

Reconciliation between Japan and other Asian countries

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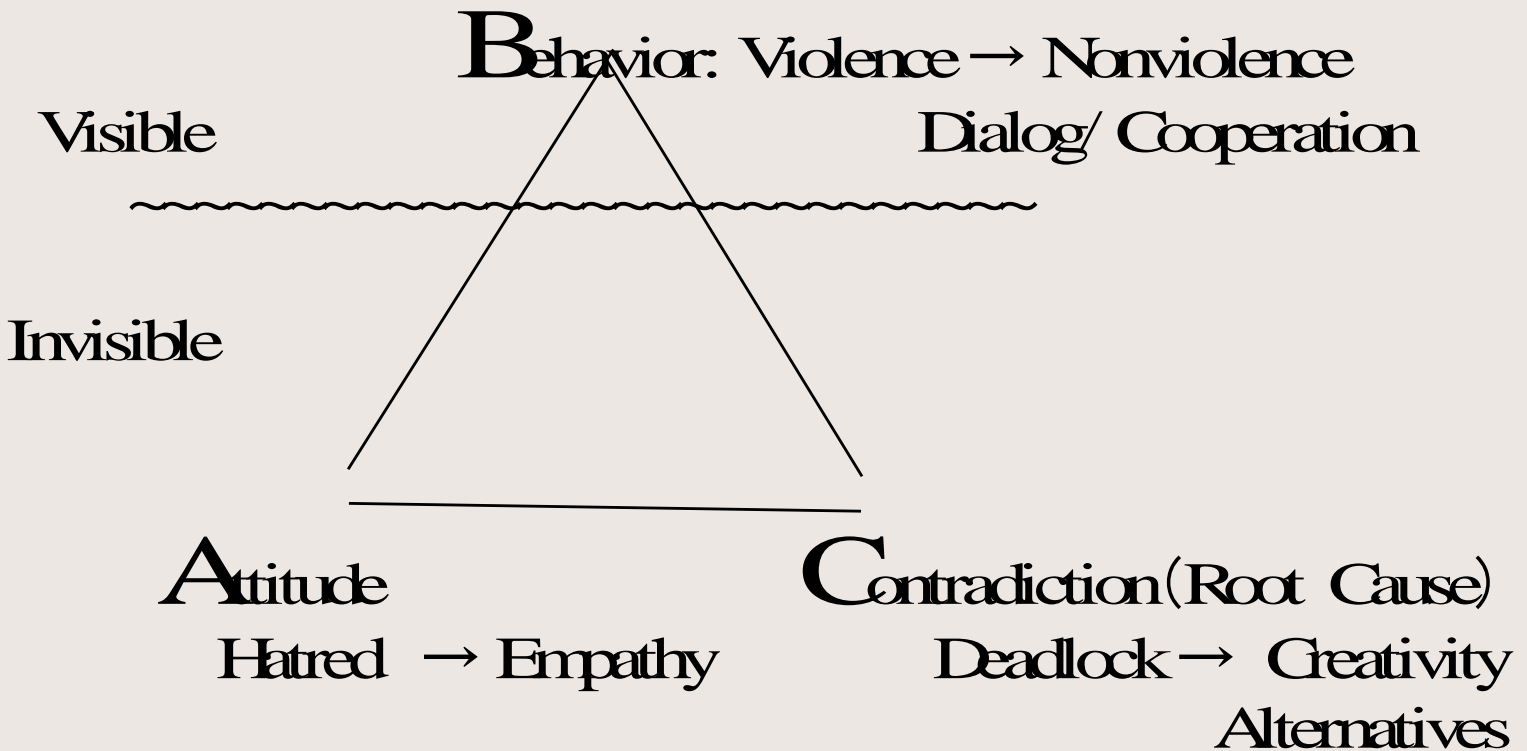
Key variables of violence/reconciliation

- (1) **intention**, the extent to which the harm inflicted is willed,
- (2) **individuation**, the extent to which victim's identity matters to perpetrator,
- (3) **irreversibility**, the extent to which the harm cannot be undone.

