

## Asia, Lost and Found: Japanese Historical Perceptions and History Textbook Controversies

By Mikyong Kim

### 1. Japan, Non-apologizer?

Despite the widespread conventional wisdom that Japan is a confirmed non-apologizer regarding World War II, the sense of past misdeeds at the public level has shown remarkable changes over the years. The first Textbook Controversies in 1982 signified the beginning of large-scale antagonistic reactions from China and Korea, foreign criticism that facilitated the understanding that Japan had not done enough to atone for the suffering its militarism caused its neighbors. It also foreshadowed the current debates over Japan's war responsibility.

The 1982 controversy, however, did not draw much public attention. Only recently have Japan's war atrocities become recognized as proper material for history classes in public schools. The Japanese public debate now includes the interpretation of the so-called the 1937 Nanjing incident and "comfort women" issues, and in conjunction with these two, how history textbooks should be written. All of this was unthinkable throughout the post-war years until the 1990s. Why has Japanese public sentiment changed so drastically in recent years? This paper attempts to elucidate an answer by mapping Japan's self-identity in its relations with Asia.

### 2. Japan's Self-identity in Its Relations with Asia

Japan's de-Asianization accelerated during the Meiji Period (1868-1912). Such contemporary opinion leaders as Yukichi Fukuzawa were at the forefront advocating the necessity for Japan to expel the backward elements of Asia and emulate the advanced West in its modernization efforts. Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) was a watershed event that distinguished it from the rest of Asia. Its subsequent victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) was another morale booster instilling a deep confidence in the Japanese psyche that it had become strong enough to conquer the West. Such confidence was one of the motives behind Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, which in turn led to the U.S. atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The irony is that Japan's defeat in World War II served to deepen its admiration for the West. The U.S. symbolized advanced science and technology, democracy and capitalist wealth. Opinion surveys taken immediately after the defeat show that the Japanese felt most friendly towards Americans and most contemptuous of Koreans. The way the war ended was a powerful message to Japan that it must further accelerate its westernization process.

Amid phenomenal post-war economic success, Japanese pride grew

accordingly. The pride lay in industry, peace, culture and democracy. The Japanese began to feel superior to other peoples of the world, including Westerners and Asians. A 1968 survey showed that Japanese ranked themselves as the most superior people followed by Americans and Germans. A survey taken in 1987 shows that 49% of the respondents identified Japan with the West, while 29% identified with Asia and 16% with neither. As their society accumulated more wealth, the troubling past faded into oblivion. Japan's Asian identity was largely lost in this process.

### 3. The History Textbook Controversies

The first History Textbook Controversies of 1982 were a wake-up call, a warning against collective amnesia and rising Japanese pride. Anti-Japanese sentiments in China and Korea began to boil over when newspapers printed allegations that the government pressured history textbook publishers to replace the words for "invasion" and "independence movement" with "advance" and "riots." Even though such allegations turned out to be false, the protests from Beijing and Seoul drew attention from Tokyo, which later passed the "Neighboring Country Clause." Such diplomatic accommodation, however, stirred criticism among domestic conservatives, who charged the government with being "masochistic" about its own history.

Masayuki Fujio, the newly appointed Education Minister in the Nakasone Cabinet, held his first and last press conference in 1986. When asked about the history textbook controversies during the conference and later on, he made a series of comments that provoked angry protests from Beijing and Seoul. He suggested that Koreans were also responsible for becoming Japan's colony. He dismissed the pertinence of the Nanjing incident as a relevant topic for a history textbook. His statements were perceived as not only insensitive to the feelings of Koreans and Chinese, but also a callous justification of Japanese wartime atrocities.

A survey conducted by the author and her colleagues during 2000 and 2001 revealed increasing sensitivity towards wartime atrocities among the youth. For instance, the respondents were almost evenly split in feeling morally responsible for such past events as Korean annexation, the Nanjing incident and the abuse of "comfort women." When asked why they felt responsible, about 57% emphasized their hopes to redress present wrongs and prevent the recurrence of past wrongs. Only about 28% exempted themselves from moral responsibility for the sins committed before their births. These responses suggest the limited persuasive power of official discourse as narrated in history textbooks. A people's grasp of history often supersedes official "public opinion" due to alternative sources of knowledge.

### 4. Conclusion

Memory holds a nation as one community with a soul and will. The Japanese history textbook controversies suggest a dynamic interplay between the people's self-identity with respect to Asia and the shifting landscape of domestic and international affairs. They also demonstrate how history can constitute a core agenda between and among nations in the clarification and definition of past path-crossing events.

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## Lee Sil Gun, President, Council of Atom-bombed Koreans in Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan Not Discrimination But Coexistence

Interview by **Motofumi Asai**

HPI President Asai interviewed Mr. Lee Sil Gun, President of the National Association of Atom-bombed Koreans/President of the Council of Atom-bombed Koreans in Hiroshima, in December 2006. Lee published his autobiography, titled *Puraido: kyosei eno michi* [Pride: Path toward Coexistence], in July 2006. It was published by Choubunsha. The eventful life described in his book will make readers sit up straight. In this article, Asai will introduce Lee's view on several subjects related to being a Korean survivor of the Hiroshima bombing. Subjects include North Korean nuclear development issues and the nuclear test, opinions on Japan and Hiroshima as victims of the atomic bomb, and the memorial for Koreans brought to Japan against their will and forced to work on the construction of Kobo Dam in Hiroshima Prefecture.

### 1. North Korean Nuclear Development Issues

#### <The Nuclear Test>

Lee: I have two views on the nuclear test by North Korea. It is my political position and deep belief that all nuclear weapons are an absolute evil, that nuclear tests cannot be condoned, and that no nation should possess nuclear weapons. The late Kim Il-sung sternly forbade his nation to develop nuclear weapons. He said that North Korea must neither import nor produce them. He also strictly demanded that his son, Kim Jong-il, observe this policy. Despite this demand, North Korea resorted to a nuclear test on October 9, 2006, which greatly shocked me.

