward advance" in the same way that the settlement of Japanese emigrants in Manchuria was called "development". There were two human resource training institutions for the development of the south under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs: Takunan Juku (拓南塾 Takunan Preparatory School) ¹ (February 1941) which trained employees to work for Japanese companies in Southeast Asia, and Takunan Renseijo (拓南錬成所 Takunan Training Center) ² which trained agricultural engineers. In addition, there are records

¹ Ōkubo Yuri, " 'Imin' kara 'takushi' e: Takunan Juku ni miru Takumushō no Nan'pō imin seisaku", *Nen'pō Nihon Gendaishi*, No. 10 (Gendai Shiryō Shuppan, 2005), pp.85-121.

² It was founded as Takunan Seinen Kunrenjo in February 1941 by a private organization, and transferred to the

of the Takunan Industrial Warriors Training Institute (拓南工業戦士訓練所)³ and the Takunan Agricultural Warriors Training Institute (拓南農業戦士訓練所)⁴ in colonial Taiwan, as well as the Sumatra Takunan Training Center (スマトラ拓南訓練所) on the island of Sumatra.⁵ Thus, Takunan can be said to be an ideology that pervaded the Japanese Empire. What, then, was required of Takunan in Okinawa? This paper focuses on two southern emigration training centers established in 1941: the Okinawa Takunan Training Center (for agricultural emigrants) and the Itoman Takunan Training Center (for fishermen). It clarifies the role expected of Okinawa, especially with regard to the Okinawa Takunan Training Center.

Kobayashi Shigeko⁶ and Gotō Ken'ichi's⁷ studies of the Okinawa Takunan Training Center, looked at the southward advance of Okinawa and fishery emigration respectively. This paper builds on these two works, seeking to clarify the position of Okinawa and the Okinawa Takunan Training Center in the Japanese Empire's southward advance policy from the angle of "Takunan," via a comparison with other "Takunan" emigration training centers in the Japanese Empire. It uses materials from the Imperial Diet, official documents and newspapers of Okinawa Prefecture, and the magazine *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa*.

Okinawa's Southward Advance Policy

The Hirota Kōki Cabinet first adopted the southward advance as a national policy in the "Standards for National Policy (国策ノ基準)", which was approved by the cabinet on August 7, 1936. In the middle of 1930's, there was a "southward advance boom". Colonial Taiwan had already held an exposition in 1935 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of its possession of Taiwan, and in September 1936, Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō was promoting "Japanization, industrialization, and southward advance" (皇民化、工業化、南

Ministry of Colonial affairs in September 1942), Ōkubo Yuri, "Senjiki 'nanpou kokusaku imin' kunren kikan no jittai: Takunan Renseijo o chūshin to shite", *Nihon shokuminchi kenkyū*, No. 14 (Athens, 2002), pp. 1-20.

³ Isomura Seitoku, *Ware ni kaeru sokoku naku: Aru taiwanjin gunzoku no kiroku*, (Tokyo: Jiji tsūshin sha) 1981.

⁴ Yoshizawa Minami, *Watashitachi no naka no Ajia no sensō: Futsuryō Indoshina no 'Nihonjin'*, Tokyo: Asahi shuppansha, 1986.

⁵ "Sumatra Takunan Kunrenjo" (1945 satsuei), ID0000064552, Dēta beisu "Asahi Shimbun rekishi shasin ākaibu: Ajia: senzen senchū hen" (Fuji Sōkō materials).

⁶ Kobayashi Shigeko, *'Kokumin kokka' Nihon to imin no kiseki: Okinawa filipin imin kyōiku shi*, (Tokyo: Gakubunsha) 2010.

⁷ Gotō Ken'ichi, *Kindai Nihon no 'Nanshin' to Okinawa*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten) 2015.