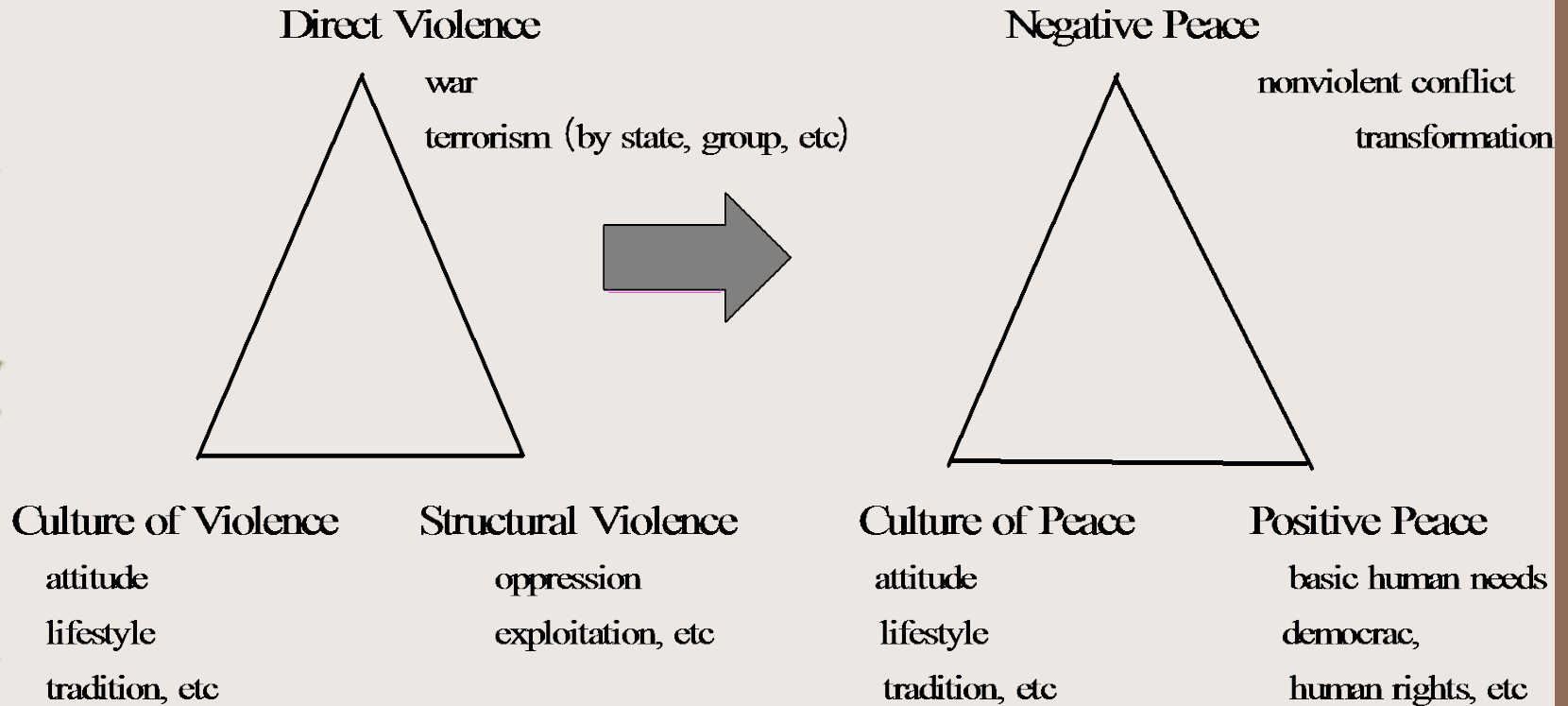
3 stages of reconciliation

- (1) **Awareness**: trauma elements are programming victim
- (2) **Consciousness**: victim wants to know what they are like (“truth”)
- (3) **Wellness**: victim wants to be well, liberated, with a new start.

Conflict=Attitude+Behavior+Contradiction



From Violence to Peace



3 Phases of Conflict

- Before violence:
Violence prevention (primary, secondary)
- During violence:
End violence/ Peacekeeping
- After Violence: 4Rs:
Resolution/ Reconstruction/ Rehabilitation
Reconciliation

Some Japanese Lesson

Reconciliation =

和解 wakai

和 wa = harmony/ peace

解 kai = to understand, resolve, melt

Post-War Germany and Japan

4Rs after violence	Germany	Japan
Resolution	○	○
Reconstruction	○	○
Rehabilitation	○	○△×*
Reconciliation	○	×

* ○Veterans, △ Japanese civilians, Hibakushas,
× Asian citizens, Korean-Japanese

Post-war Germany vs. Japan

- Death of Hitler
- Frequent apology by political leaders
- Forgiveness completed (?)
- Ban of Nazism
(Neo-Nazi movement ?)
- Textbook rewritten and accepted by European countries
- Mourning of victims
- Leading member of EU
- Survival of Showa Emperor
- Apology still requested
- Forgiveness unaccomplished
- Militarism revival
- Textbook conflict: “Invasion”, “Nanjing Massacre” not shown
- Prime Minister’s worship to Yasukuni (War) Shrine
- Post-war economic “invasion” to Asia

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12 approaches to reconciliation (1)

