

# Southern Fever and Japan's Southward Expansion: Media Discourse in Shin Seinen and the Role of Haruji Tahara

Yuuichi Machida and Masatoshi Ito\*

College of Industrial Technology Department of Liberal Arts and Basic Sciences, Nihon University  
Faculty of Foreign Languages, Department of Global Communication, Tokoha University

\*Corresponding author: m-itou@sz.tokoha-u.ac.jp

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## Abstract

This paper examines the historical reality and feasibility of "Southern Fever" (*Nanpō-netsu*) in Japan during the 1940s by analyzing readers' submissions to the "Kaigai Yūhi Mondou" (Overseas Flying Questions and Answers) column in the magazine *Shin Seinen* (New Youth), alongside editorial responses and commentary by figures such as the politician Haruji Tahara. "Southern Fever" is defined here as a broader social inclination among various segments of Japanese society who expressed interest in and aspiration to travel to the so-called "southern regions" (*nanpō*). With the expansion of Japan's military frontiers, areas such as Singapore, the Philippines, and Indonesia, under Japanese military and political control, became focal points of attention and desire.

Analysis of the "Kaigai Yūhi Mondou" column during the period of Indonesia's administration under Japanese military rule reveals three principal findings. First, around May 1942, there was a marked increase in the number of individuals aspiring to travel to the southern regions as civilian employees attached to the military. Second, from the same period onward, applications and inquiries from women exhibited a rising trend, becoming particularly pronounced after 1943. Third, although individuals with prior overseas experience were likely given priority for assignment to the southern regions, this preference did not extend to military families. Instead, selection criteria appear to have emphasized prior voluntary enlistment and the possession of specific skills or knowledge. Overall, this study situates "Southern Fever" within the socio-political dynamics of wartime Japan, highlighting how media discourse both reflected and shaped public aspirations toward imperial expansion.

**Keywords:** "Southern Fever" (*Nanpō-netsu*); Media in Wartime Japan; Japanese Expansion in Southeast Asia; Civilian Mobilization.

## Introduction

The task of this paper is to clarify the actual situation of "Southern Fever (*Nanpō-netsu*)" in Japan in the 1940s and its feasibility by analyzing the submissions from readers in the "Overseas Flying Questions and Answers (*Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou*)" of the youth literary magazine *Shin Seinen* and the advice of the magazine's editor and politician Haruji Tahara and others. The definition of the *Nanpō-netsu* is the social tendency of various people who were actually interested in and wanted to travel to the so-called "the South (*nanpō*)" (front South Sea, back South Sea). With the expansion of emerging areas of the Japanese military, military and political

regions such as Singapore, the Philippines, and Indonesia became the center).

So far, it can be said that the *Nanpō-netsu* has progressed from the outline of its outline to the specific media. First, Kenichi Goto examined the development of the "southward" policy in the 1940s and the theory of the government and the opposition's advance into *Nanpō*, and pointed out some of the processes of suppressing the southern policy, such as the fact that the military was wary of the *Nanpō-netsu* of the civilian population and decided in December 1941 that the policy to deal with it fell under the jurisdiction of the Sixth Committee (Goto 1986). Second, Yuri Okubo examined the applicants and motivations for

applying to *Takunan Juku*, which trained southern personnel, and clarified how young men's hopes for the South were recovered into the role of southern leaders (Okubo 2023).

On the other hand, Yuichi Machida analyzed the "Southern Consultation" article in *Yomiuri Shimbun* and *Asahi Shimbun* from the perspective of media history, and revealed that young to middle-aged, men and women with different educational backgrounds submitted letters, and that job hunting tended to be concentrated in the National Vocational Guidance Center. He pointed out that there were factors such as avoidance of conscription (Machida 2020). In addition, Machida introduced the activities of Masaharu Mihira, who created books and pamphlets describing the situation in the South, and revealed for the first time the existence of the person who formed the *Nanpō-netsu* at that time (Machida 2021).

In recent years, the reality of social dissatisfaction as a background to the *Nanpō-netsu* has been mentioned from various angles. Miki Iida pointed out, from a gender perspective and based on newspaper's "Southern Consultation" articles and the experiences of specific travelers, that it was against the background of escaping from a sense of closure, such as difficulties in employment using knowledge, challenges in marriage, and unsatisfactory customs in the mainland (Iida 2025). Hajime Masuda also pointed out that the *Nanpō-netsu* during this period was different from that until the *Taishō* period, and attributed it to purposeful actions against the backdrop of a sense of blockage in the interior (Masuda 2025).

Previous studies have gradually clarified the *Nanpō-netsu* and its background, but the actual situation and mechanism of it remain insufficiently understood. In other words, the following questions need to be addressed: (1) How the *Nanpō-netsu* appeared and converged in the 1940s; (2) What kind of realization and meaning it had in reality and what it meant

to travelers; and (3) What political forces were inducing it. The possibility of travel from Japan must be examined by cross-referencing the circumstances of Indonesian society at the time, particularly under Dutch colonial rule, the relationship between the Japanese military administration and local society, Japan's travel conditions and economic situation, as well as individual cases. This approach should clarify the historical context of the *Nanpō-netsu* in the 1940s.

Therefore, in order to answer this question, this paper focuses on *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* an article published in the youth magazine *Shin Seinen* that has not been examined before, and approaches the overall picture through the submissions of readers and the responses of editors. The magazine was a representative magazine of modernism from the *Taishō* to the early *Showa* period, publishing domestic and foreign mystery novels, and had a circulation of about 20,000 copies in the late 1930s, mainly among young people with relatively high levels of education in urban areas at the time. It is an appropriate medium to grasp the trends of young people. And, Tahara, who was responding to readers here, was a member of the House of Representatives who was in charge of editing *Shin Seinen*, and was a person with a variety of roles, such as a director of the Overseas Korean Central Association. As described later, he would also serve as the president of a company that advances to the *Nanpō* and the second general manager of the Southern Bureau of the Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). Unlike people like Masaharu Mihira, who launched his own magazine media, it can be said that Tahara was one of the parties who faced the *Nanpō-netsu* and gave specific guidance to the readership, including political trends.

In addition, since the focus of this paper is on the *Nanpō* publications of the time, especially "East India Relations," and the mention of this region in the letters was also prominent, the analysis of this paper mainly deals with Indonesia. The

examination of this paper should further deepen the concrete picture of the Nanpō-*netsu* and elucidate the mechanism of external expansion of Japanese society during the war.

