

How and why have attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared
wartime history changed since the end of World War II?

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I - Introduction and Hypothesis

This thesis will examine how attitudes in Japan towards the shared wartime history between Japan and Taiwan have changed since the end of the World War II (WWII) up to the present day. I have chosen to examine these attitudes in three periods. The first period runs from the end of WWII up to the Japanese transfer of recognition from Taiwan to China as the legitimate government of China in 1972.¹ The transfer of recognition from the ROC (Republic of China, also known as Taiwan) to the PRC (People's Republic of China) constituted an important change in Japan's relations with Taiwan, shifting the emphasis to the PRC which thus makes 1972 a suitable time to end the first period I will examine. The second period runs from the end of the first period to 1992. The first full election to the Taiwanese legislature was held in 1992² and this demonstration that Taiwan had democratised significantly improved Taiwan's reputation in Japan.³ This boost to Taiwan's reputation in Japan occurred almost synchronously with the end of the Cold War which greatly affected Japan's international relations, thus making 1992 a suitable point to terminate the second period of my examination. The final period begins in 1992 and continues to the present day and is concerned with how attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history has continued to change in light of developments since 1992, such as the development of the PRC, increasing nationalism in Japan and political change in Taiwan. The subheadings that I will use in the second, third and fourth sections represent aspects through which I will analyse what Japanese attitudes were and are and how and why these attitudes changed. I will therefore be writing about how people in Japan have thought about Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history, how such attitudes have been expressed and why those attitudes have changed over time.

¹ Glaubitz, J "Japanese Relations in Northeast Asia: China and Soviet Interference" in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. 1998. München : Iudicium Verlag. p 237

² Tien, H; Shiau, C (1992) "Taiwan's democratization: A summary" *World Affairs* Vol. 155 (2) p58-62

³ Thim, M; Matsuoka, M (2014, May) *The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan's Unlikely Friendship*. *The Diplomat*

This thesis is important because it is concerned with war memory in Japan and to a lesser extent in Taiwan. War memory and the debates that come from different memories continue to exert a pernicious effect upon East Asian politics.⁴ An exploration of how memories of shared experiences change and why they change is important because it can reveal how war memory is expressed and also what factors can change the attitudes that war memory produces. An understanding of how the attitudes created from war memories are expressed and how they are shaped can help in the cultivation of attitudes that reflect the truth and the expunging of those that spring from deception. In addition, an understanding of how attitudes towards shared wartime history affect the generally positive Japan-Taiwan relationship may reveal how shared wartime experiences may be used to repair, rather than ravage Japan's relationships with countries such as China and South Korea, with whom Japan's relations are far worse than Japan-Taiwan relations.

I hypothesise that attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history have moved from a position of cultivated ignorance in the first period I will discuss to one of tentative discussion in the second period. During the third period, I hypothesise that attitudes have become increasingly polarised with resurgent nationalists defending everything connected to Japan in Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history and pacifists and socialists decrying what the nationalists praise. I hypothesise that this political polarisation has affected the population at large and that there is a much more varied and vociferous assortment of attitudes on the topic of Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history since the early 1990s that there was before. With regards to why these attitudes have changed, I hypothesise that attitudes in the early period (1945-1972) were largely the result of internal factors in Japan such as public sentiment and occupation policy. In the middle period (1972-1992) internal factors were still important but outside factors, especially the end of the Cold War and the

⁴ Farley, R (2015, December) Why Post-WWII Reconciliation Failed in East Asia. The Diplomat

growing economic and political importance of other countries in East Asia was having an increasing effect on Japanese attitudes. Finally, the late period (1992-present day) has been affected by a combination of internal and external factors, some of which are the result of non-state actors compared to the domination of states in the sculpting of attitudes which was more accurate in the earlier periods.

II - Attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1945 until 1972

I will now examine how attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1945 to 1972 by looking at how different ways in which these attitudes were expressed.

1. The treatment of Taiwanese nationals by Japanese nationals

After the end of WWII, Taiwanese living in Japan who had formerly been Japanese subjects lost their Japanese nationality and became foreigners resident in Japan.⁵ The treatment meted out to these Taiwanese who had only recently lost their Japanese nationality, both on the part of the Japanese authorities and the Japanese population indicate that any kind of comradeship or fraternity which had existed during WWII was swiftly extirpated. Kushner has noted that Taiwanese resident in Japan who had formerly held Japanese nationality were known as *kimin* (棄民), meaning abandoned people, showing that these Taiwanese who were results of the shared Japan-Taiwan wartime experience were the object of contempt in the eyes of the Japanese population. The inferior legal status of Taiwanese compared to Japanese, along with the involvement of Taiwanese in the black market due to economic difficulties exacerbated relations between the two groups, which were hardly harmonious even during the empire.⁶ Kushner points to the Shibuya Incident of 17th July 1946 in which an argument between a Taiwanese national and a Japanese police officer quickly escalated into a conflict involving the police, a Japanese gang and more Taiwanese individuals.⁷ This conflict demonstrates the hostility which prevailed between the Taiwanese living in Japan and the Japanese and shows rather than the shared wartime history bringing the two groups together,

⁵ Kushner, B (2010) "Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the Dilemma of War Crimes" Japanese Studies Vol.30 (1) p 124

⁶ Ibid, pp. 124-125

⁷ Ibid, p 124

the Taiwanese were economically marginalised and looked down upon by the Japanese public. The arrest of forty Taiwanese after the Shibuya incident led to the intervention of the Chinese Nationalist government which successfully pressured the Allied occupation authorities to place on trial the police officers involved in the incident.⁸ Continuing pressure from representatives of the Nationalist government led to the occupation authorities to agree to register all Taiwanese and Chinese registered by the Chinese diplomatic mission as United Nations citizens.⁹ Furthermore, although citizens of Nationalist China were made to register as foreigners, they did gain diplomatic representation and removal from Japanese criminal jurisdiction, rights not afforded to Koreans in Japan.¹⁰ It is important to note here that the rights and representation gained by Chinese in Japan were acquired through Nationalist pressure on the occupation authorities, rather than any willingness from the Japanese themselves. . Indeed, the pejorative term ‘third country nationals’ (第三国人 - *Dai Sankokujin*) used to refer to Chinese and Koreans by Japanese and a speech by Diet member Saburo Shiikuma in which he said “We refuse to stand in silence watching Formosans and Koreans...swaggering about as if there were the nationals of victorious nations” show that Taiwanese in immediate postwar Japan were held in open contempt by both the Japanese public and political elites.¹¹ The stark division in the late 1940s in Japan between Japanese and Taiwanese and the suspicion and contempt shown to the Taiwanese by both the Japanese public and political elites show that the shared wartime history had been shunted aside and neither politicians nor the public in Japan paid the history of Taiwanese as soldiers or workers for the Japanese Empire's benefit much heed.

