

# The Marginalization Experienced by The Surviving Special Assault Pilots, Also Known as Tokubetsu Kougeki, During World War II

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## *Abstract*

**要約:** 本稿では、第二次世界大戦中の特攻（特別攻撃）において戦死しなかった特攻隊員に対する周縁化について論じている。本研究において用いたデータは、特攻の使命を受けてその任務にあたった元特攻隊員へのインタビュー結果について、日本語で書かれ日本で出版された書籍に基づく文献調査により得たものである。加えて、自決を強いられるこの任務を遂行する前に特攻隊員らが胸の内を記した遺稿集等も分析した。研究方法としては、解釈的・質的・記述的研究方法を用いた。本研究に用いた理論は、グラムシのヘゲモニー論、バーカーのメディアに関する理論、フーコーの知と権力の理論である。データ収集においては、スギヨノによるデータ収集技術（文献・文書調査を含む）を用いた。データの分析結果から、特攻任務において戦死しなかった特攻隊員は極度の周縁化的扱いを受けたことがわかった。例えば、生きて帰還した特攻隊員は振武寮での幽閉、上官による叱咤、侮辱を受け、それを受けることによる精神的苦痛に見舞われた。振武寮での幽閉期間中、彼らは次の特攻で必ず死んで来るよう命じられていた。また、戦争中は特攻隊員を軍神と崇めていたにもかかわらず、日本の敗戦後は手の平を返したように、元特攻隊員を国賊だと罵る一般市民の目にも苛まれた。さらに、戦後において、自身が受勲した勲章の剥奪や、特攻隊員の家族が受け取った見舞金の返金を要請されるなどといった物理的圧迫も受けている。

**キーワード:** 周縁化; 特攻隊員; 第二次世界大戦

## 1. Introduction

Japanese individuals have a strong sense of loyalty towards their leaders or superiors. Despite being vanquished and "colonised" by the Allies, the Japanese people remained steadfastly loyal to their leaders. Moreover, the spirit of Bushido continues to inspire every individual in Japan. Bushido, also referred to as chivalry, served as the ethical framework

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governing the behaviour of the Samurai caste during feudal Japan. Bushido refers to the mindset of being prepared to sacrifice one's life for the nation and the monarch, as stated by Azhari (2011: 18). Following the conclusion of the Tokugawa era, the Bushido ethos encountered the Meiji restoration strategy (1868-1912), marking the Japanese emperor's ambitious endeavour to establish a new Japan. This involved transitioning from a secluded and impoverished society to a modernised country that could actively participate in the global stage. The advancements in the fields of commerce and technology prompted Japan to develop a strong desire to exert control over neighbouring regions through imperialism. This eventually led Japan to become involved in World War II, alongside Germany and Italy. The primary catalyst behind Japan's decision to execute military offensives in multiple regions, with a particular focus on Asia, was this.

Furthermore, on October 24, 1944, the Japanese combined fleet was badly beaten at the Battle of Leyte Gulf in the Philippines, losing its airspace management rights and sea area management rights in their entirety. As a result of the defeat, on November 24, 1944, US forces first began an attack on the city of Tokyo with 80 bombers. Furthermore, indiscriminate carpet bombing by US forces began in major cities such as Osaka, Nagoya and other cities (Takaoka, 2009: 10). Seeing the Japanese situation at that time increasingly experiencing defeat, a Japanese military war tactic called tokubetsu kougeki (special attack) began to be implemented. This special attack was carried out by bomb-mounted fighter planes and their pilots directly crashing into the opponent's aircraft carrier. Tokubetsu kougeki (special attack), which is better known by the abbreviated terms Tokkou and Tokkoutai (special attack force unit), has several different definitions both based on the combat equipment and techniques used, as well as the forces that operate it and in terms of the period of operation of these tactics.

