

International Symposium

# The Politics of WAR-RELATED HERITAGE in Contemporary Asia

アジアの戦争関連「遺産」をめぐる政治力学

Languages English  
日本語通訳付きのセッション有り

September 5 and 6, 2019

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KYUSHU UNIVERSITY  
九州大学

September 5<sup>th</sup>~6<sup>th</sup>, 2019  
2019年9月5日~6日

VENUE: Kyushu University, Nishijin Plaza  
会場：九州大学 西新プラザ

## **Introduction:**

More than 70 years on, arguments over how to handle the heritage of the Asia-Pacific War still provoke intense controversy both within Japan and across the East Asian region. While much research has analysed debates surrounding the narration of the war in school curricula, this symposium focuses on the treatment of ‘war as heritage’. Papers discuss what is (or is not) officially or publicly commemorated, and why, and how particular places or documents related to the war have come to be designated as heritage. As well as discussing the interpretation of the heritage or memory of war in museums, memorials and other publicly-curated sites, the presenters also discuss the role of grass-roots civil society movements in advocating different perspectives on past conflict.

This symposium builds on an ongoing interdisciplinary project on the politics of war memory in Asian societies – the WARMAP project – led by Dr. Mark Frost and Dr. Daniel Schumacher of the University of Essex, Prof. Edward Vickers of Kyushu University and Prof. Tim Winter of The University of Western Australia. It is held with support from The Resona Asia-Oceania Foundation, The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation, Kyushu University’s ‘Progress 100’ Program, and the university’s ‘Collaborative Platform for Research and Education in the Humanities and Social Sciences’. It is organized in association with Kyushu University’s Interdisciplinary Taiwan Studies Program.

**VENUE: Kyushu University Nishijin Plaza (九州大学 西新プラザ)**

For directions see: <http://nishijinplaza.kyushu-u.ac.jp/english/access.html>

**Language: English**

## **Time Allotment for Sessions**

1. 5mins for chairperson’s introduction
2. 15mins for each presentation
3. The remaining time for Q&A.

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The **FULL PROGRAMME** (with presentation abstracts) can be downloaded by clicking [HERE](#) or by typing the following into your search engine:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G->

[62LKpDvqjqR\\_I14SomhjgsrTfQEY2Z/view?usp=docs\\_home&ths=true](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1G-62LKpDvqjqR_I14SomhjgsrTfQEY2Z/view?usp=docs_home&ths=true)

## Programme

### DAY ONE (Thursday, September 5)

#### Welcome and opening remarks (9:15-9:30)

#### 歓迎と開会の挨拶(9:15-9:30)

Edward Vickers (Kyushu University)

エドワード・ヴィッカーズ (九州大学)

Mark Frost (University of Essex), WARMAP coordinator

マーク・フロスト (エセックス大学)、WARMAP コーディネーター

#### Session 1 (9:30-10:45) (Leader: Mark Frost, University of Essex)

#### セッション1 (9:30-10:45) (進行役 : マーク・フロスト、エセックス大学)

#### History, Historiography and Public Culture

#### 歴史、歴史学、公共文化

This session discusses the history and politics of conflict commemoration in contemporary Asia, with particular reference to memories of the Asia-Pacific War. It will analyse both what has been commemorated, and why issues of war remembrance have acquired political significance at particular times and in particular places across the region.

#### Yoshihisa AMAE (Chang Jung Christian University)

*When the Bombs Came Down: The Politics of Commemorating Air Raids on Taiwan during the Second World War*

天江喜久 (長栄大学)

「あの日、空から爆弾が降ってきた」 : 太平洋戦争時の台湾空襲の記憶とポリティックス

#### Hiro HAYASHI (Kyushu University)

*Chinese Diaspora and the Atomic Bomb: Sata Ineko's Depiction of Long-term Chinese Residents in The Shade of Trees*

林ヒロ光夫 (九州大学)

「華僑と原爆：佐多稲子の「樹影」における華僑の描写」

#### Yujie ZHU (Australian National University)

*Heritage-making of war memories: Remembering the Nanjing Massacre in nation-building*

朱煜杰 (オーストラリア国立大学)

戦争の記憶の遺産づくり : 国家建設における南京大虐殺の記憶

#### BREAK (10:45-11:00)

#### 休憩 (10:45-11:00)

**Session 2 (11:00-12:15) (Leader: Ann Heylen, National Taiwan Normal University)**  
**セッション2 (11:00-12:15) (進行役 : アン・ヘイレン、国立台湾師範大学)**

**Commemorating Conflict: Education, State Propaganda and Museums**

**紛争を記念する : 教育、国家によるプロパガンダと博物館**

This session analyses the narration of histories of conflict in vehicles for state propaganda and/or political socialisation – especially school textbooks and museums. The speakers will discuss how the narration of experiences of war and occupation has been related to official discourses of national identity in contemporary Asian societies. A key theme will be the relationship between the construction of national ‘selves,’ often conceived in terms of victimhood and (violated) innocence, and the frequent portrayal of ‘others’ as malevolent perpetrators of violence or invasion.

**YANG Biao (East China Normal University)**

*The Construction of National Identity and Narration of 'Others' in China's History Textbooks*

楊彪 (華東師範大学)

中国の歴史教科書における国家的「自己」と「その他」の構築

中国历史教科书中的自国形象构建和他者叙述

**Edward VICKERS (Kyushu University)**

*Mapping Kyushu's War Memoryscape*

エドワード ヴィッカーズ (九州大学)

九州の戦争記憶のマッピング

**HUANG Shu-mei (National Taiwan University)**

*Whose difficult memories/heritage of war and imprisonment? Understanding the juxtaposition of the Jewish ghetto with Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai*

フアン・シュウメイ (国立台湾大学)

戦争と投獄の困難な記憶/遺産は誰のものか？上海のティランチャオ刑務所とユダヤ人ゲットーの並置を理解する

**LUNCH BREAK (12:15-13:15)**

**お昼休憩 (12:15-13:15)**

**Session 3 (13:15-15:35) (Leader: Edward Vickers, Kyushu University)**

**セッション3 (13:15-15:35) (進行役 : エドワード・ヴィッカーズ、九州大学)**

**The ‘Comfort Women’ Issue as Contested Heritage**

**「慰安婦」をめぐる紛争遺産問題**

This session takes as its focus what is nowadays perhaps the most fraught and controversial issue in the commemoration of the Asia-Pacific War: the ‘comfort women’ issue. Campaigns for recognition of the suffering of these women have continued since the 1990s, but in recent years have entered a new phase as the victims themselves gradually pass away. The drive to commemorate the ‘comfort women’ led, in 2016, to a joint application to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, which was blocked following intense pressure from Japan. This session features four papers on different aspects of the campaigns to research and commemorate the experiences of ‘comfort women,’ including contributions by scholars prominently involved in these campaigns.

**Xiaoyang HAO (Kyushu University)**

*The Chinese “Comfort Women” Litigations in the 1990s and 2000s*

郝曉陽 (九州大学)

記憶の場としての慰安婦補償裁判

**Heisoo SHIN (Ewha Womans University)**

*Voices of the ‘Comfort Women’: Power Politics and Attempts to Stifle the Voices and Resistance of Civil Movements*

申蕙秀 (梨花女子大学)

「慰安婦」の声：声を鎮圧する力の政治と市民運動の抵抗

**Caroline NORMA (RMIT University)**

*Justice for the Japanese wartime ‘comfort women’: A contemporary campaign against military sexual violence, or prostitution?*

キャロライン・ノルマ (ロイヤルメルボルン工科大学)

日本の戦時中の「慰安婦」への正義：現代のキャンペーンは軍による性暴力あるいは売春、どちらに対するものなのか？

**SU Zhiliang (Shanghai Normal University)**

*Reconstructing the historical truth regarding wartime ‘comfort women’ – the results of 28 years of research into the ‘comfort women’ issue in China*

蘇智良 (上海師範大学)

戦時中の「慰安婦」に関する歴史的真相の再構築-中国の「慰安婦」問題に関する28年間の研究の結果

重建战时“慰安妇”制度的史实——中国28年来“慰安妇”问题的调查结论和成果

**Naoko KINOSHITA (Institute on Social Theory and Dynamics)**

*Resisting the Politicization of Images: Considering the relationship between nationalism and Korean ‘comfort women’ statues and films*

木下直子 (特定非営利活動法人 社会理論・動態研究所)

「イメージの政治に抗して——少女像・韓国「慰安婦」映画のナショナリズムを考える」

**BREAK 15:35-16:00**

休憩 (15:35-16:00)

**FILM SCREENING followed by discussion with the director,  
MIKI DEZAKI (16:00-18:50)**

映画上映と、ミキ・デザキ監督との議論 (16:00-18:50)

***SHUSENJO (主戦場) – The Main Battleground of the Comfort  
Women Issue (2019)***

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## DAY TWO (Friday, September 6)

**Session 4 (9:20-11:00) (Leader: Jung-sun N. Han, Korea University)**  
**セッション4 (9:20-11:00) (進行役：ジュンスン・N・ハン、高麗大学校)**

**Conflict Heritage, Tourism and the Built Environment**  
**紛争の遺産、観光と建築環境**

In this session, the speakers – including architects, political scientists and historians – will discuss the importance across contemporary Asia of heritage sites, both as symbols of a national or communal past, and as resources for a growing (and often transnational) tourist industry. Speakers will discuss how and why particular sites have been protected, destroyed or reconstructed, and the implications of this for domestic identity discourse, and for international relations.