進化). Okinawa Prefecture was one of the largest emigrant prefectures and had already sent many agricultural and fishing emigrants to the South Seas Mandate and Southeast Asia. The newspapers therefore adopted the phrase "Okinawa is the Southern lifeline"⁸ to generate enthusiasm for the southward advance. According to 1939 statistics,⁹ half of the 130,000 population in the South Sea Islands were Japanese residents. Of them, 45,000 were Okinawans, making up about 60% of the Japanese population, who were engaged mainly in the sugar and fishing industries.¹⁰ In Southeast Asia, there were more than 10,000 Okinawans living in the Philippines, starting with emigrants engaged in the construction of the Benguet Road from 1904. After the road was completed, they moved to Davao to work in hemp cultivation. In addition, about 2,000 Okinawan migrant fishers had been going to Singapore, Java, Sumatra and other countries.¹¹

How did the Okinawans respond to the Japanese Empire's policy of southward advance, and how was the policy of southward advance implemented in Okinawa Prefecture? *Nanshinron*, the southward advancement theory, which rose sharply around 1940, was also heated in Okinawa among the prefectural authorities and intellectuals. Nishimiya Hiroshi, Director of the Social Affairs Division of Okinawa Prefecture, expressed his exuberance in the *Ryūkyū Shimpō* (May 28-29, 1939), insisting that "Okinawa Prefecture was once a small, reserved existence in a corner of [the Empires] southern life," but "further south of Okinawa are the wide, wide South Seas," and "Okinawa is now on the verge of becoming the center of this new Japan".¹² In the *Ryūkyū Shimpō* (October 29, 1939), Captain Kikuchi Yōzō of the Kumamoto

⁸ Nishihara Fumio, "Kokusaku to shite no takushoku ijū," in Okinawa kyōiku iinkai(ed.), *Okinawaken shi*, vol. 7, (Okinawa: Okinawa kyōiku iinkai, 1974) p. 522.

⁹ Given in Aoki Masahide's question at the 60th Okinawa Prefectural Assembly on December 2, 1941, in Okinawa kengikai jimukyoku (ed.), *Okinawa kengikaishi dai 7 kan shiryō hen 4*, (Okinawa: Okinawa kengikai, 1985) p. 327.

¹⁰ Imaizumi Yumiko, "Nan'yō Kōhatsu (kabu) no Okinawa kenjin seisaku ni kansuru oboegaki", *Okinawa bunka kenkyū*, No.19, p.175.

¹¹ Aniya Masaaki, "Kaidai," in *Okinawa kengikaishi dai 7 kan shiryō hen 4*, p. 48. According to "Okinawa ken ni okeru zairyūkoku betsu danjo betsu zairyūsha sū (1940)," prepared by Ishikawa Tomonori using data from the Research Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were 9,899 residents in the Philippines, 1,096 in British Malaya, 507 in Netherland East Indies, and 340 in British North Borneo and British protectorate Sarawak. (Ishikawa, *Nihon imin no chirigaku teki kenkyū*, Okinawa: Yōju shorin, 1997, p.335) Of these, the number limited to fishing emigrants is unknown. According to Gotō Ken'ichi, the statistics for 1938, limited to those from Itoman, show 506 fishermen in the Philippines, 271 in Singapore, 103 in Netherland East Indies, and 28 in British Borneo. (Gotō, *Kindai Nihon no 'Nanshin' to Okinawa*, p.193)

¹² Gotō, *Kindai Nihon no 'Nanshin' to Okinawa*, p.179.

military police corps (憲兵隊) who visited Okinawa Prefecture, stated that "Okinawa is the throat of Japan's southward advance, just as Korea is the throat of Manchuria". He hereby emphasized the importance of Okinawa for national defense in the southward advance policy.

As if responding to the hopes of these Okinawa prefectural authorities and military leaders, discussions emerged among civilians that emphasized the relationship between Okinawa and *Nan'pō* (Southeast Asia and Micronesia). These discussions served to restore the pride and confidence of the Okinawan people. The first representative of this trend was Asato En's (安里延) "History of Okinawan Maritime Development: An Introduction to the History of Japan's Southern Development" (沖縄海洋発展史—日本南方発展史序説) published in 1941. Asato, who was a teacher at Okinawa Teachers Training School(沖縄師範学校), was commissioned to write the book by the Okinawa Overseas Association (沖縄県海外協会), chaired by the prefectural governor Hayakawa Hajime, as a commemorative project for the 2600th anniversary of the imperial era (紀元二千六百年) . It describes in detail the relations between Okinawa and China, Korea, and Southeast Asia from the Middle Ages onward, as well as Okinawa's activities overseas. Hayakawa wrote in the preface: "The mission of the Okinawans, who stand at the forefront of the development of the south, is becoming more and more important, and the people of Okinawa should contribute to the national policy by further exalting the national spirit of their great ancestors". The title of the second edition was changed to "A History of Japan's Southern Development: A History of Okinawa's Maritime Development" (日本南方発展史—沖縄海洋発展史) to emphasize Okinawa's pioneering role in the development of the south.