In essence, the term Tokkoutai refers to a unit that has an organized special attack mission with the prerequisite of being determined to die in a special attack. Tokkou is also known as "Taiatari kougeki" (self-defense attack) because the attack technique is carried out by crashing into the opponent's combat equipment. It is important to note that Tokkou is not a "suicide attack" and is not something that can be equated with terrorist acts such as the terrorists who crashed their planes into the WTC on September 11, 2001. Tokkou is not an act of terror but a tactic used in war situations. Tokkoutai soldiers do not intend to "commit suicide" but to carry out war tactics with the consequence of "death in action". Therefore, although many references in Indonesia refer to Tokkou or Kamikaze as "suicide attacks", the author has deliberately avoided using the Indonesian equivalent of the word or term "suicide attack" in this article. One reference mentions that Tokkoutai is Shinpu Tokubetsu Kougekitai (Shinpu Special Attack Force Unit) formed by the Japanese Navy on October 20, 1944 on the orders of Rear Admiral Takijiro Onishi as Commander of the 1st Air Fleet. Although Japan eventually suffered a fatal defeat in the Battle of Leyte Gulf as described earlier, at the beginning of the battle Shinpu Tokubetsu Kougekitai consisting of four units achieved notable successes such as the Shikishima Unit led by Captain Yukio Seki which managed to sink the aircraft carrier St. Lo and several US aircraft carriers. Thanks to their success on the battlefield, there are several references to the status of Tokkoutai members and their families who during World War II were glorified as "gods of war", but once the war was over with Japan's defeat was immediately changed and marginalized by being called "Tokkou is Japan's shameful mistake" "inhumane war tactics that made thousands of young men 'die silly'" and other insinuations.

One evidence of how Japanese society views Tokkou or Tokkoutai today can be seen in the description of the meaning of Kamikaze in the Daijisen dictionary quoted above, namely "as a development of the meaning of , this word is used as a simile of a reckless act that wastes

human lives)" (Matsumura, 1995: 550). In addition to the Japanese society's view of the Tokkoutai as mentioned above, there is also the extremely cruel treatment of the Tokkoutai who failed to crash and return to their military base. "We, the members of the Tokkoutai, were treated as living gods by being called 'gods of war' before leaving for the attack, but as soon as we returned alive, we were immediately treated as traitors to the country like the turning of a palm" (Onuki and Watanabe, 2018: 4). The Tokkoutai soldiers who returned to base were not treated as they had hoped, even though most of the reasons for not being able to complete their mission were unavoidable situations such as damage to combat equipment, weather elements, attacks from the enemy long before approaching their targets, and so on. Based on the background description above, the problems raised in this study are: How is the marginalization of Japanese Army pilots who did not die in the special attack (Tokubetsu kougeki) in World War II?

## 2. Method

This research is a qualitative research, namely the type of literature by describing the discourse phenomena that arise regarding the existence of Kamikaze troops when Japan felt it was facing defeat in World War II in the form of a narrative. The type of data used in this research is qualitative data. Qualitative data is in the form of information or information regarding the discourse struggles that occur today about the historical events of World War II. Qualitative data is obtained through literature study, social media, examination of related documents. The data sources used in this research include primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data sources were obtained by listening to the views and opinions of Japanese society in the form of discourse to find out the reactions of Japanese society today to the discourse struggle over the existence of Kamikaze, its formation and designation during World War II, perspectives, ideologies, interests and power hidden behind the discourse struggle. Secondary data sources are documents, such as: research reports, theses, dissertations, books related to the research both published in Japan and already published in Indonesia, and related texts that can support this research. Secondary data sources in the form of books that have a relationship with the research were obtained at various bookstores in Bali and in Japan, or by accessing through online media. This research uses data collection method according to Sugiyono (2010: 225) including: (1). Literature study is the stage of collecting data through literature that is relevant to the object of research or the problem being studied. The literature materials in question are those that have been published, in the form of books related to history related to the existence of kamikaze troops in World War II, both published in Japan and in Indonesia, research reports, journals, newspaper articles and other relevant literature; (2). Document study is a record of past events in the form of writings, pictures, or monumental works related to kamikaze troops. The credibility of qualitative research results is higher if it involves or uses document studies. After collecting data, all data collected was then processed by the researcher. The data were analyzed using a qualitative descriptive method, namely by thoroughly describing the data obtained during the research process. Miles and Huberman (1992) state that in qualitative data analysis is done interactively with the following techniques. Reducing data by sorting out the main things and focusing on important things then looking for themes and patterns. At this stage the researcher sorts out which information is relevant and which is not relevant to the research. After reducing the data, the next step is to present the data. The data is presented in the form of descriptive explanations. The final stage in qualitative data analysis is conclusion drawing or verification. The problem that is the object of research can

be understood and then conclusions are drawn which are the results of this research and can answer the formulation of the problem formulated from the start.