**Jung-Sun N. HAN (Korea University)**

*Darkling Ventures: The Making of Dark Heritage in Contemporary Japan*

ジュンスン・N・ハン (高麗大学校)  
暗黒化する事業：現代日本の暗黒遺産の形成

**Mark FROST (University of Essex)**

*The City and War Remembrance*

マーク・フロスト (エセックス大学)  
都市と戦争の記憶

**Wantanee SUNTIKUL (Hong Kong Polytechnic University)**

*A Contested Dark Tourism Site: The Death Railway in Thailand*

ワンタニー・スンチクル (香港理工大学)  
論争を煽るダークツーリズム：タイの死の鉄道

**Mark MACA (Kyushu University)**

*Commemorating War and Occupation in the Philippines Today*

マーク・マカ (九州大学)  
現代のフィリピンにおける戦争と占領の追悼

**BREAK (11:00-11:20)**

**休憩 (11:00-11:20)**

**Session 5 (11:20-13:00) (Leader: Tim Winter, University of Western Australia)**  
**セッション5 (11:20-13:00) (進行役: ティム・ウィンター、西オーストラリア大学)**

**Politics, Diplomacy and Conflict-related Heritage**  
**政治、外交、紛争に関連する遺産**

In this session, Tim Winter, a prominent expert on the international politics of heritage, will lead a discussion of recent transnational arguments over conflict commemoration. A particular focus here will be UNESCO's schemes for registering 'World Heritage Sites' or 'Memory of the World'. The speakers will discuss particular controversies in comparative perspective, in an attempt to elucidate the reasons why these UNESCO processes have become a particular source of international controversy in the East Asian region.

**Tim WINTER (University of Western Australia)**  
*Peace Diplomacy and Japanese Silk Road Multilateralism*

ティム・ウィンター (西オーストラリア大学)  
平和外交と日本のシルクロード多国間主義

**Ryoko NAKANO (Kanazawa University)**  
*Heritage as a 'thing' in international politics: memory politics and ontological insecurity in East Asia*

中野涼子 (金沢大学)  
国際政治におけるモノとしての遺産—東アジアにおける記憶の政治と存在不安

**Emilia HEO S. (Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University)**  
*Remember to Reconcile? Exploring Conflict Narratives in Contemporary Asia*

エミリア・ヘオ (立命館アジア太平洋大学)  
和解を忘れずに? 現代アジアにおける紛争に関するナラティブの探求

**Daniel SCHUMACHER (University of Essex)**  
*Asia's Global Memory Wars and Solidarity Across Borders*

ダニエル・シュマカー (エセックス大学)  
アジアのグローバルメモリの戦争と国境を越えた連帯

**LUNCH (13:00-14:00)**

**お昼休憩 (13:00-14:00)**



**Session 6 (14:00-15:40) (Leader: Tomoko Ako, The University of Tokyo)**

**セッション6 (14:00-15:40) (進行役：阿古智子、東京大学)**

**Civil Society, Grassroots Movements and Conflict Commemoration**

**市民社会、草の根運動、紛争記念**

While previous sessions mostly deal with the politics of conflict commemoration from the perspective of the state (or of international bodies like UNESCO), in this session the speakers will consider war remembrance from a grassroots perspective. Speaking from personal experience, they will reflect on the reasons why groups of activists have coalesced around particular issues, and on the official and popular reception that has met such campaigns for commemoration or preservation of war-related heritage.

**Hamzah Bin MUZAINI (National University of Singapore)**

*Heritage 'from Below' in the Remembrance of the Second World War in Perak, Malaysia*

ハムザ・ムザイニ(シンガポール国立大学)

マレーシアのペラでの第二次世界大戦の記憶における「下から」の遺産

**Tomoko AKO (University of Tokyo)**

*Why does 'peace' become taboo? Intentional and unintentional oblivion of memories of war --- The case study of the Nakano Prison Main Gate Conservation Movement*

阿古智子 (東京大学)

「平和」がタブー化されるのはなぜ？意識的・無意識的に忘却される戦争の記憶：旧中野刑務所正門保存運動の事例より

**Shichi Mike LAN (National Chengchi University)**

*Commemorating the Second World War and the Bereaved Families in Taiwan*

藍適齊 (国立政治大学)

台湾の第二次世界大戦とその遺族を追悼して

**Yosuke WATANABE (Osaka University of Economics and Law)**

*From victimhood to empathy: Peace activism in Japan and Malaysia*

渡辺洋介 (大阪経済法科大学)

被害者意識から共感へー日本とマレーシアにおける平和運動

**Closing remarks (15:45-16:00)**

Edward Vickers (Kyushu University)

**閉会の辞 (15:45-16:00)**

エドワード・ヴィッカーズ (九州大学)

**Discussion on follow-up publications (for symposium presenters only) (16:10-16:50)**

## Session summaries with presentation abstracts:

### Session 1 (9:30-10:45) (Leader: Mark Frost, Essex University)

#### History, Historiography and Public Culture

This session discusses the history and politics of conflict commemoration in contemporary Asia, with particular reference to memories of the Asia-Pacific War. It will analyze both what has been commemorated, and why issues of war remembrance have acquired political significance at particular times and in particular places across the region.

**Speakers:** Amae Yoshihisa (Chung Jung Christian University), Hayashi Hiro (Kyushu University), Yujie Zhu (ANU)

#### 1. Amae Yoshihisa: *When the Bombs Came Down: The Politics of Commemorating Air Raids on Taiwan during the Second World War*

Memories of bombs and air raids are the common heritage of World War Two. During the War, cities in England, Germany, Japan, China, and many other places were bombed, producing numerous civilian casualties. Taiwan—also known at this time in the West as Formosa—was heavily bombed by the Allied Forces toward the end of WWII. More than 5,000 were killed and 8,000 injured in 1945 alone. Yet, unlike other places, the narrative of the air raids, including drills and evacuations to the remote countryside (*sokai*), was absent from official and public discourse on WWII until the late 1990s. This was because the postwar discourse on WWII was dominated by anti-Japanese historiography due to government censorship. Yet, since political liberalization and democratization in the 1990s, memories of Taiwan's Japanese past, including the 50 years of colonial rule, have become more openly discussed. Coincidentally, Taiwan has gone (and is still going) through the rewriting of its national history. In recent years, the story of US bombings in Taiwan has been represented in the popular culture in forms of books, TV dramas and documentary films, websites, and even board games. Powerful images of the bombings shot by the US military have been widely disseminated through social media. The phenomenon has led civic groups to excavate old abandoned bomb shelters and tunnels, and, with help from local governments, make them into tourist attractions and local heritage sites. In this paper, I will discuss how the commemoration of the air raids as a social and discursive practice and form cultural capital is connecting: the people with each other, even beyond national boundaries; the people to their surrounding environment; and the present to the past.

**Yoshihisa AMAE** (Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Hawaii) is an associate professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Studies at Chang Jung Christian University (Tainan, Taiwan). Amae specializes in Taiwan's modern and contemporary history and cultural politics. He is interested in the discourse of nationalism in Taiwan and its postcoloniality, in particular how the memories of the Japanese colonial past are consumed in present-day Taiwan. His publications include: 《再見海南島: 臺籍日本兵張子涇太平洋終戰回憶錄》(2017); 「台湾韓僑のポストコロニアル: 任斗旭・台湾韓僑協会理事長を中心に」(forthcoming, 2020) 「台南の「救世主」となった「日本人」: 湯徳章英雄説の検証」 『日本台湾学会報』(2018); 「他山の石: 台湾から帝国の慰安婦

問題を考える」(2017); “Becoming Taiwanese: Appropriation of Japanese Colonial Sites and Structures in Cultural Heritage-Making—A Case Study on the Wushantou Reservoir and Hatta Yoichi” in *Citizens, Civil Society and Heritage Making in Asia* (2017); “A Japanese Engineer Who Became a Taiwanese Deity: Postcolonial Representations of Hatta Yoichi,” *East Asian Journal of Popular Culture* (2015); and “Pro-colonial or Postcolonial? Appropriation of Japanese Colonial Heritage in Present-day Taiwan,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (2011).

## **2. Hayashi Hiro: *Chinese Diaspora and the Atomic Bomb: Sata Ineko's Depiction of Long-term Chinese Residents in The Shade of Trees***

The Chinese diaspora who experienced the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bomb found themselves at a cross-cultural nexus in the aftermath of World War Two. Long term residents in Japan who survived the attacks had to contend with opposing domestic and international forces in the post-war years. The Chinese Revolution and Geo-political tensions meant that some individuals within this group of *hibakusha* (atomic bomb victims) experienced a sense of internal conflict as they came to terms with their place in Japanese society while battling radiation-related illnesses. Prejudicial attitudes towards Chinese people in Japan further intensified these feelings. This paper will look at the transnational aspect of the bombings by focusing on Sata Ineko's depiction of Chinese diaspora in her 1973 novel *The Shade of Trees* (樹影, Juei). The protagonist of Sata's critically acclaimed work is called Keiko, a survivor of the Nagasaki bombing of Chinese descent. Discussing this central character's personal relationships and attitude towards her Chinese heritage will provide insight into how the post-war political landscape impacted *hibakusha* from minority groups in Japanese society.