Next, Murata Tatsuji, the director of the Toa Voice News Film Company, made the *kulturfilm* (a genre of propagandistic documentary film), "People of the Sea: The Story of Okinawa Island" (海の民 沖縄島物語) after a meeting with the prefectural cultural committee.¹³ The film, released in July 1942 after the outbreak of World War II, explains the historical connection between the Ryukyu Kingdom and Japan. It glorifies the fishers of Itoman as

¹³ "Bunka Okinawa shō," *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa*, Vol. 2, No. 5, June 1941, p. 22.

pioneers of the southward advance, and emphasizes the culture and particular fishing methods of the Itoman people. Finally, Tōyama Kyūzo, the "father of emigrants in Okinawa," launched his poem "We should go overseas. Our home is the five great continents,"(いざゆかん 我らの家は五大州). The entrance ceremony for the Okinawa Takunan Training Center was held under Tōyama's statue, emphasizing the idea that Okinawans were the main force behind the southward advance. In addition, the cultural magazine *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa*, launched in August 1940, also promoted the theory of southward advance. It even published an essay by Asato En and a hard-line southward expansionist argument by an Okinawan emigrant journalist in Peru that advocated the military occupation of Southeast Asia and Okinawan emigration.¹⁴ Ultimately, the Okinawa Prefectural authorities, Okinawan politicians, and intellectuals were unanimous in their support for and cooperation with the national policy of southward advance.

The background to this active promotion of Okinawa Prefecture's southward advance policy was the national spirit mobilization movement, part of the national mobilization system that followed the start of the second Sino-Japanese War. Ōshiro Masayasu points out that the spirit mobilization movement in Okinawa was characterized by the "Standard Language Encouragement Movement" (標準語励行運動) and the "Movement to reform customs and manners (風俗改良運動)". These initiatives were implemented by the prefectural authorities as an extension of the assimilation policy and imperialist education (皇民化教育) that had been in place since the Meiji era. Ōshiro argues that their excessive zeal in pursuing these initiatives caused the "Okinawa Dialect Dispute" (1940) with the Japan Folk Crafts Association.¹⁵ The promotion of the standard language via a complete ban on dialects, and the use of "dialect tags" in elementary schools, which required students who spoke a dialect to wear a wooden tag around their necks as punishment, were clearly excessive.¹⁶ In 1939 Governor Fuchigami Fusataro articulated the view, known as the "theory of the elimination of Okinawan culture", that "for the sake of national unity, we must eliminate all local characteristics of Okinawa." In response to the policy based on Fuchigami's theory, *Gekkan*

¹⁴ Shinjo Chōkō, "Nanshinron," *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa*, Vol. 2, No. 2, March 1941, pp. 6-9.

¹⁵ Ōshiro Masayasu, "Kokka sōdōin taisei no kakuritsu," in Okinawaken bunka shinkōkai siryō hensansitsu (ed.), *Okinawa ken shi kakuron hen dai 5 kan kindai hen*, (Okinawa:Okinawa ken kyōiku iinkai, 2011) p. 601.

¹⁶ Nishihara Fumio, "Showa 10 nendai no Okinawa ni okeru bunka tōsei," *Okinawa siryō henshujō kiyō*, No.1, (Okinawa: Okinawa ken siryō henshujō, 1976) p.31.

