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研究課題名(和文) 北海道における戦争と記憶――地域における歴史認識のケーススタディ――
研究課題名(英文) War and Memory in Hokkaido: A Case Study in the Regional Remembering and Commemoration of World War II
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研究成果の概要：

この研究は、日本人の戦争記憶／歴史認識における地方史の役割を明らかにした。戦争体験と集団記憶は国のレベルだけではなく、地方のレベルでも思い出され、語られている。本研究は北海道をケーススタディにし、戦争記憶における出身地域の重要性を調査した。北海道には独自の歴史があり、それは道内メディアによって報道されている。日本人の歴史認識に関しては多くの研究がなされてきたが、本研究では特に英語圏でこれまで研究されてこなかった側面を明らかにした。

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1. 研究開始当初の背景

2007年に日本人の戦争記憶に関する本を出版した。その研究の重要なテーマの一つである地方における戦争記憶に関してさらに深く調査を行うためのプロジェクトである。

2. 研究の目的

北海道民にとって重要な戦争体験／記憶を調査し、さらに戦争史はどのように北海道で語れてきたかを調査する。

3. 研究の方法

各地でのフィールドワーク（主な史跡や資料館等を訪ねる）、文献調査、戦争体験者／歴史家／新聞記者等のインタビュー

4. 研究成果

This three-year project “War and Memory in Hokkaido, A Case Study in the Regional Remembering of World War II”, has

looked at war history and memory in Japan through the lens of local history in Hokkaido. During the course of the three years, the project realized three refereed papers and three conference presentations. Other papers are currently being written, and it is hoped that a book will be published in the coming years.

The contribution of this research to the international scholarly literature can be categorized in two main ways: 1) an increased and diversified profile for Hokkaido within Japanese studies, 2) development of themes of local history within the field of war memories and commemoration.

Judging by the volume of research in English about Hokkaido, history in Hokkaido is often synonymous with Ainu history. The Northern Territories dispute has also featured prominently in the literature, particular regarding international relations with Russia. Important as Ainu history and the Northern Territories dispute undoubtedly are, there are many other aspects of history in Hokkaido deserving of international scholarly attention. This project, it is hoped, has helped promote a broader interest among international scholars in Hokkaido.

The project has also provided an opportunity to develop a theme first presented in Seaton's book *Japan's Contested War Memories* (2007, Routledge), namely the importance of local history for understanding broader Japanese war memories. A focus on local history implicitly assumes that there is a distinctive set of collective memories in Hokkaido that is *a subset of national memories*, but also characteristic and distinctive enough to be analyzed in its own right. This presupposes a number of conditions, in

particular: local identity – a group of people who form an “imagined community” at the local level (in this case Hokkaidoites, or *domin*); a public sphere of debate – local media that presents and debates war history in a characteristic way; and an official narrative – an identifiable narrative disseminated by local politicians, government and officials. This research has demonstrated that these conditions are all satisfied in the case of Hokkaido.

As such, this case study allows the addition of an extra level of complexity and nuance to the study of Japanese war memories by suggesting a theoretical framework and providing a concrete example that together demonstrate how local (Hokkaido) identities and memories fit within and relate to national memories. In the context of international war memory theory, the relevance of local/regional memories is an important but relatively underdeveloped theme. The development of a theory of “local within national war memories” can be considered the key theoretical contribution of this project to the international war memories literature.

The following is a summary of the results of the research so far in six published articles and conference presentations.

- 1) The conference paper “War Memories in Hokkaido” (presented at the British Association for Japanese Studies conference in March 2007) outlined the overall theoretical approach of this research project. In particular, it sought to define what comes within the scope of “war memories in Hokkaido”. There are two main criteria: a) memories of those people who are or consider themselves to be from Hokkaido, and b)

memories of events during the war that occurred in Hokkaido. These two criteria, plus the important notion of the *cultural power of narratives*, help to set the parameters for this research.

