

2015

# The Role of Japan's National Memorials and Museums in the Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism

Evan A. Soll

*Claremont McKenna College*

---

## Recommended Citation

Soll, Evan A., "The Role of Japan's National Memorials and Museums in the Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism" (2015). *CMC Senior Theses*. Paper 1107.

[http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc\\_theses/1107](http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/1107)

This Open Access Senior Thesis is brought to you by Scholarship@Claremont. It has been accepted for inclusion in this collection by an authorized administrator. For more information, please contact [scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu](mailto:scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu).

Claremont McKenna College

The Role of Japan's  
National Memorials and Museums  
In the Rise and Decline of  
Japanese Pacifism

submitted to  
Professor Ilai Salzmann  
and  
Professor Peter Flueckiger  
and  
Dean Nicholas Warner

by  
Evan Soll

for  
Senior Thesis  
Spring Semester  
April 27<sup>th</sup> 2015

## **Abstract**

Japan's economic, political and societal recovery after World War II is arguably one of the most impressive recoveries of any nation after a war. This thesis refers to the works of scholars on Japanese constitutional studies, Japanese security studies, Japanese politics and Japanese education to identify the forces that helped generate the rise of Japan's post war recovery national narrative. After Identifying the forces that gave rise to the anti-war Pacifist national narrative of Japan's postwar recovery, this thesis highlights the role of Japan's peace museums and memorials in helping to maintain and effectively communicate the nation's postwar values of democracy and pacifism to future generations.

This thesis will then discuss the challenge for Japan's Peace memorials and museums in an era where anti-war Pacifism is less relevant and may eventually cease to exist. The Japanese people and their Prime Ministers are still divided in embracing national memorials and museums of war to represent their nation. This makes it difficult for peace and war memorials and museums to play a much more significant role in the future of Japan's national narrative.

## Table of Contents

I. Introduction.....	3
II. Literature Review.....	6
III. Chapter I: The Rise of Japanese Pacifism.....	13
IV. Chapter II: Conflicting Memories and National Narratives: Japanese Pacifism on the Decline.....	32
V. Chapter III: Changing National Narratives: The Dilemma For National Memorials And Museums.....	51
VI. Conclusion.....	62
VII. Japanese Version: The Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism.....	63
VIII. Bibliography.....	76

## Introduction

In order for a nation to effectively indoctrinate its citizens with a strong sense of national values, it is indispensable that its history is told through a single, uncontested national narrative. This claim is most relevant to the rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism. Following Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, the Japanese government adopted a new national narrative called Japanese Pacifism. Using Japanese Pacifism as a new national narrative, the Japanese state sought to re-indoctrinate its people to become contribute to both nation and international society as promoters of world peace. Among the many Pacifist re-indoctrination tools used, has been Japan's Peace Museums, which teach and symbolize the history of a new Japanese, Pacifist nation.

Japanese Pacifism strongly appealed to its people because it gave them hope towards embracing a promising future after having suffered an embarrassing military and the horror of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The most important museum to instill Japanese Pacifism in the hearts and minds of the Japanese people has been the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and its Peace Park. The Hiroshima Peace Museum has instilled Japanese Pacifist values in the Japanese people through the memorials of the Peace Park, the annual peace ceremony, and the museum's exhibits.

The Hiroshima Peace Museum as well as other Peace Museums throughout Japan gave rise to a strong, uncontested and unifying national narrative of anti-war Pacifism. However, since the 1990s, the Hiroshima as well as many others of Japan's most important peace museums has struggled to grow their narrative in the face of rising nationalism. For this reason, there has been a turn in both civic and political attention

towards incorporating Japan's war shrines and museums into an emerging nationalist, national narrative. The memorial that has become the center of the nation's political focus as a result of a declining Japanese Pacifist narrative has been the Shinto war shrine, known as Yasukuni Shrine. If Yasukuni shrine were to become a permanent indoctrination tool for Japan's evolving nationalism, it could greatly undermine the relevance of Hiroshima's anti-war Pacifism to the future of Japan's national narrative.

The increasing number of attempts to politicize Yasukuni shrine demonstrates the diminishing appeal of anti-war Japanese Pacifism to Japan's national narrative. Japanese Pacifism is weakening as a unifying national narrative because Japanese Pacifism shies away from teaching Japan's wartime past from the late 19<sup>th</sup> till the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Japanese Pacifism although once a unifying, dominant national narrative, is still a relevant part of Japan's national narrative, but not growing like Japanese nationalism. It is hard to determine how Japanese Pacifism could continue as the dominant national narrative of Japan since it has not developed beyond a post-war recovery narrative. Plus, Japanese leaders have done little to support the reemergence of the Japanese Pacifist narrative in Japan's memorials and museums.

The rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism is an important nation case study for how nations can successfully develop and maintain their national narratives. During the rise of Japanese Pacifism, the Japanese people effectively embodied the nation's new values of democracy and Pacifism in Japan's memorials and museums. Though ever since Japanese Pacifism has begun to decline, the Japanese people have struggled to revise the narratives in the existing peace memorials or museums or find a group of nationalist memorials and museums that could develop and maintain Japan's future

national narrative. At the end of this thesis, Germany will also be mentioned as an example for how a nation can recreate its national symbols to promote the development of a new national narrative. This example is the Dresden museum of military history in Dresden, Germany.

The goal of this paper is to demystify the challenges faced by Japanese Pacifism rooted in an unresolved internal conflict of Japan's two opposing national narratives symbolized by its war and peace museums. In recent years, Japanese Pacifism has struggled to engage and indoctrinate its people with its core values originating from its conception. This does not suggest that the Japanese Pacifism will die out but that a new Japanese neo-nationalist narrative is emerging. This neo-nationalist narrative will successfully indoctrinate its people because it will create a single narrative that will be conveyed by both Japan's peace and war symbols. Germany provides a good example for Japan in how it can preserve a single national narrative in its museums; however, Japan is too passive about revising its Pacifist narrative to once again become a dominant, unifying national narrative.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In various fields of academia, scholars have made significant contributions to understanding the national narrative building since the end of World War II, and marked by the beginning of Japan's post World War II recovery. The fields of academia, which have been most influential in shaping the direction of this thesis, are Japanese constitutional studies, Japanese politics, Japanese security studies, and Japanese education. These fields serve as the foundation for the national narrative building that it as the core of this thesis and that is the study of Japan's national memorial and museums.

Japanese Constitutional studies is particularly important to this thesis, since the new Japanese constitution created the values Japan adopted and developed into its postwar national narrative. Robert Ward's writings support the fundamental the argument of this thesis, especially his claims that the Japan's post-war recovery national narrative occurred as the result of U.S.'s role in implementing a new constitution with drastically new values for the Japanese nation. He stresses that Japan's current Constitution or rather "The American-authored constitution of 1947" would not have been possible without U.S. insistence since the constitution "was in spirit and provisions almost a complete inversion of its predecessor, The Meiji Constitution of 1889" (Ward 1965: 401). Ward's research shows that Japan's new constitution played a major role in planting the seeds for the development of a new national narrative, since many Japanese people attribute the role of the new constitution to the nation's postwar recovery (Ward 1965:402).

Japanese Constitutional studies arguably have been preceded by Japanese security studies, since changes in Japan's national security called for the adoption of new national

values. Changes to Japan's national security not only led to the adoption of its current constitution but also helped generate Japan's national narrative of antimilitarism. Thomas Berger points out that the development of Japan's national narrative of postwar reconstruction and antimilitarism depended on Japan's defense treaty with the U.S. Burger claims that, "Japan's culture of anti-militarism originally developed under the aegis of a benevolent U.S. hegemon during the 1950s and 1960s. Since then it has taken root and is no longer a hothouse plant that would wither and die the moment American commitment to East Asia security affairs weakens" (Berger 1993:120). If Japan were not under the protection of the U.S., it would have no choice but to develop strong offensive military capabilities, thus having little incentive to continue developing an anti-war national narrative.

The development of an anti-war and eventual Pacifist national narrative although sustained by Japan's political system, was not entirely embraced by Japan's politicians. As Robert Ward demonstrates in his writings on the development of postwar Japanese politics, the reality that Japanese politicians have been trying to undo the anti-militarism and democratic constitutional values since, "When the Liberal Democratic Party was formed in 1955, its basic platform called for 'voluntary revision of the constitution to insure Japan's full-fledged independence'" (Ward 1965: 405). If not for Japan's transformation into a democracy, Japan would have struggled to grow its antiwar national narrative and indoctrinate its people in values that were not originally Japanese.

The continuation of Japan's national narrative of anti-militarism and democracy therefore rested upon the role of Japanese education in indoctrinating its people in new national values. Norio Ikeno claims that, "Within this determination to establish a

democratic focus, modern Japanese education has been centrally planned. The Ministry of Education decides the Courses of Study, provides the basic framework for curricula, and approves the textbooks. But each school implements education according to individual interpretations of the Courses of Study and textbooks, so education in each school has both uniform and diverse characteristics” (Ikeno 2005: 93). Ikeno refers to the Japanese Ministry of Education’s creation of a national social studies curriculum to teach students “the attitude and skills to participate positively in their society in order to build a democratic society” (Ministry of Education, 1948:13).

School Education helped create a strong bond between the Japanese people and the Constitution’s new democratic and antiwar values. The importance of Japanese national education coincided with the creation of national memorials and museums to symbolize Japan’s postwar national narrative. Lisa Yoneyama stresses the impact that Japanese new national memorials and museums made to symbolize and preserve Japan’s postwar reconstruction narrative. Yoneyama’s focus is on the rebuilding of the city of Hiroshima, which helped to develop Japan’s postwar narrative into Japanese Pacifism. Hiroshima rebuilt itself as a city of world peace and culture, which led to the development of Japanese Pacifism as the basis of Hiroshima’s war memories (Yoneyama 1999: 18). Japanese Pacifism symbolized by Hiroshima’s postwar recovery became Japan’s Mecca of the Japanese Pacifist national narrative, when political figures from the central government began to take part in the city’s international peace ceremony (Yoneyama 1999:14).

While Hiroshima’s national peace memorials and museum helped preserve Japan’s postwar narrative, these national symbols have been reluctant to address changes

that have affected Japan's national narrative from the 1980s until 2015. Mike Mochizuki and Samuel Porter point out the political platform of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who is trying to reverse the Constitution's prohibitions on Japan's armed forces, (Mochizuki & Porter 2013: 33). While Robert Ward highlighted the early attempts by the Liberal Democratic Party to revise Japan's constitution in the 1950s, there is much more likelihood of constitutional revision in the near future (Ward 1965: 405). Given the trend of a possible constitutional revision occurring, the anti-war narrative symbolized in Hiroshima Peace memorials and museums could grow increasingly less valuable to the development of Japan's national narrative.

The call for Constitutional Revisionism in the second decade of the 2000s, has been influenced largely by the rise of China, and the military threats it poses to Japan and the U.S. Paul Midford, shows that the U.S. and Japan's strategic defense partnership encourages Japan to play a more active role in international security, which would upset Japan's neighbors, particularly China, (Midford, 2011: 15). The rise of a strong China since the 1980s, and the possibility of military confrontation between Japan and China over disputed territories have not only influenced political efforts to foster changes to the existing Constitution, (Cooney & Sato, 2008: 46). The rise of China poses a growing national security threat to Japan, causing a shift away from Japan's antiwar, Pacifist national narrative.

The growing security threats to Japan's national security as a result has fueled historical revisionist education, to create a nationalist education. Japan's national narrative, argues Yangmo Ku is moving away from an anti-war, Japanese Pacifist narrative into one in which Japanese history textbooks remove and gloss over teaching

imperial Japan's war crimes against the peoples of its colonies during World War II. China and Korea who not only have territorial disputes with Japan, but have bitter memories of Japanese colonialism embedded in their national narratives are outraged at the content of ignoring of Japanese war crimes against the Koreans and Chinese in Japanese history textbooks, (Ku 2014: 261). Part of the reason the rise of historical revisionist education is such a concerning matter is because the Japanese Pacifist narrative stemming from Hiroshima does not Pacifist narrative does not cover the horrors of Japan's colonial past and abuses, especially from World War II (Yoneyama 1995: 3).

The move toward historical revisionism, seeking to redefine the nation's values has had a tremendous impact on Japan's memorials and museums. Daiki Shibuichi points out that this has led Japanese politicians to try to incorporate war memorials into becoming a part of Japan's national narrative. The most controversial of these war memorials is the Yasukuni war shrine memorial, which has become a symbolic destination for Japanese prime ministers seeking to revive Japanese nationalism. Shibuichi argues that these political visits not only undermine the Pacifist order at home but cause international backlash from rising China and South Korea, (Shibuichi 2005: 206). If Yasukuni shrine became a symbol of Japan's national narrative, its war museum the Yushukan, could strain the relationship between Japanese Pacifism and Japan's national narrative. Rumi Sakamoto demonstrates the challenges that the Yushukan's self-justifying victimization narrative of Japan's wartime past, poses to the preservation of a Pacifist national narrative, (Sakamoto, 2015: 161).

