Japanese Writers and Works on *Djawa Baroe*: Behind the Selection of the Five Works

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Abstract. Literature became one of the propaganda tools of the Japanese military government during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945). This research focuses the object of study on four short stories and one play written by Japanese writers published in *Djawa Baroe* magazine (1943-1945), including "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang" by Hino Ashihei, "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda" by Niwa Fumio, "Batoe" by Kawai Tetsukichi and "Perkawinan 25 Tahoen" by Sasaki Takamaru. The qualitative descriptive method was used to analyze data on each writer's background and the original versions published in Japan to examine the reasons and significance for selecting the five works. The findings show that four writers, Hino Ashihei, Niwa Fumio, Kikuchi Kan, and Sasaki Takamaru, had produced many works and were well-known writers in Japan. Meanwhile, Kawai Tetsukichi was a newcomer writer, but his work "Batoe" was considered new and attracted the editor of *Chūōkōron* magazine. Furthermore, research on the original versions of the five works published in Japan discovers that all five works were published in Japan between 1938 and 1943 and then republished in *Djawa Baroe* from January 1, 1944, to March 15, 1944. Some original works are short and almost the same as those published in Djawa Baroe, but some were long novels, so only small parts were published in *Djawa Baroe*. However, the versions published in *Djawa Baroe* contained significant propaganda parts of each work and were suitable for *Djawa Baroe*’s readers during the war. The writer’s reputation and the contents of each work were the main reasons the works were selected for publication in *Djawa Baroe*.

Keywords: *Djawa Baroe*, Japanese literature, Japanese Writer, Asia-Pacific War

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INTRODUCTION

Literature and politics are two different things, but in certain contexts and epochs, they intertwine inexorably. Literature, which initially functions as a medium for the writer's expression in the form of a fictional world or as entertainment or recreation for readers, can also function as a political tool in conveying the writer's intentions or the wishes of the ruler. In Japan, there is something called sensō bungaku, which is defined as war literature. After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (July 7, 1937 - September 9, 1945), many Japanese writers were recruited to the battlefield as reporters or members of the military forces. These writers contributed many writings in poems, short stories, and novels. The so-called sensō bungaku emerged and flourished during this period. Keene (1978) describes the literature of this period as 'having been forgotten' and lacking in quality. His reasons are twofold. Firstly, the raw emotions evoked by news of victories or defeats proved too raw to be molded into works of artistic distinction. Secondly, the writers were not free to express even the slightest doubts about the war.

This dispatch of writers to the battlefield continued until the end of the Pacific War (or the Great East Asian War) in August 1945. Writers were deployed on a large scale as part of the pacification and cultural-making project. Wang (2022, p. xvi) called these writers as the agitators and movers of the invasion of China because they were the main force behind the cultural invasion during the war in China. In contrast to the Second Sino-Japanese War, where writers enlisted voluntarily and were paid for their writings, their involvement in the Pacific War was compulsory (Watanabe, 2020).

The Asia-Pacific War (December 7, 1941 - September 2, 1945) commenced with the Japanese military invasion of the Malay Peninsula, followed by the attack on Pearl Harbor one hour later on December 8, 1941 (Kurasawa, 2016, p. 11). The invasion continued to the Southeast Asia region and Indonesia. Indonesia was officially under the Japanese military government on March 8, 1942. This period only lasted for about 3.5 years until Japan surrendered after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bomb on 6 and 9 August, and Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945. Similar to China, the Japanese military government also mobilized many Japanese writers during the occupation period. Literature became one of the main propaganda tools at the time.

Throughout the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia, several newspapers and magazines were published by the Japanese military government in Indonesia. One of them is the Djawa Baroe magazine, established by Asahi Shinbun and published from January 1, 1943, to August 1, 1945. The magazine was published bi-monthly on the 1st and 15th of each month, totaling 63 editions. This magazine was published in Java, but its sales also reached the island of Sumatra. Its sales at that time reached 35,000 copies. It was slightly higher than the newspaper Asia Raya (Himemoto, 2018). Djawa Baroe was published in bilingual Indonesian and Japanese. Notably, the magazine consistently featured a literary column, initially showcasing works by Indonesian writers but later incorporating contributions from Japanese writers, including short stories, plays, and crossroad stories (known as Tsujishousetsu in Japanese and "Kissah Sepandjang Djalan" in Indonesian) starting from January 1, 1944.