### 3. Result

These findings found there are five forms of marginalization of Tokkoutai members who did not die in World War II as follows. 1) Confinement in Shinburyo (Shinbu Dormitory), 2) The Imperial Decree and the Act of Humiliation, 3) Former Member Of The Tokkoutai Identified As A National Traitor, 4) The Tokkoutai Family Members Have Been Instructed To Return The Badges And Prize Money, and 5) Analysis of Media Coverage on the Reintegration of Tokkoutai Members.

### 4. Discussion

#### Confinement in Shinburyo (Shinbu Dormitory)

Tomoji Sasaki, a member of the Tokkoutai, had the rank of Corporal and adhered to the notion that sacrificing his own life by crashing his plane was unnecessary in order to sink enemy ships. Instead, he believed in staying alive and executing multiple attacks to effectively sink more enemy ships. In a military hierarchy characterised by strict adherence to higher orders, it is uncommon to encounter a soldier such as Sasaki who, during the execution of his offensive mission, openly disobeys the instructions of his superiors to intentionally crash. Sasaki was not a coward who avoided participating in the war due to a fear of death. Instead, he shows the bravery to act in accordance with his own convictions. He engaged in combat and dropped bombs on nine separate occasions without experiencing any crashes or accidents, successfully returning each time.

As Tomoji Sasaki consistently avoided crashing, the supervisors' demeanour grew severe and they started to confront Tomoji Sasaki with progressively direct language. The desired outcome from Corporal Tomoji Sasaki is to achieve victory in a significant conflict by intentionally crashing rather than employing aerial bombing. In the future, it is imperative that you execute a self-destruct procedure. "Why didn't you intentionally cause your own destruction after releasing the bombs?" Any individual, aside from Tokkoutai members, is capable of engaging in bomb attacks. Why don't you, as a member of the honourable Tokkoutai, experience death and return to this place? "You are bringing shame to the reputation of the Tokkoutai." "To what extent do you fear the possibility of losing your life?" Timid individual! (Kokami, 2017: 125).

In addition to Tomoji Sasaki, there was another soldier who participated in the Tokkou mission but did not perish. Remarkably, this guy survived until the turn of the millennium and was effectively questioned by Ko Watanabe. Kenichiro Onuki was a Second Lieutenant in the Army and a member of the Tokkoutai. He took part in the "Air Tokkou Operation in Okinawa" that started in late March 1945. While Tomoji Sasaki intentionally disobeyed his superiors' orders, Kenichiro Onuki did not have any intention to crash. However, as Onuki's plane was nearing the targeted aircraft carrier, it was detected by US fighter planes. Consequently, his plane came under attack from enemy forces, leaving him severely injured. Eventually, he was compelled to make an emergency landing on the island of Tokunoshima. Onuki's life during that period can be described as miraculous, as any delay of just a few seconds would have resulted in Onuki being struck by fire from the US Grumman fighter aircraft. Following a brief stay on Tokunoshima island, Onuki and a group of Tokkoutai members from various units were

transferred to Kikaijima island, a secluded island in the Okinawa region. They managed to survive for several weeks under extremely scarce food supplies until they were eventually rescued by an Army vessel and transported to the Fukuoka area.

In Fukuoka, Onuki and his companions were accommodated in a structure known as "Shinburyou" (Shinbu Dormitory). The facility was referred to be a "dormitory," but in actuality, it served as a site of imprisonment for Tokkoutai members who did not survive and come back. Tokkoutai members were prohibited from leaving the premises and were also forbidden from communicating with others through phone or mail. Additionally, they underwent rigorous mental training before being reassigned as Tokkoutai members (Watanabe and Onuki, 2018: 5).

Throughout the 16-day period at Shinburyou, Onuki and the other members of the Tokkoutai who did not meet the expectations of tokkou were subjected to disdain, particularly in the language used by their trainer. "What was the reason for your return?" You are of low quality or value. "Regardless of the cause, it is evident that you have no desire to collide." Do you not experience any sense of shame for your deceased comrades? "If 28 individuals were to deliberately collide their aircraft into a transport ship carrying 1,000 US troops, resulting in a total of 28,000 casualties, the Japanese army would have faced minimal resistance when confronted with the imminent arrival of 45,000 US troops in Okinawa." Despite the various reasons for not crashing, such as engine failure, adverse weather conditions, or the inability to locate enemy warships to target, the trainers disregarded their explanations and unjustly labelled the returning Tokkoutai members as "cowards who fear death". Onuki perceived Shinburyou as an infernal realm that inflicted excruciating torment upon them. The intense psychological strain they experienced was so overwhelming that they strongly desired to be provided with another combat aircraft for their next suicide mission and wished for rapid death, as stated by Watanabe and Onuki (2018: 233).