Culture Okinawa, and its editor-in-chief, Motoyama Yūji, showed their resistance by publishing the claims of Yanagi Muneyoshi of the Japan Folk Art Association and Motoyama's complain about Movement to reform customs and manners.¹⁷ *Gekkan Culture Okinawa* called for Okinawa to achieve a position in the Japanese Empire "on par with other prefectures" by evaluating and improving the quality of Okinawan culture.

One noteworthy point in the prefectural authorities' response to this is that they claimed that they had received gratitude from migrant workers and new recruits for encouraging standard Japanese. Nishihara Fumio cites the following three reasons for the implementation of this policy of encouraging standardized language: 1) it was part of the national spirit mobilization movement aimed at promoting the Japanese spirit and the idea of reverence for the gods, in order to emphasize the sense of national unity and spread the ideology of the Emperor System; 2) education in a standardized language would turn Okinawans, many of whom had already emigrated to the South, into propaganda agents at a time when the importance of Okinawa as a "base for the southward advance" was increasing; and 3) the use of a standard language that was understood by the prefectural and military authorities would help suppress criticism of the authorities and increase the effectiveness of counterintelligence.

In light of the discrimination faced by Okinawan emigrants within Japanese émigré communities in their destination countries, it is doubtful that they were expected to be propaganda agents. However, encouraging the use of the standard Japanese language would have instilled a sense of shared ethnicity and the ideology of the emperor system in the emigrants to make them cooperate with the Japanese empire. It would also have enabled counterintelligence control by the prefectural and military authorities. On the other hand, for Okinawan emigrants too, the ability to speak standard Japanese was, as the prefectural authorities put it, a skill that was required to improve the status of Okinawan emigrants within Japanese society. According to Tomiyama Ichirō, Okinawans were motivated to abolish the Okinawan language due to their desire for "modernity, that is, progress" and the violence of

¹⁷ Akuni Kyōko, "Kaidai: 1940 nendai zenhan no Okinawa no zasshi 'Gekkan Bunka Okinawa' ni tsuite," *Fukkoku-ban Gekkan Bunka Okinawa bessatsu*, (Tokyo:Fuji Shuppan, 2015) p.19-20.

modernization and capitalization that demanded proletarianization.¹⁸ These circumstances led to the establishment of the training system for southern emigrants.

Establishment of the Okinawa Takunan Training Center and its significance

In July 1940, the second Kono Cabinet announced the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and indicated their policy of armed southward advance. As mentioned above, Okinawa was already ideologically ready to take the lead in the national policy of southward advance. In March 1941, with budget support from the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, the Okinawa Takunan Training Center (for agricultural emigrants) and the Itoman Takunan Training Center (for fishermen) were established as training centers for southbound emigrants. The Okinawa Takunan Training Center was established in Kin village in the central part of the prefecture. This was the birthplace of the two significant individuals: Tōyama Kyūzō, the "father of emigration" who was the first Okinawan to send emigrants to Hawaii, and Ōshiro Kōzō, who helped send emigrants to the Philippine. Likewise, Itoman was a village of fishermen famous for its unique fishing method, "Oikomi ryō"(追込漁), and many fishermen had gone fishing in the south. Therefore, it can be said that these two training centers were established in symbolic locations for the southern emigrants in Okinawa. These training centers were not established unilaterally at the direction of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. Rather, Okinawan Governor Fuchigami's response to the prefectural assembly provides evidence that the Okinawa Prefectural authorities had been negotiating with the Ministry of Colonial affairs even before the establishment of the centers.¹⁹ In other words, it was an active response by Okinawa Prefecture to the national policy.

To begin with, the Okinawa Overseas Emigrants Association (沖縄海外移民協会) was already training emigrants and sending them overseas for the purpose of settling migrant workers in the colonies. However, the Takunan Training Centers, subsidized by the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, were of a different nature. The Takunan Bureau, established in November

¹⁸ Tomiyama Ichirō, *Kindai nihon shakai to 'Okinawajin'*, (Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyōronsha, 1990) p.197-198.

¹⁹ "Dai 60kai tsujo Okinawa kengikai giji sokkiroku dai 5 gō," December 4, 1940 in *Okinawa kengikaishi dai. 7kan shiryō hen 4*, p. 245.