Several studies have specifically discussed Djawa Baroe. Rosalini (2022) focused on the propaganda aspect of Djawa Baroe in 1943. Hashina analyzed 250
articles with a discourse analysis approach. The findings of this paper are that there are six categories of issues discussed in *Djawa Baroe*, namely Japanese military power, territorial security by Japan, education, training and knowledge to the people of the prosperity area, Japan and old brothers, enemies, and testimony and public response. Japan carried out propaganda, doctrine, and cultural influence through these articles through language style, sentences, and images. In addition, the articles also contained threats, fears, and vice versa, as well as the kindness and concern of the Japanese government. However, Hashina did not discuss literary-themed articles at all.

Regarding propaganda in *Djawa Baroe*, Waworuntu (Waworuntu & Tjahjawulan, 2020) focused on propaganda on the magazine's front cover and analyzed it using a historical review. Waworuntu concluded that the front cover of *Djawa Baroe* represents propaganda in the form of Romusha, food, women and entertainment, religion and culture, scholarships, and education. There is also Urfan (2022) who examined the cover of *Djawa Baroe* but focused on youth representation during the Japanese occupation in Java with Roland Barthes's semiotic analysis. Urfan’s research showed that the youth of that time were closely related to the “new era” propaganda, military training, the elimination of Dutch factors, anti-allied ideology, the promise of independence by Japan, and the rise of nationalism in Java.

Research that discusses the literary content in *Djawa Baroe* was conducted by Dewi (2015). Dewi focused on the propaganda content found in short stories, essays, plays, and others in *Djawa Baroe* by listing them without deep analysis. Purnomo (2020) also analyzed the translation in *Djawa Baroe* and Pandji Postaka, focusing on the magazine’s role. Anwar (2020a) listed all Japanese writers published in *Djawa Baroe* and classified them into three categories: the writers who had been to Indonesia and their articles published in *Djawa Baroe*, the writers who participated actively during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia and their articles published in *Djawa Baroe*, and the writers who most likely never been to Indonesia, but their works re-published in *Djawa Baroe*. Anwar concluded that all these writers and their works played an essential role in Indonesia's political and literary development during the Japanese occupation. There are some writers like Hino Ashihei or the writers of the crossroad story (“Kissah Sepandjang Djalan”) who, through their writings, have helped enrich Indonesian readers' insight into the literary output of the Japanese war. Before that, Anwar (2020b) analyzed the propaganda theme in four short stories and one play in *Djawa Baroe*. In the paper, Anwar elaborated on the propaganda theme in each work. Furthermore, Anwar linked it to the condition of Indonesian society during the Pacific War, which was mobilized to help and support the Japanese victory.

The objects of this paper are the same with Anwar (2020b)'s paper, namely 5 Japanese writers and their works published in *Djawa Baroe* in the January 1 to March 15, 1944, edition, but this paper focused to analyze the reason behind the selection of these works considering the massive production of literary works by Japanese writers from the Second Sino-Japanese War until the Pacific War to find the works' significance and urgency. Detail research on the Japanese writers during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, especially in *Djawa Baroe* is limited, so this paper will provide new data for further research.
The method used was qualitative descriptive because this paper described the facts from the obtained data and then analyzed them. According to Mason, qualitative research tries to lead the data towards analysis and explanation, not only the "general picture" of how things work (2002: 1). Qualitative methods involve relevant social phenomena; for example, in literary research, this method involves the writer or also the writer's social environment (Ratna, 2006: 47).

The main objects of this paper are five Japanese writers's works published in Djawa Baroe, namely Hino Ashihei and the short story "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang," Niwa Fumio and the short story "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda," Kawai Tetsukichi and the short story "Batoe," Kikuchi Kan and the short story "Peradjoerit Nogikoe" and Sasaki Takamaru's play "Perkawinan 25 Tahoen". In the literature column, Djawa Baroe published many short stories and plays of Indonesian writers, but on the other hand, there are only five works of Japanese writers published in it from the January 1 to March 15, 1944 edition.

The data collected is information about the writers obtained from the writers' profile column in Djawa Baroe, as well as data about their biographies and works from other references. In addition, this paper also compares the original version initially published in Japan with the version published in Djawa Baroe to determine the extent of similarities and differences. All data obtained were analyzed and presented using the description method.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Hino Ashihei and Short Story “Kitjizo Kemedan Perang”

Hino Ashihei (1907-1960) was the pen name of Tamai Katsunori. In Djawa Baroe, his name is written as Josihei Hino. He was an alumnus of Waseda University, majoring in English Literature. Before the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) outbreak, he was active in the workers' rights movement and against government policies.