Over the course of 16 days in Shinburyou, Onuki and the other members of the Tokkoutai who did not meet the expectations of tokkou were subjected to disdain, particularly through the coach's harsh verbal reprimands. "What was the reason for your return?" You are of low quality or value. "Regardless of the cause, it is evident that you have no desire to collide." Do you not experience any sense of shame for your deceased comrades? Had 28 individuals deliberately collided with a transport vessel carrying 1,000 US troops while 45,000 American soldiers were preparing to disembark at Okinawa, approximately 28,000 individuals would have sustained injuries, so significantly impeding the Japanese army's efforts. Despite the various reasons for not crashing, such as engine failure, adverse weather conditions, or the inability to locate enemy warships to target, the trainers disregarded their explanations and unjustly labelled the returning Tokkoutai members as "cowards who fear death". Onuki perceived Shinburyou as a tormenting inferno that inflicted unbearable suffering onto them. The intense psychological strain caused them significant distress, leading to a strong desire for a replacement fighter plane to participate in the next tokkou mission, and a want for early death (Watanabe & Onuki, 2018: 233).

Both Sasaki and Onuki managed to endure the marginalisation indicated before while anticipating their departure for the next tokkou. However, Japan's loss in World War II brought an end to their waiting. The post-war period was especially challenging for former Tokkoutai members. In addition, they faced the menace of rumours suggesting that former Tokkoutai members were the initial individuals to be executed by the United States for their war crimes. While en route to repatriate the soldiers, they were subjected to a barrage of stones thrown by a group of individuals who taunted them with phrases such as "Because of you Japan lost",

"Why don't you die?", and "You lost and have the audacity to return, how disgraceful" (Kougami, 2017: 159).

Japanese society's treatment of members of Tokutai can be equated with symptoms that lead to attitudes xenophobia as Crush and Ramachandran say, (Pratma, 2021), namely hatred and rejection of "other" groups. The hatred in question is related to the concepts of "foreigners" and "non-foreigners" or "natives" and "immigrants". Differences in identity, which generally refer to the origin of the community, society or nationality, can therefore trigger the phenomenon of xenophobia, in this case Japanese society after World War II considers its members Tokutai as a different community and at the same time as traitors to the State.

The surviving Tokkoutai members, despite being Japanese citizens with equal rights, experience marginalization due to the circumstances that prevented them from dying on the battlefield, as noted before. It is evident that they are being marginalized by those in authority, specifically the military, all the way up to the emperor who has ultimate control. In addition to experiencing marginalization, they were also subjected to the hegemony of a specific authority, namely the military system, which served as the dominating group led by the emperor. Gramsci, as stated by Edkin and Williams (2010: 234), defined "hegemony" as a specific form of social power dynamic in which dominant groups maintain their privileged position primarily by consensus-based methods. This implies that the group in power, specifically trainers, superiors, and even the empire, exert pressure on the subordinate groups, namely Tokkoutai members, to gain their approval. This is done by articulating a political vision and ideology that purports to represent everyone and align with the prevailing political beliefs. Well-liked. In such situations, coercive power may diminish in prominence within political affairs, remaining latent as a possibility but not readily apparent in day-to-day political activities.

### **The Imperial Decree and the Act of Humiliation**

In Japanese culture, the emperor is seen as a divine being, and his decrees are considered absolute and must be followed without question. The emperor's edict also encompassed Tokkoutai, which is alternatively referred to as Kamikaze in certain literary works. An indication of the accountability of the Japanese soldiers who served in the Kamikaze units was their compliance with the command to engage in offensive actions against the international forces in World War II. The emperor's directive was articulated by Tagaya, Osamu, and John White (2012:25) in the following manner. "The burden of responsibility is more significant and weighty than a mountain, whereas death is comparatively lighter and less burdensome than a feather."