The other view is that the nuclear test tells us that North Korea is facing a very serious situation. In other words, they believe that they are facing a life or death crisis as a nation. The nuclear test was a last resort to counter U.S. nuclear intimidation, which has reached a peak in recent months. I could not help but feel the outrage and hatred of the North toward the U.S. policy of a nuclear double standard.

#### <Mass Media Reports and Japan's Political Reality>

On October 10 and 11 immediately after the North Korean nuclear test, the mass media quoted me as saying "I was shocked by the nuclear test in North Korea," or "The nuclear test was regrettable." Though I explained my view thoroughly and expressed my understanding of the reasons why North Korea went so far as to conduct the test, few in the media reported that part of my statement. Afterwards, a local newspaper journalist, with a cameraperson, spent more than two hours interviewing me for a special feature article. But no such article has yet appeared in the newspaper. Instead, they published an article with aggressive and inflammatory statements, like a high school girl's assertion that "We should just crush North Korea," or an elderly person's comment that "I want North Korea to disappear." One might say that such reporting is acceptable toward an enemy nation, and Japan still has hostile, not diplomatic, relations with North Korea. But Japan and the Korean Peninsula historically have had a long and deep relationship. When former Korean President Chun Doo-hwan visited Japan in 1984, the first Korean President to do so, the Showa Emperor made a statement at the formal welcoming banquet. He said, in effect, that Japan and Korea are geographically very near, despite the Sea of Japan between them, and the Korean people came to Japan during

our nation-building period to provide us lessons and technology. But because of Japanese aggression toward the Korean Peninsula by Hideyoshi Toyotomi and other acts of aggression beginning in the Meiji Period, and because of Japanese colonial rule for 36 years, the Japanese people have a deep-rooted contempt for Korean people, which has surfaced in the form of North Korea bashing.



Lee Sil Gun

The Japanese disdain for Koreans would have changed drastically, and relations between Japan and North and South Korea would have become friendlier, if Japan, immediately after World War II, had nationally and sincerely expressed regret and apology for its behavior. In reality, there has been no such expression, and therefore, no atonement. The fundamental cause of Japanese disdain for Koreans today lies here. The Abe administration's argument for punishing North Korea comes from the same root, taking a form similar to the *Seikanron*, or "Conquer Korea Debate," put forth by Shoin Yoshida, a 19th-century scholar. The once-flourishing "Punish China Debate" is being replaced by the "Punish North Korea Debate" today. It seems that the Abe administration is frantically preparing for the next war, using this debate to work up intense feelings and promote a climate that favors dealing harshly with North Korea. It is in this context that the mass media furiously fans Japanese hatred against North Koreans. The intentions of the Abe administration are now surfacing blatantly. He wants to mobilize the mass media to fuel Japanese hatred against North Korea, spur the argument that North Korea poses a military threat, and revise the Fundamental Law of Education and the Japanese Constitution. The administration does all this with the intention of creating a pro-war nation ready to go to war at any time. The ultimate goal is to hold hegemony over, not the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere this time, but over modern Asia. With the recent change of its Defense Agency into a Defense Ministry and its willing acceptance of the realignment of U.S. forces, I actually feel fearful of Japan.

#### <Korean A-bomb Survivors and the Abduction Issue>

There is one thing I want Japanese politicians and people to think about. Why do you think tens of thousands of Koreans had to suffer from the A-bombs in Japan, even though they did not start the war? Without Japanese colonial rule in the Korean Peninsula and the fact that Koreans were brought forcibly to Japan, few Koreans would have suffered from the A-bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. To put it plainly, Korean A-bomb victims were created by Japanese aggression and colonial rule in the Korean Peninsula. Many Japanese people do not recognize this fact.

There is no doubt that the abductions are absolutely evil crimes. The perpetrators of such crimes should be punished. But when Japanese bring up this subject, they must also deal with the far larger problem of Japanese colonial rule. I very much doubt that Japan's desire to keep the lid on its past crimes against Korea and to emphasize solely the abduction issue can lead to a real resolution of the tensions between the two nations.

If Japan brings up the abduction issue at the Six-Party talks, it



will be isolated. To soothe the hysterical relations between Japan and North Korea, Japan first should seek a peaceful solution to the most dangerous problem, the nuclear problem, using the opportunity offered by the Six-Party talks. Then, they should begin working to settle past crimes against each other, including the abduction issue, in separate bilateral talks for peaceful relations between the two countries. There is no other course toward peaceful solutions. If the Six-Party talks evolve smoothly, U.S.-North Korea relations will improve. North Korea said that it will denuclearize if relations with the U.S. develop favorably, which I would like to believe. Also, better relations between the U.S. and North Korea will allow a change in Japan-North Korea relations.

## 2. Japan's Peace Movement and Aggression during Past Wars

I set up the Council of Atom-bombed Koreans in Hiroshima, the first organization for A-bombed Koreans in Japan, in August, 1975. Since then, I have been consistently engaged in anti-nuclear and peace activities as well as campaigns for relief for A-bomb survivors. I want to make several statements about what I have always held in my mind.

### <American Responsibility for the Atomic Bombings>

Japan's peace movement has appealed for peace and for the abolition of nuclear weapons. But why does it not pursue American responsibility for making and dropping the A-bombs on Japan? Japan's failure to identify American responsibility for the bombings has allowed the U.S. to be complacent, continue its nuclear intimidation policy, bully non-nuclear states, and eventually create a unipolar world led by a nuclear-armed U.S. Considering the path the U.S. has taken up to this point, I think part of the responsibility lies with Japan's peace movement and the Japanese government.