... Hino continued his political activities, leading fifty members of Tamai-gumi to Shanghai in support of a Chinese workers’ strike in 1932. On his return to Japan, he was arrested, and in police custody formally renounced his leftist affiliations in the coerced “conversion” known as tenkō.

(Rosenfeld, 2002, p. 6)

‘Tenkō’ means ‘conversion’ and tenkō bungaku or conversion literature refers to the works of converted writers as a part of the phenomenon of conversion from Marxism (Asai, 1980, p. 6). After deciding to leave leftist activities, Hino Ashihei continued to write literary works. When the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, he joined the battlefield in Hangzhó (in Japanese called Kōshū), China, as a military soldier with the rank of corporal. Later, when the Pacific War broke out at the end of 1941, Hino went to the battlefield as a Jūgun Sakka (campaign writer) who traveled with Japanese troops to places such as Burma and the Philippines and reported on conditions.
Gunhōdōbu ni haitte Hino no tachibawa itten shiteita. Tetsu o mochi, doroni mamareru ichiheishi kara, pen to memochō o katate ni senjō o meguru koto ni nattanoda.  
(Watanabe, 2020, p. 122)

Translation:
After joining the military news department, Hino's position had changed. From a soldier with a gun and covered in mud to someone with a pen and a memo in one hand going around the battlefield.

During the Pacific War, Hino was recruited as Nanpō Chōyō Sakka (writers sent to the Southern Front during the 2nd World War) (Kamiya, 1984). Some of his works during this war include Heitai no Chizu (1942), Minzoku Seishin no Kaika (1942), Kitō (1943), and Rekishi (1943).
The short story "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang" (Kichizo Goes to War) by Hino Ashihei was published in Djawa Baroe on January 1, 1944. In the writer's profile column, it is mentioned as follows:

(Djawa Baroe, 1944:27)

Translation:
The story he wrote when he was still in school and published in a magazine by his friends in a joint effort was titled "Kissah Tahi." The story received the Akutagawa Literary Prize.

The story mentioned above is a short story by Hino originally titled Japanese “Funnūōtan” (Tales of Excrement and Urine), published in 1937 in Japan, and the magazine mentioned is Bungaku Kaigi. The caption also mentioned that “Funnūōtan” won The Akutagawa Literary Prize (Hadier Kesusastraan Akutagawa). It is Japan's most prestigious literary award. The success of this short story first elevated Hino Ashihei's name as a literary writer in Japan.

Furthermore, in the same column in Djawa Baroe, the following is also mentioned:

(Djawa Baroe, 1944:27)

Translation:
Before that, the Japan-China conflict broke out, and it wasn't long before Tamai Katsunori received a military call and went to war. The works he wrote on the battlefield are *Wheat and Soldiers*. The public warmly welcomed these works, and he was called a leading writer in war literature.

The novel *Gandoem and Serdadoe* (*Mugi to Heitai* in Japanese and *Wheat and Soldier* in English), was published in 1938 in Japan. This novel is one part of his "soldier trilogy," which consists of *Tsuchi to Heitai* (*Mud and Soldier*), *Hana to Heitai* (*Flower and Soldier*), and *Mugi to Heitai* (*Wheat and Soldier*). Regarding the novel *Tsuchi to Heitai*, in the preface of the novel, Hino Ashihei wrote the following:

*Kono "Tsuchi to Heitai" wa, watashi ga sakunen shussei irai, otōto ni atete dashita tegami no shuuroku dearimasu.*

Translation:
This *Tsuchi to Heitai* is a recording of the letters I have sent to my younger brother since my departure last year.

As Hino said above, each chapter of the novel opens with the words "To my brother" followed by the date, month, and place, just like a letter. The earliest story in *Tsuchi to Heitai* is dated October 20, and the last is dated November 15. The short story "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang" (*Kichizo Goes to the War*) is a snippet of the story in the section dated October 28 from the original version.

The short story "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang" tells the story of the conditions on a warship heading to Hangzhou in China. The war horses placed at the bottom of the ship reminded character 'I' of a horse named Kichizo and its owner named Uhei. Uhei, who was childless, loved Kichizo like his own son. That's why he was despondent when Kichizo was forced to go to war. Even so, Uhei showed his sincerity and pride in letting Kichizo go (*Anwar, 2020b*).