**Hayashi Hiro** is a doctoral candidate in Kyushu University's Faculty of Integrated Science for Global Society.

## **3. Yujie Zhu: *Heritage-making of war memories: Remembering the Nanjing Massacre in nation-building***

On 13 December 2018 a series of activities was organised around the world to commemorate the victims of the mass killings and war crimes committed by Japanese soldiers at Nanjing during World War II. The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall in China, a site that serves as a national place of remembrance for the atrocity at Nanjing, was at the centre of these 81st anniversary commemorations. However, the representation of such a traumatic historic event is not simply about national recognition and mourning; China uses narratives relating to loss and victimhood to develop regional alliances in the Asia-Pacific based on shared war memories and a mutually grounded antipathy towards Japan. The importance of the Nanjing Massacre site and documents related to the event were recognised as national heritage in 2006 and as global archival heritage, with inscription on the UNESCO Memory of World Register, in 2015. The transformation of the Nanjing Massacre into a national heritage site not only offers the state a powerful platform for patriotic education, but also allows the event to operate as a form of 'soft power' to fulfil diplomatic goals in the Asia-Pacific region.

By examining the social discourse of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, this paper explores how the Chinese state (re)interprets and represents war memories through heritage making, and investigate their cultural and political roles in nation building. Moving beyond the existing literature on the Nanjing Massacre which focuses on the event in the context of Sino-Japan relations,

the study contributes to our understanding of the contested, plural, and dynamic nature of social memories in China's nation formation in the context of the burgeoning global era.

**Dr Yujie Zhu** is a Lecturer at the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies, the Australian National University. For the past 10 years, he has been researching issues of the politics of cultural heritage, commemoration, and cultural tourism. He is the author of *Heritage Politics in China* (forthcoming), *Heritage and Romantic Consumption in China* (2018) and the co-editor of *Politics of Scale* (2018) and *Sustainable Tourism Management at World Heritage Sites* (2009). He has also published more than thirty articles that appeared in leading anthropology, tourism, and heritage journals, including *American Anthropologist*, *Annals of Tourism Research*, and *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. In addition, Yujie is the vice president of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies and the vice chair of the IUAES Commission on the Anthropology of Tourism.

## Session 2 (11:00-12:15) (Leader: Ann Heylen, National Taiwan Normal University)

### Commemorating Conflict: Education, State Propaganda and Museums

This session analyses the narration of histories of conflict in vehicles for state propaganda and/or political socialization – especially school textbooks and museums. The speakers will discuss how the narration of experiences of war and occupation has been related to official discourses of national identity in contemporary Asian societies. A key theme will be the relationship between the construction of national ‘selves,’ often conceived in terms of victimhood and (violated) innocence, and the frequent portrayal of ‘others’ as malevolent perpetrators of violence or invasion.

**Speakers:** Huang Shumei (NTU), Edward Vickers (Kyushu University), Yang Biao (ECNU)

#### 1. Yang Biao: *The construction of national ‘self’ and ‘others’ in China’s history textbooks*

Both China and Japan make national history the basis of their school curriculum for ‘History’, introducing the broader narrative of world history from a national perspective. However, there are significant differences in the ways in which the national and global narratives are interlinked. The ‘national spirit’ emphasized throughout Chinese history education determines the relationship between the national and global historical narratives; but in Japan, crucial features of the postwar political and constitutional order have contributed to a relatively greater emphasis on ‘world history’. Compared to Japan, China’s history textbooks evince a stronger emphasis on constructing national subjectivity, and the teaching of national (Chinese) history is more clearly prioritised over world history. The extent of this nation-centered emphasis is reinforced by the distribution of coverage among political, economic and cultural aspects of history. As a result, the depiction of foreign ‘others’ in Chinese history textbooks is always subordinate to the construction of the national self-image; China is always at the ‘core,’ with the narrative of world history constructed around this ‘core’.

#### 中国历史教科书中的自国形象构建和他者叙述

中国和日本两国都把本国历史作为历史教育的基础，渐次展开对世界历史的叙述。中国历史教育中强调的“家国情怀”决定了中国史在中国的历史教育中不可动摇的地位，以及世界史之于中国史的关系；不同于日本由于战后秩序和基本国策的关系，一直以来对世界史的重视程度更高。相较于日本，中国的历史教科书对自国形象的建构更为强调主体性，在中国史和世界史的知识点分布上，中国史占较大优势。而且对自国形象建构的层面从政治经济和文化三个方面着手，显得较为立体。正因此，中国的历史教科书当中对中国以外的“他者”叙述总是围绕着中国形象的构建而进行的，构成了以中国史为核心，世界史围绕核心的格局。

**YANG Biao** is Professor of History at East China Normal University, Shanghai, China. His research and teaching interests include history education and history reconciliation. He is the author of *日本历史教科书中的中国 (China in Japan’s History Textbooks)* (2014), and has been involved in writing and editing history textbooks for Shanghai’s schools.

## 2. Edward Vickers: *Mapping Kyushu's War Memoryscape*

Culturally and politically, as well as geographically, Kyushu was at the forefront of Japan's modernization and industrialization from the Meiji Period onwards, as well as of Japanese expansionism in Asia. During the Asia-Pacific War, local industries powered the war effort, crucial military installations were located here, and the island witnessed the final major act of the entire conflict, with the atomic bombing of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. But amongst this abundance of war-related heritage and memory, what is publicly commemorated in Kyushu today, and why? In this presentation, I survey some of the major commemorative sites around the island relating to the Asia-Pacific War, and examine how these have been preserved and curated, and how some have been used – for example in local programs of 'peace education'. I also discuss recent campaigns to secure international recognition, through UNESCO, for aspects of local heritage associated with the war, from the sites of the Meiji Industrial Revolution to the letters of the *tokkotai* ('special attack units', or 'kamikaze pilots'). I consider what the treatment of Kyushu's wartime heritage can tell us about the postwar construction of regional and national identities, and the political and cultural forces that have shaped this process. The paper concludes with reflections on the implications of Kyushu's selective public remembrance of the war for local politics and culture, as well as for relations with neighbouring Asian societies.

**Edward Vickers** is Professor of Comparative Education at Kyushu University, Japan. He researches the history and politics of education, and the politics of heritage, across contemporary East Asia. His books include *Remembering Asia's World War Two* (2019, co-edited with Mark Frost and Daniel Schumacher); *Education and Society in Post-Mao China* (2017, with Zeng Xiaodong), and (as a co-ordinating lead author) the 2017 UNESCO report, *Rethinking Schooling for the 21st Century*. He is director of Kyushu University's Taiwan Studies Program, and Secretary-General of the Comparative Education Society of Asia.

## 3. Huang Shu-mei: *Whose difficult memories/heritage of war and imprisonment? Understanding the juxtaposition of Jewish ghetto with Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai*

This research studies the colonial penal legacy in the Shanghai International Settlement – specifically the case of Tilanqiao Prison and the surrounding neighborhood, where some 30,000 Jewish refugees temporarily settled down before and during Second World War. The juxtaposition of the Jewish ghetto with Tilanqiao Prison in Shanghai during wartime exemplified two kinds of imprisonment standing side by side, with the prison as the most institutionalized form of incarceration and the ghettoization of Jewish refugees in the same neighborhood as a less institutionalized but more racialized form of imprisonment. Today, most of the Jews are long gone while the prison remains operational. This research seeks to understand how different memories, including those embedded in the colonial penal landscape and those hidden in the nearby "Shanghai Ghetto," have attracted multiple actors of preservation across borders. Among others, the plan to register the story of finding refuge in Shanghai as UNESCO Memory of the World stands out against other forms of storytelling. This paper also examines the conflicts between the preservation project and urban renewal initiatives – considered a priority in Shanghai and strongly supported by the state. This research intends to come up with a critical theoretical framework of "corrective remembering" to understand how contemporary society navigates all the conflicting memories and searches for a consensus in balancing urban redevelopment and cultural heritage preservation.

**Shu-Mei Huang** is Assistant Professor at the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University. Her research interests include postcolonial urbanism, trans-nationalization of care and space, and dark heritage. She has carried out research into defunct prisons built by the colonial regimes in several East Asian cities, including Taipei, Seoul, Singapore and Lushun. In collaboration with Hyun Kyung Lee, a book monograph titled *Heritage, Memory, and Punishment: Remembering Colonial Prisons in East Asia* is to be published by Routledge in 2019. She is also author of *Urbanizing Carescapes of Hong Kong: Two Systems, One City* (2015, Lexington Books).

**Session leader, Ann Heylen:**

Prof. Heylen holds a PhD from K.U.Leuven in Chinese Studies, is Professor at the Department of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature, National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), and Director of the International Taiwan Studies Center (ITSC), at the College of Liberal Arts, NTNU. She is a founding member of the European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS) and editor-in-chief of the *East Asian Journal of Popular Culture* (EAJPC, Intellect, UK). Her research covers the history of Taiwan, from 17-20th century, with special attention to Dutch Formosa, the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) and more recently the turn of the 19th century relations between the Low Countries and East Asia.

### Session 3 (13:15-15:35) (Leader: Edward Vickers, Kyushu University)

進行役: エドワード ヴィッカーズ (九州大学)

#### The ‘Comfort Women’ Issue as Contested Heritage

This session takes as its focus what is nowadays perhaps the most fraught and controversial issue in the commemoration of the Asia-Pacific War: the ‘comfort women’ issue. Campaigns for recognition of the suffering of these women have continued since the 1990s, but in recent years have entered a new phase as the victims themselves gradually pass away. The drive to commemorate the ‘comfort women’ led, in 2016, to a joint application to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, which was blocked following intense pressure from Japan. This session features four papers on different aspects of the campaigns to research and commemorate the experiences of ‘comfort women,’ including contributions by scholars prominently involved in these campaigns.