The aforementioned remark is the renowned phrase from the initial directive of the imperial proclamation to Japanese soldiers and sailors, which was issued by the Meiji emperor on January 4, 1882. The edict exemplifies the Japanese government's endeavour to imbue its soldiers with the principles of military service as the nation moves forward from its history and aspires to attain eminence. Within the realm of imperialism. The decree served as the foundation for a set of principles that highlighted unwavering allegiance, self-control, accountability, bravery, dignity, and modesty towards the emperor. The edicts are derived from diverse traditions in Japan, including Confucianism and the cultural norms of the Samurai. They embody a warrior mentality that has motivated numerous individuals to accomplish remarkable feats and exhibit bravery, selflessness, and unwavering commitment to their responsibilities. The Japanese imperial military forces were founded on the philosophical principles of Bushido culture. In addition to the emperor's command, the ex-members of Tokkoutai were also concerned about the potential reactions of their families and townspeople

upon the unexpected return of individuals who were presumed deceased.

Upon his return to Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, in January 1946, which was six months after the conclusion of World War II, Sasaki observed a noticeable transformation in the city's societal structure. Within a line of illicit marketplaces located at the outskirts of the town, Japanese females conversed in an informal and imprecise manner in the English language, while also expressing affectionate sounds towards young troops from the United States. Indeed, amidst the war, Sasaki and the soldiers stationed in the Philippines deliberated on the notion that in the event of American troops invading Japan, Japanese women would resort to self-inflicted death as a means to safeguard their chastity. The members of Tokkoutai are resolute in their willingness to give up their lives due to concerns about the plight of women in their cherished nation. Sasaki pondered, "What precise course of action should we undertake, Tokkou?" (Kogami, 2017: 163).

The aforementioned facts demonstrate that Tokkoutai members exhibited unwavering discipline in carrying out their duties, dutifully obeying orders from their superiors, including the emperor. However, when the circumstances shifted (specifically, at the conclusion of World War II), they encountered a contrasting situation that significantly undermined the principles of discipline they had previously upheld. When considering the situation as a whole, it becomes evident that both the trainers and the empire exerted "power" over the Tokkoutai members. This power was utilised as a means of punishing the members under the command system. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/1972), Foucault (Lubis, 2014:74) argued that science, specifically the Japanese military system, might serve as a potent instrument for instilling discipline and training, as well as for subjugating and compelling obedience in individuals, as affirmed by experts. Tokkoutai members adhere strictly to obedience, despite enduring humiliation in the aftermath of the battle. There are two terms that require clarification in this instance, specifically: "savoir" and "connaissance". *Savoir* focuses on formal knowledge, philosophical concepts, and the formal institutions that govern scientific endeavours. *Connaissance* refers to formal systems of knowledge, including books, scientific journals, philosophical beliefs, and religious conventions. *Connaissance* refers to a specific field of knowledge, such as nuclear physics, evolutionary biology, or Freudian psychoanalysis. *Savoir*, on the other hand, refers to the intellectual framework that is required for the advancement of *connaissance*.

### **Former Member Of The Tokkoutai Identified As A National Traitor.**

As previously elucidated, 特攻 [Tokkou] was a strategic manoeuvre employed by the Japanese forces during the concluding stages of World War II (October 1944 to August 1945). The term "特攻" (Tokkou), meaning "special attack," refers to a military tactic in which a fighter plane, armed with a bomb, is deliberately flown by the pilot to directly crash into the enemy's aircraft carrier. This method was described by Takaoka (2010: 10).

In contemporary Japanese society, there exist two distinct interpretations of 特攻 [tokkou] that have persisted since the end of World War II. One perception is that members of the 特攻隊 (special assault force unit) are glorified as "true heroes" and it is believed that Japan's post-war prosperity is a result of their sacrifices. Another perception characterises them as having died in a futile manner, as their lives were sacrificed to advance and preserve the authority and territory of the Greater Japanese Empire, which ultimately collapsed. In the ongoing debate about the interpretation of World War II history, proponents of historical revisionism are often accused of glorifying the sacrifices made by members of the special

attack units, known as Tokkoutai, for the future of Japan or their families. On the other hand, proponents of the masochistic view of history, known as jigyakushi kan, tend to believe that the glorification of Tokkou obscures Japan's dark actions during the war and fails to acknowledge Japan's role as an aggressor, potentially leading Japan towards a return to militarism. They believe that those who commit crimes are betrayers of the state.

In addition to the aforementioned perception of Tokkoutai in Japanese society, there was also a severe mistreatment of Tokkoutai members who were unsuccessful in crashing and returning to their military post. Members of the Tokkoutai were initially revered as divine beings, referred to as 'war gods', before embarking on their mission. However, upon their return unharmed, they were promptly branded as traitors to the nation, thus experiencing a sudden shift in treatment akin to being ostracised. This represents a form of marginalisation, disregarding their rightful status as esteemed heroes. Either surviving or perishing while performing their duties (Onuki and Watanabe, 2018: 4).