### <Victim Mentality Lacking Recognition as an Aggressor>

Japan fought five big wars in the past 100 years—the first Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Manchurian Incident, the second Sino-Japanese War, and the Greater East Asia War/Pacific War. Japan was not forced to start these wars for self-defense after having been provoked or attacked. The five wars caused huge numbers of casualties in Asia, and more than 3.3 million people in Japan suffered from the wars, including the casualties of the atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After World War II, Japan has never seriously reflected on its conduct in these wars, somehow avoiding the questions of “Who did what in the wars? When, where, and why?” Japan's aggression is not taught at all in Japanese history classes. Its peace education emphasizes Japan as victim, but the issue of responsibility for the wars remains ambiguous.

### <Silence Directed toward Korean A-bomb Survivors>

Seeing themselves as victims and lacking recognition of Japan's aggression, most Japanese people see themselves as the sole victims of the atomic bombs. Does this view correspond to reality? Not only Japanese, but also many Koreans, some Chinese, and a small number of other foreign nationals were also victimized by the atomic bombs. The Japanese claim to be the sole victims of the A-bombs leaves behind the non-Japanese A-bomb victims. When I established the Korean A-bombed survivors' organization

in 1975, 30 years after the end of World War II, Korean survivors barely made their presence felt, which made me call ourselves “A-bomb survivors forgotten in a valley.” As long as Japanese feel they are the sole victims, it is awkward to say that we have good solidarity with them. I have to say that Japanese discrimination against Koreans and Chinese runs deep in this problem, too, which urgently needs to be addressed.

Hiroshima City submitted its report to the United Nations outlining measures for A-bomb victims in 1976. The report said that the atomic bomb caused deaths of 140,000, plus or minus 10,000, by the end of 1945. I do not know why, but that number does not include the deaths of Korean people killed by the atomic bomb. According to our survey, about 43,000 Koreans were affected by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and 25,000-30,000 of them were believed to be killed. Why is this original number left untouched without correction even now?

## 3. The Monument for Korean Workers at Kobo Dam

Looking back on my 50-year-old engagement in the peace movement as a Korean resident in Japan, the construction of the monument for Korean workers at Kobo Dam takes its place as the first step in peaceful coexistence of Korean and Japanese people. The construction of Kobo Dam, which is located upstream on the Kannose River in Takano Township, Hiroshima Prefecture, started in 1940 to counter chronic power shortages. About 2,000 Koreans, who were forcibly brought to Japan, engaged in building the dam, many of whom died. In fact, quite a number were buried alive in the structure itself. Many souls rest in that dam. We started the campaign to build the Kobo Dam monument for Korean victims in 1993, which led to a splendid unveiling ceremony in July, 1995. Since then, a memorial service has been held every year with the participation of local residents.

Here is a story about the location where the monument now stands. The land for the monument originally belonged to the Chugoku Electric Power Company, which rejected a request to construct the monument on their land because permission would be tantamount to admitting their past crimes. I then proposed that the company offer the land to the Takano Town government, which would, in turn, provide the land to the campaign to build the monument. The company agreed to do so and not obstruct construction of the monument. Then, the Mayor of Takano responded that the town government would actively cooperate in the construction of the monument. Such positive and friendly acceptance has been possible because local residents know the history of the dam and have no disdain or discrimination toward Korean people.

\*Asai writes: Another Japanese civic movement concerned with Koreans forcibly brought to Japan took place prior to the building of a memorial for victims of the Ukishima Maru incident. Maizuru citizens in Kyoto Prefecture built the memorial and held an unveiling ceremony in August 1978. Since then a memorial service at the site has been held every year. As far as I know, the campaign for the Kobo Dam memorial was the second such civic movement for Korean victims in Japan.

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# Reflections on the Military Coup in Thailand

By Narayanan Ganesan

On September 19 2006, while visiting New York, Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra was ousted from power in a coup led by army chief General Sondhi Boonyaratglin. This coup came as a surprise to most observers of Thai politics who regarded the failed military coup of 1992 as having marked a turning point in Thailand's political evolution towards democracy. Indeed, at the turn of the century, there was a sense in Southeast Asia that military authoritarianism was a thing of the past and that, riding what seemed to be a third wave of global democracy, the region had progressed politically into the ranks of developed countries with elected governments. After all, some years earlier in 1986 the Philippine military strongman Ferdinand Marcos had been ousted from power to be replaced by Corazon Aquino. Similarly, in 1998 the government of President Suharto of Indonesia had been brought down. Myanmar seemed to be the only country still caught in a time warp, continuing its military authoritarianism following the collapse of the socialist government in 1988. Hence, the September 2006 coup against Thaksin was a major setback for the important political progress Thailand had made since 1992.

Since his ouster, Thaksin has been barred from returning to Thailand and is currently being investigated for possible corruption charges. A caretaker Prime Minister and government have been appointed.

First sweeping into power in 2001 backed by his new political party Thai Rak Thai, Thaksin was re-elected in 2005 by such a wide margin that the party controlled 377 out of the 500 seats in parliament. His position was so strong that he did not require the support of smaller parties to form a majority government. His popularity was based fundamentally on the coopting of traditional centers of power, including the military and the business community. Thaksin was also able to harness electoral support from the poor agricultural constituencies through a number of populist policies. These included a three-year moratorium on farm debt, a grant of 1 million bahts to each village to promote enterprise and highly subsidized healthcare pegged at a flat fee of 30 bahts per hospital visit. These populist policies endeared Thaksin to the rural poor, who voted overwhelmingly in favor of his party in 2005.