#### 慰安婦 紛争遺産問題

太平洋戦争を検証する際にもっとも論争を引き起こすのが慰安婦問題であろう。多くの苦しむ慰安婦のためのキャンペーンが 1990 年代から続いているが、高齢で亡くなっていく彼女達のため現在は新たな段階に入っている。2016 年のユネスコ世界記憶遺産登録への動きは、日本政府の強力な圧力の下に制止された。このセッションでは、これらキャンペーンに大きくかかわった研究者を含む 5 名が、慰安婦問題について多角的な視点から発表を行う。

**Speakers:** Caroline Norma (RMIT), Heisoo Shin (Ewha Women’s University), Xiaoyang Hao (Kyushu University), Su Zhiliang (Shanghai Normal University), Naoko Kinoshita (independent scholar)

#### 1. Xiaoyang Hao: *The Chinese “Comfort Women” Litigations in the 1990s and 2000s*

This paper focuses on the three lawsuits filed by Chinese “comfort women” (two groups from Shanxi province and one group from Hainan province) in the 1990s and 2000s. After Korean “comfort women” first came out by name and sued the Japanese government for a formal apology and proper compensation in the early 1990s, “comfort women” from other countries followed suit. Due to the lack of financial, legal, moral, and mental support from the Chinese government, however, Chinese comfort women did not have a chance to have their voice heard until in the latter half of the 1990s. With Japanese research groups’ in-depth and long-term interviews with “comfort women” in Shanxi province, Chinese victims gradually realized that they should not be ashamed of the sex crimes they suffered, and that it was the Japanese military that should be held to account for these wrongs. This change of paradigm empowered “comfort women” victims, who, with the assistance of Japanese and Chinese volunteers, initiated lawsuits against the Japanese government. Although the courts eventually ruled in favor of the government on the grounds of the statute of limitations, state immunity, the settlement of reparation issues in bilateral agreements, and other judicial technicalities, they vindicated victimhood by establishing and recognizing as facts what had happened to the comfort women victims. Unlike previous research that has simply focused on the court verdicts, this paper delves into the rich volumes of documents prepared by the attorneys for the plaintiffs. Borrowing Nancy Fraser’s framework on social justice, this chapter scrutinizes the



court records of these three trials and sheds light on how exactly the attorneys for the plaintiffs made sense of the violence perpetrated by the Japanese military.

郝曉陽 (ハオ・シャオヤン) : 1990年代と2000年代における中国人「慰安婦」訴訟

1990年代と2000年代の山西省と海南省の中国人「慰安婦」による3つの訴訟に着目する。1990年代初めに、韓国人「慰安婦」が日本政府に対し公式な謝罪と補償を求めて訴訟を起こしたのに続いて、他の国々の慰安婦も立ち上がった。しかし、中国政府からの資金的、法的、精神的なサポートが欠如していたため、1990年代後半まで彼女達の主張は聞き入れられなかった。山西省での日本の研究グループによる詳細かつ長期的なインタビューにより、中国人犠牲者達は徐々に、性的に搾取された自分達が苦しむ必要はなく、その過ちを犯した日本軍はその非を認めるべきだとの考えになっていった。こうしたパラダイムの変化は「慰安婦」犠牲者達に力を与え、日本と中国人ボランティアの支えも伴い、日本政府に対する訴訟が始まったのである。裁判所は最終的には時効、国家免責、二国間協定における賠償問題の解決を根拠として日本政府に有利な判決を下すことになったが、慰安婦犠牲者の存在が立証されることになった。この論文では単に裁判所の判決に焦点を当てたこれまでの研究とは異なり、原告の弁護団による豊富な資料を掘り下げて考察する。そして3つの裁判の法廷記録を精査し、原告弁護団がいかに日本軍が犯した暴力を正確に解明したかを明らかにする。

**Xiaoyang Hao** is a doctoral candidate in Kyushu University's Faculty of Integrated Science for Global Society.

## **2. Heisoo Shin: Voices of the 'Comfort Women': Power Politics, the Stifling of Victims' Voices and the Role of Civil Society Movements**

History shows that the violation and victimization of women during war and armed conflict have not been properly recorded, commemorated or preserved. Access to proper justice or reparation for the victims/survivors generally remains extremely rare. After 70 years, the truth regarding the system of military sexual slavery operated by wartime Japan, the so-called 'comfort women' system, remains acutely contested. The remaining survivors are now very elderly, and their live voices will soon perish into history.

This paper seeks to explain the process of collaboration among civil society organizations towards preserving the voices of the 'comfort women' and registering related documents with UNESCO. The 14 civil society organizations from 8 countries, mostly from the victims of Japanese invasion and occupation, but also including one from Japan itself, have worked together to compile a dossier of 'comfort women' documents for the submission of a joint nomination proposal to UNESCO. However, the process of collaboration was greatly threatened by the political deal between Korea

and Japan in December 2015, while UNESCO's Memory of the World program was also subverted by the politics of money and state power.

The resulting temporary freeze on the Memory of the World program, talk of changes to its statutes and regulations, and UNESCO's continued delay in implementing its own decisions raise serious doubts concerning the legitimacy and meaning of the program. A more fundamental question is whether and how the voices of victims of violation or discrimination, in this case of the 'comfort women', will be heard, preserved and transmitted to future generations to prevent the reoccurrence of such atrocities. If the efforts of the recent civil society movement ends in failure, what alternative strategies are open to us?

申蕙秀 (シン・ヘイスウ) (韓国 梨花女子大学校招聘教授) :

「慰安婦」の声：権力政治、犠牲者の苦しみ及び市民社会運動の役割

歴史は、戦争及び武力紛争下での女性に対する侵害や被害が適切に記録、認識、その保存がなされていないことを示している。犠牲者や生存者が正義や補償を得ることは極めて稀であり、70年後の今日、戦時中の日本軍による性的奴隷、いわゆる「慰安婦」制度に関する真実は激しい論争上にある。生存者の多くは高齢となり、彼女達の生きた声は間もなく歴史に埋もれてしまうだろう。この論文では、慰安婦の声を保存し関連資料を UNESCO に登録するため市民社会組織間が行った協力のプロセスを明らかにしたい。日本による侵略と占領の被害に遭った8カ国からなる14の市民社会組織だけでなく、日本からも一組織が参加し、UNESCOへ共同指名提案提出のために、慰安婦文書の関連記録を協力して編集した。しかし、このプロセスは2015年12月に韓国と日本間における政治的取引によって大いに脅かされ、UNESCO世界の記憶プログラムは資金と国家権力により破壊されたといえよう。世界の記憶プログラムの一時的な凍結、法令や規制の変更、そしてUNESCO自体の決定プロセスの継続的な遅れにより、プログラムの正当性と意義に深刻な疑念が生じている。より根本的な問題は侵害や差別の犠牲者達(この場合は慰安婦達)の声を聞き、保存し、こうした残虐行為の再発を防ぐために次世代へつなげるのか否か、そしてどのように行うか、である。そして一連の市民運動が失敗に終わったなら、他にどんな方法が私たちに残されているのだろうか。

Trained as a sociologist at Rutgers University, **Heisoo Shin** was an associate professor at Hanil University and Presbyterian Theological Seminary from 1993-2000, and a visiting professor at the Graduate School of NGO Studies at KyungHee University from 2001-2006. Since 2008, she has been teaching as an invited professor at the Graduate School of International Studies at Ewha Womans University in Seoul.

Prof. Shin has participated actively in various social movements, in particular relating to issues of violence against women. Regionally and internationally, she has raised the so-called 'comfort women' issue at the United Nations and other international fora, demanding state accountability and legal reparations from Japan. She also served as a member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women from 2001-2008, as well as a commissioner of the National Human Rights Commission in Korea from 2005-2008. Since 2011, she has been a member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and has been elected to serve a third term until

2022. She is also the chair of the Board of the Korea Center for United Nations Human Rights Policy (KOCUN), a Korean human rights NGO with a special consultative status with UN ECOSOC.

Since 2014, Prof. Shin has coordinated 14 civil organizations from 8 countries and supported them to compile an archive of ‘comfort women’ related documents, which was submitted as a joint-nomination proposal to UNESCO’s ‘Memory of the World’ documentary heritage programme in 2016. The outcome of that application is still pending.

### **3. Caroline Norma: *Justice for the Japanese wartime ‘comfort women’: A contemporary campaign against military sexual violence, or prostitution?***

Campaigners in Japan advocating justice for former military ‘comfort women’ are currently on a collision course with their South Korean counterparts. Over the past five years, these Japanese campaigners have come to link the problem of wartime military sexual slavery to historical systems of prostitution. At first they waged this effort in recognition of survivors of Japanese nationality who were usually trafficked out of Japan’s pre-war licensed brothel districts. These victims, through their association with prostitution, had been left out of campaigning, and so campaigners worked to reinstate their place within the contemporary justice movement. More recently, though, through a major book publication (by Kim Puja and Kim Yon in 2018), collaborative events with South Korean anti-prostitution activists, and through an exhibition (currently) staged by the Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace in Tokyo, Japan-based campaigners have escalated their view of the history of wartime sexual slavery as a phenomenon of prostitution. This presentation will describe developments in Japan that have led activists and researchers to link the wartime military scheme to Korea’s colonial-era prostitution districts. I will argue this shift in historical thinking about the wartime sexual slavery scheme puts South Korean advocates under pressure to reconsider their outright rejection of any view of the ‘comfort women’ as victims of prostitution. This is because the research and campaigning of Japanese activists presents them with the possibility that a large proportion of Korean victims, like their Japanese sisters, were trafficked into military comfort stations from domestic brothels. From their own side, too, South Korean activists face further pressure to join in collaboration with local campaigners seeking justice for self-declared ‘US-military comfort women’ who won a significant compensation case in Korea’s courts in 2017. Overall, the presentation describes rising antagonism at the grassroots level of the contemporary East Asian women’s movement for wartime justice, but sees resolution as achievable through the movement’s transformation into an Asia-wide abolitionist struggle against prostitution in both wartime and peace.