So, for example, a person living in Kushiro today who experienced the air raids of 14-15 July 1945 satisfies both criteria and clearly falls within the scope of the “war memories in Hokkaido” project. A soldier in the Seventh (Hokkaido) Division of the Imperial Japanese Army who served in China and returned to Hokkaido after the war satisfies the first criteria: “memories of someone from Hokkaido”. A Korean slave laborer in a Hokkaido coalmine, by contrast, satisfies the second criteria: “memories of war events in Hokkaido”. In general, these three patterns form the core of distinctive local memories, or those with greatest local cultural power.

But at the peripheries there are people and memories that do not fit so clearly into the category of Hokkaido war memories. For example, a person from Hiroshima who experienced the A-bomb but moved to Hokkaido after the war only loosely fits the definition of someone “from Hokkaido”, and the war experience was not in Hokkaido at all. However, despite the weaker cultural power of such narratives as *local narratives* within Hokkaido, this person’s experiences help to clarify the inter-linkage and overlap between national and local memories, and thereby act as a reminder that local memories always exist in the context of broader national memories.

This paper also outlined the ways in which local history is disseminated via local media, most notably local NHK television news

and the prefectural broadsheet *Hokkaido Shinbun*.

2) The paper “Family, Friends, Furusato” (*The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2007) drew on the testimony of people from Hokkaido to illustrate how war memory creation in Japan starts “closest to home”. International observers of Japanese war memory and commemoration (particularly in the news media) often take a “macro to micro” approaches, namely starting from analysis of the position of the Japanese government, or assuming that people employ primarily national identity when they remember war experiences. This paper advocated a “micro to macro” approach through an understanding of memories rooted in the local: family, friendship groups (such as veterans associations) and local communities. The key theoretical justification for this is that however strong the bonds are to the “imagined community” (in Benedict Anderson’s famous expression) of the nation, there are also bonds to the “intimate, lived communities” of family, friendship groups and local community that are often much stronger.

The paper also demonstrates how the coexistence of local and national identities is vital for understanding how Japanese people can display otherwise seemingly contradictory sentiments about the war. In particular, the local—national distinction is vital for understanding an important pattern within judgments on war responsibility among ordinary Japanese people: the “military/nation other” aggressed while the “local/personal self” suffered.

The paper also analyzes how commemorative practices differ at the local and

national level. In particular, it is very difficult for the state to become a leader of national mourning for Japan's civilian victims because the state can be widely blamed for being partly or largely responsible for that civilian suffering. Instead, the key commemorations for civilian victims (such as Hiroshima, Okinawa and others places around the nation, including Hokkaido) are conducted at the local level. By contrast, military commemorations are mainly the responsibility of the state (that conscripted soldiers and asked them to fight and die for their country). Even here, however, there are important local commemorations because the divisions of the Imperial Japanese Army were raised locally, and fallen soldiers are commemorated in prefectural Gokoku Shrines as well as at Yasukuni Shrine.

All such issues illustrate the importance of local memories and commemorations within national memories.

3) The refereed paper "Vietnam and Iraq in Japan" (*The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2008) stemmed from a talk at Hokkaido University given by former US marine Allen Nelson, who served in Vietnam and was for many years a peace activist (up until his death early in 2009). Much of the paper was based on Nelson's Vietnam experiences, but it also discussed the organization and motivations of local peace activists, and the protests against live fire exercises and the American military presence in Hokkaido at the SDF's Yausubetsu firing range.

One of the main conclusions was that contemporary peace activism in Japan cannot be understood without reference to Japan's past wars, not least because the contemporary SDF was shaped by the postwar settlement and the

resulting Japanese—American alliance. The paper also compared how memories of Vietnam in America bear many of the hallmarks of memories of World War II in Japan. As such, Hokkaido provided the setting for a broader discussion of international and national issues relating to the legacies of Japan's involvement in World War II.

4) The refereed paper "The Hokkaido Toyoko Summit as a Springboard for Grassroots Reconciliation Initiatives" (*The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2008, co-authored with Lukasz Zablonki) documented the "Peace, Reconciliation and Civil Society" conference held in Sapporo during the G8 summit in July 2008. It analyzed how some local activist groups have taken the initiative in acknowledging Japanese war responsibility as what they judge to be the first vital step towards promoting reconciliation, and therefore lasting peace, with neighboring Asian countries. This insight creates the important distinction between "for peace" activism and "for reconciliation" activism among Japan's diverse civic groups.