⁸Takemae, E, (2002) *The Allied Occupation of Japan*. New York: Continuum, p 451

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid, pp. 451-452

2. War Guilt, Culpability and Victimhood

The public perception of the Tokyo Trials, which were trials held after WWII to try the wartime Japanese leadership for war crimes, also showed that the Japanese public wished to forget the past and in doing so, disassociate themselves from the reminders of empire, such as the Taiwanese. Despite the censorship of the Allied General Headquarters (GHQ) which prohibited media defence of the defendants, and the perception that the trial constituted victors' justice; the trial received widespread support from the Japanese media and was seen by contemporary scholars as a means to leave behind the past and permit Japan to be rehabilitated in the future.¹² This shows that the Tokyo trial were seen to provide closure for the Japanese people through the punishment of those responsible for the war, allowing the rest of the population to continue without the burden of guilt. The trial sharpened the anger felt though Japan towards the wartime leadership, who were naturally blamed for the hardships of the war. The trial helped to develop this attitude to a point of victim consciousness, whereby the execution or imprisonment of the guilty wartime leadership would leave the rest of the population innocent.¹³ In addition, the Tokyo trial faded from public view very quickly after the conclusion of proceedings. Of the 1270 articles referring to the trial in the database of the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper, 1138 were published between 1945 and 1948, with a mere 12 articles appearing in 1949 compared to 325 in 1948.¹⁴ This reinforces the claim that with the guilty parties imprisoned or executed, there was little more for the media to report on or for the populace to know as the main purpose of the trial, the punishment of those guilty, had already been carried out. The *Mainichi Shimbun* even wrote on the day that seven defendants were executed in December 1948 that, "Nobody can assert that they are the only criminals and that all other Japanese people opposed the war ... the

¹²Futamura, M (2011) "Japanese Societal Attitudes Towards the Tokyo Trial: A Contemporary Perspective" *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 9 (29) p2

¹³Ibid, p3

¹⁴Ibid

responsibility of having caused the tragedy should be shared by the whole nation.”¹⁵ This injunction that the populace should not consider the war to be the result of a cabal of politicians and generals, rather than the country at large would not need to be voiced, unless there were already considerable numbers of people thinking exactly that.

On the day on which sentences were declared, an editorial in the *Asahi Shimbun* told its readers “What we need to bear in mind is that this Trial demands the complete burial of the past Japan coloured with the militarism which was cultivated by the defendants.”¹⁶ The view that the Tokyo Trial constituted a part of the settlement of the war is shared by many Japanese up to the present day and the trial was seen as part of the Allied move towards demilitarisation and democratisation.¹⁷ However, the trials were not seen as means by which the Japanese public could consider how the war happened and how culpable the public at large were for it.¹⁸ For most of the Japanese population, the Tokyo Trial punished the clear villains of imperial Japan who had distorted Japanese modernity and with due punishment meted out, the country and people were clear of the imperial past and could begin again. The desire of the Japanese population to ascribe blame to the wartime leadership and then quickly move away from the past to a brighter future left no room for reflection on the shared wartime past with Taiwan as it constituted part of the same past that the population wished to lie dead and forgotten along with the convicted defendants of the Tokyo Trials.

During the postwar 1940s, the victimhood mentality that would emerge in late years was not present due to American efforts to democratise and demilitarise Japan and in doing so, change the identity of the Japanese to prevent the future outbreak of war¹⁹; a goal that left no room for a victim mentality. The decision to turn Japan into a fortress against communism

¹⁵Ibid, pp3-4

¹⁶Ibid, p5

¹⁷Ibid, pp5,13

¹⁸ Ibid, p 5

¹⁹ Suh, J (2007) "War-like history or diplomatic history? Contentions over the past and regional orders in Northeast Asia" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 61 (3) p 393

in 1949 derailed the pacifist project and laid the seeds for the victimhood mentality.²⁰ The victimhood mentality which nurtured the idea that the Japanese people had been the victims rather than aggressors during WWII and before during Japan's empire building emerged during the 1950s²¹ This victim mentality undermined the potential for Japanese to consider their shared history with Taiwan as the victim mentality placed Japanese suffering at the centre and denied a place for non-Japanese victims.

3. Narratives of WWII disseminated by the Japanese Government in Japan

Japanese governments in the immediate postwar period also strove to disassociate Japan from its erstwhile empire through their actions inside Japan. Gluck has written that the postwar Japanese government attempted to expunge the wartime Japanese Empire from consciousness, simultaneously regretting the war and erasing memory of the empire.²² The Japanese government and US occupation jointly promoted the ideas that the past could be left behind and that a new Japan could begin; that the execution of the convicted war criminals by the Allies constituted a break with the tainted past and that the modernity represented by the wartime leadership was an aberration but which could now be rectified by the postwar leadership.²³ The promotion of these ideas by postwar Japanese governments in the late 1940s did not leave a place for Taiwanese who had so recently been Japanese. Just as the public desire to cut links with the past marginalised Taiwanese, so the desire of Japanese governments to forge a Japan bereft of a connection to the wartime past left the shared history between Japan and Taiwan an embarrassing reminder of an age that Japanese governments wanted to forget.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Zwigenberg, R (2015) "Entangled Memories: Israel, Japan and the Emergence of Global Memory Culture" *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 13(32)

²² Gluck, C "The Past in the Present", in *Postwar Japan as History*. 1993. Berkeley, California etc. : University of California Press. p68