One crucial point in this story is the message to sacrifice for the nation and country as Uhei does. Kurasawa describes how the Japanese Military Government during the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia mobilized Indonesia and all its natural and human resources for their war (*Kurasawa, 1993, p. 495*). So, besides the position of Hino Ashihei in Japan's literary world with his best-seller works, the content of the story itself is the reason for publication selection in *Djawa Baroe*.

2. **Niwa Fumio and Short Story “Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda”**

Niwa Fumio (1904-2005) was one of the most famous Japanese writers. In *Djawa Baroe*, his name is written as Hoemio Niwa. He was very prolific in writing both before and after the war. Just like Sasaki Takamaru, who will be discussed in the next section, Niwa was also a proletarian in the pre-war period. His works include *Zeiniku* (*Superfluous Flesh*, 1934) and *Ayu* (*Sweetfish*, 1935). During the war, his works that were banned for immorality were banned from publication, including *Chūnen* (*Middle Age*, 1941) and *Aihajimete* (*First Met*, 1941) (*Onishi, 2014, p. 111*).
Niwa also went to the battlefield in Shanghai as a Naval Press member during the war. His works based on his experiences on the battlefield include Hōdōhan'in no Shuki (Press Member Note, 1938) and Kaeranu Chuutai (Lost Company, 1939), which were published serially in Chūōkōron magazine from December 1938-January 1939. Chūōkōron is a monthly literary magazine in Japan that has been published since the Meiji era (Kondo, 2004). Some of his works during the Pacific War are Kaisen (Naval Battle, 1942) and Solomon Kaisen (Battle of Solomon, 1943), which are his experiences in the Solomon Islands. Kaisen was awarded the Chūōkōron Award (Kamiya, 1984).

During the Pacific War, Niwa participated as a war correspondent on board a warship heading to the Guadal Canal.

Kikan ni Niwa Fumio-shi ga juugunsakka toshite notteita. Niwa-shi ha, kono kantai ga yoku hachigatsu youka no yain ni joujite, gadaru kanaru ni shuuketsushiteiru tekikantai ni nikuhakushi, yasen no kantai kessen o idomuito dearukoto o shouchi shiteita. (Oketani, 1992, p. 68)

Translation:
Fumio Niwa was on the flagship as a war correspondent. Niwa understood that the fleet would ride in the shade of the following August 8th, thin to the enemy fleet gathered in Guadalcanal, and then challenge the fleet in a decisive night battle.

The short story "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda" (At Garuda’s Cradle) by Niwa Fumio, published in Djawa Baroe on January 15, 1944, is part of his short story “Haru no Yamakaze”, which was first published in the 12th Nihon Shōsetsu Daihyōsaku Zenshū (Collection of Japanese Novel Masterpieces 12th, 1941) in Japan. Like Hino Ashihei’s short story "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang", "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda” is a small part of a longer story. So, the original version’s certain scene was cut out and made into one complete short story with a different title.

The writer’s profile column in Djawa Baroe states the following:


Translation:
Hoemio Niwa was born in 1904 and is now 40 years old. After graduating from Waseda College with a degree in literature, he entered the literary world. He is known for his ability to depict feelings and emotions. After the Great East Asia War outbreak, he became a member of the Naval Preaching Brigade and participated in the night battle at Tulagi. He got injured there, but his warm report became a beautiful piece of literature.

Niwa was an alumnus of Waseda University, majoring in Japanese literature. The Tulagi referred in the caption above is Tulagi Island, a part of Solomon Island. He took part in the naval battle there (Shillony, 1981, p. 117).

In the short story "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda", the main character, Captain Nakamura, talks about his experiences on the battlefield over the Indian Ocean.

Laoetan Hindia teroes bergelombang, sedikitpoen ia tidak menaroeh iba kepada kami. Koerang lebih 40 menit soedah kami dikotak-katikkan ombak. Seboeah pesawat pengintai jang lebih rapoeh lagi nampaknja dibandingkan dengan sehelai daoen jang terapoeng diatas kolam.

(Djawa Baroe, 15 Januari 1944)

Translation:
The Indian Ocean continued to surge, and it didn't spare us. For about 40 minutes, we had been mocked by the waves.
A reconnaissance plane more fragile than a leaf floating on a pond.

Many times, the reconnaissance plane he led had to descend to the surface of the water to repair the broken battery of the Morse machine. The sense of despair and hope Captain Nakamura and his pilot feel is depicted in this short story. Similarly, the depiction of the conditions around the battlefield is detailed and interesting. This is referred to in the writer's profile column above as 'good at depicting feelings and gestures.' Anwar stated that the novel depicts Captain Nakamura's fighting spirit and perseverance (2020b). Japan faced many enemies in the Asia-Pacific War, so the Japanese Military Government must echo the Indonesian reader's spirit of fighting and perseverance through this kind of story. Besides the content significance, the status of Niwa Fumio as one of the most popular writers at the time in Japan was also considered for publication in Djawa Baroe.

