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研究課題名(和文) 戦後言説空間として敗北側における戦争解釈と追悼の国際比較研究

研究課題名(英文) Postwar Memorialization Discourses in Defeated Communities: An International Comparative Study

研究代表者

M・G Sheftall (Sheftall, M.G.)

静岡大学・情報学部・教授

研究者番号：90334953

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研究成果の概要(和文)：2012年度から現在に至るまで、私はヨーロッパ、米国、そして日本国内で「近現代に敗北・トラウマ的な戦争体験を受けた集団はどのように「自己治療」をするか」を研究してきました。2012年度から2015年度までに、私はヨーロッパと米国を中心にフォーカスして研究して、大量のデータを集めましたが、具体的な「結論」まで結び付けることができずにいた所で、2016年度の春から「広島・長崎被爆者」を中心に研究する「進路変更」を決めてから、現在まで20人以上の被爆者とインタビューを収録して、また、被爆者コミュニティと同行して貴重な観察データも集めました。近い内にそれに関する国際的な研究結果が実る事を期待します。

研究成果の概要(英文)：This is an "ongoing progress" report on research on war memory in modern cultures begun in (24520726) continuing in my present Kakenhi project (18K00908), starting in April 2018. From 2012 to 2015, I focused on the commemoration of defeat and other war trauma in European and American public space (museums, cemeteries, etc.). While I collected a huge amount of data and experience during this earlier stage of research, I experienced great difficulty in concretizing these results toward publication. As a result, since May 2016, continuing my theme of war/defeat on cultures and individuals in the modern era, I have used the remainder of the Kakenhi travel budget to interview Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing survivors and observe the memorialization activities of hibakusha groups. This change to hibakusha research, building on knowledge and insights I acquired in the earlier research stage, shows great promise for producing world class results which will be widely publicized.

研究分野：War memory in culture and public space

キーワード：War memory Public space Collective memory Total War Historical Narratives Hibakusha Hiroshima Nagasaki

## 1. 研究開始当初の背景

この研究は「近現代において、戦争で敗北というトラウマを受けたコミュニティーはどのようにして『記憶施設』を利用し『自己治療』するか」というリサーチクエスチョンから始まりました。それを追求するために、2012年度から現在に至るまで、私はドイツ、フランス、イギリス、スペイン、米国、そして日本国内で、近現代に「敗北」やその他のトラウマ的な戦争体験を受けた国々はどのように公共的な追悼施設やナラティブを利用してその歴史を解釈するのか、というテーマを研究してきました。

While this report is officially a "final" report of results from this Kakenhi project (24520726), in actuality, it should be considered an "ongoing progress" report on research on war memory in modern cultures begun in (24520726) continuing in my present Kakenhi project, "Hibakusha Communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" (18K00908), which began in April 2018. This "in progress" status reflects a major change in research direction I undertook beginning in May 2016, shifting research efforts from overseas subjects to instead focus on Hiroshima and Nagasaki hibakusha memorialization activities. I determined that this shift in research focus was merited because during 2015 I began to feel that the subject of the research to that point – while very productive in terms of sheer volume of data collected, and also in terms of the wide network of professional contacts it allowed me to make in academia as well as numerous war museums around the world – was nevertheless too broad and still somewhat too abstract and theoretical to publish as-is.

Instead, I believe that that period of initial research can be more usefully considered to have been theoretical/conceptual preparation for the truly "golden opportunity" for research I have enjoyed since 2016, when various hibakusha groups around Japan accepted me to participate in and observe their community activities and to allow me to interview their individual members.

## 2. 研究の目的

The objective of this research project has been to examine how various communities in the modern era of industrialized total war (1861-1945) have attended to the "damage control" to their respective cultures after experiencing defeat and/or equivalent trauma in wars during this period. In terms of material, it was decided to focus on: sites of memory in public space, such as memorials, cemeteries, and museums, which presented "explanatory narratives" of the war experience which could be compared with others in other cultures and other wars, looking for patterns of similarity and difference; observation, whenever and wherever possible, of memorial ceremonies at such sites; and (particularly since Summer 2016), interviews with war survivors who participate in memorial activities and/or survivor groups (such as hibakusha support groups). Ultimately – and this is, again, an ongoing research question in my current kakenhi project (18K00908) – I seek new insight, through historical research and ethnographic observation into the methods by which cultures employ "symbolic action" to repair themselves – both at the level of community and individual – after traumatic war-related experiences.