1940, was responsible for implementing the Ministry of Colonial Affairs' southern emigration policy. Its budget for fiscal year 1941 was increased to cover the cost of establishing human resource development institutions for the development of the south and subsidizing the emigration training facility in Okinawa Prefecture.²⁰ The Ministry of Colonial Affairs aimed to train leaders who would play an active role in the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in Southeast Asia.²¹ Like military personnel, emigrants were divided into three categories, "soldiers," "non-commissioned officers," and "officers." In the Takunan Juku, men who had graduated from secondary school were trained for two years, and after graduation they were assigned to Japanese companies in Southeast Asia in small groups. On the other hand, the Okinawa Takunan Training Center was expected to be "equivalent to Uchihara Training Center." The Uchihara training center trained young men for a short period of time to be sent to Manchuria as the Manchurian Youth Volunteer Army (満蒙開拓青少年義勇軍).²² The Ministry of Colonial Affairs explained its establishment of the center on the grounds that "a large number of people from Okinawa Prefecture had already migrated in the south."²³ One newspaper article reported on Okinawa Prefecture's policy for establishing the center as follows: "(Okinawa) prefecture is planning to establish a Bunson plan (分村計画 dividing and relocating villages)²⁴ for the southward advance of Takushi (拓土 pioneers) just like the Bunson plan for the continent, and make them give up the *dekasegi* spirit (出稼ぎ根性) and their old migrant attitude of returning home with beautiful clothes. Instead, our policy is to settle them with their families permanently as Takushi for building Greater East Asia".²⁵

In other words, just like for the Manchurian emigrants, the Okinawa prefectural authorities had a policy of sending out a large number of southern emigrants through the Bun-son plan. The same article also reported that the school was scheduled to be upgraded to a national institution in 1942. Unlike Manchurian emigration, the policy of Takunan Juku was not to send

²⁰"*Dai 76 kai teikokugikai shūgiin yosan iinkai daiichi bunkakai (Gaimushō, Shihōshō, oyobi Takumushō shokan) kaigiroku (sokki) dai 1kai*," January 30, 1941.

²¹"*Dai 76 kai teikokugikai shūgiin yosan iinkai daiichi bunkakai*".

²²"Takushoku kyōiku no kinkyūsei wo kataru zadankai," *Umi wo koete*, February 1941, p. 57.

²³"Takushoku kyōiku no kinkyūsei wo kataru zadankai."

²⁴Bunson plan or Bunson imin was one of the forms of Manchurian emigration. According to this plan, each village was divided into two, with one staying in their village in Japan as the mother village while the other was sent to Manchuria.

²⁵"Dekasegi konjō wo sutero Kaitakuchi ni eijū sesimeru hōshin Okinawa ni Takunan kunrenjo wo secchi suru," *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, November 6, 1941.

a large number of emigrants, but to send a small number of elite emigrants to various regions for business advancement. This was in accordance with the "National Policy Standard" of 1936 of using "gradual and peaceful means"(漸進的和平的手段) to avoid friction with the Southeast Asian sovereign states as much as possible. On the other hand, Okinawa Prefecture's policy was particular with strong expectations for an armed southward advance policy, and in August 1942, after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific war, the Okinawa prefectural authorities announced a plan to send half of the prefecture's population, 300,000 people, to the south.²⁶

However, the Okinawa Takunan Training Center never became a national institution, and mass emigration to the south did not take place. In September 1942, the Takunan Youth Training Center, which had been established by a private organization as a southern version of the Manchurian Youth Volunteer Army, was transferred to the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and restarted as Takunan Renseijo to train agricultural engineers. There were now four training institutions for southern emigrants in the Japanese Empire: Takunan Juku (for corporate employees) and Takunan Renseijo (agricultural engineers) in the interior, and Okinawa Takunan Training Center (for agricultural emigrants) and Itoman Takunan Training Center (for fishers) in Okinawa.