- exculpatory nature-structure-culture
言い訳・弁解
- reparation/restitution 賠償・補償
- apology/forgiveness 謝罪・許し
- theological/penitence ざんげ・懺悔
- juridical/punishment 裁判・処罰
- codependent origination/karma 因果応報

12 approaches to reconciliation (2)

- historical/truth reconciliation commission 歴史・真実和解委員会
- theatrical/reliving 心理劇・追体験
- joint sorrow/healing 共同いやし
- joint reconstruction 共同復興
- joint conflict resolution 共同紛争解決
- Polynesian ho‘o pono pono ホーポノポノ

(1) Exculpation 弁解

- China/Asia Colonization Race by Europe/US

(Why not Japanese participation?)

- Defence of national interest
1941/ 8/ 1 Oil export ban to Japan by USA
1941/12/8 Attack of Pearl Harbor, Malay, the Philippines, etc.
- Asian liberation from White colonialism: e.g. India
- Support for Independence: e.g. Indonesia
- “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere”

- Uncontrollability of the Military
- State Shintoism: Emperor as God, Japanese people as Emperor’s baby, Asians as inferior
- Education/ Information/ Media control

(2) reparation 賠償

- San Francisco Peace Treaty 1951 with 48 allied countries.
- Later peace treaties with China, India, South Korea, USSR, etc., North Korea not yet.
- Officially, reparation is settled.
- Individual reparations are not yet settled:
 - Lawsuit by victims of sex slave for soldiers/
Nanjing massacre, coerced labor, etc.

(3) apology/forgiveness

- Sincere apology of colonization/ WWII invasion is still requested by China, S. Korea, etc.
- Criticism of the Japanese Government attitude, instead of forgiveness, such as,
History textbook contents,
War Shrine worship by Prime Minister.
“Slip of the tongue” by political leaders

(4) penitence 懺悔

- “All 100 million penance/penitence”
initiated by the Government
- People’s letters to General McArthur
(=apology only to US)
 - *Exclusion of Showa Emperor’s war leadership
 - *Christian’s soul searching of war-cooperation
 - *Shinto’s “Misogi”(soul-body ablution/ purify oneself with water)

(5) juridical/punishment

- Tokyo Tribunal of War Criminals(1946-48)
- 28 A-class war criminals: 7 leaders death by hanging. 5,600 B&C criminals. *All of them are war-dead-turned-gods in Yasukuni War Shrine.
- Exclusion of Showa Emperor as the political/military leader
- Right wing criticism of TTWC acceptance as “masochistic view of history”

(6) codependent origination/karma:

- Karma (n) : Buddhism/Hinduism concept of human deeds by body-mouth-heart.
- Human deeds result according to causality over generation.
- Holistic causality
- Forgiveness because we are interrelated.

(7) historical/truth reconciliation commission

- Truth confession and amnesty after violence
- Certain amount of truth confession testimonial documents of perpetration are published, but not widely accepted.
- No formal commission has been established.

(8) theatrical/reliving

- Role play game, drama, psychodrama for alternative selection to the conflict.
- **Ho'o pono pono** workshops organized by TRANSCEND-Japan since 2002 are attempts as theatrical/ reliving reconciliation.
- The cast was 14 persons: **Wise Person/ Japanese Politician/ Japanese Zero fighter pilot/ Japanese hibakusha (A-bomb survivor) woman/ US Politician/ US Hiroshima Bomber/ US Hawai'ian/ Korean Politician/ Korean Comfort Woman/ Korean-Japanese/ Chinese Politician/ Chinese Nanjing victim/ Chinese Taiwanese**

(9) joint sorrow/healing

- Collective transformation ceremony of “Han” 恨 (Korean resentment)
- Alternative non-religious facility other than Yasukuni Shrine.
- Sadako (a girl Hibakusha) Stature established in USA.

(10) joint reconstruction

- Japan reparation economic aids to Asia are problematic.
- US aids to Japan are also problematic.
- Peace Museum construction and networking across the world are developing .
- Exhibition of A-bomb casualties in Smithsonian Museum was failed.

(11) joint conflict resolution

- Government Level:
Six country talks on Korean issues as an important step.
- Citizen level: Workshops with participants from different countries/backgrounds.
- Regional level:
Formation of East Asia Community in nonviolent way.

(12) ho‘o pono pono

- ho‘o pono pono is originally a Hawaiian/Polynesian traditional way of reconciliation community gathering.
- Japanese equivalent is “Yoriai”, a traditional village meeting for conflict transformation based on collectivism.
- Ho‘o pono pono is used in modern context as conflict transformation practice and training by role play drama etc.