Despite his apparent popularity, all was not well in Thailand during the five years when Thaksin was in power. His critics complained that he had an uncompromising and dictatorial style, practiced nepotism, increased the debt of the rural poor, tried to control the mass media and fashioned policies to benefit himself and his loyal entourage. A number of factions became visible within the governing party. Eventually, the pressures on Thaksin came to the

fore in the form of organized resistance to his leadership manifesting in widespread street protests in the capital Bangkok. The large demonstrations paralyzed the city, and the fear of violence was never far away. At one point, in a move designed to defuse the tension, the Thai King intervened and Thaksin resigned his government position. However, he continued in a caretaker role until elections could be called again. After a brief interregnum, he continued with his previous duties as Prime Minister, but his position was legally weaker because the courts annulled the 2006 elections he had won and his party had been accused of electoral fraud.

In the midst of this political stalemate and mounting tensions that required resolution, Thaksin left the country to attend a U.N. meeting in New York. It was then that the military staged a coup citing rampant corruption and political instability. Thaksin was also accused of being disrespectful towards the monarchy.

At the present time, the caretaker government has been endorsed by King Bhumibol and the general feeling is that elections will be called within a year. The Thai King has previously mediated difficult political situations when there was violence or the threat of it. Hence, he has fulfilled a traditional role that has been expected of him over the years. Yet, there are many who are unhappy with the manner in which an elected government has been ousted from power. Such a development sets a bad precedent and weakens attempts to evolve a mature democratic system. Some believe that the military should be confined to the barracks rather than becoming involved in politics. And an increasing number of analysts are questioning the role of the monarchy within the country's democratic evolution. Whatever the sentiments, it is obvious that the most recent coup has set a bad precedent and taken the country backwards on the path to democracy. Whereas elected leaders are equally prone to certain excesses seen among unelected politicians, the answer must lie in strengthening the mechanisms of democracy rather than dismantling it.

Elections will probably be held at some point in 2007. In the meantime, the political violence that has plagued the Muslim majority provinces in southern Thailand continues unabated, though the upsurge in violence was attributed to Thaksin's hard-line security policies there. A state of martial law exists in about 30 provinces, and the government remains fearful of urban discontent. It should be noted that in Thailand, as in most developing countries, urban sentiment tends to have a disproportionate influence on the country's political culture.

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# Bombers and the American Popular Imagination in World War II

By Yuki Tanaka

The Japanese Imperial Navy first engaged in indiscriminate bombing with a January 1932 attack on civilians in Shanghai during the so-called Shanghai Incident. Thereafter, civilians in cities such as Nanjing, Wuhan, and Guangzhou (Canton) were targeted from the air. Chongqing, the Nationalist Chinese wartime capital, was repeatedly targeted with more than 200 air raids over three years from the end of 1938, resulting in a total death toll of some 12,000 people. In 1940, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt condemned Japan for these inhumane acts of terror, charging that Japan was engaging in the slaughter of non-combatants, including women and children, without any justifiable reasons.

Towards the end of World War II, the United States and Britain, in turn, directed their far more devastating airpower against cities killing civilians, in particular women, children and the elderly on a far larger scale. They conducted relentless aerial bombings of scores of German and Japanese cities, using incendiary bombs and the recently invented napalm.

How did the American people assess this situation when it was American bombers doing the killing? What did they think about the fact that tens of thousands of people were instantly killed, first in firebombings, and finally by atomic bombs? How much did they know about the mass killing caused by indiscriminate bombing from their own forces, in particular between mid-1944 in Germany, and the firebombing of Japanese cities culminating in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945? Did they ever ponder on the question of moral justification for “strategic bombing”?

There is no way to conclusively answer these questions: as far as I know, no kind of opinion survey was ever conducted in the United States on these issues during or after the war. Yet, by examining how “bombing of enemies” and “bombers” were presented in contemporary popular magazines published in the United States, we can see how the issues were presented, and perhaps thereby gain certain insight into the views of the American people in a time of war. In other words, by examining images of the “bombing of enemies” and “bombers” that American people received through periodicals widely circulated during World War II, it may be possible to gain a certain understanding of popular beliefs regarding the bombing of enemy nations.

For this purpose, I examined wartime issues of some popular American magazines, including *Life*, *Time*, and *The U.S. News*. The articles typically provided a catalog of the amount of damage the bombing inflicted on the enemy’s war production and the nation’s morale, sometimes explaining the precise selection of military targets for attack. Articles about bombing of cities were frequently accompanied by aerial photos taken from a bomber high up in the sky, looking down on the burning and smoking city. These bird’s-eye photos, capturing the physical destruction of the built environment, did not show the wounded and the dead. Indeed, Washington’s wartime guidelines explicitly barred photographic representations of the enemy and allied dead, and such images of the war at close hand remained rare throughout the war. In this way, the bombing of civilians was sanctioned, just as the discussion of military targets obscured the deaths of women and children resulting directly from firebombing attacks.

In the absence of any images of the reality of death by fire and blast, it may have been difficult for readers to imagine the horror that people on the ground were undergoing. Certainly the rhetoric of “precision bombing” concealed from readers the reality of the mass killing of citizens through systematic firebombing of cities.

But readers had another important source of information about U.S. bombing. One feature that distinguishes U.S. from Japanese wartime journalistic images is the presence in U.S. magazines of numerous types of advertisements for bombers like the B17 and the B29, in particular in issues published between 1944 and the end of the war in August 1945. These advertisements, often full page or even two facing pages, used eye-catching colorful drawings and photos. They were a product of the close collaboration between the War Information Office, which was set up in June 1942, and the War Advertising

Council, a voluntary group of advertising executives. The advertisements were the pinnacle of new American approaches to advertising. This involved the presentation of clear and concise explanations of the benefits of the commodity, embellished with colorful drawings and photos. Such an illustrative style of advertisement actually became dominant in the 1920s, replacing the old fashioned European style advertisement, which mainly used simple symbolic forms with little explanation of the commodity.