While I was able to find a lot of scholarly works in various fields that discussed Japanese Pacifism or rising Japanese nationalism, I came across only one scholarly work

titled *The Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism* written by Yuan Cai. Cai argues that the decline of Japanese Pacifism is the result of a “generational change in Japan,” which “slowly eroded the foundation of Pacifism built on victimhood.” On top of that she claims that the “Post-war economic prosperity largely rendered the tales of hardship and sufferings incomprehensible to a youth who had only known affluence” (Cai, 2007: 197). Cai claims that the survival of Japanese Pacifism is “based on the notion of victim conscience” (Cai, 2007: 181). While I refer to Cai’s affirmation at the end of this thesis to show that Japanese Pacifism is on the decline, I put less of a focus on the concept of victimization as it relates to Japanese Pacifism.

The developments in Japanese constitutional studies, Japan’s national security, Japanese politics, and education all serve as the basic ingredients for the focus of this thesis, the role of Japan’s memorials and museums in the rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism. Given the length of this thesis, it is too difficult to conduct a full analysis of the rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism through these various fields of academia. Since this thesis will focus how Japan’s memorials and museums have advanced the direction of Japan’s national narrative after World War II, I hope to inspire others to write more on role of memorials and museums in contributing to the rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism.

The goal of this thesis is not only to turn the rise and decline of Japanese Pacifism into a more widely discussed topic but also carefully address the importance of Japan’s memorials and museums in maintaining its existing and futures national narratives. In the final chapter of this thesis, I highlight the current direction of Japan’s national narrative stuck between Pacifism and nationalism. This last chapter draws on historical examples

of Japan's past from the Meiji period and post World War II Germany to discuss the impact and also the limitations of Japan's peace and war memorials and museums on paving the future of Japan's national narrative.

**Chapter 1**

**The**

**Rise**

**Of Japanese Pacifism**

## CHAPTER I

The rebuilding of Japan after World War II is a story of successful nation building and one of the world's remarkable social and political recoveries, amongst any defeated nation in any war. The beginning of Japan's postwar narrative dates from the defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army against the Allied Powers, marking the end of World War II (September 2, 1945). The end of World War II marked a new era for Japan, which for the first time in its history was both defeated and occupied by a foreign power. Japanese history is well known for its many thousands of years of war, Japan reemerged as completely different nation. A nation constitutionally prohibited from engaging in and declaring war. This switch from an aggressive colonial power to an antiwar nation did not occur at the will of the Japanese people. This new step for the Japanese nation was the direct result of changes to Japan's Constitution, political system and national security.

Japanese antimilitarism emerged after the end of World War II in largely due to changes in Japan's national security from a strong independent military to one completely reliant on the U.S. Following the defeat of the Japanese Empire in 1945, the U.S. carried out a full military occupation of Japan until 1952 (Office of the Historian, Milestones 1945-1952). U.S. General Douglas MacArthur became the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), which became the transitional overseer of the rebuilding of the Japanese state for seven years. MacArthur worked with the new Japanese government to make significant changes to Japan's international security that would put Japan under the U.S.'s protective wing. The two changes to Japan's national defense came from the

writing/adoption of a new postwar Pacifist Constitution and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

After World War II, Japan was politically transformed into a democratic nation, and forcefully distanced from its wartime past. The biggest effect on pacifying the Japanese nation came from the Japanese government's acceptance of U.S. General MacArthur's authored Japanese Constitution. The Japanese government fought hard to negotiate a constitution that would be favorable to the Japanese, that would allow the emperor to remain as head of state and allow Japan to maintain its military (Berkofsky, 2012: 74). However, General McArthur forced the Japanese government in 1946 to accept its U.S. authored constitution that abolished the emperor's political authority and the Japanese government's ability to declare war. The Japanese Prime Minister in 1946, Kijuro Shidehara, accepted the U.S. authored Constitution and sought to indoctrinate the Japanese people in new values of pacifism and democracy. This is demonstrated by a passage, in which Berkofsky quoted from Shidehara's autobiography, *Gaiko Jyunen* (1951) that says, "If our people are to occupy a place of honor in the family of nations, we must see to it that our constitution internally establishes the foundation for a democratic government and externally leads the rest of the world for the abolition of war" (Berkofsky, 2008: 79).

The rise of Japanese Pacifism begins with the enactment of the Japanese Constitution on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1947. The Constitution transferred national power from the emperor and his military government to the new Japanese parliament and most of all Japanese people themselves. The two most important articles to understanding the role of the emperor to the development of Japan's postwar national narrative are Chapter I,

Articles 4 and Article 7 of the Japanese Constitution. Article 4 declares that the “The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in this Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government” (japan.kantei.go.jp, 1946). This forced Japan to sever its connection to its pre-war narrative and Meiji Constitution enacted in 1889, which in the Chapter I, Article I says that, “The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal” (Ito, <https://history.hanover.edu/texts/1889con.html>, 1889). The emperor would although no longer exercise political authority, he remains important to Japan as a national symbol since he exercises authority to conduct the “Performance of ceremonial functions” (Article 8, 1946).

Since Japan was able to maintain the emperor as a national symbol, the Japanese people did not have to abandon all of their history. However, the Japanese did not have any experience dealing with American political values of democracy or let alone Pacifism. Therefore, the solid glue of the Japanese Pacifist Constitution dealt with Japan’s defense outlined in Chapter II, Article 9. Article 9, as it is often referred to, outlaws Japan’s ability to go to war saying “Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes” (japan.kantei.go.jp, 1946). This article intensified the effect of Japan being under the U.S.’s security umbrella, rendering Japan’s defenses dependent on the U.S. Although America and Japan together outlawed Japan’s right to go to war and deploy offensive military capabilities, this was not a pure Japanese Pacifist indoctrination. A Japanese Police Force was created after the adoption of the Constitution in 1947, and then The

Japanese Self Defense Force (SDF) was established in (1953), which could acquire defense capabilities solely for the purpose to protect Japan from invasion (Ota, 2000-2001:57).

Japanese Pacifism was a clear departure from Japan's brutal colonial past and an entry point to U.S. inspired democracy. The most important historical event after the end of World War II in Japan's postwar history that split Japanese Pacifism from including its wartime abuses in its Pacifist Narrative was the Tokyo War Trials (1946-1948). The verdicts made in this trial have left a mark on Japanese Pacifism and stain the course of Japan's national narrative even up to today. This historical event should be examined not just from a legal perspective but also for the purpose of this thesis as a departure from the past and the view of the road forward.

Japanese Pacifism would have been short-lived had it not been for the U.S.'s role in Americanizing Japan's political institutions. During World War II, the opposition parties to the State Shinto government were incredibly weak and mainly Socialist and Communist Parties. Since the Soviet Union led Communists and all Communist regimes were the U.S.'s sworn enemies, there remained every incentive for SCAP to ensure that significant power stayed out of the hands of Japan's communists (U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian, [history.state.gov](http://history.state.gov)). For this reason, those that exercised and have continued to exercise significant power and influence in the Japanese government, even up until today, are connected to the political platform of those Japanese that governed Japan during World War II.

Japan's new national narrative of pacifism and democracy lasted because it appealed to the Japanese people and helped them find meaning in rebuilding their nation.

Despite the end of the U.S. occupation of Japan in 1952, and the emergence of Japan's newest and most influential political party emerged, the Liberal Democratic Party, which wanted to revise Japan's Constitution, Japanese Pacifism continued. Japan no longer reported to the U.S. on political issues like it did to SCAP, making the authorization of constitutional provisions no longer in the hands of the SCAP. According to Robert E. Ward, who has written extensively on Japanese Political Parties after the end of WWII, the Liberal Democratic Party or LDP's "basic platform called for "voluntary revision of the constitution to insure Japan's full-fledged independence" (Ward, 1965: 405). Here begins the start of the tightrope walk for Japanese Pacifism. From the beginning of call within the LDP for constitutional revision, Japanese Pacifism kept its balance because principles of U.S. democracy and the development of the Japanese Pacifist narrative continued to resonate with the Japanese people.

Even after the LDP tried to make an immediate return of Pacifist Japan back to a militaristic nation, Japanese Pacifism proved it could bear any political threat. Some of the proponents of Constitutional revisionism within the LDP sought to reverse the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Article 9, which outlaws war, and create a self-reliant Japan on the issue of national defense. These efforts were nearly an impossible task because since Japan was now a democratic country, it could not forcibly remove political opposition or rewrite the Constitution at its own accord. These LDP members grew up and received all of their political, social and national indoctrination under a State Shinto nation predating Pacifist Japan (1945). Therefore, these members who had previously served the government of the Empire of Japan faced a great societal disconnect between the citizens of a new democratic Japan.

An essential ingredient to creating the stability of a Pacifist national narrative that allowed Japan to resist the efforts of revisionist LDP politicians were Japan's democratic educational institutions. Adding to the democratic political and electoral reforms that occurred in Japan, the LDP's platform was further weakened by a weak hold on the Japanese education system. Many of the politicians in the LDP that favored Constitutional Revisionism served in the government of the Empire of Japan and maintained tight control over the education system. The LDP, though, did not have the luxury of being able to operate and forcefully establish Constitutional Revisionism in the Japanese school system. A massive education reform campaign was carried out by SCAP that prohibited all history teachers who taught during World War II from teaching in schools from 1945 on (MEXT).

The educational campaign by the Japanese Ministry of Education in Japanese schools helped to create a new sense of citizenry for Japanese as members of a democratic and Pacifist society. New curriculum and textbook laws were adopted, which helped to indoctrinate future generations of Japanese in democratic and gradually Japanese Pacifist values. The most significant education reform to re-indoctrinate the Japanese people in U.S. inspired democratic values and later Japanese Pacifism was the Basic Act on Education adopted in 1947. According to the Japanese Ministry of Education, the Basic Act on Education was inspired by the "spirit of the Constitution" and established the principles of "equal opportunity, compulsory education, co-education, school education, social education, prohibition of partisan political education, prohibition of religious education for a specific religion in the national and local public schools and prohibition of improper control of education," (MEXT). The three most powerful

principles put forth by this law that cripple the chances that the LDP were able to indoctrinate its people in constitutional revisionism are the prohibitions of “partisan political education,” “religious education for a specific religion in the national and local public schools” and of “improper control of education,” (MEXT).

The way in which the Basic Act on Education recreated the textbook selection process, allowed for the democratization of the Japanese education system because it removed direct political figures’ authority over creating a national narrative. In the past, the Japanese government had full control over deciding, publishing and providing its own books to schools, “Until the end of World War II, the government generally authored textbooks” (Mofa.go.jp). The Basic Act of Education overturned this control by prohibiting the state from providing its own ideologically inspired textbooks to schools. The Japanese Ministry of Education, which is not under the authority of the military, has a committee, which grants permission to permits the choice from a list of subject textbooks. Local schools received the right to choose from a list of approved textbooks written by private individuals and educational societies. These reforms were instrumental in paving the way for Japanese democratic ideals and the further rise of Japanese Pacifism. However, issues surrounding Japan’s textbook laws in more recent years have become a powerful force against Japanese Pacifism.

Had it not been for the educational reforms democratizing Japan’s education system, the LDP could have easily ended the life of the Japanese Pacifist narrative. This is because of a growing popularity of constitutional revisionism within the LDP but meanwhile the failure of revisionism to capture the hearts and minds of the Japanese people, who now were educated in democratic and antiwar values. In the 1950s, the LDP

established a Constitutional Revision Committee after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953). The efforts of the committee lasted through the 1960s, at which Robert Ward claims that “For the first time since the war, the democratic process seemed really to be in danger” (Ward: 1965, 432). The revision committee failed because of the powerful educational, political, legal mechanisms already at work to indoctrinate the Japanese people in democratic and emerging Pacifist values. Also, the presence of U.S. troops increased in Japan during the Korean War, which added to a growing image among the Japanese public that America would provide steadfast defense for Japan, making any revision practically impossible.

The education system had a major impact on reorienting the Japanese people towards a new national narrative. Another major breakthrough that significantly strengthened the development of Japanese Pacifism was the symbolization of the Japanese Pacifist narrative in the rebuilding of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The leaders of these two cities created Japan’s Pacifist pilgrimage spots by launching reconstruction campaigns to recreate these cities as Japanese lead centers of world peace. Hiroshima and Nagasaki became the Mecca and Medina of the Japanese Pacifist movement by utilizing a narrative as the world’s first and only nuclear-bombed cities. The rebuilding of Hiroshima was championed by mayor Shinzo Hamai, who sought to persuade the central government and other foreign nations like the U.S. to assist with the rebuilding of Hiroshima, to which Ran Zwingenberg refers to Shinzo Hamai’s pledge to “help the rebuilding of Hiroshima as Peace City” (Zwingenberg, 2014: 36). Hamai’s vision for Hiroshima as a metropolitan symbol for world peace succeeded in large part due to the creation of new national symbols of peace and of Hiroshima’s post-war reconstruction.

Hiroshima's recovery became a unifying symbol for the Japanese Pacifist national narrative because it served as a reminder of the horrors of war and also showed the fruits of prosperity by fulfilling a mission to spread world peace. Hiroshima's Reconstruction became symbolized as a "forward-looking memorial recounting to visitors a story of resurrection and promise," given the boulevard full of trees, improved roads at the city's center (Zwigenberg, 2014: 52). The city of Hiroshima developed into a modern city but preserved the remains of atomic bombed buildings at the Peace Park to maintain a sense of despair for the victims lost in the bomb blast. At the center of Hiroshima's downtown, became the site of Hiroshima's Peace Park and Peace Memorial Museum, which represented the reconstructed image of Hiroshima.