²³ Ibid, pp 69-70

4. Cooperation between the Japanese and Taiwanese Governments

Following the end of WWII, some Japanese economic, military and political leaders cooperated with the Guomindang (GMD - The Nationalist Party that went on to rule Taiwan after their defeat by the Chinese Communist Party and expulsion from China) in China in economic reconstruction efforts which indicated a degree of penitence amongst the Japanese who assisted. Yasuji Okamura, who had been commander-in-chief of the Japanese army in China wrote that “Japan should contribute to the future restoration of the empire and the reconstruction of East Asia by clearing up the misunderstanding between itself and China and by helping China strengthen wherever possible.”²⁴ This wish for Japan-China cooperation was echoed in a dispatch to Nanjing by Mamoru Shigemitsu, the Japanese foreign minister who promoted Japanese-Chinese cooperation.²⁵ These views of these military and political elites that Japan should cooperate with China were echoed by Japanese technicians who stayed in China, who felt that Japan should pay for its defeat and that service in Japan would constitute a form of reparation for Japan's invasion.²⁶ This economic cooperation between Japan and GMD-ruled China indicated that there was some feeling among Japanese that the shared wartime history necessitated acts of atonement on the Japanese side. The role of economic cooperation in building bridges over the past with evident to both sides, with one Chinese director remarking to Japanese technicians that “We do not create inequality between Japanese and Chinese...by taking a firm first step, we can settle the past and build the foundation of Sino-Japanese relations.”²⁷

This rapprochement between Japanese and Chinese did not last due to a combination of factors, principally American suspicion that that Japanese technicians in China may be

²⁴ Yang, D “Resurrecting the Empire? Japanese Technicians in Postwar China, 1945 -1949”, in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. 1998. München : Iudicium Verlag. pp. 186-187

²⁵ *Ibid*, p 187

²⁶ *Ibid*, p 195

²⁷*Ibid*, p 191

harbingers of a resurgence of Japanese influence in China, pressure from the Soviet Union for Japan to withdraw Japanese technicians in China and the fear among the Nationalist Government that Japanese technicians would be captured by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)²⁸ Cooperation between Japan and China that was at least partly prompted by the wartime history between the two countries was cut short largely due to external pressure on the Japanese government. A survey by the Japanese government of expatriates from Manchuria revealed that while many supported the idea of cooperation between Japan and China, there were sharp divisions in opinion, with some affirming that Japanese leadership was required for such cooperation to be successful.²⁹ Whilst the wartime experience was a prominent factor motivating Japanese to assist GMD China development, the view that Japanese leadership was fundamental and Okamura's comments about the 'restoration of the empire' show that ideas of Japanese pre-eminence were still very much around.

5. Taiwan's place in Japanese Diplomacy

Limited cooperation in the late 1940s aside, sentiment in Japan in the 1950s and the decisions made by the Japanese leadership illustrate a emphasis on the PRC rather than the ROC (Taiwan) and thus a lack of concern with the shared wartime history with Taiwan. The pressure the US government exerted on their Japanese counterparts to see the 1950 Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship as a threat clashed with a Japanese view that mixed a sense of guilt towards the PRC with a perception that communism had not thoroughly permeated the Chinese body politic.³⁰ Shigeru Yoshida, the Japanese Prime Minister widely regarded as having established the fundamental of postwar Japanese foreign policy; wished to recognise

²⁸ Ibid, pp 192-193, 199-200

²⁹ Ibid, p 204

³⁰ Braddick, C "In the Shadow of the Monolith: Yoshida Shigeru and Japan's China Policy During the Early Cold War Years, 1949-1954" in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. 1998. München : Iudicium Verlag. pp. 207-208

Beijing over Taipei. This was in contrast to the American peace treaty negotiator John Foster Dulles who supported Taipei over Beijing.³¹ The Japanese public overwhelmingly favoured full diplomatic relations with the PRC³², showing that both at elite and public level, attitudes in Japan were much more concerned with China than Taiwan. Only the influence of the US during Yoshida's premiership and the preponderance of American economic and political clout relative to Japan brought about Japanese recognition of the ROC.³³

The Taipei Treaty of 1952, which ended the state of war between Japan and China (GMD on Taiwan), along with the negotiations leading up to it demonstrate the aversion of the Japanese government to negotiating with the Nationalists. The Japanese government, cognisant of the value of economic ties with CCP-controlled (mainland) China treated the Nationalists as merely a local government on Taiwan.³⁴ This would have satisfied the US whilst also leaving open the possibility of pursuing relations with the PRC.³⁵ The negotiations show that the leadership was primarily concerned with the economic benefits of relations with the PRC and that the shared wartime history with Taiwan played no role in Japanese diplomatic considerations. Crucially, despite a long tirade by the GMD representative enumerating the destruction caused by Japan's invasion of China, the treaty ending war between (GMD) China and Japan was signed without reference to war guilt.³⁶ The absence of any references to war guilt, along with the waiving of reparations demands that had featured in the Chinese draft³⁷ allowed the Japanese government to consider their obligations discharged by the signing of the treaty. The inclusion of references to war guilt or obligation on the part of Japan to pay reparations to Taiwan would have kept the shared wartime history

³¹ Ibid, p 208

³² Ibid, p 127

³³ Ibid, p 231

³⁴ Van de Ven, H "The 1952 Treaty of Peace between China and Japan" in *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II*. 2015. Stanford, California : Stanford University Press. p 229

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid, p 233

³⁷ Ibid, p 234

between Japan and Taiwan diplomatically relevant as the history would have explained the reasoning behind war guilt and reparations. Instead, the absence of such obligations meant that the Japanese government was able to discard the shared past with Taiwan and negotiate with the Taiwanese leadership without the spectre of history influencing them.