3. Kawai Tetsukichi and Short Story “Batoe”

Kawai Tetsukichi (1912- unknown) is the writer of the short story "Batoe" (Stone), published on Djawa Baroe 1944, February 1st. The writer profile section for Kawai is shorter than the other writers. His full biography is written as follows,

Nama pengarang Tetsukichi Kawai ini sebenarnja ialah Minoroe Shimizoe. Dia dilahirkan dikota Kamisoea, Nagano-Ken, pada boelan Djoeni, th. 1912 M., Dia tamat Sekolah Menengah di Soea dan Sekolah Tinggi Waseda,
bagian Kesoesasteraan tapi disini tiada sampai tamat. Sebagai seorang tenaga baroe, maka riwajatnya dikalangan kesoesasteraan yang patoet ditjatat beloem ada. (Djawa Baroe, 1 Februari 1944: 27)

Translation:
The writer, Tetsukichi Kawai’s real name is Minoru Shimizu. He was born in Kamisuwa town, Nagano Prefecture, in No. 1912. He graduated from Suwa High School and Waseda College in the literature department but did not finish here. As a newcomer, he has no noteworthy history in the literature world.

The short story “Batoe”’s original version is the short story “Ishi” (Stone), published in the May 1943 issue of Chūōkōron magazine in Japan. This short story is only a small part compared to the original version. In the section of additional notes by the editor at the end of Chūōkōron, written as follows,

Shōsetsuran niwa tokuni shinjin Kawai Tetsukuchi-shi wo oshita. Kawai-shi no bundan teki keireki wa hotondo kaimu to itteyoi. Zubuno shinjin dearuga yueni kore o kadaini kojisuru nodeha muron naiga, shousetsu o kaku tameno doryoku no shika shūshishiinei ichigun no shinjinni, watashitachi wa amari kitai dekinu to omou. Mushiro sóiu hitotachi no shōsetsu izen no selkatsu o tōtemitakumo nari, shinjin wa shinjin toshite No. nanrakano shuchou No. ikiteiru—sóiu shinjinsakka o koso chinchōshitai to omou nodearu. Kawai-shi no sakuhin wa ikubun sóiu mononi chikayotte inaiderōka. (“Kōki,” 1943)

Translation:
In the novel column, I specifically recommend newcomer Kawai Tetsukichi. It can be said that his literary experience is almost nonexistent. We don't need to exaggerate because he is a newcomer, but I don't think we can expect more from a newcomer who is just trying to write a novel. Instead, I want to ask about their life before writing a novel; the newcomer is living in a kind of argument as a newcomer — I want to appreciate such new writers. Isn't Kawai's work somewhat similar to that?

The editor of this issue of Chūōkōron magazine recommended the work of a newcomer like Kawai Tetsukichi. Why? According to him, Kawai's ideas and arguments in his short story are new and uncommon. It's different from the usual newcomer writers who only pursue writing novels without paying attention to the novelty of their ideas. It means that, despite being a newcomer, Kawai's work deserves to be appreciated by readers.

The short story "Batoe," published in Djawa Baroe, depicts a soldier sad about returning to his hometown without going into battle. It was at that moment that Hanchō (squad leader) came and comforted him. Realizing that the soldier was sad
because he could not go to the battlefield and become a Jōtōhei (private first-class army), Hanchō said,

“Sekarang yang kauharapkan sebetoelnja... pertjaja dirimoe lebih tinggi daripada Djotohei... Tjoema pahlanlanh jang menjamboet segala kesengsaraan dengan gembira... Ja, memang betoel! Kekoeatan bangkit dengan menemboes semoea tekanan, itoelah semangat peradjoerit!”

(Djawa Baroe, 1 February 1944: 29)

Translation:
Now that's what you're expecting... Your confidence is higher than Djotohei's... It's only heroes who welcome all hardships with joy... Yes, it's true! The strength to rise above all pressure is the warrior spirit!

He then handed him a mud-soaked stone from the barracks field. According to him, it was an ordinary stone, but it had contributed to the training of tens of millions of soldiers who trained at the barracks before leaving for the battlefield. It was as valuable as a 3-star rank or a Jōtōhei rank. He said,

Kenakanlah dia pada badanmoe. Sedetikpoen djangan ditanggalkan. Djika dalam sa’at kesoesahan, kalau ada sengsara, rabalah batoe itoe”.