In addition to the Overseas Emigrants Associations established in each prefecture, there were also Emigration Training Camps (移民教養所) established in Kōbe and Nagasaki under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs where emigrants were instructed in the language and customs of the destination country for about 10 days. However, these camps in Kobe and Nagasaki differed from the training centers for southern emigrants. The purpose of the latter was to train "Takushi" rather than emigrants. In the Imperial Diet, it was argued that the terms "Takushi" or "Kaitakushi"(開拓士) should be used for Manchurian emigrants who were "moving nationally" and should be distinguished from emigrants who were leaving because they were "unable to make it in their hometown".²⁷ As with Manchurian emigrants, these training centers for southern emigrants, called "Takunan," were national training institutions for "Takushi," who were to be trained as national policy emigrants, with the aim of educating

²⁶ "Takunan kunrenjo wo kakuchō Naha shigai e iten keikaku," *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, August 14, 1942.

²⁷ Ōkubo, 2005, p. 90.

them to become leading figures who would contribute to the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

In the case of the Okinawa Takunan Training Center, particular emphasis was placed on the fact that Okinawa Prefecture was a source of human resources for the southward advance policy,²⁸ and the nature of Okinawan emigration. The Prefectural authorities stated: "There have been many cases in settlements overseas where Okinawan emigrants caused unpleasant situations because of their different customs or extremely low education. (omission) they have many problems to be the imperial pioneers because of their Dekasegi spirit and desire for personal enrichment."²⁹ A policy of prescribed training was adopted "in order to equip them with sufficient qualities to truly lead and inspire the peoples of East Asia as true imperial pioneers".³⁰ In addition to the elimination of the "Dekasegi spirit" and settlement, which had been repeatedly mentioned in the conventional training of emigrants, it is thought that the Prefectural authorities tried to increase the motivation for the training of emigrants by giving them a sense of pride and a mission to "guide and assist the peoples of East Asia".

The training policy stated that "the training of body and mind should be the main focus, and the essence of the Japanese spirit of reverence for the gods and ancestors, loyalty, and filial piety (敬神崇祖忠孝一如) should be acquired, to make them recognize the true nature of their duty to embody the great spirit of unifying the eight corners of the world (八紘一宇), as subjects of the empire," and that "the spirit of selflessness and devotion (滅私奉公) should be encouraged."³¹ They had two kinds of training: classroom lessons and a practical course. In particular, the mental training section of the classroom course mentioned "mastering the Japanese spirit" and "encouraging the use of the standard language." This was the very policy of Okinawa's National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, and was unique to Okinawa and not found in training centers in other areas. According to a survey of the number of trainees, the targets of the training were students and teachers of youth schools and secondary schools, and small and medium-sized commercial and industrial workers. The details of the recruitment

²⁸ Okinawaken Okinawa siryō henshūjo (ed.), *Okinawaken siryō kindai: Shōwa 18nen chiji jimu hikitsugi shorui*, (Okinawa:Okinawaken kyōiku iinkai, 1978) p.294.

²⁹ Okinawaken Okinawa siryō henshūjo p.293.

³⁰ Okinawaken Okinawa siryō henshūjo, p.295.

³¹ Okinawaken Okinawa siryō henshūjo, p.330.

method are unknown, but it can be seen that each group applied by themselves for training.³² The training period was one year for executives and one month for trainees, but in reality, the training period was 10-25 days for trainees and 75 days for executives. 76 executives and 1195 trainees completed the program by the end of June 1943.³³ However, the actual number of graduates who emigrated to the south was small, and many of them went to Manchuria as the Manchurian Youth Volunteer Army.³⁴ What does this mean?

In terms of the training period, the Takunan Juku and Takunan Renseijo set the training period at two years, which was actually brought forward and shortened from one year to six months. Even considering that the Uchihara Training Center of the Manchurian Youth Volunteer Army had a training period of three months, the training period in the case of Okinawa was short from the beginning of the plan.