This analysis focuses primarily on Indonesia, as evidenced by the numerous references to “East India relations” in contemporary Nanpō publications and the prominence of reader submissions, as discussed later. Japan’s interest in Nanpō had repeatedly surfaced since the Meiji period, but after withdrawing from the League of Nations in 1933, the “Southern Expansion Doctrine” became prominent. This doctrine demanded that the South Seas be “opened” to Japan as a source of resources, a destination for immigrants, and a market.

The Nan’yō Kōhatsu Co., Ltd. (state-sponsored company) oversaw business activities while incorporating Indonesian private enterprise shop owners into a military intelligence network. Policy interest heightened with the *Kokusaku no kijun* (standards of national policy) adopted at the Five-Minister Conference in 1936. Indonesia's importance grew under the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” concept following the Second Konoe Fumimaro Cabinet, amid the quagmire of the Sino-Japanese War and deteriorating relations with the United States. After the conclusion of the “Southern Campaign,” governance was divided among three branches: the Army administered Java and Sumatra, while the Navy governed Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and other regions. Under Japanese military administration, the general populace was mobilized at all levels of society. Through the organization and control of groups such as *Seinendan* (youth associations), *Fujinkai* (women’s associations), and Islamic federations, they were mobilized and exploited for the war effort. The economy, previously reliant on plantation-style industries, was transformed to meet wartime demands, shifting its focus to food and cotton production. Forced rice contributions were demanded, and human resources were supplied as *Rōmushā*

(laborers), dispatched to various locations in the South. They were put to work on military facilities and road construction (Goto 1986; 2022).

It is noteworthy that, according to materials published by the Army Press Department in 1943, the number of Japanese newly deployed to various regions in the Nanpō by December 1942 continued to increase steadily. This figure comprised approximately 6,000-7,000 military personnel, a similar number of economic development personnel, and an additional 3,000 returnees, and had “already surpassed 40,000” by June (Rikugunshō and Takeda 1943, pp183). This represents a doubling from the approximately 35,000 Japanese in the Nanpō as of 1934 (Irie 1942, pp408-409), suggesting Indonesia was the center of this growth and that the influence of the Nanpō-*netsu* played a role.

Of course, the task of uncovering the actual experiences of those who traveled has only just begun, and it would be difficult to fully elucidate the entire picture through this paper alone. However, by examining the expectations surrounding Japan’s Nanpō-*netsu* and identifying who was actually able to travel, a more concrete understanding of the Nanpō-*netsu* can be achieved, and the mechanisms of Japan’s wartime external expansion can be clarified.

**Haruji Tahara and Shin Seinen (New Youth)**

### **Nanpō-*netsu* Phenomenon**

This paper first examines various aspects of Nanpō-*netsu* in the 1940s and then considers the significance of media analysis. The shift in Japan's foreign policy symbolized by its withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, namely, the “Return to Asia”, was perceived as a major threat by the Dutch East Indies Government. The founding of the Greater Asia Association in the same year, initiated by Fumimaro Konoe and Kōki Hirota, was seen as a sign that interest in the Nanpō had grown within the political sphere and the upper echelons of the military. Even today, it is generally

held among Indonesian intellectuals that 1933 was the period when Japan revealed its true nature as an “imperialist state” in pursuit of securing resources in the Nanpō (Goto 1986, pp10, pp269, pp307).

Travel to the Nanpō, including Indonesia, was still not easy at this time. For example, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Trade Bureau's Overseas Travel Guide, the Dutch East Indies comprised Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Celebes Islands, with 7,000 Japanese residents. Approximately 500 Japanese were in Medan and Batavia, and 250 in Semarang, engaged in commerce, barbering, restaurants, fishing, and about ten large-scale plantations producing rubber, oil, and palm. Travelers were required to register their stay at the Japanese consulate or legation within seven days of arrival (Gaimushō Tsūshōkyoku 1932). Travel to the Dutch East Indies cost approximately 165 to 175 yen for passage and entry fees, rising to about 250 yen when including provisions and incidental expenses. Living expenses for three months amounted to roughly 265 yen, requiring a total of about 515 yen. Passports were issued for “non-immigrants” (first-class and second-class passengers) and ‘immigrants’ (third-class passengers). Among immigrants, there were two types: contract immigrants and free immigrants. The latter required a certificate of invitation from the Japanese consulate. However, in the Dutch East Indies, as long as one had sufficient funds and did not cause trouble for others, few objections were raised, and applying as a “non-immigrant” was considered more convenient (Takei 1930). However, in 1933, the Dutch East Indies Government imposed restrictions on the number of foreigners entering the country, and the entry fee was set at 300 yen (Kaigai Hatten Kyōkai 1936:713). Even assuming the average monthly income for white-collar workers at that time was 100 yen (Iwase 2006), this required a substantial sum equivalent to three months' income. For most ordinary people, travel was simply not a realistic option.

With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Japan's interest in southward expansion intensified. This shift was driven primarily by the Army's advocacy of a southward advance, reinforced by expectations of a German victory and the conclusion of a military alliance with Germany. Under these circumstances, Japan sought to expand its influence in Southeast Asia. In July 1940, the second Kono Cabinet was formed, and in September the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany, and Italy was concluded. Around the same time, Japan promoted the Nanpō-netso with the aim of establishing the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere,” while advancing negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies to secure access to strategic materials. In the same month, Japan initiated its advance into northern French Indochina, a move that led to a deterioration in relations with the United States.

Against this backdrop, various media sources suggest that the Nanpō-netso was beginning to emerge. For example, reports indicated that applicants seeking to travel to the South Pacific visited local government offices across multiple prefectures (Keizai-kyoku Shōkō Sōdanjo 1941, pp51). In addition, a detailed bibliographic survey of South Pacific-related publications were conducted by Sokichi Matsumoto, a senior officer of the Tōa Chōsakai, in *Southern Report (Nanpō Hōkoku)*, which analyzed the total volume of articles on the South Pacific published prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War (Mainichi Shimbunsha 1943).

According to Matsumoto, 513 documents were collected between September 1940 and October 1942. These included advertisements in four major Tokyo newspapers, *Tōichi*, *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, and *Nichinichi*, as well as advertisements in general monthly magazines and introductions to newly published books. The materials were categorized as follows: 61 items on the “general situation” of the southern region as a whole; 70 on “East India relations”; 48 on “French Indochina relations”; and 33 on “Philippine relations.”

The category “East India relations” referred to the Dutch East Indies, a region centered on present-day Indonesia and surrounding areas. This situation reflected rising expectations in Japan that the Japanese military’s occupation of French Indochina would lead to relaxed travel conditions, expanded employment opportunities, and the development of various new frontiers.