(Djawa Baroe, 1 February 1944: 30)

Translation:
Put it on your body. Don't take it off for a second. When you're in trouble or miserable, reach for that stone.

Hanchō's meaningful message can be found in other works of this period. However, the symbolization using stones, as in this short story, is new and very different from other works, especially those published in Djawa Baroe, where the message is to the point and explicit. This novelty in the short story seems to have attracted the editor to publish and recommend “Ishi” by a newcomer writer in a prestigious literary magazine such as Chūōkōron.

At the end of the short story “Ishi” in Chūōkōron, it is written, “Meiji 45nen 6gatsu Nagano-ken Kamisuwamachini umareru, Suwachugakusotsu, Waseda daigaku bunka chūtai. Tokki subeki bungakutekina keirekinashi, honmyō Minoru Shimizu” (He was born in Nagano Prefecture Kamisuwa City in June of the 45th year of Meiji (1912). He graduated from Suwa High School but did not finish the literature department at Waseda University. The literary background has no special note; the real name is Shimizu Minoru). What is written in this additional note is precisely the same as in the profile of the writer column in Djawa Baroe written in Japanese, as mentioned before.

Based on the research on Kawai Tetsukichi, in addition to “Ishi” published in Chūōkōron in May 1943, during the war, there was another piece of Kawai Tetsukichi’s writing published in the December issue of Bungei literary magazine in the same year entitled Gekisai (Demolish). After the war, Kawai’s Akatsuki no Hotori (By the Dawn)
was published in Bungakusha magazine in January 1949. Besides these three writings, no data was found regarding Kawai Tetsukichi's other works.

Kawai Tetsukichi was a newcomer to Japanese literature but was selected for publication in Djawa Baroe in Indonesia, which is very interesting. The main reason was most likely its publication in Chūōkōron, a well-known Japanese literary magazine at the time. The other reason is the propaganda content in the story. Anwar stated that although the short story is set in the Second Shino War between Japan and China, the content is still very relevant to the Asia-Pacific War that took place at that time (2020b).

4. Kikuchi Kan and Short Story “Peradjoerit Nogikoe”

Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948) was the pen name of Kikuchi Hiroshi. In Djawa Baroe it is written as Kan Kikoetji. Kikuchi wrote many plays, short stories, and essays. His plays include Chichi Kaeru (Father Returns), Okujō no Kyōjīn (Mad Man on the Roof), and Tōjūro no Koi (Tojuro's Love). His works published in Chūōkōron magazine are numerous. For example, Mumei Sakka no Nikki (Diary of the Nameless Writer) was published in Chūōkōron in the July 1918 issue.

After the Second Sino-Japanese War outbreak, Kikuchi and several other writers went to war.

Bungeika kyōkaikaichō toshite bunshibutai o soshikishi, Satō Haruo, Yoshikawa Eiji, Yoshiya Nobuko, Kume Masao, Ozaki Shirou, Takii Kōsaku, Hasegawa Shin, Niwa Fumio, Kishida Kunio-ra kei nijūnimeide chūgoku chōkō senso ni omomuita.

(Shinchō Nihon Arubamu: Kikuchi Kan, 1994)

He organized a literature military unit as chairman of the Writers' Association, then together with 22 other writers, including Satou Haruo, Yoshikawa Eiji, Yoshiya Nobuko, Kume Masao, Ozaki Shirou, Takii Kōsaku, Hasegawa Shin, Niwa Fumio, Kishida Kunio went to the battlefield on the Yangtze River in China.

Throughout the Second Sino-Japanese War until the outbreak of the Pacific War, Kikuchi held chairman positions in various activities, such as the Daítōa Bungakusha Taikai (The Greater East Asian Literature Conference) on the 11th of 1941. In May 1942, he served as a director of the Japanese film company Daiei.

Kikuchi Kan's short story "Nogiku no Heishi" was published in Djawa Baroe on the February 15, 1944 issue. In the writer profile column, it is written as follows,


(Djawa Baroe, 1 Februari, 1944: 27)
Translation:
Kan Kikuchi was born in Takamatsu, Kagawa-prefecture, in the year 2548. He graduated from Teikoku Daigaku in Kyoto, the English literary department. At this time, he sat on the throne of Nippon literature. He is also the general director of the magazine "Bungei Shunju," which has contributed greatly to Nippon's reading and literary world and is a member of the Royal Arts Hall. His works are numerous.