The classroom course consisted of mental and intellectual training, with the intellectual training consisted of "overseas travel tips, current affairs, physiology and hygiene, geography and history, and foreign languages (Chinese, Manchurian, Southern 南方語³⁵, etc.) ". The practical courses included physical education in kendō, jūdō, karate, gymnastics, and military training, as well as agriculture. However, considering that the Takunan Juku and Takunan Renseijo concentrated on the Malay language, the vague descriptions of foreign language subjects indicate that the destination of emigrants was not necessarily limited to the south. According to an article describing the content of the training at the time of its establishment,³⁶ in addition to practical standard language education with debates and presentations of opinions, there were also lectures on "The cardinal principles of the national polity (国体の本義)," "the current situation and future course of Japan," and "commentary on the new system" by officials from the prefectural social affairs division, social education division, and the spiritual mobilization movement division. There were also lectures on "Southern geography" and

³² "Nanshin nihon no kyoten ni Takunan kunrenjo Kin to Itoman ni 3gatsu kara," *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa*, Vol. 2, No. 3, April 1941, p. 29.

³³ *Shōwa 18nen chiji jimu hikitsugi shorui*, p.330-332.

³⁴ Kin chōshi hensan iinkai(ed.), *Kin chōshi dai Ikan imin honpen*, (Okinawa: Kin chō kyōiku iinkai, 1996) p.419.

³⁵ There is no foreign language equivalent to Southern (南方語) . It probably refers to the totality of the languages used in Southeast Asia.

³⁶ "Nanshin nihon no kyoten ni Takunan kunrenjo Kin to Itoman ni 3gatsu kara".

"Southern history" by teachers from the Okinawa teachers school. In particular, "Southern history" was taught by Asato En, the author of "History of Okinawa's Maritime Development". This shows that the prefectural authorities put a lot of effort into the operation as an extension of social education and their spiritual mobilization movement.

Furthermore, at the time of its opening, Kobashikawa Chōzō from Kin Village,³⁷ a graduate of the Okinawa Teachers School, was selected as the instructor, and local young men in leadership positions were also mobilized. Kobashikawa testified that the instructional guidelines were based on the educational policy of the Uchihara Training Center, which also provided young people with first-year military education.³⁸ In August 1942, one year after the training center was established, Minei Masafuku, a prefectural employee who was also one of the instructors, described a day at the training center as follows:³⁹ wake up at 5:00 a.m., clean up by platoon, go to the river 1 km away to wash face, morning assembly at 6:00 a.m., two hours of running training, breakfast at 8:00 a.m., lectures from 9:00 a.m. to noon on "foreign affairs, current affairs, southern geographical history, foreign languages, physiological hygiene, and travel tips". From 1 p.m. to 5 p.m., the students were trained in drill, gymnastics, martial arts, and work. The evening assembly was held at 5:00 p.m., and from dinner until 8:30 p.m., there was reading, discussion, presentation of opinions, recitation of poems, and singing, followed by Zen meditation and prayer at 8:30 p.m. The lights went out at 9:00 p.m. However, from 9:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m., each platoon took turns to stay awake for an hour.

Minei said that he was "striving to develop leaders" and instructed the trainees to "hold onto the mindset of Japanese people as leaders of one billion people in East Asia," but he hoped that after they became "full-fledged, honorable pioneers who can fight valiantly for the development of the continent and the construction of a new land in the south," the trainees would "instill the spirit of the training institute" in their hometowns and schools. In other words, the direction of training was not necessarily to train "Takushi" for the southward advance, but to train leaders in the local community of Okinawa, rather than "leaders of East Asia. The plan

³⁷ Kin kushi hensan iinkai(ed.), *Kin kushi senzenhen ge*, (Okinawa: Kin ku jimusho, 1994), p.435.

³⁸ Ginoza kushi henshū iinkai(ed.), *Ginoza sonshi dai 2kan siryōhen I*, (Okinawa: Ginoza mura yakuba, 1987) p.404.

³⁹ "Shidō monogatari Nanshin takushi no maki 6", *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, August 14, 1942.

to divide 300,000 people into villages in the south, announced by the prefecture around the same time as Minei's article, was never actually implemented.