キャロライン・ノーマ (ロイヤルメルボルン工科大学上級研究員) :

日本の戦時中の「慰安婦」への正義：軍による性暴力あるいは売春に対する現代のキャンペーン

旧日本軍による「慰安婦」への正義を追求する日本の活動家達は現在、韓国のカウンターパートと衝突している。過去5年間、日本の活動家達は、戦時中の軍事的性奴隷の問題を歴史的な売春システムに結びつけるようになった。当初は、戦前の日本で認可された売春宿から連れ去られた日本人生存者の認識を主としていたが、売春との関連により取り残された彼女達の地位を回復するべく活動していったのである。より最近になって、2018年

出版の本 ( Kim Puja 、 Kim Yon 著 ) や韓国との反売春運動の共同イベント、女たちの戦争と平和資料館 ( 東京 ) の特別展を通して、日本を本拠地とする活動家たちは戦時中の性奴隷の歴史を売春の現象だと捉えるようになっていった。このプレゼンテーションでは、戦時中の軍事計画を、植民地時代の韓国の売春地区とつなげる活動家や研究者達の見解が日本で拓がった経緯を明らかにする。こうした戦時中の性奴隷制度についての歴史的見解の変化により、韓国の活動家達は、慰安婦は売春による犠牲者、とする見方を拒絶することへの再考を迫られている。なぜなら、韓国人被害者の多くが、国内の売春宿から軍事慰安婦施設に人身売買された可能性を、日本側の調査が示したからである。さらに、2017年に韓国の訴訟で補償を勝ち取った「米軍慰安婦」の正義を追求する地元の活動家達と協力するようにも求められている。全体として、戦時中の正義を求める現代東アジアの女性運動の草の根レベルにおける対立の高まりを明らかにするが、同時に、戦時と平和下における売春に対する、アジア全体に広がる廃止論者闘争運動の変容を通じて、達成可能な解決策を探る。

**Dr Caroline NORMA** is a senior research fellow at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia, and currently a visiting researcher at Doshisha University in Kyoto. She is undertaking a project on the 'comfort women' military sex slaves in New Guinea during the Second World War. Caroline broadly researches Japanese and South Korea modern history from a feminist anti-prostitution perspective, and teaches in a translation/interpreting masters program at RMIT.

#### **4. Su Zhiliang: *Reconstructing the historical truth regarding wartime 'comfort women' – the results of 28 years of research into the 'comfort women' issue in China***

When the Asia-Pacific War ended in August 1945, the Japanese authorities from top to bottom took steps to destroy a huge volume of documents, for decades casting a pall of confusion over the history of the 'comfort women' system. Since August 14, 1991, when Korean former 'comfort woman' Kim Hak-sun came forward and spoke out about her experiences, scholars, politicians and social forces in various countries have been mobilized. Over the subsequent 28 years, people have sought to reconstruct the true history of Japan's wartime military 'comfort women' system.

But with what results? Taking China as an example, various war-related documents, magazine or journal articles, witness accounts, war criminals' confessions and so forth have been located, sorted, archived or published. More than 260 former 'comfort women' survivors have been identified and their sufferings recorded; without a single exception, all were coerced and denied physical liberty. Dating from early 1932 until the end of the war, in 22 occupied provinces or municipalities from Heilongjiang in the north to Hainan Island in the south, an astonishing number of former military 'comfort stations' have been discovered. In Shanghai, for example, the establishment of at least 172 former 'comfort stations' have been verified; in Zhejiang, 183; in Nanjing and Hainan almost 70 each; and in Wuhan, too, several dozen. The evidence demonstrates that the Japanese Government (including the Foreign Ministry, Justice Ministry, Interior Ministry and Police), the Military Authorities (responsible for both Land and Naval Forces) as well as the military forces themselves were implicated in the establishment of this wartime system, in violation of human rights.

Naturally, completing the task of uncovering, describing and analysing the true nature and extent of the wartime ‘comfort women’ system still requires much challenging research over the long term.

Like the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews or the massacre conducted by the Japanese army in Nanjing, the sexual enslavement of women under the Japanese military ‘comfort women’ system constitutes a war crime and one of the 20th century’s major wartime atrocities. Humanity must profoundly reflect on and learn from such experiences, in order to ensure that such atrocities are not repeated.

蘇智良 (上海師範大学教授)

戦時中の「慰安婦」に関する歴史的真相の再構築 □ 28 年間にわたる中国の「慰安婦」問題の研究結果

太平洋戦争が終焉を迎えた 1945 年 8 月、日本の当局はこぞって膨大な量の資料を破壊するための措置を講じ、それが何十年もの間「慰安婦」制度の歴史をめぐる混乱を招いた。1991 年 8 月 14 日に、韓国人元「慰安婦」Kim Hak-sun が立ち上がって彼女の体験を語った時、様々な国の学者、政治家、社会勢力は心を動かされた。その後 28 年間、人々は戦時中の日本軍による「慰安婦」制度の真相の歴史を再構築しようと模索してきた。

どのような結果になったか。中国を例に挙げると、様々な戦争関連資料、雑誌、記事、目撃者の証言、戦犯者による自白などが発見、分類、保存、出版された。260 人以上に及ぶ元「慰安婦」達が確認され、彼女達の苦しみが記録された。彼女達は一人の例外もなく、強制され身体の不自由を奪われていた。1932 年初頭から終戦まで、北の黒竜江省から南の海南島までの 22 占領地において、驚くべき数の旧日本軍の「慰安婦所」が発見されたのである。例えば上海では少なくとも 172 箇所、浙江省は 183 箇所、南京と海南ではそれぞれほぼ 70 箇所、武漢市も数十箇所確認されている。これらの証拠から、軍隊のみならず日本政府（外務省、法務省、内務省、警察含）や軍当局（陸海軍に責任を負う）も、人権侵害のこの戦時制度に関与していたことが明らかであるといえよう。

当然のことながら、戦時中の「慰安婦」制度の本質や規模を明らかにし分析していくことは、長期にわたる大変困難な研究を要する。

ナチスのホロコーストや旧日本軍による南京大虐殺と同様に、「慰安婦」制度下の女性の性的奴隷化は戦争犯罪であり、20 世紀の戦時下における主要な残虐行為の一つである。こうした悲惨な過ちが繰り返されないために、人類は深く反省し学ぶことが求められている。

蘇智良: 重建战时“慰安妇”制度的史实 —— 中国 28 年来“慰安妇”问题的调查结论和成果

1945 年 8 月战争结束时，日本自上而下地销毁了大量的档案文献，使得日军“慰安妇”这样的历史事件扑朔迷离。1991 年 8 月 14 日，韩国金学顺老人站出来以后，引发各国学界、

政府、社会的广泛动员。这 28 年来，人们重建了二战时期日本推行军事“慰安妇”制度的史实。

那么，取得了哪些成果呢？以中国为例，搜集、整理、出版了大量的战时档案、报刊杂志、历史证人、战犯笔供等各类资料。寻找并记录了 260 多位“慰安妇”幸存者的惨痛经历；她们无一例外，都是被强征并失去人身自由。从 1932 年初到战争结束之间，在北方的黑龙江到南方的海南的 22 个日军占领的省市中，都发现建有日军慰安所，且数量惊人；如上海的慰安所至少有 172 个，浙江省有 183 个，南京、海南各有近 70 个慰安所，武汉也有数十个慰安所。事实表明，日本政府（包括外务省、法务省、内务省、警察系统）、军部（包括陆军省、海军省）、日军部队均参与了 this 侵犯人权的战争制度的建立。

当然，要完全再现战时“慰安妇”制度的全貌，还需要艰苦而长期的研究。

日军“慰安妇”——军事性奴隶的战争罪行，与纳粹对犹太人的种族灭绝、日军南京大屠杀等一道，是 20 世纪反人道的战争暴行，人类应该深刻记忆并汲取教训，以制止类似暴行的重演。

蘇智良: 上海師範大學教授、中國“慰安婦”問題研究中心主任

**Su Zhiliang** is Professor of History at Shanghai Normal University, Head of the Chinese Centre for ‘Comfort Women’ Research, and Director of the Nanjing ‘Comfort Women’ Memorial Museum. A pioneering researcher on the ‘comfort women’ issue in China, he has published extensively on this matter, and is co-author, with Peipei Qiu and Chen Lifei, of *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan’s Sex Slaves* (Oxford University Press, 2014). Among his notable publications in Chinese are 『慰安婦研究』、 『簡易中國史』、 『中國毒物史』 『1909 年萬國禁煙會研究』、 『上海城區史』.