The city of Hiroshima made Japanese Pacifism into more than simply a movement but rather a Japanese national tradition that presented a universal message, a prayer for peace. The tradition of celebrating and memorializing Japanese Pacifism called the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony began on August 6<sup>th</sup> 1947, two years after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima ([visithiroshima.net](http://visithiroshima.net)). The location of the ceremony was eventually moved to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in the center of Hiroshima. This ceremony calls to remember the victims of the atomic bombs, those who have suffered from the bomb's radiation, followed by a prayer for peace calling for an end to war and the abolishment of nuclear weapons ([visithiroshima.net](http://visithiroshima.net)). This ceremony helped instill a new narrative of memory and hope for the city of Hiroshima.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony was foremost a way to celebrate and remember Hiroshima's contribution to the progress of Japanese Pacifism. The Peace Ceremony, while originally Hiroshima's own way of embracing Pacifism and

contributing to the future of the Pacifist movement, eventually became an important symbol for the entire Japanese nation. Lisa Yoneyama mentions that Japanese Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato's "participation marked the beginnings of the official and statist nationalization of Hiroshima's memory" and a tradition for future Japanese Prime Ministers to participate in the ceremony (Yoneyama, 1999: 14). The Japanese Prime Ministers also began to participate in the peace ceremony in Nagasaki linked the Pacifist national narrative to the memorials and museums of these cities.

Hiroshima's Pacifist narrative has continued to grow because its universal narrative of peace not only captures the hearts of its own citizens but also of people from around the world. A great example of the international appeal of Hiroshima and Nagasaki's narratives of peace includes the fact that consistent group of foreign emissaries participate in the Hiroshima Peace ceremony and make annual visits to Hiroshima. Hiroshima's mayor Takeshi Araki established an organization called Mayors for Peace, on June 24<sup>th</sup> 1982 "to Promote the Solidarity of Cities toward the Total Abolition of Nuclear Weapons." The Mayors for Peace organization has been a tremendous help to create an internationally appealing Hiroshima narrative, since "As of April 1, 2015, membership stood at 6,649 cities in 160 countries and regions,"(mayorsforpeace.org). Every year in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a group of mayors involved in this organization around the world attend the Peace ceremonies in Hiroshima or Nagasaki and participate in collaborative peace workshops.

Hiroshima has been able to contribute to the Japanese Pacifist national narrative because of the symbolic relevance of its Peace Park to Japan after World War II. The Peace Park created an environment to memorialize those affected by the war and the

atomic bomb and call for the end of nuclear weapons (Haverson, 2010: 69). Visitors are reminded of the everlasting call to abolish nuclear weapons; by the flame of peace, which “has burned continuously since it was lit on August 1, 1964. It symbolizes the anti-nuclear resolve to burn the flame "until the day when all such weapons shall have disappeared from the earth" (<http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp>). Another powerful symbol in the Hiroshima Peace Park, which serves as a reminder of the devastation effect of nuclear weapons is the atomic bomb dome. The atomic bomb dome or A-bomb dome, acts “As a historical witness that conveys the disaster of the first atomic bombing in history, and as a symbol of the vow to pursue the abolition of nuclear weapons and enduring peace,” ([www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp)). The atomic bomb dome therefore is a reminder of the past but its surroundings of a green park suggest a bright future that Hiroshima enjoyed after the war. The atomic bomb dome is also a spot for Japanese Pacifist activists and volunteers alike to gather to share with visitors the history of the atomic bomb dome and communicate the horrors of nuclear weapons in today’s society.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park preserves the memories of the atomic bomb and shows the rebuilding of a prosperous Japan as a symbol for world peace. In order to preserve the memory of Hiroshima and connect people to Japanese Pacifism, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was built. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum acts as the storyteller that teaches Japanese and international visitors the main tenants of Japanese Pacifism and the importance of world peace. While Japanese Pacifism emerged from political and security changes during post-WWII Japan, the Hiroshima Peace Museum established the basic tenants for educating the Japanese people about Japanese Pacifism. Since this museum is a Hiroshima museum, its narrative defines Japanese

Pacifism as it relates to Hiroshima's atomic bomb history. Some of the main themes of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, include the dropping of the atomic bomb and its radiation effects on the local population, calls for the abolishment of anti-nuclear weapons decrees, and testimonies of the atomic bomb survivors

(<http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/img/pamphlet/english.pdf>).

The narrative of the Hiroshima Peace museum connects with various audiences and peoples from around the world in that it stays true to the representation of Hiroshima narrative as well as the nation's Constitutional provision to promote world peace. The first sentence of the Japanese Constitution states that "We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution." ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)). In order to make visitors feel sympathetic towards the victims of Hiroshima, the museum's exhibits present the dropping of the bomb as an emotional and also inexplicable event. In line with Japan's Constitutional values of promoting "peaceful cooperation with all nations," no antagonism, or let alone any blame, is shown towards the Imperial Japan for leading Japan into war or the U.S. for dropping the bomb ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)).

As a visitor, it is amazing how well this museum takes even the most sensitive and bitter memories and creates a unifying narrative of Pacifism and the horrors of war.

Most shocking is the video exhibit showing the dropping of the atomic bomb by an American fighter jet. While the first footage of the video shows an American fighter jet, most of the video focuses on the atomic bomb. After the American bomber Enola Gay drops the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the video features no additional commentary blaming the U.S. for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima,

([http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\\_e/frame/tour\\_fra1-6.html](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/frame/tour_fra1-6.html)).

This video features somber music that focuses on the plane flying in a peaceful sky and suddenly in a flash; the city of Hiroshima is completely leveled. Since the plane bears the mark of a U.S. fighter plane, one would think that even a small sense of hatred would be expressed at the U.S. for bombing Japan. But the video depicts the fighter jet almost as if it is an anonymous fighter jet or that a bomb fell from the sky and then Japan was doomed. There are those who see this component of the museum as propaganda to make visitors feel sorry for the “ordinary Japanese” as “passive victims” of the war and the atomic bomb (Yoneyama, 1999: 11). However, the fact that this museum can communicate a universal narrative that appeals to peoples of all nationalities is absolutely remarkable.

The Hiroshima museum not only created a universally identifiable narrative but also helped empower the Japanese people to contribute to Japanese Pacifism. Several sections of the Hiroshima Peace museum are dedicated to the stories of the bomb’s survivors or in Japanese, Hibakusha

(<http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/img/pamphlet/english.pdf>).

The museum has Hibakusha act as educators and guides at the museum to serve as living testaments to the horrors of war and leave a powerful message of Japanese Pacifism. While the first section of the museum focuses on the destruction that the atomic bomb brought about to the Hiroshima landscape, the exhibits on the Hibakusha rely heavily on imagery to create an evocative picture of the atomic bomb's destruction on people ([http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\\_e/frame/tour\\_fra1-6.html](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/frame/tour_fra1-6.html)).

The museum uses images to convince its visitors to see the atomic bomb survivors as survivors of an unprecedented disaster. Since the museum does not focus on historical reasons for the dropping of the bomb, the photos of bomb survivors are depicted as suffering victims.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial museum seeks to evoke a deep sympathy from visitors to the unthinkable hardships suffered by the Hibakusha, which makes them the ultimate forbearers of Japanese Pacifism. Philip A. Seaton mentions this scene in his book, *Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'memory Rifts' in Historical Consciousness of World War II*. This emphasis appears in a video exhibit featuring an interview of Harold Agnew, who participated in the Hiroshima atomic bomb mission and meets with two Hibakusha. They meet at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, where the two Hibakusha describe to Agnew the suffering that the bomb brought to the city and its inhabitants and asked him to apologize for dropping the bomb. Agnew responds to the Hibakusha saying “no way. Pearl Harbor did it for me. I lost too many friends in Pearl Harbor. No apology” (Seaton, 2007: 113 ). This movie is so important to the exhibit that comes closest to putting the blame on the Americans for dropping the bomb. Yet this

video does not seek to foster Anti-American sentiment, but rather have the viewer pity the atomic bomb victims.

The exhibits of this museum embody a universal message of peace because they indiscriminately make the viewer; regardless of nationality feel a sense of pity for the victims. In addition the museum seeks to show its viewers the necessity for Japanese Pacifism and the progress it has made worldwide, through its exhibit on the abolishment of anti-nuclear weapons. One of the Hiroshima exhibits shows the role of Hiroshima anti-nuclear weapons activist groups influencing worldwide decisions on nuclear arms reductions. One display shows the success of Hiroshima anti-nuclear weapons groups having the U.N. putting pressure on nuclear-armed countries to reduce their nuclear arms supplies ([http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\\_e/frame/tour\\_fra1-6.html](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/frame/tour_fra1-6.html)). Another display seeks an emotional response from the viewer by showing the worsening of dangerous nuclear weapons since Hiroshima. A simulator compares the distance of the Hiroshima atomic bomb blast to ones that have been developed over the years. These more recent nuclear weapons such as Hydrogen bombs and other warheads could destroy many Hiroshimas, hence the birth of the saying “No more Hiroshimas” (Haverson, 2010: 73). In order to position Hiroshima’s narrative of rebirth and mourning for the bomb’s victims to Hiroshima, the rest of Japan and foreign countries, the exhibit seeks to emphasize the devastation that nuclear weapons could bring for the world to come.

Therefore, Japan as a Pacifist nation can have a tremendous impact on the world’s nuclear-armed nations to persuade them to reduce their supply of nuclear weapons by serving as the world’s only example of the human destruction that nuclear weapons can

bring. The nuclear weapons exhibit, features a display of the world's most heavily nuclear-armed countries from the U.S., Russia, France and Britain to China and North Korea. Although this list shows that the U.S. and Russia possess the most nuclear weapons of any of the world's countries, this exhibit does not intend to single out or blame a specific nation. Rather it shows that Pacifism must be fought for to encourage countries throughout the world, both allies and adversaries to retire their nuclear weapons.

The museum's sub-narrative for claiming the irrationality decision to use nuclear weapons is greatly supported by a permanent exhibition that focuses on the dropping of the bomb. The exhibit is a history and photographing of the events leading up to the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima. The beginning of this exhibit shows the development and rapid industrialization of Hiroshima during the 1900s, and then suddenly the spontaneous decision to end Hiroshima's growth and development as a city. This exhibit leaves the visitor to believe that nuclear weapons simply inflict unprecedented civilian casualties. This exhibit teaches the museum's visitors that long before Hiroshima, many other cities in Japan had been targeted for the atomic bomb droppings. Hiroshima was a significant city but not among the nations very top cities in supporting the war effort as had been Osaka, Tokyo and Nagoya. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were selected as targets of the atomic bombs to unleash human destruction on innocent civilians. This exhibit establishes the need to embrace Japanese Pacifist values of anti-nuclear weapons, less millions of innocent civilians throughout the world be indiscriminately selected as targets of annihilation.

Another example of the unifying narrative embodied in Hiroshima's Peace museum is its collaboration with primary and secondary schools throughout Japan. The

narrative of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, Ceremony and Museum has also been able to instill Japanese Pacifism into Japanese youth through its school affiliation programs. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum became a destination for school history field trips for many elementary, middle and high schools as well as schools throughout the country. The experience for young Japanese to visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum at a young age, helped to indoctrinate Japanese in Hiroshima's as well as a new Japanese national narrative as the world's only nuclear-bombed country. Schools visit the museum, see the exhibits and then meet with the atomic bomb survivors to hear their stories. Students listen to the stories of atomic bomb survivors, many of whom were the same ages as the young students visiting, when the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. This connection between generations creates a relevant Japanese Pacifist narrative for various generations of Japanese.

The museum's importance as a national symbol is reflected in the percentage of the museum's visitors, which are made up of school groups. According to statistics provided by the city of Hiroshima beginning in the year 1983, school groups have for almost two decades represented about a third of the museum's visitors. In 1983, there were 1,351,104 visitors to the museum of which 36.9% were school groups ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)). The school groups totaled at 498,657 students made up of 139,067 elementary school students, 139,684 middle school students and 219, 906 high school students. The number of student group visitors went on an increasing trend from 498,657 thousand students in 1983, to a peak of 568,345 students in 1987. The number of students hit a plateau where from 1987 until 1989, the number of student visitors hovered around 568,000 to 566,000 visitors ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)).

The increase in the number of student groups as well as the increase in the total number of visitors to the Hiroshima Peace museum is a good indicator of the rise of the Japanese Pacifist narrative. According to a statistical measurement of the total number of visitors to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial museum from the museum's opening in 1955 until 2013, there is a similar trend as in the increasing trend of student statistics. First and foremost, the museum enjoyed strong growth from in the number of visitors from 1955 until around 1991. In 1955 there were a total of 115, 369 visitors and five years later in 1960 there were 411, 185 visitors. 1965 saw the number of visitors more than double to 871, 772 visitors ([www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/5.pdf](http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/5.pdf)). In 1970, there was a more moderate increase to 931, 508 visitors. In 1975 there were 1,253,145 visitors and then eventually the museum's peak annual number of visitors reached 1,593,280 in 1991.