6. Taiwan's image in Japan

The collapse of Japan's overseas empire, the triumph of the CCP in China and the occupation of Japan by the US and Japan's alignment on the capitalist side in the Cold War ensured that Japan would be economically and culturally isolated from East Asia. This isolation had the effect of rendering Taiwan unimportant to Japan and making it easy to ignore Taiwanese concerns. The usefulness of Japan to the US, as a host of American military bases but also as an economic barrier to prevent the spread of communism meant that the American occupation of Japan was more lenient than it would otherwise have been.³⁸ The integration of Japan into the capitalist bloc and the spread of American culture³⁹ meant that the wartime experience of Americans would not be forgotten in Japan as American influence and culture affected Japan enough that forgetting the US was not possible. By contrast, Taiwan lacked a strong cultural or economic presence in Japan during the late 1940s and 1950s and this meant that the wartime experiences of Taiwanese were easily forgotten. The low status of Taiwanese living in Japan and the perception that Taiwan was not a victor of WWII made it easier to dismiss the shared wartime history between Taiwan and Japan.

³⁸ Farley, R (2015, December) Why Post-WWII Reconciliation Failed in East Asia. *The Diplomat*

³⁹ Taylor, A (2014, March) Japan in the 1950s. *The Atlantic*

7. Identity Politics and Historiography in Taiwan

The fervour with which the GMD attempted to Sinify the Taiwanese population after WWII and erase the Japanese past made it easier for the Japanese to ignore the shared wartime history because the Taiwanese attempted to extirpate that same history. The political importance of Sinification by the GMD has been alluded to by Jiu Jung Lo when she writes that despite possessing the trappings of Japan, such as food, clothing, language and dwellings, the GMD thought that sufficient Sinification of the Taiwanese could convince Chinese that they (the Taiwanese) remained fundamentally Chinese.⁴⁰ The narrative of history that the GMD promoted in Taiwan reflected the Chinese experience of WWII and the Sino-Japanese War before that, not the Taiwanese experience. The historical truth that Taiwanese, as the Japanese Emperor's subjects had fought against Chinese during WWII was incompatible with this narrative.⁴¹ With the exception of very infrequent media reports on attempts by Taiwanese veterans to gain compensation from the Japanese governments and the appearance of such soldiers in a few films Taiwanese who fought for Japan were almost unknown in Taiwan during the 1945-1972 period.⁴²

The conflict between the GMD and the CCP which was the foremost concern of the GMD after the end of Japanese rule also resulted in the hiring by the GMD of Japanese military personnel to train Taiwanese soldiers for the eventual conquest of China.⁴³ The use of Japanese advisors, the GMD leader Kaishek Chiang's policy of 'to repay hatred with kindness' (以德报怨) regarding the Japanese and his view that the 'Japanese military clique' were the enemy, not the Japanese people and that revenge should not be sought upon those

⁴⁰ Kushner, B (2010) "Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the Dilemma of War Crimes" Japanese Studies Vol.30 (1) p 113

⁴¹ Lan, M "Neither victors nor victims: transplanted/suppressed memories of the Sino-Japanese War in postwar Taiwan" IAS Newsletter, September 2005, p 11

⁴² Ibid, p 806

⁴³ Kushner, B (2010) "Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the Dilemma of War Crimes" Japanese Studies Vol.30 (1) p 126

who were innocent⁴⁴ all indicated that while the GMD wanted to make Taiwanese into Chinese, they also wanted Japanese assistance and were not willing to alienate the Japanese government whilst the ROC was still at war with the PRC. All these factors had the result of repressing memories of shared wartime history within Taiwan and keeping it hidden in Taiwanese dealings with Japan in order to gain Japanese support against China.

Summary of this period

In sum, during the early postwar period (1945-1972) Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history was ignored and buried in Japan. This was because the Japanese public and political elites wanted to disassociate postwar Japan from wartime Japan and the shared wartime history between the two countries was a part of the history that Japanese wanted to forget. In addition, the view that the Tokyo Trials constituted the final judgement of the military leaders deemed responsible for the war mitigated against any feelings of guilt in Japan over the shared history with Taiwan. The poverty and backwardness of postwar Taiwan meant that Japan had little to gain by engaging with it and the position of Japan as part of the capitalist bloc in the Cold War with American support meant Japan had little need to engage in difficult questions of war memory for little gain. The Taiwanese conflict with China and the GMD's Sinification efforts meant that the Taiwanese side also preferred to leave the shared wartime past buried.

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp 119-120

III - Attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1972 until 1992

I will now examine how attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1972 to 1992 by looking at how different ways in which these attitudes were expressed and explain continuity and change from the previous period.

1. The treatment of Taiwanese nationals by Japanese nationals

The discovery of several imperial Japanese soldiers during the 1970s and the reception they received in Japan shows that the Japanese public made a stark distinction between soldiers who were still Japanese citizens and those who had come from Japan's onetime colonies and who were thus no longer Japanese. Shoichi Yokoi was feted upon his return to Japan in 1972 and although his references to the Emperor were regarded as embarrassing by younger Japanese, he was admired for his determination.⁴⁵ He was lauded as a hero at a welcoming ceremony at when he arrived back in Japan, which was televised across the country and was afterwards sent money, gifts and even offers of marriage by a public that admired his dedication and devotion.⁴⁶ Hiroo Onoda, who returned to Japan in 1974 after 29 years in the Philippines was welcomed by speeches, parades and ecstatic crowds.⁴⁷ The *Mainichi Shimbun* remarked that “To this soldier, duty took precedence over personal sentiments. Onoda has shown us... the spiritual aspect, something we may have forgotten.”⁴⁸ Onoda was provided with a military pension and also signed a \$160,000

⁴⁵Kristof, N (1997, September 26) Shoichi Yokoi, 82, Is Dead; Japan Soldier Hid 27 Years. The New York Times. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/26/world/shoichi-yokoi-82-is-dead-japan-soldier-hid-27-years.html>

⁴⁶Ibid

⁴⁷McFadden, R (2014, January 17) Hiroo Onoda, Soldier Who Hid in Jungle for Decades, Dies at 91. The New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/18/world/asia/hiroo-onoda-imperial-japanese-army-officer-dies-at-91.html?_r=0

⁴⁸Ibid

contract for a ghost written memoir entitled ‘No Surrender: My-Thirty Year War.’⁴⁹ Both soldiers were thus given a very warm welcome when they returned to Japan as although they were both reminders of the wartime experience, they represented virtues such as loyalty, diligence and patriotism which the public found palatable.

