

# The Living Past

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How to Grapple With Past Memories in Our Future Lives

## **LECTURE ONE**

**DISPUTES OVER HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING**

**AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

# 2005 Spring : Anti-Japanese Demonstrations in Major Cities of Korea and China



left : <http://blog.livedoor.jp/guangenche/>

‡ right : Hideaki Aoki

<http://www.pref.nagano.jp/syoukou/sinkou/chuzai/shanghai/sh0604.htm>

# 2005 Spring : Anti-Japanese Demonstrations in Major Cities of Korea and China

Disputes: Permanent Member of the UN Security council

Offshore Gas Fields of the Senkaku Islands

Paying a Visit to Yasukuni Shrine

History Textbooks

The Youth

PSI REPORTS

# EAST ASIA'S HAUNTED PRESENT

HISTORICAL MEMORIES AND THE  
RESURGENCE OF NATIONALISM

EDITED BY TSUYOSHI HASEGAWA  
AND KAZUHIKO TOGO



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Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo

# 1. Identity and Memory

- “Why are past issues of more than sixty years ago problematic.”

“Why worry about our youth.”

“Why not quit history education.”

- We ask ourselves whether human identity and living can be nurtured without memory of the past.

What if you forgot the faces of family members, friends and colleagues?

Movie titled “The Professor’s Beloved Equation”  
(based on the novel by Yoko Ogawa)

With memory loss, society will no longer survive.

- In the interest of maintaining identity and functions of society, how is the past remembered?
  - Presently abiding pledges such as contracts, law etc.
  - Beginning of things such as birthday, wedding anniversary, National Foundation Day etc.

#### Recent Happenings vs. Long Ago Occurrences

- Memory ▪ Forget ▪ Suppression
  - Remember only what you desire.
  - Forget what is undesirable. (When two are involved this could be asymmetric.)
  - Withhold bitter incidents.

- Political Utilization of History (Collective Memory)

- Stories of How Public Order was Established.

- Memorials in Washington DC of Lincoln, Jefferson, Franklin D Roosevelt etc.

- Jinmu Sinwa (Mythology of Emperor Jinmu), Nanko Folklore (Samurai Legend), National History, Meiji Shrine etc.

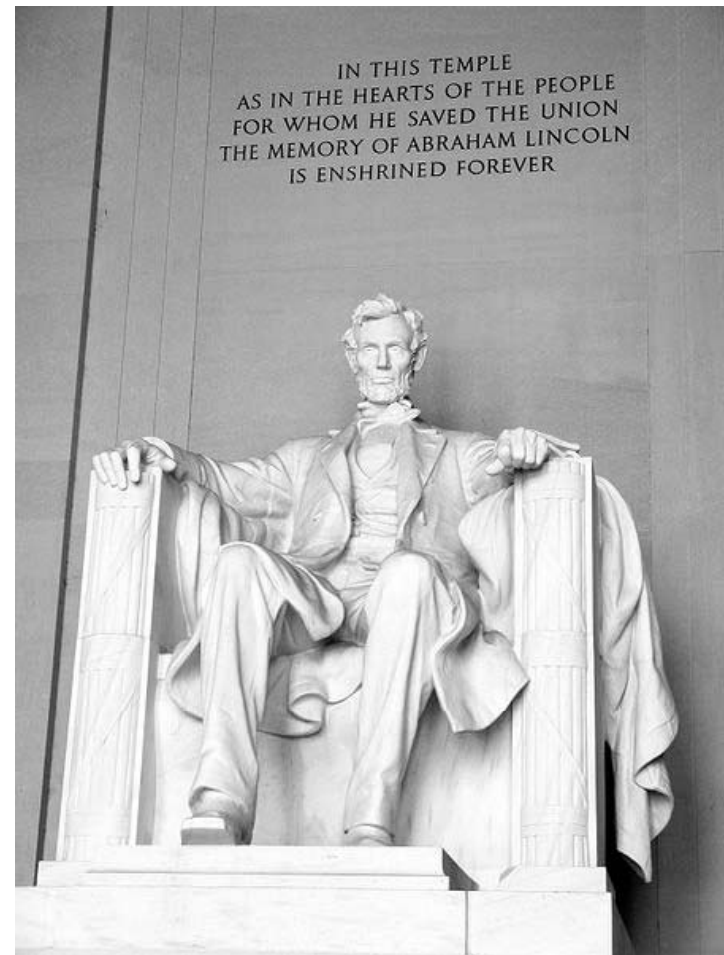
- Stories of How Foreign Invaders were Defeated.