The advertisements for bombers can roughly be categorized into four categories:

- 1) Those demonstrating the might of the American military forces, through an emphasis on the ability to mass-produce bombers, utilizing the well-organized Taylor Management System and the world’s most advanced technologies.
- 2) Those underlining the role of bombers as “peace makers,” claiming that the destruction of enemy nations’ war production capacity and morale would hasten their defeat and the onset of peace. In short, the bombers would soon bring peace to the United States and the world.
- 3) Those emphasizing utilitarian benefits through the application in people’s daily life of various technologies that were spin-offs from the technologies developed in manufacturing bombers: for example, kitchen utensils made of steel, car mechanical parts, plastic panels used for automobiles, electric blankets, sun-glasses and the like.
- 4) Those anticipating that the development of large bombers would soon result in the rapid transport of large numbers of passengers and amounts of freight from the United States to every corner of the world.

From early 1945, when the U.S. aerial bombing of Japanese cities intensified and Japan’s defeat seemed imminent, the theme of “peace maker” was emphasized more and more. For example, a photograph shows a group of B29s flying over Mt. Fuji with the words “peace maker” below it. As anticipation of the end of the war grew stronger, the promotion of the rapid rise of the international commercial aviation industry also became more frequent. The U.S. postwar vision was one of dominance of the air, both its military and commercial dimensions, a vision that would soon be given concrete expression in the global network of U.S. bases.

Although less frequent than the above-mentioned four themes, another noticeable feature of the popular advertising related to bombers was “air education.” From time to time, popular magazines promoted the necessity of educating youngsters to become good pilots, by posting an advertisement or running a relevant article in their pages. The issue of *Life* published on 20 August 1945, with a cover photograph of General Carl Spaatz, Commander of the U.S. Strategic Air Forces in the Pacific, carried articles on the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear physics, and the Manhattan Project. The issue included an article entitled “Air Education: Chattanooga public schools teach youngsters to live in aviation age.” Together with many photos of children studying aviation equipment and relevant basic science, the article highlighted a comprehensive air-education program introduced at public schools throughout the state of Texas.

For children growing up during the war, an airplane was a “bomber” more than anything else. There was even an episode in which a three year old boy said “Dad, that is a bomber!” looking at a small plane flying high above his head.

In summary, images of bombers—symbolizing “technological civilization,” “American dominance” and “peace”—fed the popular imagination through popular magazines, week after week, month after month, throughout the war. While highlighting American power, including the power to destroy entire cities in a matter of hours, or even with a single bomb, Americans were shielded from images of the bombers as machines that routinely targeted civilians, sometimes killing as many as 100,000 or more people in a single raid.

*Tanaka is professor at HPI*



# Brighten Future by Overcoming Negative Historical Legacy: "Mutual Understanding and Peace Building between Japan and Korea"

The Hiroshima Peace Institute held its sixth public lecture series in October and November 2006. The issues between Japan and the Korean Peninsula were discussed as the central theme for the first time since the start of the lecture series five years ago.

There were many good reasons to do so. Although Korea is Japan's closest neighbor, our understanding of its history and culture is insufficient. A significant gap remains between the Korean community in Japan and society at large, despite the fact that the community has become an integral part of our society. The two nations remain entangled in controversy regarding the proper interpretation of Japan's modernization process, including the colonization of Korea and its involvement in Japan's war. Recently in Japan, interest in South Korean entertainment culture is growing even as North Korean abductions of Japanese people, missile firings and nuclear threats have become major political and diplomatic obstacles. It is hard to imagine easy solutions to those problems. However, we cannot expect peace in East Asia without a steady, step-by-step improvement of bilateral relations. We organized our five lectures based on the above considerations.

### Lecture summaries

- (1) Oct. 31 "Issues between Japan and Korea: Historical Background and Current Situation" by Kazumi Mizumoto, associate professor at HPI

The goal was to provide basic knowledge on the issues involved. Topics discussed included: Korean society and relations with Japan from ancient to early modern times; Hideyoshi's invasion of the peninsula; Japan's expansion into and colonization of Korea after the Meiji Restoration; wartime aggression and making Koreans subjects of the Japanese Emperor; forced worship at Shinto shrines, insistence on Japanese names; controversy over Takeshima/Tokto Island and problems of Korean residents in Japan.

- (2) Nov. 7 "Present and Future Japan-Korea Relations" by Koichi Ishizaka, associate professor at Rikkyo University

Prof. Ishizaka first explained the establishment of the state of North Korea after WWII and the Korean War. He pointed out that as early as 1955 North Korea proposed normalization of ties with Japan but was ignored by the Japanese government. He described North Korea's independent policy known as *Juche*, established around 1960 due to the Sino-Soviet conflict, and demonstrated how North Korea's current struggle for regime survival has been dependent on nuclear deterrence since the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s. Lastly, he emphasized the importance of Japan's effort to peacefully induce North Korean policy change rather than topple the regime, even though a majority of Japanese people dislike the current North Korean leader. He stressed that the Japanese government should not prepare for war.

- (3) Nov. 14 "The Two Koreas and Japan: A Road to Peaceful Cooperation" by Sung Chull Kim, associate professor at HPI

North Korea surprised the world in October 2006 by announcing that it had conducted an underground nuclear test. According to Prof. Kim, if one carefully followed North Korea's public announcements since the start of the second nuclear crisis in October 2002, the result was predictable. Comparing the public reactions in Japan and South Korea to the threat of North Korea, Kim pointed out a conspicuous difference. (According to polls conducted right after the North Korean nuclear test, 62% of Japanese people supported sanctions against North Korea, whereas 68% of South Korean people supported a solution through peaceful dialogue.) Based on detailed analysis of the difference, Kim said that a solu-

tion to the North Korean nuclear crisis is indispensable for peace in Northeast Asia and, for this purpose, the U.S. should offer a security guarantee to the North Korean regime in exchange for abolition of its nuclear program. He added that a "sanctions only" policy might lead to a negative outcome and that the Japanese government should establish cooperative relations in this regime.