By contrast, the media frenzy which surrounded Yokoi and Onoda and which briefly enveloped Teruo Nakamura quickly dissipated when it was discovered that not only was he not Japanese, but he was a Taiwanese aboriginal.⁵⁰ Nakamura was a member of the Amis Tribe and had been forced into the Takasago Volunteer Unit of the Imperial Army in 1943, a situation distinct from that of Yokoi or Onoda.⁵¹ Ultimately, Nakamura was offered only half the amount paid to other Japanese soldiers for lost wages by the Japanese government.⁵² Media disquiet over this led the Japanese government to increase this amount to the equivalent of 380,000 New Taiwan Dollars (approximately 11700 USD) and Nakamura also received donations from Japan, Indonesia and Taiwan⁵³ Nakamura chose to return to Taiwan where he lived out the rest of his days.⁵⁴

As the above cases demonstrate, Nakamura, in contrast to Onoda and Yokoi was treated as an embarrassment. Lauding Yokoi and Onoda, despite their anachronistic declarations of loyalty to the Emperor, was acceptable as they had always been and remained, Japanese. Yet Nakamura, who had once been Japanese, at least legally, but was no longer, was a reminder of the empire that for most was an embarrassing memory or not even a memory for those under twenty. It is hardly surprising the Japanese media were rather less

⁴⁹Ibid

⁵⁰ Kushner, B (2010) “Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the Dilemma of War Crimes” Japanese Studies Vol.30 (1) p 111

⁵¹Bailey, T; Pratt, A (advisor) Japanese holdouts of World War Two: Honor, culture or self-preservation, (2014) p 14

⁵² Kushner, B (2010) “Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the Dilemma of War Crimes” Japanese Studies Vol.30 (1) p 111

⁵³Han, C (2016, January 3) The last holdout of Morotai. Taipei Times. Retrieved from: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2016/01/03/2003636296/1>

⁵⁴Ibid

enthusiastic about reporting on Nakamura when the thorny question of his identity carried such implications. However, the commotion which arose in Japan when it was known that Nakamura was offered only half the amount paid to Japanese soldiers for lost wages and the donations Nakamura received from Japanese demonstrate a modest change in attitudes amongst some of the population. Nakamura's choice to return to Taiwan rather than stay in Japan was blamed by many in Japan on the Japanese government and the publication of an article in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* with the headline "Let's greet Nakamura as a Japanese! He is just like Onoda"⁵⁵ show that a recognition of the shared wartime history between Taiwan and Japan in the sense that Taiwanese had fought and suffered as imperial subjects.

2. War Guilt, Culpability and Victimhood

With the Tokyo trials seen as a necessity for Japan to endure in order to begin again, no strong impetus for the consideration of guilt or culpability was instilled in the Japanese population after WWII. The indifference towards the question of guilt prevailed until the mid-1980s, when the release of the documentary film *Tokyo Saiban* (The Tokyo Trial) provoked public interest in issues of culpability.⁵⁶

The victimhood mentality that dates back to the 1950s continued to dominate Japanese understanding of the war which ignores the experiences of Japanese colonial subjects.⁵⁷ The Japanese public thus continued to see themselves foremost as victims rather than perpetrators which prevented connections between Japanese wartime suffering and Taiwanese wartime suffering being made.

⁵⁵ Trefalt, B (2003) *Japanese Army Stragglers and the Memories of the War in Japan, 1950-1975*. London: Routledge Curzon

⁵⁶ Futamura, M (2006) "Individual and Collective Guilt: Post-War Japan and the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal" *European Review* Vol. 14 (4) pp 475

⁵⁷ Zwigenberg, R (2015) "Entangled Memories: Israel, Japan and the Emergence of Global Memory Culture" *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 13(32)

However the death of the Showa Emperor in 1989 provided a break with the pre-war legacy and altered the atmosphere in which discussion of wartime events. The reluctance of Hirohito to talk about the Japanese Empire had mitigated open discussion of ideas such as war guilt and indeed his role as perpetrator made such discussion politically difficult.⁵⁸ With his death, public discussion about war guilt and the wartime experience became easier, including discussion of how Japanese aggression and rule affected other countries, such as Taiwan.

3. Narratives of WWII disseminated by the Japanese Government in Japan

The anti-war and anti-military message that Japanese history textbooks had disseminated since the beginning of the postwar period began to be seriously challenged in the 1980s under the premiership of Yasuhiro Nakasone.⁵⁹ Nakasone strove to make Japan a 'normal state', meaning a state with a military force that could operate as the forces of other states did and could do in collective defence situations.⁶⁰ Nakasone also endeavoured to instill a greater national pride in the Japanese population, remarking that " a Japanese people who have no interest in Japanese culture and independence... will receive no respect"⁶¹ These efforts to normalise and strengthen a regular military force and nationalism indicate that the Japanese government at this time was attempting to break free from restraints that resulted from defeat in WWII. The rise in nationalism that Nakasone helped to bring about was accompanied by claims by politicians such as Seisuke Okuno, the Director General of Japan's National Land Agency who in 1988 claimed that Japan was not the aggressor in WWII and

⁵⁸ Orr, J (2001) *The Victim as Hero*. University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu p. 34

⁵⁹ Suh, J (2007) "War-like history or diplomatic history? Contentions over the past and regional orders in Northeast Asia" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* Vol. 61 (3) pp 394-395

⁶⁰ Ibid, p 395

⁶¹ Jameson, S (1987, November 5) Failed to make Japan Respected, Nakasone Says. *LA Times*. Retrieved from: http://articles.latimes.com/1987-11-05/news/mn-18847_1_yasuhiro-nakasone

that Japan's aims in the war were defensive.⁶² The rise in nationalism that Japanese governments facilitated in the 1980s and the increase in positive views of Japanese imperialism that government officials voiced, whilst not directly concerning Taiwan, paved the way for the a positive view of Japan and Taiwan's shared history which was developed further in later decades. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the calamitous impact it had on left-wing parties across the world damaged socialist parties in Japan which were both antimilitarist and in favour of apologising for Japan's wartime deeds.⁶³ Japanese socialist parties, along with communists and trade unions published texts from the late 1940s from conscripted soldiers, which showed the cruelty of their commanders.⁶⁴ These groups also criticised PM Miyazawa in 1991 for failing to apologise for WWII, with the JSP (Japan Socialist Party) Chairman Tanabe stating that an apology should be for Asians as well as Americans.⁶⁵