Did the war situation make it difficult to send emigrants? It is true that the plan to send 300,000 people to the south as a population control measure was practically difficult. Furthermore, if a large number of emigrants were to be sent, Manchuria would have been the best destination. However, graduates of Takunan Renseijo were dispatched to naval bases in Southeast Asia (Guam, Ambon, and Balikpapan) mainly as company employees and naval servicemen until July 1944.⁴⁰ In terms of the Navy's relationship with Okinawa, the Navy made mass settlements on the occupied islands of Sansō Island (三竈島) and Hainan Island (海南島) in 1939, and the Ministry of Colonial Affairs had plans to do the same.⁴¹ Thinking it from this point of view, both the prefectural and military authorities expected the Okinawans not as leaders of the East Asian people or even as military servicemen, but only as human resources or as human sacrifices. The other "human resource" in the empire's southward advance policy was the colony of Taiwan. Graduates of Taiwan's Takunan Industrial Warriors Training Center and Takunan Agricultural Warriors Training Center were dispatched to the south. In other words, perhaps Okinawa, which tried to be a part of the construction of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" by actively collaborating with the national policy of the southward advance, was in competition with colonial Taiwan and eventually lost its position.

On the other hand, what should we make of the Okinawan people's active collaboration in the southward advance and their admission to the training camps? Kobayashi sees the prewar education of Okinawan emigrants as aimed at their "cultural assimilation" into Japan in order to reduce discrimination and criticism and to send more emigrants. However, she considers it to have been a "necessary assimilation" because it was also necessary for Okinawan emigrants to survive and achieve economic success in a cross-cultural society.⁴² The possibility of "cultural dissimilation" as resistance to cultural assimilation is found in the "History of Ryūkyū diplomacy" in the education of emigrants. Kobayashi also regards change in education from

⁴⁰ Ōkubo, 2002, pp. 14-15.

⁴¹ Kobayashi, p.172.

⁴² Kobayashi, p.13-14.

the Okinawa Overseas Emigrants Association to the Okinawa Takunan Training Center, which trained the southward advance Takushi emigrants for the national policy, as a shift toward "positive assimilation".⁴³

However, Okinawa's "history of southern development" and the fishers of Itoman, both of which functioned as "cultural dissimilation" in emigration as a means of economic and social upliftment, were praised and used in the southward advance policy. This may have been the decisive factor in encouraging the training of national policy emigrants as "Takushi". In this context, "encouraging the use of the standard language" was demanded by the people from within, as an expression of their desire for modernization and to improve their social status. Although the prefectural authorities encouraged people's self-esteem as "leaders of the East Asian one-billion people" and urged them to train, they were not really expected to fulfill their role as "leaders".

Conclusion

The Okinawan people's collaboration in the construction of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" came as a positive response to the empire's expectations for the national policy of southward advance. Both the prefectural authorities and Okinawan intellectuals promoted it by extolling Okinawan culture and history, based on the history of the Ryūkyū Kingdom from the Middle Ages, and on the achievements of the many southern emigrants who had already been sent from Okinawa. The southward advance policy in Okinawa was an extension of the "encouragement of the standard language" and "improvement of manners and customs" that had been developed in the Okinawa National Spiritual Mobilization Movement. The editors of *Gekkan Bunka Okinawa* resisted the "extinction theory of Okinawan culture," but agreed with Okinawa's southward advance policy. Some Okinawan emigrants living abroad were also strong advocates for the occupation of Southeast Asia in order to promote southward advance. The Okinawa Takunan Training Center, which trained southern emigrants as "Takushi," or national policy emigrants, was an extension of the National Spiritual

⁴³ Kobayashi, p. 171.

Mobilization Movement that urged them to "master the Japanese spirit" and "encourage the use of the standard language". In addition to the conventional emigrant training, it emphasized their role as national policy emigrants as "leaders of the peoples of East Asia" and stimulated their pride. In reality, however, the graduates of the training were not sent to Southeast Asia, and they were not expected to be "leaders of East Asia".

In order to understand the position of the Okinawa Takunan Training Center in the training institutions for the "Takunan" emigrants of the Japanese Empire in more detail, that is, southern emigration as a national policy, it would be necessary to elucidate in detail what the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, the Taiwan Governor's Office, and the Navy expected from Okinawa in terms of their southward advance policy. It would also be necessary to compare the differences between the Takunan Industrial Warriors Training Center and the Takunan Agricultural Warriors Training Center operated by the Taiwan Governor's Office. These are the issues I would like to discuss in the future.