- (4) Nov. 21 "Historical Perceptions of Japanese and the Koreans with a Focus on the History Textbook Controversies" by Mikyoung Kim, assistant professor at HPI

"History Textbook Controversies" among Korea, China, and Japan occurred twice in the 1980s and developed into a diplomatic issue. The problem of "historical perceptions" is still an enormous chasm between Japan and Korea. Historically, the Japanese have maintained a strong tendency to look up to the West and down on Asia. Opinion polls in the 1980s revealed that 50% of Japanese people regarded Japan's actions during the war as "invasion" and 80% thought "Japan should be sorry about what it did during the war." On the other hand, 40% believed the "invasion was unavoidable" and "The Pacific War brought liberation to Asia." In response to the question, "What is the greatest shame in our history," 54% of Japanese answered "the war in Asia" while 56% of South Koreans identified "colonization by Japan." After examining the differences in historical perceptions between Japan and Korea, Prof. Kim emphasized the need to further promote understanding between the two nations.

- (5) Nov. 28 "Japan's Asian Diplomacy and Relations with Korea" by Motofumi Asai, president at HPI

In the last lecture to analyze the future of Japan-Korea relations from the context of Japan's diplomacy in Asia, Prof. Asai first examined the economic factors in Japan's negative legacy of invasion and colonial rule in East Asia. He pointed out that the normalization treaty between Japan and South Korea in 1965 failed to fully clear away that legacy. It was not until the 1990s that the Japanese government officially commented on comfort women and other "past regrets." In analyzing North Korea's nuclear and missile issues, Asai shed light on the threatening nature of the U.S. Bush administration, including its policy of preemptive strikes and its expanded interpretation of the right of self-defense. Finally, he stressed that for the future of the Japan-North Korea relationship, both sides need to work with sincerity based on "mutual trust" as specified in the Pyongyang Joint Declaration of 2002.

Based on our evaluation survey after the lecture series, a great majority of the participants showed high levels of interest in the topics discussed and expressed the desire that the lecture series on Japan-Korean issues will be continued. As a result, we will continue to take up issues that arise between Japan and Korea, China, and East Asia.



By Kazumi Mizumoto, associate professor at HPI

Global Hibakusha Kenkyukai, ed., (Tokyo: Gaifusha, 2006)

## *Ima ni tou hibakusha to sengo hoshō*

[Raising the Question: Hibakusha and Post-war Compensation]



*Raising the Question* derives from a HPI research project entitled “The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by the 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test” (2005). In a previous book, the Global Hibakusha Kenkyukai focused the hidden suffering of hibakusha caused by 1954 U.S. nuclear test at the Bikini Atolls. The Global Hibakusha Kenkyukai was established in 2004 with Seiichiro Takemine, a graduate student at Waseda University, and myself as co-chairs. In autumn 2004, it became a subcommittee of the Peace

Studies Association of Japan.

*Raising the Question* comprises articles by 13 specialists. In the introduction, Prof. Akira Kimura of Kagoshima University discusses Japanese attitudes toward World War II, as both victims and perpetrators. In asserting the significance of studying nuclear issues from the perspective of “global hibakusha,” he points to the quest for human security, a new concept that transcends the conventional framework of national security maintained by military forces. He also elaborates on an approach to abolishing all nuclear weaponry by overcoming certain myths about the atomic bombings and “nuclear deterrence.”

The chapters that follow include short essays and papers presented by speakers at a symposium we held on June 9, 2006, entitled “Inquiring into the responsibility of the Japanese government six decades after the Chongqing Bombing, the Great Tokyo Air Raids, the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and surrender.” The book includes papers by Terumi Tanaka, secretary-general of the Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations; Hiroshi Hoshino, chairman of the Association for the Bereaved Families of the Great Tokyo Air Raids; and Tetsuo Maeda, military historian and security analyst. Two symposium panelists, Masayoshi Naito, a lawyer, and Nobuhiro

Yanagihara, a graduate school student of the University of Tokyo, wrote the essays.

*Raising the Question* also presents reports by experts in relevant fields. Shoji Sawada, physicist, hibakusha and professor emeritus of Nagoya University, explains the collective hibakusha lawsuit demanding official recognition of diseases under the Hibakusha Aid Law. Seiichiro Takemine analyzes problems in the research on global nuclear contamination conducted by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in collaboration with the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC). Hiromitsu Toyosaki, a photojournalist, discusses racial discrimination associated with nuclear development. Tetsuji Imanaka of the Research Reactor Institute, Kyoto University, discusses the radiation exposure caused by the Chernobyl Accident. Hitomi Kamanaka, film director, describes the production of her documentary *Rokkashomura Rhapsody*. Katsumi Furitsu, a physician, describes the annual conference of the International Coalition to Ban Uranium Weapons (ICBUW), held in Hiroshima in August 2006. Finally, I address problems in Japan’s civil defense plan (civil protection plan), specifically, the Japanese government’s effort to formulate the plan while concealing various facts regarding nuclear radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This book presents 13 opinion leaders discussing hibakusha problems and compensation for victims of war and nuclear radiation from multiple perspectives. Despite differences of topics, all recognize that the authorities responsible for the war and the radiation tend to underestimate the damage inflicted on victims. They are also reluctant to compensate for that damage, seeking instead to shift blame onto the victims. It is my sincere hope that this book will provide readers with logical grounds for resisting pervasive myths concerning the atomic bombings, nuclear safety, victory in the Cold War, and the so-called war on terrorism.