## 5. Naoko Kinoshita: *Resisting the Politicisation of Images: Considering the relationship between nationalism and Korean 'comfort women' statues and films*

The victimhood of Japanese former 'comfort women' has been widely overlooked, but the testimony of survivors has revealed both the depth of their suffering and the complexity of their situation. This illustrates the importance of guarding against the tendency to over-generalize about the experience of 'comfort women' that can arise from viewing the phenomenon through a 'national' lens. In this paper, I consider the dangers of an excessively nation-centered approach, as evinced in the recent movement in Korea to erect 'comfort women' statues, and in some of the 'comfort women' films that have accompanied this. I argue that the imagery deployed tends to amplify anti-Japanese sentiment, while paying insufficient attention to the real pain of the individual victims. This demonstrates the need to search for a new approach to commemoration appropriate to the times, and capable of transcending national divisions.

木下直子: 「イメージの政治に抗して——少女像・韓国「慰安婦」映画のナショナリズムを考える」

かつて日本人「慰安婦」被害者は被害を軽視される傾向があったが、当事者の語りからは深刻な被害や複雑な立ち位置が浮かび上がる。ナショナルな枠組みで被害者像を均質的に捉えることには慎重でなければならない。こうした観点を踏まえ、近年の韓国発の動きである少女像設置運動や「慰安婦」映画の動向に見られる問題を検討する。イメージが憎悪を増幅させ、被害者個人の痛みを飛び越えるようなナショナリズムの様相を分析し、記憶の時代に必要な議論を模索する。

**Naoko Kinoshita** is a Researcher at the Institute of Social Theory and Dynamics, and a part-time Lecturer at the University of Kitakyushu and other universities in Western Japan. She specializes in Historical Sociology and Feminist Theory. She holds a doctorate in Comparative Social and Cultural Studies from Kyushu University.

木下直子は、社会理論・動態研究所の研究員で、北九州市立大学ほか福岡県内の大学で非常勤講師をしています。専門は歴史社会学とフェミニスト理論です。九州大学で博士号（比較社会文化）を取得しました。

**FILM SCREENING followed by discussion with the director, MIKI DEZAKI (16:25-19:15)  
(Discussion chaired by Edward Vickers)**

**Film: *Shusenjo - The Main Battleground of the Comfort Women Issue (2019)***

Brief biography of **Miki Dezaki**:

Miki Dezaki is a recent graduate of the Graduate Program in Global Studies at Sophia University in Tokyo. He worked for the Japan Exchange Teaching Program for five years in Yamanashi and Okinawa before becoming a Buddhist monk in Thailand for one year. He is also known as "Medamasensei" on Youtube, where he has made comedy videos and videos on social issues in Japan. His most notable video is "Racism in Japan," which led to numerous online attacks by Japanese neo-nationalists who attempted to deny the existence of racism and discrimination against Zainichi Koreans (Koreans with permanent residency in Japan) and Burakumin (historical outcasts still discriminated today). "Shusenjo" is his directorial debut.



## DAY TWO (Friday, September 6)

### Session 4 (9:20-11:00) (Leader: Jung-sun N. Han, Korea University)

#### Conflict Heritage, Tourism and the Built Environment

In this session, the speakers – including architects, political scientists and historians – will discuss the importance across contemporary Asia of heritage sites, both as symbols of a national or communal past, and as resources for a growing (and often transnational) tourist industry. Speakers will discuss how and why particular sites have been protected, destroyed or reconstructed, and the implications of this for domestic discourses on identity, and for international relations.

**Speakers:** Jung-Sun N. Han (Korea University), Mark Frost (Essex University), Wantanee Suntikul (Hong Kong Polytechnic University), Mark Maca (independent scholar)

#### 1. Jung-Sun N. Han: *Darkling Ventures: The Making of Dark Heritage in Contemporary Japan*

The dark heritage of war-related sites have gained cultural, social, and political interests and attentions in Japanese state and society since the late 1990s. By examining the conservation movements of A-bomb Dome in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and the remains of naval arsenal factory in the Toyokawa Naval Arsenal Peace Park, this paper will locate the making of dark heritage in the name of "peace park" within the context of shifting power dynamism between state and society. In doing so, this paper will probe into the making of dark heritage both at the national and local scales to manage the heritage of dissonance.

**Dr. HAN, Jung-Sun** is a professor at the Division of International Studies, Korea University. Majoring in modern and contemporary Japanese history and culture, Han has worked on the interwar and wartime Japanese political thoughts and the Japan-Korea relations via visual culture of modern Japan. Han's books include, *An Imperial Path to Modernity: Yoshino Sakuzo and a New Liberal Order in East Asia, 1905-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013) and *Drawing an Empire: Japanese Cartoon Journalism and Colonization of Korea* (co-authored, Seoul: Ilchogak, 2006). The latter book, *Drawing an Empire*, has won the best academic book prize in Korea and has been translated into Japanese (*漫画に描かれた日本帝国*, Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2010). Currently, Han's research focuses on the contemporary Japanese civic activities on conserving war-related sites and the recent works on the topic are "Relics of Empire Underground: The Making of the Dark Heritage in Contemporary Japan" (*Asian Studies Review*, 2016) and "The Heritage of Resentment and Shame in Postwar Japan" (*Japan Focus*, 2017).

## 2. **Mark Frost: *Cities of conflict and peace: the Asian metropolis as war memoryscape***

This paper addresses the relationship between modern Asian cities and war remembrance and heritage-making across the East and Southeast Asia regions (with a particular focus on World War 2 memories and heritage). It begins by adopting a historical lens, to examine the Second World War ‘worlded’ Asian cities, connecting them globally and bringing them to international notice, before addressing the place of remembrance sites in post-war urban reconstruction. Rather than make claims as to a coherent and overall war-city ‘type’, the paper compares and contrasts what have frequently been the very distinctive trajectories of urban war memoryscapes in East and Southeast Asia. However, in considering more recent developments, the paper also asks how far globalization and increasing intra-regional tourism have led to a heightened interconnection between such memoryscapes, and to competition and to convergence. In addressing such themes, the paper seeks to contribute towards a better understanding of how and why war memory and heritage-making interact with the overall processes of city-making to define the urban imaginative field.

**Mark Ravinder Frost** is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Essex, having previously worked at the Asia Research Institute in Singapore and the University of Hong Kong. He was educated at the University of Oxford, where he graduated with First Class Honours, and he completed his doctorate at the University of Cambridge in 2002. He is the author of *Singapore: A Biography* (2009; 2012) which in 2010 won the Asia Pacific Publishers Association Gold Medal and was selected as a CHOICE ‘Outstanding Academic Title’, as well as co-author of the edited collection *Remembering World War II in Asia* (2019).

## 3. **Wantanee Suntikul: *A Contested Dark Tourism Site: The Death Railway in Thailand***

This presentation will discuss the contestations surrounding the Thai government’s intention to apply for UNESCO world heritage status for the famous “Death Railway” tourism site. Perceptions of the railway’s significance as a site of memory vary between countries on whose territory the railway was built (Thailand and Myanmar), the countries whose nationals were conscripted as prisoners of war (Australia, the UK and others) or as civilian laborers (from occupied Southeast Asian nations) to build it and the nation that planned and oversaw its construction (Japan). Consequently, many perspectives converge on issues such as the appropriateness of commodifying such a site of suffering as an attraction, how different narratives are represented at the site as seen through the eyes of tourists from different nations, and the political stakes involved for the various nations involved in discussions around the UNESCO application. The presentation will provide insights gained from first-person interviews with Thai stakeholders who are involved in the application process.

**Dr. Wantanee Suntikul** is Assistant Professor at the School of Hotel and Tourism Management at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Her core research interest and expertise are in cultural tourism destinations, political and social aspects of tourism development, religion tourism, heritage tourism, dark tourism, and gastrodiploamacy and tourism. She holds projects in Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, China, Hong Kong, Macao and Bhutan. Dr. Suntikul’s recent books include “Tourism and Political Change”, “Tourism and Political Change” (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), “Tourism and War”, “Tourism and Religion: Issues and Implication”. Dr. Suntikul is also Joint Editor-in-Chief of the journal “Tourism, Culture & Communication”.

#### 4. **Mark Maca: *Commemorating War and Occupation in the Philippines Today***

As previous research on school curricula and popular culture has indicated (e.g. my work and that of Karl Chua for the book *Imagining Japan in Post-war East Asia*), the commemoration of war and occupation in the contemporary Philippines has followed a rather different pattern from that observed in many East and Southeast Asian societies. Rather than underpinning state-led efforts to construct or reinforce a cohesive sense of national identity, memories of war and occupation by Japan have been allowed to fade - a phenomenon related to the divisions within Filipino society and the country's highly fissiparous political culture. In this presentation, I discuss the public commemoration of war and occupation (or the lack of it) with reference to key heritage sites: Corregidor Island (site of the American army's 'last stand'); the former 'special attack force' base in north-west Luzon; and Intramuros (the old centre of Manila). I also discuss the recent controversies over the erection of 'comfort women' statues, and the willingness of the Philippine government to submit to Japanese pressure to ban the public erection of such memorials. I then reflect on how the recent evolution of the Philippines' commemorative landscape relates to the country's social and political context, culture and diplomatic/geo-strategic situation.

**Mark Maca** is a researcher and educational consultant based in Manila, the Philippines. In 2015, he was awarded a JSPS Ronpaku fellowship to complete his doctoral studies at Kyushu University; he is due to graduate in late 2019. He researches the history of the relationship between education and labour migration in the modern Philippines, and the role of schooling in political socialization. His publications include chapters on the Philippines in the edited volume *Imagining Japan in Post-war East Asia* (Morris et al, eds, 2013); in the volume *Constructing Modern Asian Citizenship* (Vickers and Kumar eds, 2015), and in the journals *Compare* and the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Education*. He has worked as an official in the Philippines Government's Department of Education, and as a consultant for organizations such as the Asian Development Bank and AUSAID.