Regarding the ongoing conflict between right-wing and left-wing ideologies, it is evident, according to the authors of the book, that there exists an intellectual strategy aimed at establishing mutual legitimacy. This scenario aligns with Takwin's (2009: 135) assertion that comprehending the modus operandi of ideology and its dissemination requires careful consideration of multiple factors. Firstly, it is important to note that ideology does not solely function through broad methods and tactics. Furthermore, these modes are not always functioning autonomously from one another, but rather might enhance and intersect with each other. Furthermore, the classification of tactics into broad categories is not universally standardised, as alternative classifications may exist depending on different factors. Furthermore, it should be noted that tactics employed in symbolic production are not inherently ideological. Rather, their effectiveness is highly contingent upon the desired outcomes within a specific context.

### **The Tokkoutai Family Members Have Been Instructed to Return The Badges And Prize Money.**

One of the Tokkoutai men, who survived without dying in the line of duty while serving Sasaki, faced his father's reprimand upon returning home and seeing his parents. Japan's defeat in this instance can be attributed to a lack of resilience on your part. "The time I experienced after the Russo-Japanese War was significantly distinct from my father's era," remarked Sasaki's father. After a few months, Sasaki received a visit from village office officials who instructed him to give back the badge and prize money that were awarded to him for his "death" as a member of the tokkoutai. At first, Sasaki declined, but ultimately he complied with his father's counsel and gave back the badge and money (Kougami, 2017: 165-166).

The above description elucidates the treatment of authorities, including superiors up to the emperor, towards Tokkoutai members. It reveals that when a member is officially declared deceased but is actually alive after engaging in combat, they are awarded a badge and prize by the State. However, despite their continued existence, they still endure acts of marginalisation, such as the deprivation of their rightful entitlements. Although he survived, in a major conflict there are only two outcomes: to kill or to be killed. Based on the evidence, it may be inferred that in this particular situation, the soldier who came back unharmed was responsible for the death of his adversary, and according to established norms, he can be considered a combatant or a hero. The government deemed the surviving members of the Tokkoutai as traitors rather than heroes, and hence believed they should not be bestowed with any honours or rewards. This situation can be seen as a clear instance of marginalisation and character assassination of



the individuals involved, representing a genuine exercise of authority by the governing bodies over the remaining members of the Tokkoutai. This fact aligns with Gramsci's assertion (Sutrisno, and Hendar Putranto, 2008:24) that by incorporating ideology, hegemonic endeavours can be accomplished through a blend of force and consent. Hegemony is established by engaging in a collective and individual adoption of a system of meaning and values that governs society's general reasoning. Gramsci argued that ideology has a crucial role in shaping social interactions, mobilising large groups of people, and defining the physical and conceptual boundaries in which individuals exist, act, and develop a sense of self, social standing, and engagement in conflicts.

Louis Althusser provided elucidation to Gramsci's ideas. Althusser elucidates the process by which individuals and their fundamental sense of identity are influenced by external factors. Ideology represents the concerns and objectives of specific social groups, yet it functions within and influences individual subjects. "Individual subjectivity is formed and shaped by ideology." Psychoanalysis is acknowledged for uncovering this fact by demonstrating that humans lack a "central essence." The individual erroneously perceives the extent of his "ego", which is in fact a collection of ideological constructs that contribute to his self-identification.

### **Analysis of Media Coverage on the Reintegration of Tokkoutai Members**

The Japanese Military Headquarters consistently overstated announcements and the media reports regarding the outcomes of war, particularly when Tokkoutai conducted offensive operations. The Japanese military headquarters and the media, including newspapers, radio, and other outlets, consistently disseminated combat outcomes that were more sensationalised than accurate, without thoroughly verifying the battlefield conditions beforehand. The Emperor was already informed of the war's outcomes, such as when Sasaki was called to the military headquarters and admonished by the staff officer for the Emperor having heard yesterday's Headquarters Announcement. "Ensure to remember this and for the subsequent assault, ensure to effectively submerge the adversary vessel" (Kokami, 2017: 100).