Kikuchi Kan was born in Takamatsu, Kagawa prefecture, in 2548 (1888). He graduated from the English literature department at Imperial University in Kyoto (now Kyoto University). At the time, he sat on the throne of Japanese literature. He was also the editor-in-chief of the magazine Bungei Shunju, which contributed greatly to Japanese language and literature, and he was a member of the Royal Arts Council.

It is also written that at that time, Kikuchi Kan had a significant position in the Japanese literary world. In addition to being a writer, Kikuchi is known as the founder of two of the most prestigious awards in Japanese literature today, the Akutagawa Award (Akutagawa Shō) and the Naoki Award (Naoki Shō). Bungei Shunju is a literary magazine he founded in 1923.

Furthermore, the writer profile column in Djawa Baroe also mentions the following,

Sandiwara “Tjitji Kaeroe” (=Ajah poelang), jang beberapa waktoe j.i. telah diselenggarakan oleh Poesat Keboedajaan Djakarta itoe adalah poela tjiptaan Kan Kikoetji. (Djawa Baroe, 1944:27)

Translation:
The play Chichi Kaeru (Father Returns), which the Jakarta Cultural Center recently organized, is also the work of Kikuchi Kan.

The play Chichi Kaeru was first published in 1917 in Japan. Anwar discovered that the play did not receive a good response from readers when it was published. It only received tremendous attention after it was performed on stage by the famous Kabuki performer Ichikawa Ennosuke in 1920. The success of this play later boosted Kikuchi Kan's career as a writer.

From the research results, Kikuchi Kan's short story "Peradjoerit Nogikoe" (Wild Chrysene's Soldier), published in Djawa Baroe, is part of a short story of the same title first published in the March 1939 issue of Fujin Kurabu magazine. It was later republished in the book Nogiku no Heishi: Shōsetsushū Shinpan (The Nogiku Soldier: A New Edition of Short Stories) by Kikuchi Kan in 1942.

Compared to the original Japanese short story, the overall content of "Peradjoerit Nogikoe" is not significantly different from the “Nogiku no Heishi” short story published in Japan. The only differences are the introductory part at the beginning of the short story and some small parts that have been omitted.
"Peradjoerit Nogikoe" revolves around the correspondence between a young soldier named Takagi Hidehiko, who is on the battlefield in China, and two sisters, Haruyo and Piako. This correspondence begins with a letter sent by the soldier to express his gratitude for the imon bukuro (comfort bag) sent by the two sisters. Imon bukuro, in wartime, was commonly sent by the Japanese to military soldiers on the battlefield. Such packages in order to lift the soldiers spirit and improve their morale were prepared by women (Culver, 2019). It contained various daily necessities such as towels, soap, canned food, magazines, etc.

The imon bukuro Takagi received from the two sisters was very simple. But Takagi could grasp the sense of selflessness and sincerity behind it. In his letter, Takagi wrote,

Saja seorang peradjoerit jang beroentoeng sekali menerima kantoeng penghiboer, diboeat oleh doea orang saoedara, dengan perasaan jang ichlas.  
(Djawa Baroe, 1944, 28)

Translation:
I am a very fortunate soldier to receive a comfort bag made by two sisters with sincere feelings.

Based on the contents of the writer profile column in this short story in Djawa Baroe and research results, Kikuchi Kan's position as a prominent writer in Japan at that time may have been the main reason for the publication of his work in Djawa Baroe. The work was not famous in Japan, but its straightforward content emphasized sincerity and sacrifice for the country, which the Japanese military government needed from the Indonesian people. This is consistent with Anwar's statement that the selflessness and sincerity shown by the characters of Haruyo and her sister, Piako, in the short story "Nogiku no Heishi," set against the backdrop of the Chinese war, was also very much in line with the situation at the time, making it suitable for publication in Djawa Baroe (2020b).

5. Sasaki Takamaru and Play “Perkawinan 25 Tahoen”

Sasaki Takamaru (1898-1986) is known as a significant figure in the world of pre-war Japanese proletarian literature. He wrote under the pen name Ochiai Saburō in many of his works. His early work was a translation of a foreign writer's Potop (The Deluge) by the famous Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz. Potop, published in 1886, was translated into Daikōzui in 1920 in Japan.

Before the war, Sasaki was very active in writing. His writings were published in the proletarian literary magazines Bungei Sensen and Senki. His work, Kabukiōkoku no Rakujō (The Fallen of the Kabuki Kingdom Castle), was published in the April 1930 issue, and Akahata Rōman (Red Flag Romance) appeared in the March 1931 issue of Chūōkōron.