## **Session 5 (11:20-13:00) (Leader: Tim Winter, University of Western Australia)**

### **Politics, Diplomacy and Conflict-related Heritage**

In this session, Tim Winter, a prominent expert on the international politics of heritage, will lead a discussion of recent transnational arguments over conflict commemoration. A particular focus here will be on UNESCO's schemes for registering 'World Heritage Sites' or 'Memory of the World'. The speakers will discuss particular controversies in comparative perspective, in an attempt to elucidate the reasons why these UNESCO processes have become a particular source of international controversy in the East Asian region.

**Speakers:** Tim Winter (UWA), Ryoko Nakano (Kanazawa University), Emilia Heo (APU), Daniel Schumacher (Essex University)

#### **1. Tim Winter: *Peace Diplomacy and Japanese Silk Road Multilateralism***

Today the Silk Road circulates as a powerful geocultural imaginary, associated with peace, cosmopolitanism and intercultural dialogue. Such themes have a particular genealogy, one that is rooted and routed in the post-World War II diplomatic efforts of scholars and bureaucrats in Japan. This paper explores a neglected dimension of heritage diplomacy, highlighting how Japanese researchers and NGOs used Buddhist and maritime histories of connection in an effort to revive cultural and civilizational ties within the geopolitical alliances and suspicions of the Cold War. In the 1990s, Japan continued to invest in the Silk Road as a concept for foreign policy and multi and bilateral diplomacy, reinforcing its associations with peace and dialogue. The paper traces such pathways through to China's 'revival' of the Silk Roads for the Twenty First Century via its Belt and Road Initiative. It is a sequence of events that reveals the complex pathways peace and people-people projects can take as they migrate across national borders and are co-opted for different political and strategic purposes.

**Tim Winter** is an Australian Research Council Professorial Future Fellow at the University of Western Australia. He is the former President of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies and has conducted research across a number of countries, primarily in Asia. An interdisciplinary scholar, his work addresses how the past comes to be mobilized in the present for political and economic purposes. He is author of *Geocultural Power: China's Quest to Revive the Silk Roads for the Twenty First Century* (University of Chicago Press 2019) and has a forthcoming book *The Silk Road: a biography*.

#### **2. Ryoko Nakano: *Heritage as a 'thing' in international politics: memory politics and ontological insecurity in East Asia***

Drawing upon Critical Heritage Studies and Ontological Security Theory in International Relations, this article explores why UNESCO's heritage programmes have become a contested arena of international politics. The scholarship of Critical Heritage Studies suggests that heritage should be taken as a "process" instead of a "thing." However, the use of heritage in international politics makes it imperative to treat heritage as a thing to inform the world of where to look at as the legacy of humankind that needs to be passed on to the future generation. In a globally interconnected world, the recognition of "heritage" in UNESCO's schemes is a critical tool for the construction of a local, national, and cosmopolitan sense of self and its social and economic relations with others. For this

socio-political functionality of heritage, states actors are keen to control the national registration of heritage, not to mention UNESCO's heritage listings, and use heritage to promote a certain historical narrative even at the expense of alternative historical narratives. Empirically, controversies over war-related heritage in East Asia is useful in showcasing how state and nonstate actors create and promote heritage to redefine a territorial, imaginative space and/or national identity with a strong force of nostalgia and/or traumatic feelings. This article focuses on two different examples of heritage inscribed in UNESCO's heritage lists in 2015: "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution" and the "Documents of Nanjing Massacre." Both are recognized as war-related sites or objects that have been developed as heritage in a specific socio-political context. Once they are promoted as the heritage of humankind at UNESCO, they heighten ontological insecurity of those who do not share the historical narrative embedded in the nomination. Thus, the inscription encourages the opponents to mobilize the people for protest and objection. This cycle of antagonism points to a danger of 'mnemonical security' seeking, which mandates a particular memory of the past at the expense of others, leading to new security dilemmas whereby anxiety does not disappear but deepens. A way to avoid such dilemmas is to shift UNESCO's focus from heritage listing into a broader project of heritage education leading to a plurality of interpretations of heritage.

**Ryoko Nakano** is a Professor of International Relations in the Faculty of Law at Kanazawa University, Japan. She published articles on global norm diffusion, heritage politics, and Japanese perspectives of international relations, one of the latest is "A Failure of Global Documentary Heritage? UNESCO's 'Memory of the World' and Heritage Dissonance in East Asia," *Contemporary Politics*, 24:4 (2018): 481-496.

### 3. **Emilia Heo: *Remember to Reconcile? Exploring Conflict Narratives in Contemporary Asia***

Just as in personal relations, rebuilding a broken relationship is harder than breaking it when it comes to states and nations. Not all initiatives are successful in transforming enmity to amity. Reconciliation between former enemy states is challenging since the current generation often has not experienced the traumatic historical event that remains unresolved today. By definition, we cannot remember something that we did not experience. Instead, perceptions are shaped by what we have learned at school, what we have seen from the media, and what we have heard from older generations. This ongoing dialogue between the past and the present becomes more complicated as it occurs between two collective entities, and this across national borders.

More than seventy years have passed since the Second World War came to an end across the world. Unlike Europe, Asia however is still in history war. How to remember the conflicting past constitutes major obstacles to reconciliation between China and Japan, Taiwan and China, South Korea and Japan, Indonesia and Timor Leste, India and Pakistan to name but a few. While much scholarly attention has been devoted to analyzing governments' attempt at choosing ways of remembering or forgetting the past, little is known about how the politics of remembrance affects the process of reconciliation: To what extent does the conflict remembrance affect the shaping of collective (national) identities? Does remembering the painful past lead to reconciliation? If not, what does it do?

This research addresses these central questions by examining youth narratives based on data collected through university class observations and written essays from 2016 to 2019. Capturing how the current generation shapes their understanding of the conflicting past through memorials, museums, or sites of remembrance can suggest reference points for the potential and limit of reconciliation through the politics of remembrance. In doing so, this paper aims at problematizing

how selective history (what, how, and why to remember) affects collective identity (the way we perceive the self versus the other), and its consequence on postwar reconciliation and peace.

**Emilia S. Heo** is an Associate Professor of International Relations and Peace Studies at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in Japan and the author of *Reconciling Enemy States in Europe and Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). She was a JSPS postdoctoral research fellow at the United Nations University with joint affiliation to the University of Tokyo, a research associate at the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at the George Washington University, and a visiting scholar of Harry & Helen Gray AICGS reconciliation fellowship program at the Johns Hopkins University. Her current research focuses on postwar reconciliation narratives, peace education, and the role of arts in processes of reconciliation beyond national borders. Heo holds an M.A. in European studies from Université Paris VIII and a Ph.D. in international relations from the Graduate Institute Geneva. She has a career background in diplomatic service and international organizations before joining academia.

#### 4. **Daniel Schumacher: *Asia's Global Memory Wars and Solidarity Across Borders***

Calls for reparations and apologies for crimes committed during the war in Asia have been core components of the region's "history/memory wars" since, at least, the 1980s. This paper will move the focus to an often unconsidered but increasingly significant battlefield in these continuing "wars", namely diaspora communities in Western countries. At the heart of this paper will be the coordinated activism of (mostly) Korean diaspora groups in the United States and Germany who lobby for awareness, adequate remembrance and compensation for the female victims (particularly, the so-called "comfort women") of the war in Asia.

First, I will discuss and decode the carriers of memory that these activists employ to convey their messages to a global public and mobilize support. Second, I will briefly delve into the identity issues that are intimately connected to this form of diaspora activism. Finally, I will place their actions in the broader context of globalising feminist movements and international reconciliation efforts.

I will argue that the kind of (Korean) diaspora activism that we have been able to observe in the US and Germany over the past two decades has not only triggered a "memory boom" in its own right, but that it has also come to partly dismantle older reconciliation mechanisms put in place in the aftermath of the Second World War. By doing so, I hope to illustrate how the borders of Asia's "history/memory wars" have expanded and made the struggle for appropriate remembrance as well as control over narratives of the past into an increasingly global affair.

**Daniel Schumacher** is Visiting Fellow at the Department of History, University of Essex (UK), where he coordinates the "War Memoryscapes in Asia Partnership" (WARMAP). He holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of Konstanz (Germany) and, before joining Essex, completed a DAAD Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Hong Kong. He is the co-editor (with Stephanie Yeo) of *Exhibiting the Fall of Singapore: Close Readings of a Global Event* (NMS, 2018) and (with Mark R. Frost and Edward Vickers) of *Remembering Asia's World War Two* (Routledge, 2019). Besides the study of war and memory, global and public history, he also has a keen interest in the didactics of history and digital education. Currently, he divides his time between doing research in the UK and teaching in Germany, where he also works on the revamp of a series of history textbooks.

## Session 6 (14:00-15:45) (Leader: Tomoko Ako, Tokyo University)

### Civil Society, Grassroots Movements and Conflict Commemoration

While previous sessions mostly deal with the politics of conflict commemoration from the perspective of the state (or of international bodies like UNESCO), in this session the speakers will consider war remembrance from a grassroots perspective. Speaking from personal experience, they will reflect on the reasons why groups of activists have coalesced around particular issues, and on the official and popular reception that has met such campaigns for commemoration or preservation of war-related heritage.