4. Cooperation between the Japanese and Taiwanese Governments

The recognition of the PRC by Japan in 1972 and the consequent de-recognition of Taiwan meant that cooperation between Japan and Taiwan over issues relating to shared wartime history became harder.⁶⁶ The PRC stipulated that the Japanese government must regard the PRC government as the only legitimate government of the Chinese people and that Taiwan must be regarded as part of the PRC, in addition to abrogating the 1952 treaty with the GMD.⁶⁷ Dealing with the shared wartime history between Japan and Taiwan thus became

⁶² A Japanese View of WWII Is Attacked (1988, April 27) *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/04/27/world/a-japanese-view-of-world-war-ii-is-attacked.html>

⁶³ Zakowski, K (2011) "Kochikai of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party and Its Evolution After the Cold War" *The Korean Journal of International Studies* Vol. 9 (2) p 188

⁶⁴ Izumikawa, Y (2010) "Explaining Japanese Antimilitarism: Normative and Realist Constraints on Japan's Security Policy" *International Security* Vol. 35 (2) pp. 129

⁶⁵ Weisman, S (1991, Dec 9) Japan's Socialists Reproach Rulers for Refusal to Apologize for War. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/09/world/japan-s-socialists-reproach-rulers-for-refusal-to-apologize-for-war.html>

⁶⁶ Glaubitz, J "Japanese Relations in Northeast Asia: China and Soviet Interference" in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. 1998. München : IudiciumVerlag. p 237

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p 235

more complex as the PRC claimed Taiwanese citizens and their history as its own. The treatment the Japanese government accorded to Teruo Nakamura, culminating in his swift repatriation to Japan showed that Taiwanese veterans were merely an difficult problem that the Japanese government of the time wanted to pass on to the Taiwanese government, rather than a way of cooperating over the shared wartime past.

5. Taiwan's place in Japanese Diplomacy

The transfer of legitimacy by Japan from the ROC to the PRC in 1972 made Taiwan far less important to Japan diplomatically than it was previously; although it should be pointed out that Taiwan had not been important to Japan in the postwar period even prior to 1972. US President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 gave impetus to the move towards recognising the PRC in Tokyo⁶⁸; the alliance between Japan and the US made retaining recognition of Taiwan even more politically difficult. Nixon's visit acted as a catalyst on figures in Japanese society and media who favoured establishing relations with the PRC and the issue quickly dominated foreign policy discussion in the Japanese press.⁶⁹ Nixon's visit to China thus acted as a catalyst for the movement of attention in Japanese public and political circles away from Taiwan and towards China; with the effect that the shared wartime history between Japan and Taiwan was ignored.

However, the economic development of Japan's onetime colonies in East Asia, including Taiwan but also China and South Korea in the 1980s and the political and cultural influence that accompanied their economic exchanges with Japan led to the involvement of opinions on war memory that had previously been excluded.⁷⁰ This altered the Cold War

⁶⁸ Ibid, p 234

⁶⁹ Ibid, p 235

⁷⁰ Conrad, S (2010) *The Quest for the Lost Nation : Writing History in Germany and Japan in the American Century*. Berkeley : University of California Press. p 257

context in which Japan had been able to ignore the wartime experience of other East Asian countries due to their lack of political and economic clout. With economic development came political influence that brought about changes in Japanese diplomacy and views on history.

The end of the Cold War in 1991 brought about great changes to how war memory was discussed in Japan.⁷¹ The ideological conflict which had brought about the East-West rivalry suddenly became moot and conflict over the past took the place of ideological conflict in debates between states.⁷² Not only did other East Asian states become more relevant to Japan but Japan itself also became less relevant to the US, as the need to contain communism was no longer needed. The Gulf War epitomised the chasm between Japanese diplomacy and American diplomacy. The inability of the Japanese government to deploy troops, the psychological results of decades of pacifism amongst both the public and political elites and the derision with which Japan's financial contribution of \$1.4 billion was met, especially in the US, combined to affect change in government policy.⁷³ The decline in political relevance of Japan to the US increased the need for Japan to establish stronger ties with other countries in East Asia and to do so, it needed to heed the concerns of the countries regarding war memory. The economic development of Taiwan and the end of the Cold War thus both increased the salience of Taiwan in Japanese diplomacy which in turn raised the issue of the shared wartime experience as an issue between Japan and Taiwan.

6. Taiwan's image in Japan

Until the late 1980s, Taiwan was an authoritarian state under one-party GMD rule which contributed to the unfavourable image of Taiwan in Japan. However, changes in Taiwan, such as the 1987 abolition of martial law helped to improve Taiwan's image in

⁷¹ Ibid, p 254

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Togo, K (2010) Japan's foreign policy, 1945-2009 the quest for a proactive policy. Boston : Brill, p 78

Japan⁷⁴ and this helped to change the perception of Taiwan from a state that was beneath Japan's notice to one that Japan should engage with and recognise past connections with.

The improving of Taiwan's image in Japan has been concomitant with an increasing amount of criticism and suspicion towards the PRC amongst the Japanese populace.⁷⁵ The Tiananmen Massacre of June 1989 brought the sense of affinity the Japanese public felt for China down to 50%, from a 1980 mark of 78.6%, according to a Japanese government survey. This percentage remained at around 50% for rest of the 1990s,⁷⁶ showing that pro-Chinese feeling in Japan did not recover even after the immediate decline in affinity due to the Tiananmen Massacre.

By the beginning of the 1990s, Taiwan image in Japan had improved significantly whereas that of China has declined. This resulted in a more sympathetic view of Taiwan and Taiwanese history in the eyes of the Japanese public and political elites, making recognition of the shared wartime history more likely.