### 3 . 研究の方法

In terms of data collection and methodology, I can divide my overall efforts during 2012-2017 into five main areas:

1) In the Summer of 2012, I conducted an exhaustive survey of World War One and Two sites of memory in European (Germany, France, and UK) public space, including memorials in city streets, parks, and government buildings, churches and schools, military cemeteries, and war-themed museums.

2) In the Spring and Summer of 2013, I conducted a similar survey of Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) sites of memory in the cities of Madrid, Malaga, Leon, Burgos, Bilbao, Guernica, and Barcelona.

3) Since the Summer of 2012, and continuing to the present, I have been a Visiting Curator at the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots in Minamikyushu City, Kagoshima Prefecture, and a Historical Advisor for the City of Minamikyushu offering expert advice on the management of historical properties and re-structuring narratives of historical interpretation at the Chiran Peace Museum in a manner that is more politically neutral, historically objective, and thus more accessible to an international audience.

4) In the Summer of 2015, as a follow-up to an exhibit on Japanese war history which I proposed and helped organize at the Battleship Missouri Museum in the Pearl Harbor Museum Complex in the Spring of

2015 as a representative of the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, I used my Kakenhi travel budget for that year to cover travel and living expenses after accepting an offer of a three-week posting at the Pacific Aviation Museum -- one of the branch museums of the Pearl Harbor Museum Complex -- as a Visiting Curator. As with my abovementioned ongoing experience as a Visiting Curator at the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots and Historical Advisor for the City of Minamikyushu, my time spent at the Pacific Air Museum, and also interacting with staff and interviewing visitors to other museums in the Pearl Harbor Museum Complex, was an experience which gave me valuable experience and insight into the workings, organization, maintenance, and politics of war museum curating. This experience also gave me the very valuable research opportunity regarding a “comparative” study of war memory narratives in being able to observe American and foreign museum visitors’ reaction to the World War Two-themed exhibits at the Pacific Aviation Museum, and also at the abovementioned exhibition (which has since become permanent, due to its popularity with visitors) of Chiran Peace Museum kamikaze materials being held at the Battleship Missouri Museum.

5) Since May 2016, continuing my theme of war/defeat on cultures, communities, and individuals in the modern era, I have used the remainder of the Kakenhi travel budget to interview Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing survivors and observe their communal memorialization activities and the

workings of their survivor associations. To date, up until the official end of Kakenhi (C) 24520726, I was able to interview 22 Hiroshima and Nagasaki hibakusha for a total of over 80 hours of recorded survivor testimony, and to directly observe, participate in, and record hibakusha memorial activities at the official Hiroshima (annually, every August 6<sup>th</sup>) and Nagasaki (annually, every August 9<sup>th</sup>) memorial ceremonies held at those cities' respective Peace Parks in both 2016 and 2017.

#### 4 . 研究成果

In terms of concrete accomplishments during the period of – and directly related to – my research on the topic of “Postwar Memorialization Discourses in Defeated Communities: An International Comparative Study”, I would consider the following to be the most important:

- 1) An invitation, which I accepted, to be a Visiting Scholar at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyoto, as a specialist in Japanese collective and individual memories of World War Two, during the 2012-2013 academic year.
- 2) My ongoing engagement with the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots and the City of Minamikyushu as a historical advisor and an expert on: the history of the Japanese military's kamikaze corps of 1944-45; collective war memory; and historical narrative interpretation in war museums.

- 3) My successful original idea, proposal, negotiations, and assistance in organizing a joint Chiran Peace Museum/Battleship Missouri exhibit on the Japanese military's kamikaze corps of 1944-45 held at Pearl Harbor, Hawai'i. This was the first public exhibit on the subject of the Japanese military in World War Two ever to be held overseas that was made possible with Japanese governmental cooperation. The exhibit, which has since become permanent, is one of the most successful since the opening of the Battleship Missouri Museum in the 1990s, and it received wide mass media news attention in both Japan and the United States when it opened in April 2015.
- 4) My successful initial approach and eventual acceptance into the Japanese hibakusha community, especially the Zenkoku Hidankyo and the Tokyo metropolitan area Hidankyo umbrella organization Tōyūkai, the Nagasaki Medical College *izoku* community, and the Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki for purposes of observation and the conducting of interviews. The success of these efforts in the second phase of the 24520726 project has recently been beginning to receive attention from various Japanese and overseas journalists, and directly led to the success of my follow-up Kakenhi proposal, which resulted in

my being awarded funding as Kakenhi Project 18K00908 (which, again, I consider to be a continuation of 24520726).