The implicit connotation of the aforementioned caution is that once information has been conveyed to the Emperor, it cannot be retracted. If it is determined that Headquarters provided an inaccurate report, we will be held accountable. Next time, you will have to perish by deliberately causing a collision with yourself. This implies that soldiers who have been officially declared deceased are required to have perished in accordance with the pronouncement that has already been issued by the Headquarters and disseminated by the media, both to the Emperor and to the general public, as well as to their families.

The reason behind the declaration of all Tokkoutai members as deceased during a Tokkou operation is to ensure that any surviving members are kept hidden until they can be securely confined in a facility such as "Shinburyou". This pertains to the very purpose of the Tokkou strategy. From the aforementioned accounts, it can be inferred that Tokkoutai's primary objective was not to sink US warships, but rather to engage in ramming attacks against them. Logically, if all members of Tokkoutai were to carry out such attacks, it would result in the loss of all lives involved. However, if there were surviving members, they failed to carry out their commands, which had a detrimental effect on both the internal military cohesion and the overall solidarity of Japanese society during that period. Vice Admiral Takijiro Onishi, credited as the founder of Tokkou, described it as "tousotsu no gedou," a way or strategy that rejected the notion of command (Takaoka, 2009: 11).

What are the reasons for implementing and maintaining strategies that undermine the principle of command? During that period, Japan faced intense pressure and the imminent

possibility of loss. Both the military and society had to reinvigorate themselves, sustain their enthusiasm, foster unity, and persist in the fight. This required extreme sacrifice. Tokkoutai served as the catalyst or ultimate source of Japanese fervour during the war, with the aim of invoking the spirit of the Kamikaze (Japan's sacred wind of salvation). Therefore, it is imperative that no member of the Tokkoutai should fail to crash, as the completion of the Tokkoutai mission hinges on this, regardless of the number of US aircraft carriers that may be sunk. From this description, it may be inferred that for members of the tokkoutai, achieving a "jusshi reishou" status (10 dead and 0 alive) is not a mere result, but rather the primary objective of the tokkoutai.

The Japanese Military Headquarters' discussion of the surviving Tokkoutai members is inherently intertwined with power dynamics. According to Ampy (2013: 3), discourse conveyed through the media is seen as a means of elucidating, delineating, categorising, and contemplating individuals, knowledge, and abstract systems of human cognition that are inherently intertwined with power dynamics. Discourse typically originates from individuals who possess authority, such as the Japanese Military Headquarters, as well as people who exhibit innovative and imaginative thinking. This enables individuals to establish power dynamics and accumulate information within a social structure. Using these interconnected relationships, they may then create and communicate ideas that are considered true and endure over a specific period of time.

The debate surrounding the use of history books by both the right and left is directly linked to their own interests and perspectives. Books, as a reservoir of knowledge, hold great significance. This aligns with Habermas' perspective (Lubis, 2015:28-30) that elucidates the connection between knowledge and interests. Habermas categorises knowledge into three distinct categories, each with its own set of underlying motivations. The essence of science consists in its inherent interest and lack of disinterest or detachment.

## 5. Conclusion

Tokkoutai members who survived the Tokkou operation faced severe marginalisation. The marginalisation of Tokkoutai members who did not perish took the form of their confinement to Shinburyo (Shinbu Dormitory), the constant use of harsh and insulting language by their superiors, and the resulting mental pressure. Additionally, society's narrow perspective during the war, which glorified Tokkoutai members as war gods, further contributed to their marginalisation. Following Japan's loss, a significant transformation occurred, resulting in a complete reversal of popular perception towards the former Tokkoutai members, who were now seen as traitors to the country. In addition to that, there was also physical coercion, such as during the post-war period when families of Tokkoutai members were compelled to return badges and prize money that had been previously awarded to them.

Tokkou's primary objective, which necessitated his self-sacrifice, extended beyond merely sinking a US battleship. This occurred because the Japanese military and individuals who felt threatened by impending loss relied on tokkoutai as the catalyst for the ultimate determination in World War II. To foster a sense of unity within Japanese society during that period, it was necessary to make significant, courageous, and honourable sacrifices. The individuals who fulfilled this task were the members of the Tokkotai. Since this mission has been assigned to Tokkoutai, it is expected that there are no surviving members of Tokkoutai, as they have not fulfilled their duty of sacrificing themselves by crashing. Consequently, surviving Tokkoutai members are subjected to marginalisation and compelled to fulfil the

imperative of perishing in accordance with Tokkoutai's primary objective.

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