These figures are significant since the peak in the number of visitors in 1991, because in 1990, the Japan's stock market reached its "bursting point," (Hongo 2014: 1). While economics is not a major focus of this paper, it is important to briefly mention the era of the 1990s because it is arguably the end of Japan's postwar recovery narrative, since the Japanese economy and growth of the nation slows down significantly for the next twenty plus years. Also, it was the postwar recovery that served as the foundation for the development of the Hiroshima Peace narrative and Japanese Pacifism. So arguably when the economy peaked so did the relevance of the postwar recovery sub-narrative of Japanese Pacifism.

## Conclusion

The rise of Japanese Pacifism is proof that the creation of a strong narrative is dependent upon conditions that create a unifying, dominant national narrative. The Constitution created the values of democracy and peace that generated the seeds for Japanese Pacifism. Changes to Japan's national security, prohibiting its ability to declare war and its security pact with the U.S. gave Japan a role in world affairs as a Pacifist nation. Changes to Japan's education system ushered in the teaching of democracy and antiwar values that helped to indoctrinate the Japanese people in the values of post war Japan. Lastly, a democratic political system prevented Japanese politicians from being able to revise the war clause in the new Japanese Constitution, because Japanese politicians were now accountable to their voters.

Without these generators of a Pacifist and democratic Japan, it would have been extremely unlikely that national peace memorials and museums would have come to symbolize Japan. Given these national narrative generators mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace memorials, ceremonies, and museums were all able to help preserve and more thoroughly develop Japan's Pacifist narrative. These museums have engaged various members of society from school groups to ordinary visitors to the very inheritors and teachers of the postwar narrative, the Hibakusha. But most importantly, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace Memorials and museums have made the Japanese Pacifist national narrative into a universally unifying narrative that does not seek to enemize any nation's peoples.

CHAPTER 2

CONFLICTING MEMORIES

AND NATIONAL NARRATIVES:

JAPANESE PACIFISM ON

THE DECLINE

## Chapter 2

As Japan grew in its population, its economy, and it enjoyed the strong security umbrella of the U.S., its civil society and most importantly anti-war Japanese Pacifism grew as a dominant national narrative. Hiroshima and Nagasaki's symbolic message of peace and rebirth have had a tremendous effect during the reconstruction era and booming years of Japan's economy from the 1950s up until the 1990s. However beginning in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, major changes occurred in Japanese politics, Japan's national security, education and also on the economic front begun to shake the challenge the founding principles of Japanese Pacifism's antiwar national narrative. Amidst these changes, the postwar anti-war Japanese Pacifist narrative has started to decline in influence as Japan's unifying national narrative.

The national security that Japan enjoyed during several decades of its post war years mid 1940s till around the 1980s has become increasingly precarious. The rise of China in the 1980s has led to a surge in its antagonist posture towards Japan, but also territorial disputes between China and South Korea too. This has led to political changes calling for the expansion of the Japan's Self Defense Forces. As a result of the changing regional security landscape, Japanese Prime Ministers have made a renewed effort to indoctrinate the Japanese people in a more nationalistic national narrative to reflect Japan's seemingly less secure national security. The focus of several Prime Minister's efforts to re-indoctrinate the Japanese people has been centered on their official visits to the Yasukuni War Shrine in Tokyo.

After the passing of Communist China's founding father Mao Zedong in 1976, the U.S. along with Japan saw the potential for China to become an ally against the Soviet Union. Allowing this shift in policy to occur was the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan in 1972. In 1978, a group of Japanese class A war criminals from World War II who were responsible for the killings of countless Korean and Chinese civilians were enshrined in the Japanese Yasukuni war shrine. While the enshrinement of these war criminals would become a seriously controversial issue between Japan, Korea and China, Yasukuni shrine was still not yet the target of official political visits. Yasukuni shrine after World War II was changed from a public to a privately run institution dependent upon donations rather than government funding. This came as a result of the separation of religion and state mentioned in Chapter III in the Japanese Constitution that outlined The Rights and Duties of The People. In Article 20, it says, "No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority" ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)).

Following World War II, Japanese Prime Ministers visited Yasukuni shrine privately since most of them were in some way affected by World War II or knew someone who died fighting in the war. However, on August 15<sup>th</sup> 1985, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, who was "trying to promote a sense of national pride," made the first official visit to the shrine by any Japanese Prime Minister after World War II (Berger, 1993: 125). Through his official visit to the Yasukuni shrine, sought to foster a revival of pride in Japan's armed forces. As Berger notes, "Prime Minister Nakasone's effort in 1986 to exceed the limit on defense spending of 1 percent of GNP, which he linked to what he called the final resolution of postwar" (Berger, 1993: 141). Nakasone's

visit to Yasukuni shrine dealt a tremendous blow to the sound continuation of the anti-war Pacifist national narrative. He tried to incorporate a national symbol not to expand the influence of Pacifism over Japan's war memorials, but rather push for the decline of Japanese Pacifism.

Despite Prime Minister Nakasone's attempt to put an end to the postwar Peace narrative, the consequences for visiting Yasukuni shrine proved that Japanese Pacifism was declining but was more difficult to undo than he expected. After only one visit to Yasukuni shrine, Nakasone forfeited further efforts to strengthen the symbolic importance of Yasukuni shrine as a part of Japan's national narrative in the face of international criticism. He announced that he would not pay any further visits to Yasukuni shrine after his 1985 visit. In an effort to improve relations with the Chinese government, Nakasone did not visit Yasukuni in the event it would deteriorate Japanese-Chinese relations. The most notable Chinese criticism towards Nakasone's visit seeped into the September 18 protests, which marked "the anniversary of Japan's 1931 invasion of Manchuria, some 1,000 students from Beijing and Qinghua Universities staged anti-Japanese demonstrations in Tiananmen Square" (Shibuichi, 2005 207).

Furthermore, Shibuichi mentions that Nakasone's Yasukuni visit also caused backlash by the Japanese people that "during the spring and summer of 1985, the leftist political parties including the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), JCP, and the Buddhist Clean Government Party were demanding that Nakasone abstain from visiting the shrine. Demonstrations were staged criticizing Nakasone's proposed official visit" (Shibuichi, 2005: 206).

Many Japanese leaders have a personal connection to Yasukuni shrine because it is the symbol of the nation's recent past, that enshrines more of the nation's war dead than any other shrine. But another political complication occurred for making Yasukuni shrine a core part of the Japanese national narrative, like the way in which the Hiroshima Peace Ceremony's Pacifist narrative is part of Japan's national narrative. According to an article in the Nikkei Shimbun, Japanese Emperor Hirohito made his last visit to Yasukuni shrine in 1975, after enshrinement of Class A war criminals in 1978, (nytimes.com, 2014). Emperor Hirohito passed away in 1989 and was succeeded by his son Emperor Akihito who has pledged to never make a single official visit to Yasukuni shrine. The emperor's refusal to visit Yasukuni shrine causes friction between the symbols of the Prime Minister, making it more difficult to turn Yasukuni into a unifying national symbol.

The Japanese emperor's refusal to visit Yasukuni further debilitates the efforts of Japan's Prime Ministers to make the shrine into a nationally unifying symbol. Especially since Yasukuni shrine indiscriminately enshrines the souls of Japanese soldiers, Japanese citizens, Koreans and Chinese alike, visiting Yasukuni shrine sends a strong patriotic message to Japan. The Chinese government has pressured the Japanese government to remove the 14 Class A war criminals from the shrine to weaken the rise of Japanese Nationalism. Daiki Shibuichi in his article *The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?*, mentions that Nakasone's response was politically damaging to the Japanese government because "Nakasone was seen as bowing to foreign pressure," (Shibuichi, 2005: 209).

Nakasone's effort to bow to foreign pressure and meanwhile force Yasukuni shrine into Japan's national narrative slammed his effort to put an end to the postwar era,

anti-war Pacifist narrative. Nakasone urged the head priest at Yasukuni to remove the 14 Class A war crime soldiers' enshrined souls and relocate them in another shrine location. Nakasone's request was not only refused, but also the "the chief priest refused to receive the prime minister in the customary manner," (Shibuichi, 208). Given that the Japanese Constitution in Chapter III, Article 20 upholds that "Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority," ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)) it would have been unconstitutional for Nakasone to force the head priest that regulate his religious freedom by de-enshrining the souls of the 14 Class A war criminals. And it would also be unconstitutional to give Yasukuni shrine, which was made a private Shinto religious institution after World War II, "privileges from the State," ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)).

The decision of the head priest of Yasukuni shrine to defy the request of Prime Minister Nakasone, not only shows the power of Japan's postwar constitutional values but the resistance of the head priest of Yasukuni shrine to make it into a defining symbol of Japan's national narrative. Even though Prime Ministers can associate Yasukuni shrine with Japan's national narrative by attending the shrine's war memorials and seasonal festivals, Yasukuni is not an entity of the Japanese government, complicating the government's use of it as an indoctrination tool. Yasukuni shrine is a private religious institution, makes it a more difficult to utilize as a national symbol than the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and its monuments, since they are not a religious institution.

Nakasone's controversial visit to Yasukuni shrine proved the difficulty of using Yasukuni shrine as a national symbol. As a result, Japanese Prime Ministers stopped making official visits to Yasukuni shrine until 1992. The next visit by a Prime Minister

was in 1996 by Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro, but after receiving harsh criticism from China, he backed down from visiting Yasukuni shrine again (Shibuichi, 2005: 209). In recent years though, there have been two Japanese Prime Ministers who have made several notable Yasukuni shrine visits with nationalist agendas seeking to increase Japan's involvement in international security affairs. The first of these Prime Ministers is Junichiro Koizumi who was the first Japanese Prime Minister after World War II to truly persevere in his efforts to foster Japanese nationalism. When Koizumi became Prime Minister in 2001, his "position in domestic politics was quite strong; he was enjoying unprecedented popularity," and even following his visits to Yasukuni in 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004, his tenure in office was not threatened simply by the fact that he visited Yasukuni Shrine (Shibuichi, 2005, 212). This shows the weakening influence of the anti-war Japanese Pacifist national narrative over the Japanese people. Had most of the voting population been staunch Pacifists, the Yasukuni shrine visits might have cost him his political career.

While Koizumi did not create a permanent tradition for Japanese Prime Ministers to visit Yasukuni shrine, like they attend the Hiroshima Peace Ceremony, Koizumi's visit was symbolically successful to move Japan away from anti-war Pacifism closer toward nationalism. During Koizumi's term in office from 2001 to 2006, Sino-Japanese relations grew tense when a Chinese man landed on the Japanese occupied Senkaku islands to claim the islands as belonging to China. This created a serious strain between the two countries, as China was growing as a military power alongside the rise of Chinese nationalism. Koizumi responded to Chinese aggression by trying to make a tougher Japan. Koizumi also valued the U.S. Japanese security pact and in wanting to contribute to the

U.S. President George Bush's global war on terror, he made a bold move to send the SDF as peacekeepers to aid U.S. fighters in Iraq (Miyashita, 2007: 100).

This was a momentous break from Japan's postwar past of staying out of overseas wars and a huge step of progress for the Japanese Self Defense Forces, who for the first time participated with the U.S. in a U.S. involved war. Additionally, Akitoshi Miyashita points out in his article *Where do norms come from? Foundations of Japan's postwar pacifism*, "In a poll conducted in April 2003 by Yomiuri Shimbun, the most circulated daily in Japan, 67 percent of the respondents said Japan should play a more active role in the area of international security and 54 percent of the respondents were in favor of revising the so-called peace constitution" (Miyashita, 2007: 100). While Prime Minister Koizumi was not able to bring about the fall of anti-war Japanese Pacifism by abolishing article 9, which denies Japan the right to declare war, he undoubtedly helped contribute to the decline of Japanese Pacifism.

The second prime minister who has made great lengths to try and end Japan's anti-war Pacifism and revive Japanese nationalism through his Yasukuni shrine visits is the current Prime minister in 2015, Shinzo Abe. Abe although served a brief term in office as Prime Minister from 2005-2006, his efforts to further the development of a nationalist national narrative was halted since he had to step down due to poor health. However, Abe ran for office again in 2012, on a campaign platform "Japan is back," in which Abe committed himself to rebuilding a dynamic Japanese economy and expanding Japan's involvement in contributing to the U.S. led international security (Foreign Affairs).

Whether Abe's vision to "bring back Japan," will come true will depend on his ability to use international crises to gather support to bolster Japan's defenses. Unlike, Koizumi's attempt to re-indoctrinate the Japanese people through a more direct form of nationalism, Abe uses the brand of the Pacifist national narrative in his "Proactive Pacifism," to further a nationalist political agenda (Hoffman, 2015: 1). This re-indoctrination has to occur through a consistent usage of national ceremonies and symbols and historical revisionist education. The first of the two ingredients has been occurring very much in favor of Abe's vision to recreate a more nationalistic Japanese national narrative. During his most recent tenure from December 2012, the Senkaku islands dispute has grown considerably (Richards, 2014: 1). Chinese fighter jets have passed through Japanese airspace, and a Japanese sailor landed on and planted a Japanese flag on the Senkaku islands. This conflict is still ongoing in 2015, and no clear end is in sight.