However, according to the observations of the writer Kenji Takahashi, the Nanpō-netsu itself was diverse and did not necessarily contain sufficient content (Takahashi 1942, pp283). This suggests that the situation in mainland Japan required reliable travel guidance. Therefore, as mentioned above, people rushed to the government office and even asked about the possibility of Overseas travel in the submission and consultation columns of newspapers and magazines.

### **Haruji Tahara and the Promotion of Nanpō-netsu**

Amid these developments, it was Haruji Tahara who, from November 1940 onward, provided readers with concrete guidance on how to advance into the Nanpō in the advice column “Nanpō Annai” in the magazine *Shin Seinen*. First, I will introduce Tahara. He is known as a liberation activist for discriminated villages (*Hisabetsu Buraku*), a peasant activist, and a politician of the proletarian party. However, he also had experience studying in North America and was a promoter of Japanese immigration to North and South America.

To briefly introduce his biography, Tahara was born on July 28, 1900 in a discriminated village in Yukuhashi Town, Fukuoka Prefecture. He was known as a talented person at Yukuhashi Ordinary High School and entered Fukuoka Prefectural Toyotsu Junior High School in April 1913. However, after his father died in the fall of the same year, he repeatedly transferred schools and eventually graduated from Higashiyama Gakuin, a mission-based private junior high school in Nagasaki. After entering the law department of Waseda

University, he joined a circle dedicated to socialist research and *Buraku* liberation. While still enrolled, Tahara traveled to the United States for private study, graduating from the University of Denver and earning a degree in journalism from Missouri State University. He returned to Japan in March 1928 and joined the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun. However, he became involved in the Horizontal Movement (*Suiheisha*) starting in December of the following year, and in August 1930, he left the *Asahi Shimbun* to dedicate himself to social activism. He subsequently distinguished himself as an influential activist of the social democratic faction within the national Horizontal Movement (Yukuhashi Shishi Hensan linkai, ed., 2004).

Tahara later joined the National Popular Party and participated in the peasant movement. In the 20th general election for the House of Representatives in 1937, he ran as a member of the Social Popular Party and was elected for the first time. Following the dissolution of the Social Popular Party in 1940 and the dissolution of the Dai Japan Farmers' Union, Tahara became a member of the Central Council of *Dowa Hōkōkai* (Concord and Service Association) and a director of the Fukuoka Prefectural Headquarters in 1942, sympathizing with the nationalist Yamato National Movement. During this period, Tahara proposed overseas expansion in the context of a solution for the issues faced by discriminated villages, and it is known that he regarded it as a powerful solution.

Tahara's activities were directed to the South with the dissolution of the horizontal movement and the peasant movement. After the fall of Singapore, he published *Nanpō kakkoku yūhi annai* (1942a), appealing to an unspecified number of readers to strive for the new goal of southern management. In the book, many public and private organizations related to the Nanpō, which appear in *Shin Seinen* and *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou*, are introduced. It is based on the activities of the Overseas Brotherhood Association (*Kaigai Douhou Kyoukai*) to which Tahara belongs, and shows the breadth of Tahara's horizons.

In the same year, following his defeat in the election, he was invited by an acquaintance to become the second general manager of the Southern Bureau of the Koa General Headquarters, and also became the president of Takunan Mining Co., Ltd. (Tahara 1973; Kosyogi 2023).

### ***Shin Seinen* and the *Kaigai Yūhi Mondou* Column**

The journal *Shin Seinen*, which is the focus of this study and was edited by Tahara, was a modernist magazine that enjoyed popularity in the 1920s and 1930s. It had a circulation of 30,000 copies for Volume 18, No. 1 (February 1, 1937), and 21,000 copies for Volume 19, No. 3 (February 5, 1938), where the subscribers were primarily educated urban youth (Kobayashi, ed., 2011:133). During the war, it began to feature roundtable discussions including strong

wartime rhetoric, gradually taking on a militarist perspective.

The column *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* was serialized in the magazine beginning in Volume 21, No. 13, issued in November 1940; the last installment was in Volume 24, No. 4, in April 1943. At the beginning of the series (Vol. 21, No. 13; Vol. 22, No. 1–6), only three inquiries related to Nanpō. However, in the July issue of the same year (Vol. 22, No. 7), interest in the south increased rapidly, and inquiries also substantially increased.

Table 1 summarizes data on 37 individuals who expressed a desire to travel to the southern regions in letters published in *Shin Seinen* between Vol. 22, No. 7 (July 1941) and Vol. 24, No. 4 (April 1943), including information such as age and intended destinations. Entry No. 2 and 3 corresponds to two male respondents of the same age.

**Table 1. Individuals Expressing Aspirations to Travel to the Southern Regions Published in *Shin Seinen* (July 1941–April 1943).**

Respondent's Number	Volume / Issue (Year)	Headline	Age	Gender	Place of Residence	Desired Destination	Educational and Occupational Background	Desired Occupation / Preferred Type of Employment
1	Vol. 22, No. 7 (1941)	To the Dutch East Indies	22	Male	Hyogo	Dutch East Indies	Junior High School, General Store Owner	Company Employee
2	Vol. 22, No. 8 (1941)	To the South Seas	19	Male	Osaka	French Indochina or Dutch East Indies	N/A	Pioneer Work
3	Vol. 22, No. 9 (1941)	Business Expansion into the South Seas	19	Male	Tokyo	Dutch East Indies	N/A	Employee at Trading Company / Shop (Live-in)
4	Vol. 22, No. 10 (1941)	To the Dutch East Indies	32	Male	Tokyo	Dutch East Indies	Dentist	Private Practice / Hospital Staff
5	Same as above	Same as above	N/A	Male	Tokyo	Sumatra, New Guinea	N/A	Agriculture
6	Same as above	To Thailand	22	Male	Manchuria	Thailand	Attended Night Commercial School (Incomplete), Accounting Experience	Private Trading Company
7	Same as above	Same as above	36	Male	Tokyo	Same as above	Factory Foreman, Blacksmith	Blacksmith Shop Owner
8	Vol. 22, No. 11 (1941)	Moving to the South Seas	N/A	Male	Fukuoka	Java	Student at a Higher Commercial School	Trade
9	Same as above	Same as above	27	Male	Tokyo	Hainan Island, French Indochina, Thailand	Knitwear Shop Clerk	Knitwear or General Merchandise Trading
10	Vol. 23, No. 1 (1942)	Aspiration for Nanpō	20	Male	Yamaguchi	Southern Territories	Commercial School (Aquaculture) /	Fishery Industry