5 phases of ho‘o pono pono

- (1) Establishing facts, *what* happened.
- (2) Exploring *why* it happened: acts of *commissions* and *omissions*
- (3) Sharing responsibility of acts of *commissions* and *omissions*
- (4) A constructive future oriented program, based on (1), (2), (3).
- (5) Declaring the conflict closed,
burning of records

Ho‘o pono pono role-play Workshop in Yokohama, 2002

- A role play workshop organized by Johan Galtung, TRANSCEND-Japan, and Peace-Tune for two days.
- More than 100 participants were divided to 13 member groups.
- Role play of 5 steps in each group, initiated by “Wise Person”
- Sharing among groups.

Wise Person's opening statement

Dear Participants - and Dear Spectators who will refrain from any comment as the ho'o pono pono proceeds. Afterwards the floor is open.

- We are here today to understand better what happened during the Pacific War 1931-45 - with forerunners and aftermath. You have been woven together in nets of causes and consequences with no beginning and no clear end. There will be no finger-pointing saying "You are guilty".
- Our purpose goes beyond mere understanding, however. We all have our part of the responsibility for the horrors that happened, partly by what we did, and perhaps even more so by what we did not do. Our focus goes beyond explanation. We also want to understand what could have been done that we did not do. We want to see ourselves for what we are: human beings with a limited understanding of the complex totality of the Pacific War, pushed and pulled into action we may have come to regret. We are all together in this, sharing responsibility. We are here to apologize, maybe to ourselves, to each other, to others not present. But we are also here to see what can be done so that the horrors are not repeated.
- We are here to close that chapter and open another. May that be one of happy co-existence from one rim of the Pacific to the other.

Japanese Politician: Phase 2 (Why)

- What else could we have done? The West had encircled us, the USA, the Dutch, the British, Hawai'i, the US navy all over. We had the same right as they to colonies. They had more than enough. We were a young, energetic nation. Some neighbors cried for liberation from the West. Other neighbours wanted liberation from tired, dying dynasties. We were free. They needed our energy. Then came embargo, threats. Yes, we advanced, west, south, to the north. And we had to protect our back. We had to eliminate Pearl Harbor.

US Hiroshima Bomber: Phase 2 (Why)

- Yes, we did it. I was told we had a special bomb that would save US lives and end the war. The flight plan was also special. I saw the mushroom cloud. I felt something horrible, something beyond anything else I had heard of. And I was in the center.

Korean Comfort Woman: Phase 2 (Why)

- I still cry. The Japanese forced us, raped us, humiliated, degraded us as humans, as women. Some refused, they were killed in front of the others. Yes, some volunteered. I pray, don't use that to detract from the immense suffering of the rest of us. We lost our lives. Our own men did not want to touch us. Only very recently could we talk about and share our suffering.

US Politician:Phase 3 (Apology)

- Maybe we should have nuked an unpopulated island instead. We did not have to kill that many people. That message would have been clear enough. We made a mistake and lowered even further the bar for what can be done in wars. Of course the Japanese were wrong in attacking Pearl Harbor, but we should not have provoked them and later on be lying about it. We were arrogant and ignorant. We were pursuing world hegemony and still are. We have neither the intellectual, nor the moral capacity to do so, let alone any right. I apologise, not only for those two bombs, but for the whole underlying idea of becoming the world's master by stepping into other peoples' wars and empires.

Chronological table (1)

- 1882/ 2/11 Imperial Constitution of Japan
- **1894-95 Japanese-Sino War**
- **1904-05 Japanese-Russo War**
- 1910 Annexation of Korea
- 1914-18 World War I
- 1920/ 1/10 League of Nations established
- **1931/ 9/18 Manchurian Incident**
- 1932/ 3/1 Manchukuo Declaration of Independence
- **1937/ 7/7 Japan-China War**
- 1937/12/13 Nanjing Occupation/Massacre
- April 1, 1941 / 9/ 3 World War II

Chronological table (2)

- 1941/ 8/ 1 Oil export ban to Japan by USA
- 1941/12/8 Attack of Pearl Harbor, Malay, the Philippines, etc.
- 1945/ 4/ 1 Okinawa Battle
- 1945/ 5/ 7 German Surrender
- 1945/ 7/26 Potsdam Declaration
- 1945/ 8/ 6 Hiroshima Atom-Bombed
- 1945/ 8/ 9 Nagasaki Atom-Bombed
- 1945/ 8/14 Acceptance of Potsdam Declaration by Imperial Staff Conference
- 1945/ 9/ 2 Signing of Surrender
- 1946/11/ 3 Japan Constitution (Peace Constitution)
- 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty/ Japan-US Security Treaty