7. Identity Politics and Historiography in Taiwan

Political changes in Taiwan in the late 1980s and 1990s, especially democratisation changed how Taiwanese saw the shared history with Japan. Beginning with the lifting of martial law in 1987, social movements not only demanded the end of authoritarian GMD rule but also altered perceptions towards history.⁷⁷ The influence of the localisation movement also led to an increasing number of authors writing from a Taiwanese, rather than Chinese

⁷⁴ Sugano, A "Taiwan Studies in Japan" European Association of Taiwan Studies, January 2016, Issue 7

⁷⁵ Lam, P, (2004) "Japan-Taiwan Relations: Between Affinity and Reality" *Asian Affairs: An American Review* Vol. 30 (4) p 252

⁷⁶ Sekiyama, T (2012) "Japan's Policy Toward China Under Strong Anti-Chinese Sentiment: A Case of Terminating Yen Loans to China" *East Asia* Vol.29 (3) p 296

⁷⁷ Lan, M, (2013) "(Re-)Writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the Taiwanese-Native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* Vol.21 (4) p. 814

perspective.⁷⁸ This localisation movement constituted part of the proliferation of social movements in Taiwan which emerged after the lifting of martial law in 1987.⁷⁹ The close connection between social movements and political movements in their struggle against the GMD and the conception of the virtuous native and his oppression at the hands of foreigners⁸⁰ show that the GMD version of history was seen as a pernicious foreign import. The localisation of history comprised a stripping away of imported falsehoods and the giving of a voice to authentic native history. This opposition to the GMD's imported Chinese (not Taiwanese) history and the use of the localisation of history to oppose the GMD resulted in the use of the period of Japanese rule by localisation activists to differentiate Taiwan from China.⁸¹

Changes in Taiwan at the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s had the effect of bringing the Taiwanese experience of Japanese rule to public attention after decades of exposure to the Chinese experience of Japanese invasion. This dissemination of the Taiwanese experience made the Taiwanese shared history with Japan more important for both the Taiwanese public and political leadership, who in turn made the issue more important in Japan via Taiwanese political pressure and public interest. The ascent to the presidency of Tenghui Lee in 1988, who was educated under Japanese rule and who speaks Japanese fluently⁸² also contributed to the discussion of the shared history between Japan and Taiwan. Although some Taiwanese held a negative view of Japanese rule, the emergence of localised history as a counter to authoritarian GMD-enforced Chinese history helped mould views of the Japanese as positive, or at least better than the GMD rule which followed it. This view of

⁷⁸Ibid

⁷⁹ Chen, J (2014) Building a New Society on the Base of Locality: Transformation of Social Forces in Taiwan during the 1990s *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* Vol. 15 (2) p 292

⁸⁰ Ibid, p 298

⁸¹ Lan, M, (2013) "(Re-)Writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the Taiwanese-Native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* Vol.21 (4) p. 814

⁸² Thim, M; Matsuoka, M (2014, May) The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan's Unlikely Friendship. *The Diplomat*

the shared history in Taiwan prompted an interest in the shared history in Japan with the result that both countries had a more open and positive view of Japan and Taiwan's shared history in the early 1990s than at any other stage in the postwar period.

Summary of this period

In sum, during the middle postwar period (1972-1992) the indifference or enforced ignorance of the earlier (1945-1972) period continued in Japan and Taiwan respectively. However, the death of the Showa Emperor, the growing economic importance of Taiwan to Japan and the end of the Cold War meant that the shared history between Japan and Taiwan attracted more attention in Japan. The effects of democratisation and localisation in Taiwan drew more attention to the shared wartime history which in turn attracted more attention to the shared wartime history in Japan.

IV Attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1992 to the present day

I will now examine how attitudes in Japan towards Japan and Taiwan's shared wartime history from 1992 to the present day by looking at how different ways in which these attitudes were expressed and explain continuity and change from the previous period.

1. The treatment of Taiwanese nationals by Japanese nationals

The political and social changes mentioned during the previous chapter have greatly affected how the Japanese public perceives Taiwan. In contrast to the contempt and indifference of earlier times, Taiwanese visiting Japan are generally treated well by the Japanese population. The warmth and friendliness with which Taiwanese tourists are treated in Japan contrasts with the lack of interaction between Japanese hosts and Chinese tourists.⁸³ The numbers of Taiwanese and Japanese visiting each others' countries exceeded 4.5 million in 2014, with Taiwanese constituting the largest group of foreign tourists in Japan according to the Japanese Travel and Tourism Association.⁸⁴ Donations from Taiwan to Japan after the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake amounted to 20 billion Yen further improved Taiwan's reputation amongst the Japanese population. The fury shown in Japan by significant numbers of the population towards the then-DPJ's government's adherence to the 'One-China' policy; which prevented any Taiwanese presence at events concerning disaster recovery and the gratitude shown by the Japanese spectators at a 2013 Japan-Taiwan baseball game for Taiwanese generosity regarding the 2011 earthquake show that Taiwanese now have a high reputation in

⁸³ Horton, N (2016, April 13) Japan's Taiwanese Residents thrive in a state of 'hidden inbetweenness' *The Japan Time*. Retrieved from: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2016/04/13/issues/japans-taiwanese-residents-thrive-state-hidden-inbetweenness/#.V4UfTaLerZx>

⁸⁴ Yang, M; Huang, F (2015, May 29) Taiwan-Japan Tourism to top 5 million visitors in 2015. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from: <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aeco/201505290015.aspx>

Japan.⁸⁵ This is significant as it has been the people and private business rather than the state which has taken the lead in establishing closer ties between Taiwan and Japan, partly due the impossibility of establishing official ties due to Japanese recognition of the PRC in 1972.⁸⁶ The public reaction in Japan to then-Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara's use of the word '*Sankokujin*' (Third-country person) in 2000 when warning Japanese military personnel that foreigners may run rampant after a natural disaster provoked criticism from the Japanese public and media.⁸⁷ The word '*Sankokujin*' was commonly used in the early postwar period (1945-1972) to refer to Koreans and Taiwanese who stayed in Japan after WWII, with connotations that such people were of lower status and development.⁸⁸ The much improved treatment Taiwanese receive in Japan compared to the early postwar period, the ties between the two populations and the intolerance of derogatory language regarding Taiwanese in Japan indicates that the Japanese population's view of Taiwanese has improved greatly. The importance of the populations of both countries in furthering the bilateral relationship and the potential for positive feelings to culminate into a consensus over the shared wartime history makes the changes amongst the attitudes of the population important.