By Hiroko Takahashi, research associate at HPI

Edward Friedman and Sung Chull Kim, eds., (London: Routledge, 2006)

## *Regional Cooperation and Its Enemies in Northeast Asia: The Impact of Domestic Forces*



This book is the culmination of a project conducted under the auspices of the HPI involving workshops that took place November 12-13, 2004 and May 26-28, 2005 in Hiroshima.

Northeast Asia is a region of extraordinary economic growth and dangerous tensions. This book examines how domestic politics in all the countries in the region—Japan, China, Taiwan, North and South Korea, Russia, and the United States—are intensifying both the forces of mutually

beneficial prosperity and the forces of war. It goes on to provide policy suggestions for enhancing the prospects for prosperity and inhibiting the forces of war. Describing how domestic imperatives shape foreign policies, this book will be an important contribution to the literature on Northeast Asian regionalism and prospects for future development. The table of contents of the book is presented below.

### Introduction: Multilayered Domestic-Regional Linkages

(Sung Chull Kim)

### Part I. Contextualizing the Northeast Asian Region

- Domestic Politics and Regional Cooperation in Southeast and Northeast Asia (Etel Solingen)
- Envisioning a Northeast Asian Community: Regional and Domestic Factors to Consider (Haruki Wada)

### Part II. Domestic Dimension of Regional Interaction

- Washington’s Policies toward North Korea and the Taiwan Strait: The Role of U.S. Domestic Politics (Tun-jen Cheng)

- The Two Koreas in Northeast Asia: Linkages between Domestic, Inter-Korean, and Regional Politics (Yong-Pyo Hong)
  - The Transformation of Chinese Foreign Policy (Lowell Dittmer)
  - The Fragility of China’s Regional Cooperation (Edward Friedman)
  - State Consolidation and Foreign Policy in Russia (Leszek Buszynski)
  - Mediating Geopolitics, Markets, Regionalism: Domestic Politics in Japan’s Post-Cold War Relations with China (Peng Er Lam)
- Part III. Non-Governmental Sources of Regional Cooperation
- Transnational Cooperation among NGOs in Northeast Asia: From Re-thinking Development towards Re-thinking Security (Daehoon Lee)
- Conclusion (Edward Friedman and Sung Chull Kim)

“Cooperation is best served when domestic politics fosters political leaders who can check backlash groups that complicate peace-prone cooperation....All the countries of the region obviously benefit from existing regional cooperation. Peoples in these countries cannot help but see that their peace and prosperity would be further enhanced by far more regional cooperation. Since it is so much in each country’s interest to foster new structures of cooperation, it is worth focusing on and challenging the enemies of cooperation in Northeast Asia. Sino-Japanese acrimony presents a real check on the development of an Asian regionalism....While conflicts of interest, as with China’s and Japan’s competition for an oil pipeline from Russia, are inevitable, these conflicts can be resolved to the benefit of all if each could assume that multilateral cooperation is the better way ahead. Conflicts of material interests can be resolved so as to avoid confrontation if the political will for regional cooperation can trump narrow nationalisms and very parochial political interests.” (extracted from Conclusion)

By Sung Chull Kim, associate professor at HPI

# D I A R Y

November 1, 2006 - February 28, 2007

◆**Nov.1-2** Kazumi Mizumoto is coordinator for Hiroshima International Peace Summit 2006, which invites 3 Nobel Peace Prize laureates, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Nov.4** Mikyoung Kim presents paper at International Association of Area Studies on Japanese perception of Asia in Seoul, Korea.

◆**Nov.11** HPI President Motofumi Asai gives lecture on "Current State and Tasks for Hiroshima" at 20th anniversary gathering of Kyoto Association for Pursuing Non-nuclear Government at Kyoto University. ▽Mizumoto attends 1st section meeting titled "Changing International Environment Surrounding Nuclear Weapons" as chair and commentator at annual conference; Hiroko Takahashi chairs "Global Hibakusha" section meeting of Peace Studies Association of Japan, at Yamaguchi University. ▽Makiko Takemoto gives lecture on "Pacifists and Foreign Policy in Weimar Republic" at 446th Monthly Meeting of Society for Study of Modern History, at Senshu University, in Tokyo.

◆**Nov.17** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Hiroshima and Peace" at core program "Development and Education" of Japan Foundation Middle East Fellowship Program for Intellectual Exchange, at HPI.

◆**Nov.18** Asai gives lecture on "Rapidly Changing Situation on Korean Peninsula" at study meeting organized by Association of Korean Social Scientists in Japan, in Tokyo.

◆**Nov.22** Asai gives lecture on "For a Peaceful Future in Japan and the World" at inaugural meeting of Article 9 Association (A9A) Group in Izumo City organized by its preparatory committee, in Shimane Prefecture.

◆**Nov.22-29** Mizumoto visits Cambodia as member of Reconstruction Aid Project in Cambodia, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.

◆**Nov.24** Sung Chull Kim delivers paper entitled "Mutual Understandings and Security Strategies: China, Two Koreas, and Japan" at conference on "Building East Asian Security Community: Challenges and Opportunities," sponsored by and held at Asian Center, University of Philippines, in Manila, Philippines.

◆**Dec. 2** Robert Jacobs gives lecture on "Narrating Hiroshima from Two Sides of the Ocean," to Council on International Educational Exchange, at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Dec. 3** Asai gives lecture on "What Will Happen if Article 9 is Changed?" at 1st anniversary of A9A Group in Yamaguchi City organized by the Group, in Yamaguchi Prefecture.

◆**Dec. 6** Asai gives lecture on "Civil Protection Plan" at antiwar rally organized by Tokushima Human Rights and Peace Movement Center, in Tokushima Prefecture.

◆**Dec. 7** Asai gives lecture on "Rapidly Changing Situation on Korean Peninsula" at relay lecture meeting organized by Group of Korean Students at Kyoto University, at Kyoto University.