- American Revolutionary War

- Russo-Japanese War of Imperial Japan

- “War against Japan in China”

# Lincoln Memorial



source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:He\\_saved\\_the\\_union.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:He_saved_the_union.jpg)

# Jefferson Memorial



source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jefferson\\_Memorial\\_with\\_Declaration\\_preamble.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Jefferson_Memorial_with_Declaration_preamble.jpg)

# Meiji Shrine



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Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism

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- Stories of How Foreign Invaders were Defeated.

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- Russo-Japanese War of Imperial Japan

- “War against Japan in China”

## 2. Issues Pertaining to Perception of East Asian History

2009 As of Present

Historical Territorial Disputes between Korea and China over Kokuryo and Balha

- 2002-07 Northeast Asian History Foundation of the Chinese Academy of Social Science <http://chinaborderland.cass.cn>

“It is merely one local regime of Central Plain (Zhongyun) Dynasty.”

- 2004 Korea protested Diplomatically compromised.

China took activities to assume Kokuryo as being a part of its history. <http://japanese.historyfoundation.or.kr>

- Historical Korean Dramas “The Story of the Great King and the Four Gods”



## 歴史和解

北東アジアの平和と繁栄への第一歩です。

### JNAH日本語版



- [解放後韓国の独島に対する認識と政策\(1945-51\)](#)
- [清代満洲関連文献と朝鮮後期の満州地理認識](#)
- [1880年代の「章程体制」と漢城開港](#)
- [中日戦争期\(1937-1945\)中国言論に見られる韓国観](#)
- [脱冷戦期北東アジアにおける米中間の地理的競争](#)

### 財団ニュース



#### 「東アジア史国際学術会議」

財団と東アジア史研究フォーラムは、11月6日(金)と7日(土)の2日間ソウルグランドヒルトンホテルで「東アジア史国際学術」



- 日本政府の独島領有権主張はなぜつち上げなのか？



# Frictions Japan Faced with Korea and China over the First Part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

## A. History of the Preceding Period

### 1) Oblivion

1945 The Collapse of Japanese Imperialism

Pullout of Japanese people to it's archipelago. Imperialism sinks into oblivion

Liberation of Korea "Restoration of Light"

Korean Peninsula was divided.

1949 The People's Republic of China was established

1950 Korean War

1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty

Timely interest concentrated on the Cold War and reconstruction of Japan

## 2) Restore Relations

1965 Treaty on the Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea

Resume diplomatic relations with Korea. Recognize South Korea as the legitimate government of the whole Korean Peninsula. "Claim Funds"

Park Chung enforces dictatorial development of Korea.

1972 The Joint Statement of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China

Put an end to war. Japan recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole government of China. PRC renounce any claim for World War 2

"Judged guilty to the Japanese Military but innocent to the Japanese People"

Authoritarian Leadership + Political Necessity resulted in shelving the past.

### 3) Memory Controversy in Japan

1965 Saburo Ienaga files a lawsuit over his school textbook because of censorship which is unconstitutional. The Ministry of Education rejected his “New Japanese History” and awarded conditional authorization if correction is made. (1993 case lost)

Japanese Version of Cold War: Right Wing” vs. “Left Wing”

Capitalism ▪ Pro-American vs. Socialism ▪ Anti-American  
(Conservatives ▪ War Supporters) (Progress ▪ Peace Supporters)

1997 Ienaga wins victory in his third lawsuit.

Aside from history textbook, disputes over Yasukuni Shrine, Comfort Women etc.

What can be done about such memories of “Prewar” and Imperialism?”

How is the “Present” to be evaluated with “Prewar” and “Postwar?”

## B. Internationalization of Resuscitations and Arguments on Memories with Neighboring Nations

### 1) Crossing Borders of Memory Disputes

- China Changed its World Strategy

Abandon Theory of Soviet as Main Enemy (1969-1982) Policy of Maintaining Revolution

1982 Enforced replacement of “Advancement” instead of “Invasion?”

Miyazawa Talks + Revision of Authorization Criteria

“Due Respect to Neighboring Country Clause”

Transparency of Textbook Authorization Measures

1985 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary / War against Japan / Nakasone Visits Yasukuni

1986 Reauthorization of “New Version Japanese History”

China Hu Yaobang was forced to resign. Reform Continued.

Japan Political Giant vs. Ethnic Pride



left: Kodansha

‡ right: bungei-shunju

2) Japan's Sky is Overcast by Rainy Clouds: How about Self-esteem

1990 Humiliation of Gulf War Support

1991 Burst of the Economic Bubble and the Beginning of a Long recession

1993 Description of Comfort Women in High School Textbook (1996 Middle School)

1995 Murayama Statement (50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war's end)

The Liberal Democratic Party published the "Summary of the Greater East Asia War"

1997 "Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform" was established.