Most recently, two Japanese were captured by the Islamic state in Syria at which Islamic State demanded 200 million dollars in ransom for the two Japanese hostages (Reynolds, 2015: 1). In response to the recent Japanese hostage crisis, Abe steadfastly responded by not giving into submitting into the demands of the terrorist organization. ISIS (Islamic State), demanded ransom from Japan in response to Japan's aid package of Middle Eastern Countries affected by ISIS and housing refugees that fled ISIS. Abe neither paid the ransom nor withdrew his financial support to Middle Eastern countries. Abe has remained committed to recreate Japan's image as a country that plays a proactive role in international affairs, and does not back down in the face of danger. This event, which occurred in January 2015, could prove a tremendous opportunity for the Abe

administration, in seeking to expand the role of Japan's Self Defense Force to Collective Self Defense. Abe's response was a major departure from Japan's habit of crisis aversion, since the Japanese government in "September 1977, (a) Japan Airlines plane (was) hijacked and forced to land in Dhaka, Bangladesh. (After which the) Japanese government releases six members (of a Japanese terrorist group called the Red Army) and pays \$6m ransom" (McCurry, 2008: 1). However, Abe "stood by his country's commitment not to pay ransoms" (Reynolds, 2015: 1).

While Abe has handled international crises with a steadfast commitment to affirming a strong posture for Japan, he has not remain as steadfastly committed on maintaining an unbroken tradition of visiting Yasukuni shrine. After Abe became Prime Minister again in 2012, he visited Yasukuni shrine to cement his political policy to embrace Yasukuni's symbol as playing an important role for the future of Japan's national narrative. Abe's visit to Yasukuni shrine in 2013 was significant because Abe came to power amidst a struggling economy and a weakening national morale after the Fukushima Daichi incident nuclear power plant explosion and after Japan's Tohoku Tsunami, CNN notes "The confirmed death toll is 15,890 as of February 10, 2015," (CNN Library, 2015: 1). The weakening of the nation's morale after this devastating tsunami, earthquake and nuclear explosion, made it even more crucial for the Japanese political leadership to revive national morale.

Abe visited Yasukuni shrine in 2013, to foster a renewed sense of patriotism in the Japanese people at in which he sought to have those enshrined in Yasukuni serve as symbols of national heroes who helped build the nation. In his speech during his 2013 to Yasukuni shrine Abe stresses several main points: national sacrifice, the origins of

Japan's Pacifism, Japan's pledge to uphold its Pacifist values and the sensitivity of the Yasukuni shrine visit for Korea and China. Abe begins his speech saying that, "Today, I paid a visit to Yasukuni Shrine and expressed my sincere condolences, paid my respects and prayed for the souls of all those who had fought for the country and made ultimate sacrifices" ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)). In the second part of his speech, Abe seeks to incorporate Japan's war past into the Pacifist part of its postwar narrative, stressing, "The peace and prosperity Japan enjoys today is not created only by those who are living today. The peace and prosperity we enjoy today is built on the precious sacrifices of numerous people who perished on the field" ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)). Abe pledges his commitment that "Japan must never wage a war again. This is my conviction based on the severe remorse for the past. I have renewed my determination before the souls of the war dead to firmly uphold the pledge never to wage a war again" ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)).

Lastly Abe explains that his intention to not make his visit a diplomatic challenge to Korea and China, saying that "Regrettably, it is a reality that the visit to Yasukuni Shrine has become a political and diplomatic issue. Some people criticize the visit to Yasukuni as paying homage to war criminals, but the purpose of my visit today, on the anniversary of my administration's taking office, is to report before the souls of the war dead how my administration has worked for one year and to renew the pledge that Japan must never wage a war again. It is not my intention at all to hurt the feelings of the Chinese and Korean people." ([japan.kantei.go.jp](http://japan.kantei.go.jp)). Abe's reason for visiting Yasukuni shrine is by no means an anti-Korean or anti-Chinese political move, but a move to reignite the Japanese people's faith and sense of duty to their country.

However, because Yasukuni is taught as a symbol of brutal colonialism as a part of the Korean and Chinese national narratives, Abe's political rhetoric has not solved such deep-rooted anti-Japanese feeling in Korea and China. As a result of Abe's visit to Yasukuni shrine, and the rise of nationalism in Japan, anti-Abe demonstrations have occurred in South Korea. According to the South China Morning Post, in March 2014, "Anti-Japan protesters assaulted a South Korean employee of the Japanese consulate in Busan in front of the embassy" (2014: 1). On April 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 over two years after Abe's last visit to Yasukuni shrine, South Koreans held an anti-Abe demonstration outside the Japanese embassy in Seoul, in which, "South Korean protestors cut an effigy of Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe" (gettyImages.com). These protests are a sign that Japan is not being viewed as very Pacifist by Korea, and that Japanese nationalism is on the rise (Hayashi, 2014: 1).

Korea's growing anti-Japanese sentiment is a serious roadblock to the continuation of Japanese Pacifism, because such a major ingredient to the successful rise of Japanese Pacifism was its ability to act as a universally unifying narrative. Though Korea can contribute to undermining Japanese Pacifism abroad, Korea and Japan are U.S. allies, seeking to strengthen trilateral defenses, making it difficult for relations between Korea and Japan able to bring about an end to Japanese Pacifism (Pollmann, 2015: 1). But if Japanese-Chinese relations are to worsen, there is the very possibility that Japan could be brought into war, since China is "an adversary to Japan" (Roy, 2013: Ch.5). Therefore, anti-Japanese protests in China are most concerning for Japan. The largest anti-Japanese protests occurred in 2012 after Japan's purchasing of the Senkaku islands,

In an article featured in *The Seattle Times* by Didi Tang, she mentions that “Japan’s Kyodo News agency said more than 60,000 people protested in at least 28 Chinese cities, making the anti-Japanese demonstrations the largest since the two countries normalized diplomatic relations in 1972” (Tang: 2012, 1). These anti-Japanese protests serve as a warning to the possibility of even more anti-Japanese sentiment emerging if Abe continues to visit Yasukuni shrine.

Although Abe visited Yasukuni shrine after taking office in 2012, his effort to use Yasukuni as a symbol of his platform of “proactive pacifism,” was halted when he announced in late 2014 that he would not visit Yasukuni shrine. Abe cancelled his visit to Yasukuni in light of his official visit to China for the 2014 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) conference in Beijing (Einhorn, 2014: 1). This was a historic visit for Abe, who was the first Japanese Prime Minister in years to make an official visit to China. Press coverage of Abe’s visit to China suggested that Abe is working to better cooperate politically with China and that this could lead to a major improvement in Sino-Japanese relations. However a scene of Abe greeting Chinese Premier Xi Jinping, demonstrated the clash of national narratives between the Japanese Prime Minister and the Chinese Premier. Abe went up to the Chinese Premier, smiled, said words of gratitude and shook his hand, while Xi Jinping did not respond to the Prime Minister and frowned at Abe and the photographer (Groll, 2014: 1). This event sent a political message to Japan that a rising China would do whatever it could to show its antagonism towards the Japanese national narrative.

Although international criticism of Abe from China and Korea remains strong, the Japanese public is pretty evenly split on approving Abe’s shrine visits. According to a

poll in the Asahi Shimbun in 2014, Japan's largest left-leaning newspaper, there was a close split in opinions on whether Abe should visit Yasukuni shrine. 46% of those surveyed said they felt that Abe should not have visited Yasukuni shrine. 41% of those surveyed said that it was right for him to have visited Yasukuni shrine and the remaining 13% did not answer. In addition in 2006, 49% of those surveyed regarding Koizumi's visit to Yasukuni shrine were in favor of his visit, while 37% opposed his visit (Asahi Shimbun, 2014). Even though Yasukuni is still a polarizing symbol, the fact that half of those surveyed supported these prime ministers visits, shows a growing irrelevance in the anti-war Japanese Pacifism to indoctrinate the Japanese people.

Although Yasukuni shrine presents a challenging narrative to Japanese Pacifism, its existence as a private institution and the absence of a permanent tradition of prime ministers to make annual visits makes it difficult to fully utilize Yasukuni to develop a narrative that undermines anti-war Japanese Pacifism. Even its war museum, the Yushukan though, which seeks to honor Japan's soldiers during World War II, cannot become a direct part of Japan's national narrative. The Yushukan was closed following the end of World War II by the U.S. since it not only supported Japan's World War II militarism narrative opposed to U.S. democracy. Even though the Yushukan fully reopened in 1986 after it was renovated, still "The Yushukan War Museum has not regained its wartime popularity even to this day," (Yoshida, 2007:2).

When the Yushukan museum reopened, its narrative was revised as to not directly promote the wishes of Japan's nationalist politicians and nor were its exhibits revised through a Japanese Pacifist narrative. Since the Yushukan message to honor the sacrifices of those that died fighting for Japan, it is not publicly a part of a national narrative. If

though a Japanese Prime Minister were to start a permanent tradition of visits to Yasukuni shrine, then possibly the Yushukan would start to gain more national attention. Or with the rise of historical revisionism in Japanese history textbooks, as Lisa Yoneyama calls “Japan’s historical amnesia” of its world war II history, and an effort to “rewrite textbooks so as to euphemize the history of Japanese expansionism,” the the Yushukan could serve as a rich educational experience to teach a more nationalist curriculum (Yoneyama, 1999: 5). A great example of this is when a school in Takarazu city in Osaka prefecture caught national attention when it took a school field trip to visit the Yushukan. This shows that there is interest in making the Yushukan an important site of Japanese education. In response to this field trip, the ministry of education declared that there was “no problem,” with this school field trip, since it was an educational field trip (sankei.com, 2013). The decisions of educators to send their students on field trips to the Yushukan will come though from grassroots activism. The ministry of education cannot force schools to visit the Yushukan, but if Japanese society is further indoctrinated in nationalism, then there is a good chance that the school in Takarazu will be the first of many school field trips to the Yushukan. (sankei.com, 2013).

Although the Yushukan teaches an independent nationalist narrative that sparks controversy, it is a far less provocative symbol towards South Korea and China than Yasukuni shrine. Another consequence for Japanese Prime Ministers visiting Yasukuni shrine is that it causes China and Korea to blame Japan for additional developments, notably Japan’s historical revisionist, nationalist education. The example that is the target of such fierce anti-Japanese sentiment are the glossing over in Japanese textbooks of The Rape of Nanjing in 1937, China, and the sexual enslavement of Korean women

(Williamson, 2013: 1). Since China brings up the fact that the Rape of Nanjing, the slaughtering of thousands of innocent Chinese civilians, this causes an additional barrier to symbolizing the Yasukuni shrine visit into part of a unifying Japanese narrative. Another challenge to the use of Yasukuni shrine as a part of “proactive pacifism,” is the fact that in 2014, Prime Minister Xi Jinping hosted the first annual ceremony to commemorate the lives lost then (telegraph.co.uk, 2014). Yasukuni shrine, while originally evocative because it enshrined the 14 Class A, War Criminals, has transformed into a Pandora’s box to cause friction between the Japanese, Chinese, South and North Korean national narratives.

## Conclusion

Japanese Pacifism is becoming less important for Japan's national narrative because it weakly addresses Japan's current international security environment, the state of the economy and does little to strongly boost national morale. For this reason, many of Japan's most important politicians over the past 30 years have turned their eyes away from Pacifism in search of a new Japanese national narrative. Yasukuni shrine although appears to be a useful symbol to create a renewed sense of patriotism in the Japanese nation, there are countless barriers to allowing it to become a permanent symbol of Japan's changing national narrative. It enshrines millions of souls from a century of Japanese wars, and is the best national symbol to send a message to honor the souls that fell fighting for the Japanese nation. However, once Emperor Hirohito refused to visit again after the enshrining of the 14 Class A war criminals, Yasukuni became a divisive symbol for the nation.

Given the political, economic and educational shifts that are pushing Japan to recreate its national narrative, Prime Ministers continue to try and make Yasukuni part of the national narrative. If another international crisis, that greatly threatens Japanese security were to occur, or if Japanese-Chinese relations permanently sour then Yasukuni and the Yushukan museum might become unifying symbols that re-indoctrinate the Japanese people in a growing nationalism. However, since Japanese-Chinese relations are rocky but both these countries are strong trading partners and there has been no fighting between the two countries, Yasukuni is not fully accessible as an indoctrination symbol. The biggest challenge for Abe using his slogan of "proactive Pacifism," to normalize Japan and allow it to take a more active role in international security, will be for him to

find permanent indoctrination tools to hand down to the next generation of Japanese leaders.

## CHAPTER 3

# **Changing National Narratives:**

## **The Dilemma**

# **For National Memorials and**

## **Museums**

## CHAPTER 3

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum have been very successful in preserving Japanese Pacifism by staying relevant to Japan's postwar narrative to revive national spirit and encourage popular efforts to rebuild the Japanese nation. Yet, this Hiroshima narrative of Japanese Pacifism faces tremendous challenges related to addressing the future of Japan's national narrative, which is moving towards nationalism. If the Hiroshima Peace museum is to maintain relevance in the emerging nationalism in Japan, the museum, ceremony and Peace Park must help to contribute to the development of a unifying national narrative.