## 5. 主な発表論文等

(研究代表者、研究分担者及び連携研究者には下線)

[雑誌論文](計 3件)

Arudou, D. and Sheftall, M.G. “Japan’s Kamikaze Suicide Pilots Exhibit at the USS Missouri in Honolulu: an interview with M.G. Sheftall”. *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, Vol. 13, Issue 23, Number 1, 2015, pp. 1-23.

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[学会発表](計 5件)

### Conference Presentations

1. Sheftall, M.G. “Narrative for Armageddon: Japanese establishment rhetoric during the final months of the Asia-Pacific War” (delivered the Eighteenth Asian Studies Conference Japan, Sophia University, Tokyo, June 21, 2014)

2. Sheftall, M.G. 「近現代」「転換期の伊勢

神宮」(Panel discussant, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2013)

3. Sheftall, M.G. 「「文化論」から見る戦後日本の戦争記憶言説空間」(共同研究会「日本文化形成と戦争の記憶」, 2012)

### Invited Lectures

4. Sheftall, M.G. “1945: Japan’s Imperial Apocalypse and Aftermath – A theoretical and historical examination of the origins and evolution of modern Japanese cultural space (delivered every June in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016 at Sophia University, Tokyo, as part of the university’s Summer Studies in Japanese Culture program for visiting foreign students)

5. Sheftall, M.G. Public lecture on the significance of the kamikaze exhibit at the Battleship Missouri Museum (delivered at Battleship Missouri Museum, Pearl Harbor, Hawai’i, April 11, 2015)

[図書](計 3件)

1. Sheftall, M.G. “Kyōsei: Cultural space, multiculturalism, and the prospect of a ‘post-homogenous’ Japan”, 410 (pp.11-39) in Nagy, S. (ed.) *Japan’s Demographic Revival: Rethinking Migration, Identity and Sociocultural Norms* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2016)

2. Sheftall, M.G. “The Last Kamikaze”, 346 (pp. 76-77) in Chandler, D.P., Cribb, R., and Narangoa, L. (eds.), *End of Empire: 100 Days in 1945 that Changed Asia and the World* (Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS Press, 2016).

3. Sheftall, M.G. “War memoirs from the shadows: Contested war experience narratives in an Occupation Era Japanese veterans’ group,” 300 (pp. 253-269) in Twomey, C. and Koh, E. (eds.), *The Pacific War: Aftermaths, Remembrance and Culture* (London, UK: Routledge, 2014).

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

1. “Battleship Missouri Opens New Exhibit of Kamikaze Artifacts Never Before Shown Outside Japan”

<https://ussmissouri.org/press/press-releases/battleship-missouri-opens-new-exhibit-of-kamikaze-artifacts-never-before-shown-outside-japan>

2. “Japan-U.S. effort to tell suicide pilots’ stories dodges controversy, wins praise”

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2015/05/03/issues/japan-u-s-effort-tell-suicide-pilots-stories-dodges-controversy-wins-praise/#.WydLzK19hTY>

3. Sheftall, M.G. “How Japan’s youth see the kamikaze pilots of World War Two” (interview on BBC World Radio, broadcast November 3, 2017)

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-393512621>

## 6 . 研究組織

### (1)研究代表者

M.G. Sheftall (SHEFTALL, M.G.)

静岡大学情報学部・社会学科・教授

研究者番号: 90334953

### (2)研究分担者

西村 明 (NISHIMURA, Akira)

東京大学・大学院人文社会系研究科 (文学部)・准教授

研究者番号: 00381145

Sven Saaler (SAALER, Sven)

上智大学・国際教養学部・教授

研究者番号: 70401205

### (3)連携研究者

朝長 万左男 (TOMONAGA, Masao)

長崎大学・原爆後遺症医療研究所・名誉教授

研究者番号: 40100854

### (4)研究協力者

田中 熙巳 (TANAKA, Terumi)

日本原水爆被害者団体協議会代表委員