**Speakers:** Tomoko Ako (Tokyo University), Watanabe Yosuke (Osaka University of Economics and Law), Hamzah Muzaini (Singapore National University), Shichi Mike Lan (National Chengchi University).

#### 1. **Hamzah Muzaini:** *Heritage 'from Below' in the Remembrance of the Second World War in Perak, Malaysia*

This presentation concerns how heritage pertaining to the Second World War (1941- 1945), as this took place specifically in the northern Malaysian state of Perak, has been commemorated over multiple scales within the state. After foregrounding the biases associated with official depictions of the event, it excavates the ways informal actors have sought to overturn the collective amnesia of the state by creating heritages 'in the shadows' and/or pushing for public recognition of formally occluded pasts. In doing so, the presentation argues for the value and importance, for academics and policy makers alike, of taking more seriously these non-state memorial(izing) efforts not only as a check against formal commemorative efforts but also as a way to make war heritage resonate better with the masses. Yet, the presentation also evidences informal heritage making as itself prone to limits and (not always altruistic) motives which render them as incomplete as formal efforts at remembering. More broadly, it argues for the need to pay more attention to heritages 'from below' in appreciating the past, but caution against treating them as more than merely pasts as these have been presented by someone else.

**Hamzah Muzaini** is a cultural geographer with research interests on war heritage and memoryscapes, conceptualized around postcolonial theory, materiality, and spatial politics of power particularly as this is played out between state and non-state actors in Malaysia and Singapore. He is co-author of *Contested Memoryscapes: The Politics of Second World War Commemoration in Singapore* (with Brenda Yeoh, Routledge, 2016) and co-editor of *After Heritage: Critical Perspectives of Heritage from Below* (with C Minca, Edward Elgar 2018).

#### 2. **Tomoko Ako:** *Why does 'peace' become taboo? International and unintentional oblivion of memories of war --- The case study of the Nakano Prison Main Gate Conservation Movement*

The elementary school that my son attends faces a large park, which is the former site of a prison for political prisoners. In the era of the 'Security Maintenance Act' (which was in force before and during the Asia-Pacific War), writers, philosophers, thinkers, activists and religious leaders who were considered heretical or subversive by the authorities were imprisoned in this prison. The elementary school was later named the "Peace Forest Elementary School," reflecting the hope that "peace" would

be sustained following the sufferings of wartime, with which the prison was associated. However, today few parents and students know the origin of the school's name, nor do they understand the history of the prison. Peace Forest Elementary School is soon due to be relocated to a larger site, a minute's walk from the current location, due to an increase in the number of students and a lack of classrooms. The main gate of the Nakano Prison remains there. While local architects have been at the forefront of calls to preserve the main gate, there has been no formal debate within the school over whether to retain or demolish it. The reason cited for this is that schools are obliged to maintain "political neutrality". Children therefore continue to pass through the elementary school without learning anything about the history of the site. Nowadays in Japan, even the word "peace" tends to be regarded as politically suspect in official circles. And many people in influential positions, as well as the wider public, are obsessed with maintaining "surface stability", avoiding trouble or the appearance of 'rocking the boat'. This social, cultural and political context makes it difficult to share the memories of wars across divisions of generation, social class, and political ideology.

**Tomoko Aki** is Associate Professor of Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Tokyo. Her research interests include empowerment of socially vulnerable people such as migrant workers, HIV/AIDS positives, women, elderly people and children, with a particular focus on China. She has conducted research on migrant workers of new generation, HIV/AIDS victims who contracted the virus through blood selling and transfusion, building of social capital in rural development, and so on. Recently she has been involved in research projects on civil society and social media, and has interviewed a wide range of Chinese public intellectuals, human rights lawyers, and journalists. Her recent publications include, *Power Structure and Guanxi Network in Rural China. Chinese Social Changes in the New Stage of Post-Deng Era* (Kyuko Shoin, 2008), *What is the Root of Corruption and Economic Disparity?: Black Prison, Blood Selling, Household Registration System. RATIO 5: Problems of China* (Kodansha, 2008), *The Country that Devours its Poor: A Warning from China's Divided Society* (Shinchosha, 2009; 2014), *Prospect of China's Civil Society and Democratization: Tortuous Interrelation between Social Media and Political Reform* (Japan Association of International Politics, 2012), *Rising Social Tension: "Politics" around Environmental Problems. China Risk* (Iwanami shoten, 2015), and *Empowered Citizens on the Rise: Where is China Going? The Future of a Superpower 5* (Tokyo University Press, 2016).

### 3. Shichi Mike Lan: *Commemorating the Second World War and the Bereaved Families in Taiwan*

During the Second World War, the people of Taiwan, under Japanese colonial rule at the time, were mobilized to support and fight for Japan's wartime empire. By the end of the war, more than 100,000 Taiwanese had been sent to work in battlefields across the Asia-Pacific; among them, more than 30,000 were killed in action. In most countries, wartime loss of lives has been commemorated continuously and publicly, by the bereaved families, concerned citizens, as well as government authorities at various levels after the war. However in postwar Taiwan, due to various political and ideological reasons, no official ceremony was ever conducted by government authorities and no public (state-sponsored) memorial was ever dedicated to commemorate Taiwanese wartime experiences, particularly the loss of lives. This paper examines how the Taiwanese bereaved families, under these rather unique circumstances, if not constraints, found and created "civic" (non-official) ways to express their grievance and commemorate wartime losses of lives.

Utilizing oral history by Taiwanese bereaved families and ethnographical records, this paper seeks to delineate the process and identify venues through which war memories of the Taiwanese have been (re-)constructed against an enduring and conspicuous absence of official commemoration. In particular, this paper focuses on the cases of mementos, pilgrimage, and



religious/spiritual activities. It finds that these various ways of “civic” (non-official) commemoration often go beyond and challenge the boundary of nation-states. And more importantly, “civic” (non-official) commemoration helps the bereaved families in postwar Taiwan to confirm what Judith Butler calls the “grievability” of lives and effectively serve as a form of “closure” for the surviving family members in coping with the trauma of bereavement.

**Shi-chi Mike Lan** (*Ph.D.*, Chicago) is Associate Professor at the Department of History, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Prior to teaching in Taiwan, he taught at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore; he also held visiting positions at University of Tokyo and Rikkyo University in Japan. His research interests include Modern East Asian History, empire and nation, the Second World War, and historical memory. His recent publications include “Trapped between Imperial Ruins: Internment and Repatriation of the Taiwanese in Postwar Asia-Pacific”, in Barak Kushner and Sherzod Muminov, eds., *Overcoming Empire in Post-Imperial East Asia:*

*Repatriation, Redress and Rebuilding* (forthcoming, 2019); 〈台灣人戰犯と戦後処理をめぐる越境の課題 1945–1956〉, 《中國 21》(愛知大學現代中國學會會刊), 第 45 號(2017); “‘Crime’ of Interpreting: Taiwanese Interpreters as War Criminals of World War II”, in Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri, eds., *New Insights in the History of Interpreting* (2016); “(Re-)Writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the Taiwanese-native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan”, *Positions: Asia Critique*, Vol.21, No.4 (Fall 2013).

#### 4. **Watanabe Yosuke: *From victimhood to empathy: Peace activism in Japan and Malaysia***

It is generally argued that the ways in which the Japanese commemorate and remember World War II are selective and only the Japanese victimhood are well remembered, such as the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as the US indiscriminate air raids on Japanese cities. Reflecting such victim consciousness, Japanese peace activism, like the ban-the-bomb movement and movements to record air raids on Japanese cities, tends to focus on the suffering of the Japanese and forget or be ignorant of atrocities committed by the Imperial Army in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, there has been an exception. That is Numata Suzuko, a peace activist and an A-bomb survivor from Hiroshima. In 1983, she started to share her testimony with the public about how she lost her leg in the atomic bombing. A few years later, she became aware of the fact that the 5th Division of the Japanese Army from Hiroshima had committed atrocities in Malaya (present-day Malaysia) during World War II. Since then she hoped to visit massacre sites in Malaysia and apologize to those who lost families, relatives and friends there. This opportunity arose in 1989 when Numata joined a war-sites tour across Malaysia organized by Takashima Nobuyoshi, a peace activist specializing in the Malay Peninsula. After visiting Malaysia, Numata has changed. Whereas earlier she had shared her victimhood only, she now touched on how people in Malaysia had suffered from atrocities committed by Hiroshima’s 5th Division.

As seen in the case of Numata, Japanese peace activists, through personal contact with bereaved families, relatives and friends, gradually became aware of the other side of the victimhood since the 1970s. In Malaysia, Takashima paved the way to establishing ties with war survivors by organizing an annual war-sites tour since 1983. In 1994, two other peace activists, Yoshiike Toshiko from the Asia Forum Yokohama and Onogi Yoshiyuki from the Malay Peninsula Peace Cycle, began their educational and reconciliatory activities in Japan and Malaysia. In this presentation, I will reveal the development of the grassroots peace activism in the two countries since the 1970s.

**Yosuke Watanabe** is currently Visiting Fellow of Research Center for Asia-Pacific Partnership, Osaka University of Economic and Law. In 2013, he received his PhD in Japanese Studies from

National University of Singapore. In 2018, he was awarded Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship from National Library of Singapore.

His research interests include the issues on war and peace, history of imperialism, collective memories of war, history education, and post-war reconciliation in East and Southeast Asia. Also, he is involved in a joint project of the creation of a common history textbook for high schools in East Asia, an annual history camp for high school students from China, Japan and Korea, and an annual war sites tour to Malaysia and Singapore.