This chapter will look at two successful national indoctrination campaigns using national memorials and museums to reflect on the role of the Hiroshima museum's Japanese Pacifist narrative for the future of Japan. The first example is Germany's use of the Dresden Museum of Military History as a national indoctrination tool from World War II through the Cold War until the present. Each time the German national narrative has changed, so has the narrative of the Dresden Museum of Military History. If the Dresden Military museum's narrative's had not been revised to address the unifying national narrative at the time, it could have easily become less relevant as a social indoctrination tool.

The changing narrative of the Dresden Museum of Military History to embrace the changing national narrative is a unique characteristic of the museum. Whereas the Hiroshima Peace Museum has only been a part of a single Japanese national narrative, the Dresden Museum of Military History has contributed to different national narratives,

given the historical era. This is given that “Since its 1897 founding, the Dresden Museum of Military History has been a Saxon armory and museum, a Nazi museum, a Soviet museum and an East German museum.” (archdaily, 2011). And currently the Dresden Museum of Military History is a German museum, ever since the fall of Communist East Germany when the Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989, and the reunification of Germany in 1990 (Münkler, 2012).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Dresden museum was closed for eleven years, to revise the museum’s narrative and make the museum relevant audiences after the unification of Germany in 1990. The Dresden museum reopened after its most recent renovation completed in 2011, designed by architect Daniel Libeskind. The renovation of this museum is also significant being “the first war museum to open in Germany since the country’s reunification and a study in contrasts appropriate to a nation grappling with its violent past” (Weiner, 2011). The most important feature added to the museum was a massive steel wedge coming out of the museum, designed by Liebskind “symbolizing Germany’s ugly and complex military history” (Alessi, 2013: 1).

After the Dresden museum’s reopening in 2011, the museum has become a key symbol for the German military. “In recent years, the Dresden museum has become increasingly relevant for many German officers, who are now required to visit as part of their training,” (Alessi, 2013: 1). The reintroduction of the Dresden museum into German society gave it a major contributing role in the preservation of the country’s national narrative. The Dresden museum is an example for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum to follow because the Dresden museum first stays relevant to its own local narrative, by which the museum’s architect Daniel Libeskind mentions; “The destruction

of Europe and European cities by the Nazis is part of the story of the destruction of Dresden” (archdaily, 2011). Second, the Dresden museum addresses Germany’s national narrative with, especially with its Afghanistan exhibit, seeks to create a discussion with the museum’s visitors of what would result from an expansion of German security presence in the world (Alessi, 2013: 1).

The Dresden military museum is a great example of how a museum can stay relevant to helping develop and maintain the future course of a country’s national narrative. The Dresden Military Museum has been changed several times to embody the national values of each national narrative. The Dresden military museum continued to not only embrace each national narrative that developed in Germany, but it continued as one of the nation’s predominant symbols. Germany did not need to build a separate museum each time a national narrative developed, but rather its leaders historically revised the national narrative conveyed in its museums to stay up to date in representing the latest, unifying national narrative.

Japanese leaders, particularly those in charge of shaping the Japanese Pacifist narrative at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum can learn a lot from the way in which the Dresden Museum of Military History has contributed to the country’s evolving national narratives. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum has only been around during the existence of a single national narrative, Japanese Pacifism. Since Japanese Pacifism is declining but is yet to fall as a national narrative, the Hiroshima museum’s narrative can continue to embody a stable but rather stagnant following. While the museum still enjoys a good following, according to statistical data mentioned earlier in

the paper, the Hiroshima museum could be at great risk in the event of an end to Japanese anti-war Pacifism.

If the Hiroshima Peace Memorial museum does not seek to address issues more relevant to the current Japanese people, such as territorial conflict between Japan, China and Korea or the expansion of the Self-Defense Forces, the Hiroshima museum could decline in popularity. If the narrative of peace taught in the Hiroshima museum is to address these current issues that are dividing the nation, then it would create an even bigger space to discuss the importance of Japanese Pacifism. If the museum continues to focus on issues that have been unchanged since the museum's founding, such as abolishing nuclear weapons, then the Hiroshima Peace narrative will continue to stay stuck in the past.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, since its establishment in 1955, has remained an important of Japan's national narrative. However, there is the possibility that if it does not discuss the rise of Japanese nationalism, then it could end up less relevant in the future, the same way the Yushukan or Yasukuni shrine were after World War II. The Japanese governments from the Meiji government during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of WWII in 1945 ensured that Yasukuni shrine would remain a relevant part of Japan's national narrative, by enshrining all of Japan's dead from following wars at Yasukuni. According to Yasukuni shrine's website, "Currently, more than 2,466,000 divinities are enshrined here at Yasukuni Shrine. These are souls of men who made ultimate sacrifice for their nation since 1853 during national crisis such as the Boshin War, the Seinan War, the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, World War I, the Manchurian Incident, the China Incident and the Greater East Asian War (World War II)"

(yasukuni.or.jp). As more families had been affected by Japan's wars, the war memorial festivals at Yasukuni brought communities all throughout Tokyo and other parts of Japan together. A national Shinto ceremony attended by the emperor that honored family members and embodied national heroes greatly stimulated Japanese nationalism.

In order to ensure an even more powerful national indoctrination experience, the Meiji government established the Yushukan museum. The Yushukan acts as a tool of national storytelling of Japan's wars and national achievements, which helps connect the Japanese people to become supportive of and understand the contributions that those enshrined at Yasukuni made to the nation. Inside the Yushukan are the uniforms and weapons of the soldiers from all of Japan's wars until World War II (Yoshida, 2007:3). This helps to create a sense of pride for the Japanese people who see their powerful military and triumphant victories. The national history conveyed by the Yushukan shows how Japan eliminated its backwardness by embracing modern weaponry and military tactics to become one of the world's most powerful nations.

During World War II, Japan began to grow into one of the world's greatest empires, and so the museum featured World War II exhibits. These World War II exhibits featured the zero fighter planes, which became a symbol of the nation's powerful industrialization and military prowess (Yoshida, 2007: 3). Visitors to the Yushukan would see an unchallenged narrative that glorified the nation's war heroes. The Yushukan served to represent a history of Japan during World War II, which became a narrative of using Japan's military and industrial might to develop East Asian countries. In order to legitimize its nationalism, the Yushukan taught a narrative of Japan invading Asian countries in order to protect them from Western countries seeking to colonize Asian

countries. The Yushukan remained a valuable tool to State Shinto indoctrination because its exhibits taught Japan's uncontested, dominant national narrative.

When the role of the Japanese military began to expand in its colonial activities in China in the 1930s and leading up to the outbreak of World War II, the Yushukan's narrative was extremely popular to the Japanese public. The peak annual number of visitors to the Yushukan surpassed the maximum number of visitors that the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum has enjoyed at its peak in 1991 at around 1,500,000 visitors ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)). "Following Japan's 1931 invasion of Manchuria, received more than a half million visitors annually. The popularity of the museum further increased after the war against China commenced in 1937. In 1938, more than 1.4 million people, including approximately 225,000 students, visited the museum complex, whereas in 1940 the museum welcomed nearly 1.9 million visitors, including 161,000 students." (Yoshida, 2007: 2). However, after the end of World War II, the number of visitors to the Yushukan has severely declined, reaching not even 300,000 visitors in the year 2002-2003 (Yoshida, 2007: 3).

Yasukuni and the Yushukan were pre WWII Japan's most important national symbols. Yasukuni acted as the centerpiece of Japan's State Shinto national narrative, and helped foster one of Japan's most successful and strongest national narratives. Yasukuni and the Yushukan became an inescapable part of the Japanese' lives, since these sites symbolized loyalty to the emperor, military service, engagement in public Shinto rituals, and memorializing the war dead. Japan's State Shinto national narrative was contagiously powerful because it penetrated through all aspects of Japanese life without symbols teaching an opposing narrative. The nationalism of State Shinto was

hardly threatened from within or from abroad, since the Japanese military had defeated its neighbors and the police quelled any and all internal political dissent.

These two great examples of how memorials and museums help contribute to the development of a national narrative are most relevant for the future of Japanese Pacifism. The attendance at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum has continued to embrace a regional, Japan's postwar recovery Hiroshima narrative of anti-war Pacifism. However, while "proactive pacifism," and nationalism have begun to appeal to the Japanese people, the Hiroshima Peace Museum continues to develop the same narrative, without addressing the changes in Japan, whether national security, social, economic, etc. Yuan Cai whose article, "The Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism" has greatly influenced the direction of this thesis in which she says about the Japanese people that, "a war-weary and destitute population eagerly embraced pacifism out of desperation" (Cai, 2007: 181).

However given that most Japanese today have never experienced war, anti-war Japanese Pacifism is irrelevant to many generations of the Japanese people. Cai claims that the "The generational change in Japan slowly eroded the foundation of Pacifism" and "Post-war economic prosperity largely rendered the tales of hardship and suffering incomprehensible to a youth who had only known affluence"(Cai, 2007: 197). Not only are there increasingly fewer Japanese who have experienced war, in the near future there will be no more World War II or Atomic Bomb survivors left to communicate the horrors of war to future generations. The passing of these remaining survivors will thus represent an even bigger departure from Japan's anti-war Pacifism past.

As a result of the decline of Japanese Pacifism as a unifying national narrative, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum has struggled to grow the anti-war Pacifist

narrative. The most important role and significant impact of a museum are to develop or preserve an already existing narrative. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was so successful at indoctrinating the Japanese people in anti-war Japanese Pacifism largely because the Japanese people saw that by embracing a Japanese anti-war Pacifism narrative, they could rebuild their country. The Hiroshima Peace Museum helped contribute to the growth of an already growing narrative. However, given that the current Japanese national narrative is more nationalistic, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum can continue to develop a Hiroshima, transnational peace narrative. Or, it could revise its museum narrative to develop the emerging proactive pacifist narrative.

A sign of the declining relevance of Japan's anti-war Pacifist narrative is reflected in the decline in museum visitors to the museum over the years. After the museum reached its peak turnout of 1,593,280 visitors in 1991, the number of annual visitors has begun to decline ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)). In 2000, there were 1,075,111 visitors. The following ten years has seen an increase in the number of visitors to 1,329,842 visitors in 2010, and 1,383,129 visitors in 2013. However, something important to note is the increase in foreign tourists as a percentage of the overall number of visitors after 2000. In 2000 there were 1,075,111 visitors and of those visitors 93,045 of them were foreigners. In 2013, the number of foreigners more than doubled, since 200,086 visitors of the 1,329,842 total visitors were foreigners ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)). While Hiroshima's narrative is struggling to appeal to more Japanese, it is becoming increasingly appealing to foreign audiences.

Another sign that Japanese Pacifism is declining amongst future generations can be seen in the decrease in the number of students from school field trips visiting the

museum. The number of student group visitors peaked in 1987 at 568,345 students out of the total number of visitors but then shortly after began a steady decline. In 1992, there were 468,637 students that visited the museum. In 1997, that number fell further to 388,736 student visitors. The number of student visitors continued to decline until 2007, when it was at a record low of 298,803 ([city.hiroshima.lg.jp](http://city.hiroshima.lg.jp)). Although the number of students has slowly started to increase after 2007, to 315,500 students in 2013, but this figure is still far below the peak years in the late 80s of over 500,000 students.

This slight recovery in the number of student visitors and overall visitors is evident that anti-war Pacifism is still maintained in Hiroshima. Though if the museum is to once again become more relevant to the Japanese public and steadily increase the number of Japanese visitors, it will need to become more relevant to changing Japanese national narrative. However, no such changes have occurred in the museum's narrative to address topics such as events in World War II, which are gaining more attention throughout Japan. The Hiroshima Peace Museum stays committed to the anti-war, anti-nuclear weapons Japanese Pacifist narrative that emerged after World War II. This narrative can remain as a regional narrative and contribute to worldwide peace movements, however at the expense of being the dominant component of Japan's national narrative that it once was.

## Conclusion

If a museum does not stay relevant to the changes in a national narrative, it will decline in the importance of its role in helping to develop a national narrative. The example of the Dresden Museum of Military History is the best example of how a museum can stay true to its local history, while also helping to address the current national narrative. Yasukuni Shrine and the Yushukan on the other hand, did well to embrace the national narrative of state Shinto and Japanese nationalism but after World War II, they have not been reinvented and neither were their museum narratives revised to be able to contribute to the Japanese Pacifist national narrative. Therefore, Hiroshima could address more relevant topics such as proactive pacifism and rising nationalism, to advance a more dominant position for Japanese Pacifism.

## CONCLUSION

Japanese anti-war Pacifism as a whole is on the decline in Japan. The Hiroshima Peace Museum still retains its number of annual visitors but has not been growing its number of visitors significantly in recent years amongst Japanese. Given the increase in the rise of China, Japan's struggle to recover after its financial crisis in the early 1990s and the generational disconnect with Japanese Pacifism, Japanese Pacifism is well into its decline. However, given the ineffective efforts of Japanese Prime Ministers to establish a permanent tradition of Yasukuni shrine visits and the growing irrelevance of Hiroshima anti-war Pacifism to Japan's national narrative, Japan would best benefit if it finds more unifying memorials and museum narratives.