The symposium and paper covered a variety of issues relating to colonization and war in Hokkaido: reconciliation with Ainu for the colonization of Hokkaido, the testimony activities of local soldiers confessing to war crimes, the contemporary debates over compensation and apology, and in particular the work of the group Hokkaido Forum in the unearthing and repatriation of the remains of Korean forced laborers. In a manner similar to the paper about Allen Nelson, this paper outlined how memories and legacies of the war are a very real part of people's lives in Hokkaido in the

twenty-first century.

5) The conference paper “Memories of War Devastation” (presented at the International Oral History Conference, September 2008) analyzed how the prefectural broadsheet *Hokkaido Shinbun* commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the war in 2005 with a series of 100 articles (subsequently published as the book *Senka no Kioku*, 2005) giving the testimony of people living in Hokkaido. This paper, based on interviews with the two journalists in charge of the series and follow-up interviews with some of the original interviewees, clarified the role and practices of *Hokkaido Shinbun* as a key disseminator of local war history and narratives within Hokkaido.

In particular, the paper highlighted the motivations of both interviewees and the newspaper in producing/contributing to such a testimony series. The series is also an invaluable insight into how Hokkaidoites organize their own memories at a local level. The series was divided into military and civilian testimony, namely a different albeit broadly compatible categorization to the “from Hokkaido” or “war experience in Hokkaido” categorization outlined above.

6) The Symposium Paper “World War II in Japan’s Regions” was given as an invited speaker at the International Conference “War Memories, Monuments and Media” held at Ateneo de Manila University in The Philippines (February 2009). While re-presenting some of the conclusions from earlier papers it also introduced the Hokkaido Gokoku Shrine issue.

In Asahikawa a protest movement has developed against official commemorations at

Hokkaido Gokoku Shrine, most notably relating to the participation of the prefectural governor (or his/her representative), the mayor of Asahikawa and senior SDF officials. The protests focus on the constitutional separation of religion and the state, namely the participation of public officials in religious rites. While this is similar to the Yasukuni issue, the lack of a class-A war criminals issue or diplomatic spats over the commemorations at Hokkaido Gokoku Shrine mean that this controversy continues largely out of the gaze of public and media scrutiny. As such, the controversy illustrates that actions that would cause domestic and international furor at a national/Yasukuni level can pass largely unnoticed at a local level. The local level provides vital context for understanding and contextualizing some of the most important debates within Japanese war memories and commemoration of the military dead.

In summary, the published/presented results of the project so far have treated a diverse range of issues relating to local memories and commemoration in Hokkaido. The project has introduced many case studies in English for the first time, as well as making a distinctive theoretical contribution to the international war memories literature. This project will be ongoing as there are many important issues yet to make their way into papers. Ultimately, it is hoped that a book resulting from the project will provide a permanent record of this fascinating local case study within Japanese war memories.

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)

1) Lukasz Zablonki and Philip Seaton, 'The Hokkaido Toyako Summit as a Springboard for Grassroots Reconciliation Initiatives: The "Peace, Reconciliation and Civil Society" Symposium, (2008) *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/-Lukasz-Zablonki/2973>

2) 'Vietnam and Iraq in Japan: Japanese and American Grassroots Peace Activism', (2008) *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Philip-Seaton/2726>

3) 'Family, Friends and Furusato: "Home" in the formation of Japanese war memories', (2007) *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*. <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Philip-Seaton/2469>

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1) "World War II in Japan's Regions: Memories, Monuments and Media in Hokkaido", Proceedings of the International Symposium *War Memories, Monuments and Media* (6 February 2009, Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines).

2) "Memories of War Devastation: War Generation Testimony in the *Hokkaido Newspaper*", Proceedings of the 15th International Oral History Conference, (23-26 September 2008, Guadalajara, Mexico).

3) "War and Memory in Hokkaido", British Association for Japanese Studies, Annual Conference (Norwich, March 2007).

〔その他〕

<http://www.philipseaton.net/Hokkaido%20project/hokkaido.html>

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