							Certified Third-class Diver	
11	Vol. 23, No. 4 (1942)	Deployment to Nanpō	18	Male	Tokyo	Same as above	N/A	Development of Occupied Territories
12	Same as above	Same as above	N/A	Male	Korea	Malay or Hawaiian Region	Lighthouse Staff	Lighthouse Keeper
13	Same as above	Same as above	23	Male	Tokyo	Southern Territories	Typist (English and Japanese)	Typist
14	Same as above	Same as above	25	Male	Gifu	N/A	N/A	Mining or Oil Company
15	Vol. 23, No. 5 (1942)	Southern Expedition	N/A	Male	Manchuria	Sumatra	Industrial School	N/A
16	Same as above	Same as above	N/A	Male	Fukuoka	Dutch East Indies	Doctor	Private Practitioner
17	Same as above	Same as above	26	Male	N/A	Southern Territories	Returned from Manchuria in 1941, Dyeing Technician	Government-sponsored Company or Private Company
18	Same as above	Civilian Employees for Southern Territories	20	Male	Nagano	Same as above	Technical High School (Class B)	Wireman
19	Vol. 23, No. 6 (1942)	Practical Issues in Travel to Nanpō	37	Male	Kanagawa	Same as above	Electrical Engineer	Electrical Construction Supervisor
20	Same as above	Volunteering as Civilian Employee for the Southern Territories	33	Male	Osaka	Philippines	Law School, Pharmacist	Permanent Residency Desired
21	Vol. 23, No. 7 (1942)	Southern Expedition and Civil Travel	20	Male	Manchuria	Malay Region	Steam Locomotive Engineer / Assistant Locomotive Engineer, Chosen Government Railway	Engine Driver / Locomotive Engineer

22	Same as above	Same as above	N/A	Male	Nagano	Philippines, Malay, Java	Locomotive Driver	Railway
23	Vol. 23, No. 8 (1942)	Female Civilian Employees Sent to Java	19	Female	Tokyo	Java, Sumatra	Women's Vocational School Student, Studying English and Japanese Typing	Teacher at Local
24	Vol. 23, No. 10 (1942)	Expansion of Surveying Workers	N/A	Male	Yamaguchi	Manchuria, Southern Territories	Experience in Military Factory	Surveyor
25	Same as above	Enthusiasm of Glider Pilots for Nanpō	N/A	Male	Aichi	China, Southern Territories	Aviation School / Glider Piloting and Construction Skills	Airline / Glider Association
26	Same as above	From Karafuto to the Southern Regions	27	Male	Karafuto	Southern Territories	Trained Reserve Soldier / Certified Refrigeration Machinery Operator	Cold Storage Facility or Ice factory
27	Vol. 24, No. 1 (1943)	Telecommunication Operators Volunteering for Nanpō	18	Male	Nagasaki	Java, Sumatra	Worked at Telegraph Office	Radio Operator
28	Same as above	Clerical Workers' Deployment to Nanpō	22	Male	Tokyo	Southern Territories	Higher Elementary School / Typist	Clerk
29	Vol. 24, No. 2 (1943)	Employment in the Occupied Territories of Nanpō	25	Male	Hokkaido	Same as above	Trained Reserve Soldier / Driving Experience	N/A
30	Same as above	Women's Deployment to Nanpō	19	Female	N/A	Borneo, Celebes	Qualified Japanese Typist	Typist
31	Vol. 24, No. 3 (1943)	Factory and Service Workers' Travel to Nanpō	24	Male	Osaka	Southern Territories	Skilled Press Worker	Press Working

32	Same as above	Same as above	16	Male	Taiwan	Same as above	N/A	Waiter
33	Same as above	Film Technicians Advancing to Nanpō	21	Male	Tokyo	Same as above	Licensed Cinematographer	Film Industry
34	Same as above	Pathway for Farmers to Advance to Nanpō	27	Male	Wakayama	Same as above	Agricultural School	Agriculture
35	Same as above	Women Serving as Military Personnel Advancing to Nanpō	N/A	Female	Tokyo	Same as above	Higher Girls' School / Typist (Japanese)	Typist
36	Vol. 24, No. 4 (1943)	Desire to Serve as Military Personnel in Nanpō	20	Male	Gifu	Same as above	N/A	Military Civilian Staff (Propaganda / Pacification)

Source: Compilation of

Although inquiries that were raised concerning travel to Nanpō also appeared in the writing of other correspondents, for the purposes of the compilation of this table, the selection was primarily focused on those who expressed the desire to travel to the Netherlands East Indies (present-day Indonesia), also taking into account the balance among other destinations and desired occupations. First, drawing on the data in Table 1, this section identifies what can be discerned concerning Japanese individuals' aspirations in advancing to the south (*nanpō yūhi*) at the time, along with the insights that can be inferred from such findings.

Among the 37 respondents, 29 were between 16 and 37 years old. The remaining eight respondents exact ages could not be determined from their correspondence, but their stated intention to travel as settlers or of members of military forces suggest that, given their social attributes and presumed physical capacity, they were most likely in their late teens to their early forties.

As indicated in Table 1, the fact that the residents of Tokyo accounted for the largest number of submissions may be partly attributable to the relative ease of their access to various magazines and information sources, including *Shin Seinen* relative to those living in other regions. A similar explanation may apply to Osaka, where the relatively well-developed information environment could have been factor in the higher number of submissions.

Among the 37 respondents listed in Table 1, 6 expressed a desire to resettle from overseas territories: specifically, No.6, No.15, and No.21 were writing from Manchuria, No.12 was writing from Korea, No.26 was writing from Sakhalin, and No.28 was writing from Taiwan. All of these individuals demonstrated the intention to relocate to the Southern Regions. It is noteworthy that, from mid-1941 onward, those with prior overseas living experience were given preference in southern migration.

A large proportion of the letters did not specify a particular preferred destination,

instead using general terms such as Nanpō; Hainan Island, French Indochina, or Thailand; or either Manchuria or Nanpō. Comparatively few letters explicitly indicated a specific destination.

Finally, we turn to educational background, work experience, and desired occupations or positions at intended destinations. In Table 1, the educational backgrounds and work experience presented include professional qualifications and licenses; however, 7 of the 37 respondents did not provide information on these items.

The respondents had degrees from agricultural schools, technical high schools, higher commercial schools, and universities. Their work experience included such positions as general store clerk, blacksmith, electrical engineer, and railway driver. Examples of qualifications include third-class diver, typist, cinematographer, and refrigeration machinery supervisor.