日本の  
平和主義の  
台頭と衰退

ソル エヴァン

よくニュースに出てくる疑問は日本である平和国家の終わりがついにや  
って来たである。現職自民党の安倍総理大臣が言う「積極的平和主義や集団的自  
衛権の行使」という言葉を耳にしたら、安倍がタカ派や集団的自衛権の行使はす  
なわち日本が戦争することを意味すると思う方が多い。この数ヶ月間、イスラム  
国による拉致された二人の日本人に関する記事が日本の平和時代が終わりそうだ  
と主張している。でも、現状を見ると、日本である平和国家の平和主義が完全に  
衰退していることは中々主張出来ません。しかし、日本の国家通念（国家の物語）  
の代表的な要素として、新たな国家作りに向け、衰退しています。

第二次世界大戦後までに、日本の平和国家である歴史が前提ないという事  
実で、今の日本国家は奇跡的に思える。第二次世界大戦の結果、大日本帝国が米  
国を含む連合軍に対して、敗戦し、この原点より、新たな国家体制が始まった。  
米国陸軍長官ダグラスマッカーサーの指導下で、大日本帝国憲法が終わり、現行  
日本国憲法が制約された。戦後の1945年から、連合軍が日本を支配してい  
ながら、日本が米国の国家通念に大いに影響を受けた。その影響の中で、マッカー  
サーが日本国家に二つの重大な変化を生み出した。この三つの変化としては、民  
主国家と平和国家を創ることであった。

日本を米国の同盟国に変えるために、マッカーサーが日本国憲法の民主化  
させた。明治時代より、第二次世界大戦の終わりにかけ、大日本帝国憲法の大事  
な柱としては、天皇制があった。あの時代に、日本の天皇陛下が国家の一番権力  
のある方でも、国家象徴の役割も果たしてきた。マッカーサーが日本を米国の勢

力圏を入らせると、天皇制を廃止したのだが、天皇陛下を国の象徴として、維持しようとした。天皇陛下はもうはや日本の軍事のリーダーとしての役割を果たさなくなり、そして、日本の軍事も廃止された。この結果、日本の自衛隊が生まれた。現行日本国憲法の下で、日本が自国の国境を防衛することは許されていたが、他国と戦争する権利がなかった。アメリカが戦後から、日本のほとんどの防衛負担をかけ、日本全国で基地を建設した。

防衛面だけでなく、米国が日本の政治体制も非常に改革させた。第二次世界大戦が終わり、連合国軍が大日本帝国に関わっていた最も重大犯罪を犯した政治家や軍隊官を東京裁判で裁いた。日本の植民地で人権侵害を犯した日本人が裁かれ、この事件が過去の日本とのつながりを終わらせた。日本の軍隊が多くの犯罪を犯したので、もしアメリカが日本を罰するつもりであれば、天皇陛下や多くの日本政治家を死刑させたかも知れない。でも逆に、アメリカが日本国民に戦前の偉大な人物を象徴しないように、アメリカの価値観を受け継ぎ、東京裁判をしたという。あの時から、日本の象徴や価値観等が民主主義に向け、進んでいこうという風に、アメリカが日本を支配していた。

日本の平和国家である由来が戦争の終わりと東京裁判のきっかけで、始まった。平和国家に向けた最初の第一歩は現行憲法である。日本国憲法によると、日本国民や日本政府の目標は、“われらとわれらの子孫のために、諸国民との協和による成果と、わが国全土にわたって自由のもたらす恵沢を確保し、政府の行為によって再び戦争の惨禍が起ることのないようにすること、”です（日本国憲

法)。この文章が、日本の平和国家であるスタートを切ってきた。さらに、日本国民がこれから“恒久の平和を念願し、人間相互の関係を支配する崇高な理想を深く自覚するのであって、平和を愛する諸国民の公正と信義に信頼して、われらの安全と生存を保持しようと決意した”（日本国憲法）。すなわち、日本国憲法の大事な柱としては、平和を促進し、自由な国家作りする目標になってきた。

日本の新たな憲法により、はじめに改革されたものは日本の政治体制であった。戦前の天皇制が変わり、天皇の役割が非常に限定され、そして国家神道という軍国主義を支持する政党は許されなかった。マッカーサーが過去の政治体制と繋がっている政治家の影響力を終わらせ、アメリカ政府を支持する政党が日本政府を率いさせてあげた。この行動のことで、日本の代表する自民党という政党が生まれた。自民党がアメリカの勢力やアメリカと日本の安保を支持したが、前政権に勤めても、自民党に関わらせてもらった。マッカーサーがこの決定をしなければ、反アメリカ政党が生まれる可能性が高かったであろう。この結果、大日本帝国を率いる政治家も自民党を率いていた。

さらに、日本国憲法の民主主義的価値観が教育分野までも至った。1948年に、新たな教育に関する法律が作られた。この法律が戦争中に教えていた学校の先生を禁止し、アメリカや民主国や平和国である日本の味方の先生が教えらせてあげた。学校の科目の内容としては、民主主義や人権等から影響を受け、日本社会が新たに作られた。全国においては、新しい教育カリキュラムが取り組ま

れ、戦争の酷さを中心に、新世代の日本人が教育されていた。第二次世界大戦についての歴史が大体教材から抜かれ、前向きな日本の教育が全国で始まってきた。

アメリカや日本の新たな政治的指導下において、平和主義と民主主義が日本全国急速に広がっていた。平和主義の台頭は段々日本人の心や生活と繋がっていた。平和主義が早く拡大していたとともに、自民党の政治家が平和憲法を改正したく、戦争権を取り戻したかったのです。1960前半、自民党の政治家が憲法改正委員会を開いた。自民党の指導が日本国憲法を改正したかった理由としては、前の大日本帝国に勤めていたからである。憲法改正住民投票が呼びかけられた結果、日本国民が平和と民主主義の道徳を身につけ、戦争に疲れていた。それに加え、党内においては憲法を改正する意見が一致しなかったため、改正する事ができなかった。日本の平和主義の台頭がやがて著しく成長したけれど、最初から脅威がずっとあった。

現在、日本の平和主義を考えると、広島風平和主義のイメージがすぐに出てくる人が多いである。平和主義が日本国憲法や政治や教育等の特徴になったが日本の歴史に一番影響を与えた平和主義は広島からである。日本のほか野町に比べ、広島の現代史を独特させる必要性があったのである。広島は二線都市であったから、日本経済が崩壊された戦後の始まりに、広島なりの風に、全国にも、全世界にもアピールしないとならなかった。このために、広島が自らの特別な歴史を生かし、長崎と共に唯一の被曝都市としてのイメージ作りをした。広島市の浜

井新造の市長が日本政府や外国の政府から投資を呼びかけ、広島を再建を積極的に進めた。広島を再建を中心に、世界平和都市として新たに広島を創ってきた。

広島を再建が大成功になり、その再建に最も役に立ったものは広島再建の新しい象徴であった（広島市基本構想）。広島中心部に、平和記念公園や平和記念資料館の計画を進め、広島地方を代表し、広島平和主義が正式に始まった。戦争が終わったら、広島は空が暗く、町が焼け野原になったので、広島を再建するために、緑が多く、中心部に木が町を点在する計画がされた。世界平和を代表する都市になるために、良いまちづくりが不可欠であった。

広島が永久的な平和象徴になった日は広島に原爆が投下された2周年であった。1947年8月6日に、広島記念平和公園に初めて浜井市長の指導下において、平和記念式典が開かれた。これがその広島平和物語創りの第一歩であり、三つの柱に平和主義が定義された。この式典において、平和主義を代表する三つの柱としては、核兵器絶滅と被爆体験談と反戦活動である。1971年までには、広島が指導する平和主義が広島県や地方的なイメージになっていたけれど、全国の戦後物語を象徴できなかった。1971年が重要な年である理由としては、初めて日本の佐藤栄佐久総理大臣が広島平和記念式典に参加し、スピーチをした。広島はあの日から、国立式典になり、全体的に戦後の復興を象徴した。

この平和式典が広島を平和物語を伝えたが、広島を平和物語を維持するために広島平和記念資料館が建設された。広島平和式典が開催される場所の前に、資料館が建てられた。広島平和記念公園を代表する名物は二つある。広島平和記

念公園に入ると、昔の原爆が落とされた事務所の跡はドームが残っている建物がある。この原爆ドームという建物は、核兵器や原爆の恐ろしさを伝えるために、大事に見せられている。広島平和記念公園の最後に残したいメッセージは願いや広島の復興なので、公園の中心に、原爆死没者慰霊のために、永久の平和の灯がある。結局、自分に一番心に残るものは広島市民が町の再建での貢献をすることである。

広島平和資料館の展示会のうち、三つの代表する常設展がある。それらは、原爆投下の展示会と核兵器絶滅の展示会と被爆者体験談の展示会である。最初に資料館に入館すると、原爆を象徴する物がすぐに入館者目に入る。原爆の爆発が分かりやすくなるように、原爆シミュレーターが原爆投下瞬間の爆発の幅広さが見える。この展示コースに進みながら、アメリカ戦闘機が原爆を広島の上に落とす映像があり、急に広島を唯一の被曝都市としての被害化を考えさせる。アメリカ戦闘機が原爆を投下にもかかわらず、この資料館は反アメリカ感情を表すつもりではないから、その映像を見ると、広島市民と同感させるつもりだけということである。この映像の近くに、資料館の中にも、原爆のイメージがしっかりと頭に残るように原爆ドームのレプリカが置いてある。

その次の常設展としては、被爆者体験談である。この展示会においては、原爆が投下されたすぐ後の被爆者の生々しい姿が記憶に残るように、いろんな写真がある。原爆の爆発の恐ろしさだけでなく、被爆者の原子病になった姿にも写真がある。この原子病にかかった人々の写真に加え、生存した被爆者の声や体験

談を聞くことも出来る。短いドキュメンタリー映画という被曝体験談が原爆の投下における実態について、色々な話を聞くことが出来る。この展示会を回りながら、どうして広島が被曝都市として選ばれたことを疑問させられる。

最後の常設展としては、核兵器絶滅の展示会である。この展示会においては、様々な国々の核兵器の供給がリストアップされ、核兵器試験を行う映像も見える。これを通じて、広島と長崎が唯一被曝都市で、日本だけの被爆国になったけれど、これから次の被曝都市はどこになるのか考えさせられる。映像によると、広島に落とされた原爆の100倍ぐらい爆発面積がある。しかし、この資料館の目標としては、最後に願いを呼びかけるので、明るい将来像を作ることである。その映像の横においては、平和市長会議の歩みを見せる。核兵器の発展が進む中、世界の国々が力を合わせ、核兵器絶滅を目指し、成果が出ている。

通常の日本文平和主義を考えると、すぐに広島と長崎の言葉が頭に浮かぶかもしれない。戦後の復興に国家物語に広島の平和主義は国家が進む道と繋がっていた。日本国民が協力すると、前提のない素晴らしい国づくりすることができた。でも、この30年間では、国際安全保障の変化や日本の経済と政治現状が過去とは非常に異なる。この理由では、1985年に中曽根総理大臣が新しい国づくりのために、国家物語の道を変え、新しい象徴を利用しようとした。この象徴は靖国神社である。靖国神社は戊辰戦争から第二次世界大戦にかけ、戦没者慰霊を祀っている。日本総理大臣が参拝する目的としては、自らの支持者にアピールする

ことであった。それにもかかわらず、この愛国主義を促進する参拝が論争に的になってしまった。

靖国神社が戦前時代においては、国家の代表象徴として存在していた。軍国主義や国家神道の象徴であるため、マッカーサーが靖国神社を日国有化させ、国と無関係な宗教法人に変えた。1985年までに、靖国神社が戦後の国家象徴として、存在していなかった。靖国神社の論争の原点としては、1978年に14人のA級戦犯者の慰霊が靖国神社に祀られた。正式に発表されると、昭和天皇陛下が二度と、靖国神社に参拝しないことを発言した。天皇陛下は現行憲法によると、式典の代表者であり、天皇陛下の行動で、靖国神社が日本全国の統一感を生み出せることに、大きな壁になってきた。中曽根総理大臣がこのニュースがあっても、日本遺族会の投票や支持を大事にしたので、靖国神社に、戦後の初めての靖国神社に参拝する日本総理大臣になった。

中曽根総理大臣の参拝が、日中国交正当化が1978年に始まり、中国がその時から、日本に影響力を与える機会になってきた。中曽根総理大臣が中国との関係を大事にしていたから、参拝の後に、中国国民や政府から、中曽根総理大臣の参拝に対立や批判が強かった。その結果、中国の政治家が中曽根総理大臣に、その14人のA級戦犯者の慰霊を別の神社に移動するように要望をした。中曽根総理大臣が靖国神社の神主にその要望をしたら、神主が反発し、その時から、中曽根総理大臣が正式に靖国神社の式典に参加させられなくなった。靖国神社の論争や国家象徴になるための試みが失敗に終わった。