Sasaki Takamaru's play "Perkawinan 25 Tahoen" was serialized in Djawa Baroe in the March 1 and 15, 1944 issues. Unlike the previous four works, which contain a column on the writer's profile, there is no information on the writer of this two-act play. However, like the other Japanese Writer's works in Djawa Baroe, the play was
first published in Japan before being re-published in *Djawa Baroe*. The play's original title, *Ginkonshiki* (Silver Wedding Anniversary), was published in *Kokumin Engeki* magazine in January 1943 issue.

This play tells the story of a husband-and-wife, Midorigawa Yoshinosuke, and his wife Sono, who were part of a group of Japanese people who emigrated to the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), especially in Java before the outbreak of the Pacific War. After 9 years had passed, Sono and her four children returned to Japan. Meanwhile, her husband remained in Indonesia. It was to give their children a proper education in Japan. The play's time setting is shortly before the Japanese Troops' victory over the Dutch East Indies in 1942. However, there are many flashbacks in the characters' conversations when recalling their life during the Dutch Colonial period.

The original version, "Ginkonshiki," published in Japan in 1943, and "Perkawinan 25 Tahoen," published in *Djawa Baroe*, are almost the same. There are only omissions of some scenes, such as the following,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sono} & \quad (\text{yasai ni taishite jumon o tonaeru}) \quad \text{Saramu.murikamu. saramu.} \\
& \quad \text{murikamu (tsuba o haku) pehpeh!} \\
\text{Hikoichi} & \quad \text{Nanda, sorewa?} \\
\text{Sono} & \quad \text{Onoroi—byoukiyoke no onoroi.} \\
\text{Hikoichi} & \quad \text{(mukurete) bakani suruna.}
\end{align*}
\]

*(Sasaki, 1943)*

Translation:

Sono  (casting spells on vegetables) Salamu mulikamu salamu mulikamu (spit) pehpeh!

Hikoichi  What is that?

Sono  These are anti-disease charms.

Hikoichi  (pouting) Don't fool me.

This conversation is set in the garden at Sono's house in Tokyo when her brother Hikoichi was visiting. Sono's act of reciting the mantra, which is actually a greeting in Islam, and then spitting on the plant is said by Sono to be a talisman to prevent the plant from getting sick. Furthermore, Sono also explained to Hikoichi that in Java, when she was still living there, people performed such rituals on plants as well as when a mother was in labor. This scene, including some other parts, has been removed from the *Djawa Baroe* version.
Japanese writers like Abe Tomoji (Yin, 2016) or Hayashi Fumiko (Dewi, 2021) have records of visiting Indonesia and writing about it during the war, but there is no such data has been found on Sasaki Takamaru visit so he could write about conditions in Java at the end of the Dutch Colonial period and the beginning of the Japanese occupation. Set in Indonesia and Japan before and after the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War, the play tells a story relevant to the time. In addition, the content of the story, which instilled hatred towards the Dutch, was also part of Japan's propaganda in Indonesia (Anwar, 2020b; Dewi et al., 2015).

CONCLUSION

The research results show that the five works that are the object of this paper were published in Japan in 1938-1943 before being republished in Djawa Baroe in 1944. Besides Kawai Tetsukichi, the other four writers, Hino Ashihei, Niwa Fumio, Kikuchi Kan, and Sasaki Takamaru, are well-known writers in Japan. Kawai Tetsukichi is indeed a newcomer writer, but his work has such novelty that the editor of Japan's literary magazine, Chūōkōron, recommended it. Therefore, in addition to the themes of the five works that were in line with the propaganda of the Japanese military government in Indonesia, the position and popularity of the writers in Japan's literary world at that time were also significant considerations in the selection of the works.

Of the five works published in Djawa Baroe, some are only a small part of the original works published in Japan, namely the short stories "Kitjizo Kemedan Perang," "Batoe," and "Ditempat Asoehan Garoeda." Still, some works are almost the same as the original version, such as "Peradjoerit Nogikoe" and "Perkawinan 25 Tahoen". However, the versions published in Djawa Baroe contained significant parts of the entire work. The writer’s reputation and the contents of each work were the main reasons the works were selected for publication in Djawa Baroe. The comparison between the original work and the Djawa Baroe version has yet to be analyzed in depth in this paper, so it can be an opportunity for future research.

REFERENCES


Kōki. (1943, May). *Chuuoukouron, 128*.