Most respondents who indicated their education, work experience, and/or professional qualifications in their letters expressed the desire to engage in occupations to make use of the knowledge, skills, or professional experience that they had acquired.

The respondent expressed interest in pursuing an occupation in a wide range of fields, including agriculture, establishing medical clinics, railway-related work, and the film industry. Some even hoped to venture south as members of military forces. However, as seen in the statements of No. 2—“I want to be a pioneer”—and No.11—“I want to become a development soldier in the occupied territories”—some respondents had a limited interest in specific regions or occupations but still expressed the desire to travel to the Southern Regions.

Among the female respondents, No.23 hoped to become a teacher at a local school for indigenous children, and No.30 and No.35 hoped to work as typists, which reflects the limited employment opportunities for women in the overseas territories. In this period, occupational options that were considered feasible for

women abroad were largely restricted to a small number of roles, such as those of nurses or telephone operators. At that time, women proficient in English had the opportunity to work as cabin attendants, commonly referred to as stewardesses, on foreign-route passenger ships operated by Nippon Yusen (NYK Line) and Osaka Shosen (Osaka Shipping Line) (Tahara 1940, pp241).

### **Details Examination of Letter Content and Responses**

Next, this part examines the content of letters submitted to *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* and the corresponding editorial responses. Letters numbered 1 through 10 in Table 1 were submitted when Indonesia was still under Dutch colonial rule.

To contextualize these letters, it is necessary to outline the situation in Indonesia during the period of the Dutch East Indies. From the mid-1930s onward, as Japan increasingly identified Indonesia as “the most important target for southern development,” the vigilance of the Dutch colonial administration toward Japan gradually shifted from economic concerns to political and military ones. The outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War further intensified the activities of the Chinese diaspora opposing Japan's China policy. At the same time, distrust of Japan grew among Indonesians, as Japan exerted pressure on China while promoting the slogan “Asia for Asians.” Some Japanese residents in Indonesia also responded to southward expansion policies by engaging in espionage activities (Goto 1986, pp37, pp307-308).

With the outbreak of World War II and the evident ascendancy of German forces, the Dutch colonial administration's vigilance and anxiety toward Japan intensified further in 1940. In particular, when the Dutch government in the Netherlands was compelled to flee to London on 10 May following the German invasion, the Dutch East Indies administration grew increasingly alarmed by the rising prominence of pro-southern expansion rhetoric in Japan, driven

largely by the military, under slogans such as “*Nanshin*” (Southern Advance) and “New Order / Practice of Loyalty to the nation.” Furthermore, Japan's foreign policy measures, including the signing of the Tripartite Pact in September 1940 and the deployment of troops to northern French Indochina, decisively worsened the Dutch East Indies administration's attitude toward Japan (Goto 1986, pp37, pp284-285).

In Indonesian society, as relations between Japan and China deteriorated, the Chinese community launched boycott movements against Japanese products. The Dutch East Indies authorities, however, sought to suppress such anti-Japanese boycotts as much as possible, both because they feared that Chinese-led anti-Japanese activism would disrupt the political and social order of colonial society and because they believed that inexpensive Japanese goods contributed to the stability of the popular economy. Within a hierarchy in which Europeans occupied the upper tier, “foreign Orientals” the middle tier, and “natives” the lower tier—where race and class were inseparably intertwined—Japanese residents, who had been granted the same legal status as Europeans since 1898, were able to engage in commercial activities under the protection of the colonial administration. Yet, amid worsening international conditions, tensions surrounding their position gradually intensified (Goto 1986, pp267-268, pp456, pp465).

As a result, from around spring 1940 a gradual movement toward repatriation began to emerge among a portion of the Japanese community residing in Indonesia. This trend accelerated further following the termination of the Japan–Netherlands Commercial Agreement in June 1941. In addition, in response to the United States' comprehensive oil embargo against Japan, the Dutch East Indies administration announced on 28 July of that year the “Order for the Freezing of Japanese Assets” and restrictions on imports and exports, and on the following day declared a state of

emergency, also terminating the oil agreement with Japan. In accordance with Japanese government policy, the Japanese consulate in Indonesia, with the cooperation of local Japanese community leaders, promoted an organized repatriation program. The first repatriation began in September of the same year. The three repatriation waves began with the return of women and children, and the final repatriation ship, the *Fujimaru*, arrived at Kobe three days after the outbreak of war, on 11 December. At that time, it is estimated that approximately 7,000 Japanese residents lived throughout Indonesia, of whom about 38 percent chose to repatriate. (Goto 1986, 265, 296-297; Fukami ed. 1993, pp13, pp15). The responses to the *Kaigai Yūhi Mondou* by Tahara and others can be seen as reflecting such unsettling social conditions in the local context.

Contributor No.1 inquired whether it is possible to obtain secure employment in a company in the Dutch East Indies. The response indicates that, in recent times, Dutch authorities had intensified their crackdowns, and few visas were being issued to merchants or farmers. Envoy Yoshizawa was negotiating on-site, but for the time being, there was no alternative but to refrain from traveling (Tahara 1941a, pp204).

For the two individuals in No.2 hoping to be pioneers in French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, or the Mandate Territories, it was noted that these regions could not receive travelers coming to work as laborers or farmers, but were rather destinations for those who had particular skills (Tahara 1941b, pp285).

No.3 asked: "I seek live-in employment at a trading company or store in the Dutch East Indies. I understand that entry is impossible without a summons certificate. What should I do?" The response indicates that, while employment conditions within Nanpō Seas were extremely difficult due to wartime restrictions, travel remained relatively easy through the establishment of an employment relationship with a local Japanese trading company or store and the

completion of entry procedures. However, this state of affairs differed for the Dutch East Indies, where entry procedures could take more than six months (Matsubara 1941a, pp176).

No.4 expressed the desire to practice dentistry for Japanese residents in the Dutch East Indies. The response advised, "While opening a private dental practice is not impossible, it would be advisable to inquire with the Omura Dental Clinic in Surabaya, Java" (Matsubara 1941b, pp123).

No.5 inquired concerning procedures for going to work on agricultural land in Dutch East Indies Sumatra or New Guinea. They were advised to contact Nanyo Kōhatsu Co., Ltd. and Sumatra Development Co., Ltd. in the Maru Building. No.6 and No.7 were considering going to Thailand. No.6, who hoped to work for a private trading company, was advised that, while travel to Thailand is relatively easy, unplanned travel should be avoided. For No.7, who aspired to manage a blacksmith shop, it was also advised to contact the Embassy of Japan in the Kingdom of Thailand, located in the same city (Matsubara 1941b, pp123).