◆**Dec. 8** Asai gives lecture on "Strengthening Arguments to Support Japan's Current Constitution" at 12.8 Hiroshima Gathering for No War organized by its planning committee, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Dec. 9** Asai gives lecture on "Friendly Path Built by Citizens" at gathering "Our Future in East Asia" organized by Yamaguchi Prefecture Peace Movement Forum, in Yamaguchi Prefecture. ▽Mizumoto attends "Hiroshima International Youth Forum" as commentator, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture, at Hiroshima University of Economics.

◆**Dec.10** Asai gives lecture on "Hiroshima and Japan's Constitution" at public meeting for Article 9 organized by Higashi-Hiroshima Citizens' Group to Think about Education, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Dec.13-Jan.16** Jacobs conducts research on history of American atomic soldiers at several American Military Bases, U.S.

◆**Dec.15** Asai gives lecture on "Japan's Future and Peace" at in-house seminar organized by Arakusa, a social welfare organization, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Dec.19-Jan.16** Jacobs discusses American nuclear weapon testing with American scholars at University of California and Stanford University, U.S.

◆**Dec.21** Hitoshi Nagai gives lecture on "Institute for American Studies of Rikkyo University during World War II" at Rikkyo University, in Tokyo.

◆**Dec.25** Mizumoto gives presentation on "Recent Trends Surrounding Nuclear Weapons" and Takahashi gives presentation on "Investigation of Atomic Bomb Materials in U.S." at public lecture meeting organized by Research Group on Reference Materials of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, at the Museum.

◆**Jan.4-10** Narayanan Ganesan conducts field research on domestic politics at Pegu, Toungoo and Pho-Kyar in Mon State, Myanmar.

◆**Jan. 7** Asai gives lecture on "North Korea and Asian Denuclearization" at New Year's gathering for peace and abolition of nuclear weapons, organized by Aichi Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb, in Aichi Prefecture.

◆**Jan.12** Takahashi gives lecture on "How was Hibakusha Information of U.S. Nuclear Test Concealed?" at Hiroshima study meeting organized by Hiroshima Prefectural Cultural Organization Conference, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Jan.13** Takahashi gives lecture on "Atomic Bomb Materials in U.S.: Focusing on ABCC Material" at study meeting of History of International Relations and Science at Bunka Woman's University, in Tokyo.

◆**Jan.13-15** Mikyoung Kim collects materials on North Korean refugees in Seoul, Korea.

◆**Jan.14** Asai gives lecture on "Situations on Korean Peninsula and Japan-North Korea Relations" at New Year's gathering of commerce or industry-related North Korean Residents in Fukuoka Prefecture organized by Yahata Chamber of Commerce and Industry of North Korean Residents in Fukuoka, in Fukuoka Prefecture.

◆**Jan.20** Asai gives lecture on "Japan's Peace Policy and International Contribution" at board of councilors organized by Osaka Medical Practitioners' Association, in Osaka Prefecture.

◆**Jan.21** Asai gives lecture on "Japan's Constitution and Us" at Hiroshima Prefectural youth and female exchange 2007 organized by its planning committee for peace and friendship festival, in Hiroshima Prefecture. ▽Takahashi gives lecture on "Concealed Reality of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" at 2nd one-day movie seminar for peace, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Jan.23** Asai gives lecture on "Situations on Korean Peninsula and Future of Japan-North Korea Relations" at lecture meeting organized by Yamaguchi Chamber of Commerce and Industry of North Korean Residents in Yamaguchi, in Yamaguchi Prefecture.

◆**Jan.25** Asai gives lecture on "Abolition of Nuclear Weapons" at summit meeting of member organizations of Japan Conference of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations organized by Hiroshima organization, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Jan.26** Asai gives lecture on "Task and Outlook for International Situation" at New Year Peace School 2007 organized by Kanagawa Prefecture Peace Committee, in Kanagawa Prefecture.

◆**Feb. 2** Takahashi gives report on "Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission Documents in the U.S." at 3rd annual War and Peace Workshop titled "Cultures, Conflicts and Peace-building" organized by Graduate University for Advanced Studies, in Tokyo.

◆**Feb. 3** Asai gives lecture on "Strengthening Arguments in Support of the Current Japanese Constitution" at study meeting organized by mothers and female school personnel in Hiroshima Prefecture, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Feb. 4** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Current Global Situation of Nuclear Weapons" at training course for Hiroshima Peace Volunteer Project sponsored by and held at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

◆**Feb.11** Asai gives lecture on "Japan's Constitution and Yasukuni Shrine" at 2.11 antiwar and peace gathering organized by its planning committee, in Hiroshima Prefecture.

◆**Feb.18** Asai gives lecture on "Convention on Rights of the Child and Children with Disabilities" at national meeting for sending voices of children with disabilities to U.N. organized by a group seeking to limit financial demands of treatment and upbringing of children with disabilities, in Tokyo.

◆**Feb.18-Mar.2** Mizumoto visits Cambodia as member of Reconstruction Aid Project in Cambodia, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture and JICA.

## - Visitors to HPI -

◆**Nov.16** He Jun, vice president, Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament and 5 other members.

◆**Nov.29** Sumio Tarui, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Delegation of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament.

◆**Feb. 8** Dr. Daisuke Moriwake, COE chief research fellow, International Christian University (ICU), Toshiaki Komatsuzaki, JSPS DC fellow, ICU, Hilary Elmendorf and Kristofer Sparks, COE guest research fellows, ICU.

◆**Feb.13** Ole Mjøs, chairman, The Norwegian Nobel Committee, and Jochen Peters, project manager, Center for Peace Studies, University of Tromsø, Norway.

## HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

Vol.9, No.3 March 26, 2007

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● Publisher: Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University; Editor : Ayako Yoshida

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● Printed by Nishiki Print co., Ltd.