靖国神社参拝を国家物語と繋げる大変さがあったにもかかわらず、2001年に、挑戦精神のある小泉純一郎総理大臣が一所懸命に靖国神社を国家象徴にするように、何度も参拝をした。2001年から2005年にかけて、小泉総理大臣が靖国神社に参拝した目的としては、新しい国づくりするためであった。1990年代から、日本経済が低迷する中、中国の経済力や防衛費が急速に成長していた。2001年にも、アメリカがイラク戦争を開始し、初めて自衛隊が戦争に平和部隊の役割を果たすために、派遣された。そして、日本人が徐々に自国に明るい見通しを失ってきたことで、小泉総理大臣が日本を活性化させるために、広島に加え、新たな象徴を求めている。

小泉総理大臣がほかの総理大臣よりも、靖国神社に参拝したが、中国と韓国からの圧力に屈するようになった。現職安倍総理大臣が小泉の次に、二番目靖国神社に参拝出来た。日本の現状は、国際安全保障の面においては、中国からいろんな領土紛争や挑発がある。現在の尖閣諸島紛争を両国が自国のものにしたく、緊張感が高まっている。それに加え、中国が国防費を倍増させるが、どれほど力強くなってきたことは日本の観点から見ると、不透明である。さらに、安倍総理大臣がアベノミクスという日本経済刺激策を取り組み、日本社会の愛国心を高めたく、靖国神社参拝を象徴として、日本の復活をさせたいという。

広島平和式典と靖国神社に終戦記念日（8月15日）に姿を見せ、日本の復興や発展に最も貢献できた人々の記憶を蘇らせようとしている。しかし、2014年に、中国と韓国からの反発が高まることに応じ、参拝しないように決意し

た。安倍総理大臣の政治基盤が2013年に出馬時に、「日本を取り戻す」という選挙標語を利用していた。その理由で、安倍総理大臣が日本社会を復活させる象徴を利用する必要である。安倍の安全保障戦略にも、国家主義の象徴の必要性もある。戦後から、自民党議員が現行憲法を改正しようとしていたけれど、大失敗した。現時点においては、安倍政権がついに現行憲法を改正する可能性がある。

2015年の夏に、日本国憲法を改正する住民投票が行われ、安倍政権が過半数の投票をえれば、日本国憲法を改正する事を実現できる。改正案としては、自衛隊の勢力や役割を高め、集団的自衛権という権利を得ることになる。集団的自衛権としては、アメリカや日本の同盟国とともに、世界安全保障に積極的に貢献することである。もし日本国憲法が改正されても、日本が他の国と戦争する意味ではない。ただ、日本が防衛の面においては、自国をさらにまもれるようになり、そして同盟国ともっと協力する柔軟性がある。

安倍総理大臣が2014年に、靖国神社参拝については、中国で開催する世界経済フォーラムのために靖国神社に参拝しないように決めた。しかし、2015年のイスラーム国による拉致された二人の日本人が殺害され、たくさん注目を集めた。様々な新聞によると、日本の平和国家である時代が終わったという記事が多かった。それに対し、日本の安全保障がさらに重大な話題になってきている。この事件を受け、国家主義や安倍総理大臣の積極的平和主義を象徴する式典や国家名物を探す必要性が急務になっている。日本総理大臣が新たな国作りのた

めに、靖国神社に参拝しようとしていたが、周辺国からの反発に対し、参拝しなくなっていた。

結論としては、日本は平和国家として、絶対的に終わる見通しが無い。広島県や長崎県にいても、平和主義が教育より市民の生活にも大きな影響を与える。そして、平和市長会の影響にも日本の平和主義が世界中に広がっている。それにもかかわらず、国家物語としては、広島風の平和主義が前ほど現在の日本国家現状や国作りのために、役に立っていない。広島は象徴として、日本の復興であるが、今の日本人がもっと自国に貢献させたいように、経済や安全保障を拡大させるように、新たな国家象徴の必要性がある。日本総理大臣がこれから毎年、靖国参拝しない限り、靖国神社が今後の日本を代表する象徴として、存在出来ない。日本の平和主義が国家物語として、衰退しているけれど、地域的にも、世界にも日本の平和主義は勢いがあり、日本は平和国家である歴史の終わりではない。

## Bibliography (参照文献一覧)

"修学旅行で靖国「遊就館」を訪問 宝塚市教委が「不適切」と市議会で答弁...

後日「利用は可能」と修正も有識者から批判." 産経 *WEST. Snake*

*Shimbun*, 29 June 2013. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"1889 Japanese Constitution." *1889 Japanese Constitution*. Trans. Miyoji Ito. N.p., n.d.

Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"2011 Japan Earthquake - Tsunami Fast Facts - CNN.com." *CNN*. Cable News Network,

13 Feb. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

4 広島平和記念資料館修学旅行等団体入館状況 (n.d.): n. pag.

[Http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/4.pdf](http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/4.pdf). 16

Apr. 2014. Web.

4 広島平和記念資料館修学旅行等団体入館状況 (n.d.): n. pag.

[Http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/4.pdf](http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1397964653428/files/4.pdf). The

City of Hiroshima, 16 Apr. 2014. Web.

Abe, Shinzo. "Japan Is Back." *Foreignaffairs.com*. Foreign Affairs Magazine, 2013. Web.

27 Apr. 2015.

"About Yasukuni Shrine | Yasukuni Shrine." *About Yasukuni Shrine | Yasukuni Shrine*.

Yasukuni Shrine, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Alessia, Christopher. "Dresden Museum: Soldiers Confront a Complex Military History -

SPIEGEL ONLINE." *SPIEGEL ONLINE*. N.p., 17 Dec. 2013. Web. 27 Apr.

2015.

"首相の靖国参拝、反対46% 朝日新聞世論調査：朝日新聞デジタル." 朝日新聞デジタル. *Asahi Shimbun*, 27 Jan. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Berger, Thomas U. "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism." *International Security* 17.4 (1993): 119-50. Web.

Berkofsky, Alex. *A Pacifist Constitution for an Armed Empire: Past and Present of the Japanese Security and Defense Policies*. Milano: F. Angeli, 2012. Print.

Cai, Yuan. "The Rise and Decline of Japanese Pacifism." *New Voice* 2 (n.d.): 179-200. Web.

"The Constitution of Japan." *Japan.kantei.go.jp*. Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, n.d. Web.

Cooney, Kevin J., and Yoichiro Sato. *The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2008. Print.

"Dresden's Military History Museum / Daniel Libeskind." [Http://www.archdaily.com/172407/dresden's-military-history-museum-daniel-libeskind/](http://www.archdaily.com/172407/dresden's-military-history-museum-daniel-libeskind/). N.p., 14 Oct. 2011. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"Education." *Mext.go.jp*. Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Einhorn, Bruce. "Signs of a China-Japan Thaw Appear Ahead of APEC." *Bloomberg.com*. Bloomberg, 3 Nov. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"The Fall of the Wall and German Reunification." [Https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/the-fall-of-the-wall-and-german-reunification](https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/the-fall-of-the-wall-and-german-reunification). "the First War Museum to Open in Germany since the Country's Reunification and a Study in Contrasts Appropriate to a

Nation Grappling with Its Violent Past” (Weiner, 2011)., 13 Aug. 2012. Web.  
27 Apr. 2015.

"Flame of Peace."

*Http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\_e/tour\_e/ireihi/tour\_1  
8\_e.html*. N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Haverson, Mindy. "Memory and Memorial [001001]How the Hiroshima Bombing and Its  
Korean Victims Have Shaped and Challenged Postwar Japanese Identity."  
*Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* (2010): 69-80. Web.

"Hirohito Quit Yasukuni Shrine Visits over Concerns about War Criminals."

*Http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/26/world/asia/26iht-  
japan.1.5447598.html?\_r=0*. Dow Jones & Company, 26 Apr. 2007. Web.

"Hiroshima's Recovery The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law."

*Http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp*. Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, n.d.  
Web.

Hoffman, Michael. "Where Will 'proactive Pacifism' Lead Us? | The Japan Times."

*Japan Times RSS*. The Japan Times, 07 Mar. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Hongo, Jun. "Tokyo's Stock Bubble: 25 Years on From Nikkei Peak." *Japan Real Time  
RSS*. Dow Jones & Company, 29 Dec. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

*Http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/11291820/China-holds-first-  
Nanjing-Massacre-memorial-day.html*. N.p., 13 Dec. 2014. Web.

Ikeno, Norio. "Citizenship Education in Japan After World War II." *International  
Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* 1.2 (2005): 93-98. Web.

"Japan's School Textbook Examination Procedure." *Mofa.go.jp*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Ku, Yangmo. "Japanese History Textbook Controversies, 1995–2010: Transnational Activism versus Neo-nationalist Movement." *Pacific Focus* 29.2 (n.d.): 260-83. Web.

McCurry, Justin. "Founder of Japan's Red Army in Final Appeal for Freedom." [Http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/13/japan-fusako-shigenobu-red-army](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/13/japan-fusako-shigenobu-red-army). Theguardian, 12 Dec. 2008. Web.

Midford, Paul. *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security from Pacifism to Realism?* Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2011. Print.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1948) The Course of Study for Elementary Social Studies: Supplement, Tokyo., n.d. Web.

Miyashita, A. "Where Do Norms Come From? Foundations of Japan's Postwar Pacifism." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7.1 (2006): 99-120. Web.

Mochizuki, Mike M., and Samuel Parkinson Porter. "Japan under Abe: Toward Moderation or Nationalism?" *The Washington Quarterly* 36.4 (2013): 25-41. Web.

"Museum\_Guide."   
 ([http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\\_e/frame/tour\\_fra1-6.html](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/frame/tour_fra1-6.html)). N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"Museum\_Guide."   
 [Http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum\\_e/frame/tour\\_fra1-6.html](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/frame/tour_fra1-6.html). N.p., n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

(n.d.): n. pag. [Http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp). Web.

(n.d.): n. pag. [Http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/img/pamphlet/english.pdf](http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/img/pamphlet/english.pdf). Web.

"【広島市基本構想】第1 都市像と都市づくりの理念." *広島市基本構想】第1 都市像と都市づくりの理念*. 広島市役所, n.d. Web. 29 Apr. 2015.

"Occupation and Reconstruction of Japan, 1945–52 - 1945–1952 - Milestones - Office of the Historian." *Occupation and Reconstruction of Japan, 1945–52 - 1945–1952 - Milestones - Office of the Historian*. Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, United States Department of State, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Ota, Fumio. "Jointness in the Japanese Self Defense Forces." (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

"Outlines." *Mayorsforpeace.org*. Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"Outlines." *Outlines*. Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Pollmann, Mina. "Can the US Nudge Japan and South Korea Closer Together?" *The Diplomat*. *The Diplomat*, 2 Apr. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

"Protesters Attack Employee at Japan's Embassy in Busan, South Korea." *South China Morning Post*. *South China Morning Post*, 10 Mar. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Reynolds, Isabel. "Deadline Looms for Japan's Response to Islamic State's \$200 Million Ransom Demand." *Bloomberg.com*. *Bloomberg*, 22 Jan. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Richards, Clint. "Abe's Next Steps Toward Collective Self-Defense." *The Diplomat*. *The Diplomat*, 15 May 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

- Roll, Elias. "Shinzo Abe and Xi Jinping Shared a Really Awkward Handshake in Beijing." *Foreign Policy Shinzo Abe and Xi Jinping Shared a Really Awkward Handshake in Beijing Comments*. N.p., 10 Nov. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.
- Roy, Denny. *Return of the Dragon: Rising China and Regional Security*. N.p.: Columbia UP, n.d. Print.
- Sakamoto, Rumi. "Mobilizing Affect for Collective War Memory." *Cultural Studies* 29.2 (2015): 158-84. Web.
- Seaton, Philip A. *Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'memory Rifts' in Historical Consciousness of World War II*. London: Routledge, 2007. Print.
- Shibuichi, Daiki. "The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?" *Asian Survey* 45.2 (2005): 197-215. Web.
- "South Korean Protestors Cut an Effigy of Japan's Prime Minister..." *Getty Images*. N.p., 1 Apr. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.
- Tang, Didi. "Anti-Japan Protests in China Swell, Turn Violent." *The Seattle Times*. N.p., 16 Sept. 2012. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.
- "日本国憲法 (The Japanese Constitution)." *日本国憲法. 衆議員* (The House of Representatives), n.d. Web. 29 Apr. 2015.
- "Visit Hiroshima - The Official Hiroshima Prefecture Tourism Site." *Visit Hiroshima - The Official Hiroshima Prefecture Tourism Site*. Visit Hiroshima, n.d. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.
- Ward, Robert E. "The Commission on the Constitution and Prospects for Constitutional Change in Japan." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 24.3 (1965): 401-29. Web.

Wiener, Aaron. "Germany's Updated Military Museum Is an Arsenal for Dissent." *Los Angeles Times*. Los Angeles Times, 13 Oct. 2011. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Williamson, Lucy. "Comfort Women: South Korea's Survivors of Japanese Brothels - BBC News." *BBC News*. BBC News, 29 May 2013. Web. 27 Apr. 2015.

Yoneyama, Lisa. "Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory." *University of California Press* 10 (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

Zwigenberg, Ran. *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture*. N.p.: Cambridge UP, 2014. Print.