No.9 desired a trade-related position in Java and inquired about methods of employment in that region. Matsubara acknowledged that employment in the Dutch East Indies was difficult for the time being but expressed the optimistic view that the situation was expected to improve in the near future (Matsubara 1941c, pp220). No.9 expressed an interest in conducting trade in knitwear or general merchandise in Hainan, French Indochina, or Thailand. In response, Matsubara noted that knitwear ventures were already being undertaken by Japanese nationals in the Dutch East Indies, and they had promising prospects. Conversely, expansion into Thailand or French Indochina was also feasible, although investigation would be necessary. He advised contacting the Thailand Office (located in the Mitsui Building, Nihonbashi, Tokyo) (Matsubara 1941c, pp220). No.10 wrote expressing a desire to "work to one's heart's content in the Southern Common Prosperity Sphere" within the fisheries

sector; he was advised to visit the Nanyo Trading Company in Nihonbashi (Tahara & Matsubara 1942, pp112).

What becomes clear from Tahara and others' responses to No.1 through No.10 is that certain conditions were required for travel: specific skills, such as medicine, blacksmithing, or diving or experience and knowledge related to the particular occupation or trade. These conditions were not only common requirements for those heading to the Dutch East Indies but applied to all aspiring overseas adventurers. However, travel to the Dutch East Indies during this period remained extremely difficult, even for those who had appropriate skills or experience and or those who had secured employment contracts with local Japanese trading companies and completed entry procedures. Indeed, the responses to writers No.1, No.3, No.5, No.6, No.7, and No.9 clearly indicate the major obstacles to traveling to Dutch India.

### **Validity of Responses**

This section examines the validity of the advice offered by Haruji Tahara and other contributors in response to submissions numbers 1–10. The responders recommended inquiries for those wishing to travel to the Dutch East Indies to companies such as Nanyo Kōhatsu Co., Ltd. and Sumatra Development Co., Ltd. for submission No.4 and to Nanyo Trading Co., Ltd. for submission No.8. However, they also indicated to No.1 that “recently, Dutch authorities have tightened their crackdown,” to No.3 that “the situation regarding the Dutch East Indies is different,” and to No.8 that “finding employment in the Dutch East Indies is difficult for the time being,” representing their recognition that travel to the Dutch East Indies was difficult. That said, in their replies to letters No.1 through No.10, the respondent did not explicitly provide the specific reasons that travel to the Dutch East Indies was difficult.

Three specific factors can be identified: First, beginning one year before to No.1 (July 1941), suspicion and distrust toward Japan

had begun to grow within the Dutch East Indies government. Second, tensions had risen between Japanese residents and the Chinese community in the Dutch East Indies. Third, in July 1941, the Dutch East Indies government imposed a “funds freeze order against Japan” along with import/export restrictions on Japanese residents. The reason that the responders did not convey these specific circumstances to the letter writers remains unclear, but their responses are nevertheless reasonably valid.

### **Analysis of Letters to the Editor Under Japanese Military Rule**

#### **Period 1**

Letters from No.11 to No.14 in Table 1 were published in *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* section of *Shin Seinen*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (April 1942). At this point, Indonesia was under Japanese military administration.

No.11 wrote that “anywhere in the South is acceptable,” while expressing the desire to “become a warrior for developing occupied territories.” Previously, in the *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* those hoping to travel south having vague motivations were cautioned that this attitude was inappropriate. Here, however, the warning was delivered with even greater emphasis (Teshigawara 1942a, pp188). From an advisory standpoint, these warnings were entirely reasonable. Nevertheless, taking into account the prevailing social phenomenon at the time, known as Nanpō Netsu, it was perhaps inevitable that some individuals would volunteer for Nanpō without specifying a desired region or occupation.

From mid-1941 onward, the Japanese government shifted its policy and prioritized the redeployment of returnees from the overseas territories to further develop the Southern Regions. This change in policy meant that, in addition to the previously required technical skills and occupational experience, having lived in the overseas territories was added as a new condition. Thus, for ordinary Japanese who were

residing in the home islands and had no overseas travel experience, advancing into the Southern Regions became an even more remote possibility.

Here, we consider the returning Japanese nationals who re-entered Indonesia. Toshio Hagiwara, who had come back to Japan from Indonesia, returned to Java as a returning Japanese national working for the Enemy Property Control Department as a commissioned staff member of the Java Military Administration Headquarters. Hagiwara's did not have the status of a member of the military; instead, he was treated as a Japanese national (as a civilian employed by the military or government during wartime or under wartime conditions and with the status of a non-regular employee). However, the majority of those who re-entered on the same ship were military employees. According to Hagiwara's testimony, after the Japanese military landed on Java in March 1942, once travel permission was granted by the Ministry of the Army, repatriates wishing to return to Indonesia formed an association and began preparations for their return (Hagiwara 1991, pp405-406).

Next, No.12, residing in Korea, made a specific inquiry about the possibility of securing the position of a lighthouse keeper position in the Malay region or Hawaii. Although this writer had experience living overseas, the response indicated that no lighthouse-related positions were available in the desired regions. No.13 expressed a desire to travel to and permanently settle in the Southern Regions as a typist. No prospects for this were currently available, but the response conveyed that corporate activity there might become more active in the near future, and No.13 should consider moving there then.

No.14 expressed the desire to contribute to industrial development in Nanpō. In response, acknowledging that such individuals are generally needed, the reply stated that currently, only those who possessed "special technical expertise required for the execution of national policy"

were eligible (Teshigawara 1942a, pp188-189).

Next, we examine letters No.15 through No.18. no.15 inquired about how feasible it was to travel from Manchuria to Sumatra. The response explained that travel by civilians to operational zones, including Sumatra, Borneo, and the Philippines, was not permitted. Likewise, in response to No.16, written by a physician wishing to practice in the Dutch East Indies, travel was asserted not to be currently authorized under the present circumstances. Furthermore, No.16 inquired about the procedure for application for migration to Nanpō, noting that this migration would be permitted only after strict screening. The response to this question explained: "By 'sending only the strictly selected,' we mean first selecting and repatriating the nearly 10,000 compatriots returning from the south" (Tahara 1942b, pp184). Here too, it was confirmed that the repatriation of returnees took priority over additional immigration.