Grassroots Civic Movement

### 3) Resuscitation of Memory Occur in Neighboring Nations and Then What are Their Policies Toward Japan

- China

1985 Opening of the Nankin Massacre Memorial Hall

Testimony of Daqing Yang

1994 Disputes raised by General Secretary Jiang Zemin

The Justification of the Communist Party of China in  
a Socialist Market Economy

Anti-Japan Education

2003 Hu Jintao Regime, Toward Reconciliation with Japan

# Daqing Yang



† Daqing Yang

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- Korea

Emergence of the Comfort Women Issue

1990 The Korean Council for the Women Drafted for  
Military Slavery was founded

1991 Former comfort women file a lawsuit against the  
Japanese Government

1993 Japanese Government, Kono Statement

1995 Asian Women's Fund was founded

President Kim Dae-jung(98-03)

“Come to terms with the past” Policy of Liberalizing  
Japanese Culture

Contrasting 1998 Kim Dae-jung and Jiang Zemin visit Japan

#### 4) The Argument of 2001

2000 Before final authorization, an applied textbook was leaked and spread in Japan and to neighboring nations. Argument over the textbook prepared by Japan Society for History Textbook Reform occurred. “Tsukurukai”

2001 April 3rd Authorization Results, Approval Procedure Begin  
Textbook prepared by “Tsukurukai” was approved after 137 corrections.

Government Standpoint: Government’s interpretation of history is different from the issue of textbooks.

- Korean Government requested further correction.  
May 8<sup>th</sup> List of corrections was requested. (and to other publishers)
- China also requested on 17<sup>th</sup> but only to the textbook of “Tsukurukai.” Probably China was more concerned of Prime Minister Koizumi’s visit the Yasukuni Shrine.

市販本

新しい  
歴史教科書



扶桑社

## June 1st Textbook Regional Exhibition Open

5<sup>th</sup> “Tsukurukai” publish the textbook.

- The Japan Teachers Union, labor unions etc. submit written demands to the board of education.

- “Tsukurukai” requested local politicians to remove involvement of teachers.

21<sup>st</sup> 21 academic societies announce errors in “Tsukurukai” textbook.

## July 2<sup>nd</sup> Iwanami Shoten publish fault-finding book.

Ministry of Education replies to Korea/ China, 3 LDP secretary generals visit China and Korea. Jiang Zemin accepted the visit. Kim Dae-jung refused.

- Cancellation of private sector exchanges and businesses continue.

Later half of July: Real Situation revealed (result 0.04%) Korea government softened.

30<sup>th</sup> Koizumi LDP wins great victory in the House of Councilors.

August 13<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister Koizumi pay visit to Yasukuni on a prior date.

## 5) International Reconciliation of Memory

- Government Level Joint Research

### Japan-Korea Collaborative History research Committee

First Session (2002-05) : Published research report.

Second Session (2007-)

<http://www.jkcf.or.jp/history/#history>

Japan and China 2007-

## ▪ Private Level Collaborative Research

“Modern Perspective to Colonization” Iwanami Shoten 2004

“History that Open Future” Kobunkn 2005

“Cross Border History Recognition” University of Tokyo Press 2006

“History of Exchange between Japan and Korea” Akashi Shoten 2007

# 植民地近代の視座

朝鮮と日本

宮嶋博史  
李成市【編】  
尹海東  
林志弦

近代とは  
すべからく植民地近代である



岩波書店

歴史の窮境に、日韓の歴史家が迫る

定価(本体 5500 円+税)

✚ Iwanami-shoten

第2版 日本・中国・韓国＝共同編集

# 未来をひらく 歴史

東アジア3国の近現代史

日中韓3国共通歴史教材委員会



† Koubunken

# 国境を越える 歴史認識

日中対話の試み

劉傑/三谷博/楊大慶 [編]

東京大学出版会

† University of Tokyo Press

- International Joint Ownership of Historical Memory

- Is it necessary? “Undoubted Right” vs. “Interference of Internal Affairs”

Is it appropriate to put only Japan on the spot?

“National History” generally problematic

- bi-lateral multi-lateral

- Third party intervention ▪ interest ▪ comparison

Is EU a role model? Germany and Poland/  
Germany and France, Compare Japan with  
Germany? Holocaust + War of Aggression

USA

UCSB

Stanford project