The repatriates from China writing in No.17 sought employment with state-owned companies or with major private enterprises in the Southern Regions. Those who had overseas experience in No.17 was advised only to inquire with companies such as the Nanyo Development Company, Nanyo Kōhatsu Company, and Taiwan Development Company. Meanwhile, No.19, who wished to serve in the military, although recruitment for the military had not been publicly announced, was informed that applications were being handled at career guidance offices on an ongoing basis, and the writer should apply at the nearest one (Tahara 1942b, pp185). Thus, even for those who were not returnees but had skills and wished to serve in the military, while the actual destination or possibility of travel was unclear, the responses were not negative.

No.19 inquired about methods of relocating to Nanpō as an electrical construction supervisor engineer, while No.20 sought to permanently settle in the Philippines. The response to No.20 simply stated that new travel from the mainland

was currently not permitted. For No.19, the reply indicated that a considerable number of electrical engineers were already working there, and under the current military administration, only those who were recognized by the authorities as suitable candidates could travel. Therefore, the applicant was advised to wait for the time being (Tahara 1942c, pp200-201).

The term "persons recognized by the authorities as qualified" mentioned here, and the phrase "persons possessing special technical expertise deemed necessary for the execution of national policy" in response to No.14, refer to personnel selected and recommended by the Southern Policy Companies and major private enterprises that were acting under government commission. For example, this may refer to engineers such as Akiyoshi Tamaki, an employee of Mitsubishi Oil, who traveled to Palembang in January 1942 with military administration personnel of the 16th Army. Tamaki joined Mitsubishi Oil in 1930 and served as site manager for the construction of the Kawasaki Refinery, then Japan's largest. In 1937, he traveled to the United States to study advanced petroleum refining equipment and was became involved in negotiations for its introduction to Japan. He was conscripted as an expert who had both knowledge and experience of refinery construction and advanced equipment (Nakano 2012, pp82).

No.21 and No.22 worked in railway-related jobs and hoped to find employment that could take advantage of that experience. They received the response that railways on the Malay Peninsula and Java had been restored and reopened by Imperial Army units, and because railway operations were being handled by railway units, no new personnel were currently required (Teshigawara 1942b, pp205). Although the personnel who were directly involved in infrastructure operation and resource development were required in Indonesia under military administration, the Java Railway had already been restored and was

in operation. Consequently, no additional personnel were required in those fields.

## **Period 2**

No.23 submitted a letter expressing the desire to travel to Java and Sumatra as a military dependent, eventually becoming teachers at native schools, being prepared to settle permanently. In response, it was noted that while no recruitment of women as military dependents was currently underway, information on teacher positions at native schools would soon be published in mainland newspapers (Tahara 1942d, pp94). In fact, recruitment for Japanese personnel in Nanpō began in October 1942, and deployments began in January the following year, first in the Philippines and proceeding sequentially to Java, Burma, and other locations (Momose 2005, pp37, pp39). Relative to the initial dispatch plan of 155 to the Philippines, 240 to Burma, 300 to Java, 240 to Malaya, and 35 to Borneo, totaling 970, over 270 additional personnel were actually dispatched. For example, on Java, they were assigned to various educational institutions such as the Higher Normal School, Agricultural School, Industrial School, Home Economics School for Girls, Girls' Elementary Middle School, and the Interpreter Training Institute (Momose 2005, pp40).

The presence of Masahira Suzuki was confirmed. He had already arrived in Indonesia before the beginning of recruitment for Japanese language education personnel and was engaged in implementing Japanese-style education as the head of the Education and Culture Section. In May 1942, Suzuki was summoned by the principal of his school and approached concerning being dispatched to the Southern Regions as a naval civil administrator. This stemmed from a request by Shigeo Shimizu, then director of organization for the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, who called on Suzuki—with whom he had a longstanding friendship—to accompany him as head of the Education Section when Shimizu

assumed his post as civil administrator in the naval occupation zone. By the end of the month that followed this proposal, Suzuki departed as part of a contingent of approximately 400 naval personnel. He was assigned to the naval occupation territory of Ambon Island in Indonesia, where he served for about 6 months before being transferred to Bali. At that time, the Civil Affairs Department was relocated to Bali and renamed the Lesser Sunda Civil Affairs Department. The Lesser Sunda Civil Affairs Department administered not only Bali but also the eastern islands of Lombok, Sumbawa, and Flores. Director Suzuki's responsibility encompassed the oversight of the operations of school education across this entire region (Kurasawa 1999, pp289-291).

No.24 through No.26. To No.24, the response was that surveyors are in short supply both in Manchuria and the Southern Regions, indicating that job opportunities abounded. The advice that was given is to inquire at the nearest National Vocational Guidance Office. No.24 was advised that surveying jobs were in short supply both in Manchuria and in the Southern Regions, and while work opportunities abounded, he should first inquire at the nearest National Vocational Guidance Center.

No.25 expressed a desire to work for an airline. A harsh opinion was expressed in response: airlines handle airplanes, not gliders, and likely would not hire someone with no experience so soon after their graduation. However, advice was also provided to inquire with the International Department of Dai-Nippon Airline Company. In answer to No.26, who was considering a leap from Karafuto to Nanpō, it was noted that there might be no need to go through the trouble of re-emigrating (Tahara 1942e, pp201).

No.27 was not seeking to serve as a military attaché or military employee but wished to travel to Java or Sumatra to find work as a telegraph operator. Responding to this, Tahara pointed out that, in the southern war zones, telegraph operators who were dispatched by the Communications Ministry

were serving as military attachés or military employees. While this system could be revised in October 1944, even if it were, individual independent travel would likely not be permitted. For No.28, an already-trained reserve soldier aspiring to serve in Nanpō as a typesetter, he advised inquiring with the Army Ministry's Public Relations Department or the National Vocational Guidance Office. He also suggested contacting major newspapers, as those ordered to publish in Nanpō might require typesetters (Tahara 1943a, pp198-199).

No.29 was a previously trained reserve soldier who had returned from overseas. He wrote expressing his desire to work in Nanpō again. In response, two methods for traveling to the South are clearly stated: "volunteering again as military personnel" or "being hired by corporations or companies (commissioned companies) ordered to operate a business in the occupied southern territories and traveling there." This response also expressed the view that being a trained reserve soldier would be advantageous for employment elsewhere. Furthermore, it advised that obtaining a recommendation through relatives or acquaintances would be an effective means of securing employment with a commissioned company (Tahara 1943b, pp114).

In the response to No.29, the phrase "corporations or companies (commissioned companies) ordered to manage businesses in the occupied southern territories" appears. We therefore examine a specific case involving one such commissioned company to provide further detailed information on the actual operations of such a company. Hirosaburō Mizugaki, Chairman of the Board of Directors of MCC Foods Co., Ltd., traveled to Sumatra in 1943 at the request of the Japanese military. Mizugaki formed the Mizugaki Industrial Group, bringing together personnel from his own company and engineers dispatched from major firms like Morinaga Pharmaceutical and Mitsui & Co. He developed operations under the direction of local military authorities. After surveying various

locations in Sumatra, he determined that the production of canned goods was impractical due to inadequate facilities. However, seeking to fulfill the Japanese military's request for alternatives to canned goods, he explored other options. Consequently, the production of dried vegetables, salted eggs, and salted pork was planned and implemented as "preserved foods equivalent to canned goods" (MCC Shokuhin, . ed. 1984, pp229-234).

However, Tahara also advised No.29: "Since employment at commissioned companies is usually with specialized firms that are difficult to join, the most promising approach is to market your locomotive driving skills, find someone among your relatives or acquaintances who has connections with such commissioned companies, and get their recommendation" (Tahara 1943b, pp114). A specific example related to this advice follows.

Johannes (Indonesian name) graduated from Tokyo Pharmaceutical School (now Tokyo University of Pharmacy and Life Sciences), went to work in the pharmaceutical department of a Yokohama department store, and then opened a pharmacy in Tokyo. One day, he heard from a customer that "military personnel were looking for a pharmacist to go overseas," and around 1941, he ended up going to Sumatra. In Sumatra, he worked at the Medan Pathological Institute under the jurisdiction of the Military Administration Department's Health Bureau (Gon 1995, pp107-108). This case illustrates how a deployment to Nanpō was decided based on word-of-mouth information.

No.30 was a woman seeking work as a typist in the Borneo-Celebes region. She was instructed to contact the Women's Division of the Overseas Compatriots Central Association in Kojimachi, Tokyo. What is noteworthy here is that Tahara expressed admiration, stating, "I am truly impressed by the overseas advancement of Japanese women" (Tahara 1943b, pp115).

Neither No.31 nor No.35 specified a particular region and generally volunteered

for assignment to Nanpō. No.31 and No.32 were advised to become military dependents and were instructed to inquire at their nearest vocational guidance office. No.33 was told to contact the Japanese Film Southern Bureau, while No.34 was instructed to inquire with cultivation companies or the Overseas Compatriots Central Association. Meanwhile, regarding No.35, discussing female applicants, it is noted they are already engaged in building the New Order in Nanpō as military dependents working as typists or nurses, and the writers were instructed to inquire with the Women's Division of the Overseas Compatriots Central Association.

No.36 expressed the desire to serve as an army civilian employee engaged in propaganda, intelligence, and pacification duties. Tahara encouraged him to apply when recruitment for civilian employees was being conducted at the nearby regiment headquarters or the National Vocational Guidance Office (Tahara 1943d, pp148). *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* in *Shin Seinen* magazine concluded with this, in Volume 24, Issue 4 (April 1943).

Points revealed or inferred from the *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* during Indonesia's period under Japanese military administration, first, that around May 1942—when No.18 submitted a letter expressing desire to serve as a military employee as a wiring technician in the Nanpō—the number of individuals aspiring to travel to Nanpō as military employees increased. Second, from the same period, submissions by women showed an increasing trend, becoming even more pronounced after 1943. Third, while it was likely true that those with prior overseas experience were prioritized for deployment to Nanpō, this condition did not apply to military dependents. It is inferred that the selection criteria including being already educated supplementary soldiers and possessing certain skills or knowledge. These points signified that as Japanese military administration advanced, the Nanpō-netsu opened up significant

possibilities for those possessing concrete technical skills and knowledge. While the *Nanpō-nettsu* was cooling, it simultaneously stimulated a definite demand for personnel who could contribute to occupation policy.

## Conclusions

This paper analyzes the Nanpō-nettsu of the 1940s using the *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* published in *Shin Seinen* as a case study. It examines the specific examples from the Dutch colonial period and the Japanese military administration period, respectively, thereby clarifying the actual situation. As a result, during the Dutch colonial period, travel was not actively encouraged due to deteriorating relations with the Netherlands and the prospect of war. However, against the backdrop of the expanding the Nanpō-nettsu following the Japanese military invasion, the number of applicants seeking military-affiliated positions increased around May 1942. From 1943 onward, the number of women expressing a desire to travel also increased.

However, it should be noted that in response to the Nanpō-nettsu boom, on March 18, 1943, the Army Ministry issued guidelines for Southern Advance participants and clarified the policy of the authorities. In other words, those permitted to travel were individuals who had undergone training as military administrative personnel, military employees, industrial development and trade personnel, ordinary travelers, or the Nanpō participants. Furthermore, precautions were outlined for Nanpō participants (Nanyō Dantai Rengōkai, ed., 1943, pp118-120). This indicated a renewed, strictly selective migration policy. Records can be found of individuals who actually traveled under these circumstances. Needless to say, all of them endured considerable hardship.

Conversely, considering Masuda's view that Japan's foreign invasions gained support against a backdrop of social and economic discontent and conflict among various people in the Japanese mainland. it

can be said that the Nanpō-nettsu also emerged as an option that offered dreams of resolving these issues. However, this sentiment extended not only to the Japanese mainland but also to the entire populace, including those with overseas experience. Moreover, it was closely linked to the arguments of commentators such as Tahara, who had overseas experience and believed that Japan's domestic problems could be resolved by transforming them into opportunities for overseas development, as well as to the boom in Nanpō-nettsu related book publishing.

Moreover, advice like that found in the *Kaigai-yuuhi-mondou* served to "cool" the fervor of commentators grounded in local realities. Yet, it also carried an ambiguous significance, because by presenting limited options, it simultaneously fueled the "heat" of competition to secure them. It is presumed that these individuals were ultimately directed to specific contact points within various limited public and private organizations and procured through reliable channels. Needless to say, such career choices became even more urgent after 1943, when the burden of conscription and labor mobilization on men intensified. The rise in the number of women seeking relocation was closely associated with these developments.

Unlike the Nanpō-nettsu of the Meiji and Taishō periods, the wartime *Nanpō-nettsu* emerged against the backdrop of social discontent and stagnation in Japan, without presenting realistic alternatives. Tahara's advice in works such as *Kaigai-yūhi-mondou*, while demonstrating the realistic possibilities and limitations of people's unfulfilled dreams and hopes, nevertheless contributed, however slightly, to sustaining support for external aggression symbolized by the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, maintaining imperialistic ambitions for overseas expansion, and bolstering the Japanese sense of mission as Asia's leader.

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