2. War Guilt, Culpability and Victimhood

The question of war guilt began to be discussed more openly after during this final period (1992 to the present day) than was the case previously and the division and polarisation of views became more widespread during this stage. The 1995 apology PM Tomiichi Murayama for the destruction caused by Japan during WWII received both criticism and praise in Japan, with some members of the public saying that Japan should have

⁸⁵ Kawashima, S (2013, August 29) "Japan and Taiwan: Officially Strangers, Unofficially Friends" *Nippon.com*

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ Magnier, M (2000, April 13) Tokyo Governor Assails Critics, Says Remarks Were Misunderstood. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from: <http://articles.latimes.com/2000/apr/13/news/mn-19130>

⁸⁸ *Ibid*

apologised earlier and others questioning the need for an apology due to perceived uncertainty over what actually occurred.⁸⁹ Although this apology was directed towards all countries that suffered due to Japan's invasions, the public reaction to it was a harbinger of later attitudes that would refuse to acknowledge negative consequences of Japanese rule of Taiwan.

Questions of guilt and victimhood have been affected in Japanese academia (and elsewhere) by the contestation of the nation-state centred approach to history in the mid-1990s due to the influence of cultural studies.⁹⁰ This development was concomitant with an emphasis on Japan's colonies, thus expanding the historical gaze beyond the 'Japanese nation' and with globalisation, which by its nature entails consideration of factors and forces exogenous of the nation-state.⁹¹ The shared history between Japan and Taiwan has received more attention as the boundaries of what is covered by 'history' has expanded beyond national borders. However, the inadequacy of the nation-state as a paradigm for historians does not apply to the mass of the population for whom the nation-state is the most relatable prism of viewing history, thus mitigating the effect of historiographical changes on public views of the shared history between Japan and Taiwan.

The version of history depicted in museums in Japan almost exclusively focuses on the Japanese experience of war and neglects to mention that of others. The Yushukan museum lauds the war dead who are enshrined in the Yasukuni shrine which stands in the same grounds, as devotees to creating a peaceful nation.⁹² The narrative propagated by the museum, that Japan wanted peace but that war was forced on it⁹³ makes martyrs of those who

⁸⁹ Wudunn, S (1995, August 16) Japanese Apology for War Is Welcomed and Criticized. The New York Times. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/16/world/japanese-apology-for-war-is-welcomed-and-criticized.html>

⁹⁰ Conrad, S (2010) *The Quest for the Lost Nation : Writing History in Germany and Japan in the American Century*. Berkeley : University of California Press. pp. 243-244

⁹¹ Ibid, p 244

⁹² Allen, M; Sakamoto, R (2013) "War and Peace: War Memories and Museums in Japan" *History Compass* Vol. 11 (12) p 1048

⁹³ Ibid, p 1049

fought for Japan and in doing so, ignores the existence of non-Japanese who fought for Japan. The Showakan and Shokeikan museums do not offer encomia for the wartime Japanese soldiery that were on duty but instead focus on the tribulations of the citizenry and wounded soldiers respectively.⁹⁴ However, whilst the narratives told are bereft of the glorification of the actions of wartime Japan that are found at Yushukan, yet the exclusive emphasis on the Japanese experience and the absence of any explanation as to why the events depicted took place⁹⁵ are of no avail in aiding understanding the effect the empire had on the peoples that were subjugated. The contrast of the above museums with the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Park Memorial Museum and the Himeyuri Memorial and Museum are stark. In contrast to those previously mentioned, those on Okinawa explain why the war took place and also explain the effects of the war outside of Japan.⁹⁶ That the only museum to explicitly state the Japanese contribution towards starting WWII and its effect on Japan's empire (outside of the centre) is located on Okinawa, far from the eyes of most Japan indicates that museums in Japan, through pro-peace, root that desire for peace in the suffering of Japanese during wartime, to the exclusion of any other people, thus propagating the sense of national victimhood. The lack of information on the Taiwanese experience of Japanese rule or wartime experience as Japanese subjects helps to perpetuate ignorance in Japan about the shared wartime history with Japan.

Among the general public, a 2013 poll showed that 48% of the population felt that the Japanese government had apologised adequately for the actions of the 1930s and 1940s and another 15% thought no apology was needed. This total of 63% was exceeded among young Japanese, of whom 73% of those aged between 18 and 29 thought that apologies were

⁹⁴Ibid, p 1051

⁹⁵Ibid,

⁹⁶Ibid, p 1052

unnecessary or that existing ones were sufficient.⁹⁷ Intimidation by nationalist activists of journalists and media organisations which criticise nationalist narratives of WWII also indicate the increasing influence and prevalence of groups that see Japanese imperialism in Taiwan as a positive development.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the Japanese public's respect for Japanese soldiers who died fighting for the empire remains strong, yet this respect is accorded only to Japanese soldiers who would be Japanese today, not colonial citizens.⁹⁹ Efforts by academics such as Nobukasu Fujioka and Nishio Kanji to remove from history textbooks elements they see as undermining patriotism indicate that opposition to recognition of the legacy of Japan's wartime actions remains active.¹⁰⁰ These results and developments indicate that the Japanese public regards the wartime past as something that doesn't require further apology and this attitude likely demonstrates a continuance of the immediate postwar desire to move on from the past.

3. Narratives of WWII disseminated by the Japanese Government in Japan

Since 1992 there have been numerous statements made by Japanese politicians that recognise the suffering caused by Japanese imperialism. The Kono Statement of 1993 by the then Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono in which he stated that the Japanese military forced

⁹⁷Pew Research Centre, (2013) Japanese Public's Mood Rebounding, Abe Highly Popular: Survey Report. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/07/11/japanese-publics-mood-rebounding-abe-strongly-popular/>

⁹⁸Fackler, M (2014, Dec 2) Rewriting the War, Japanese Right Attacks a Newspaper. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/03/world/asia/japanese-right-attacks-newspaper-on-the-left-emboldening-war-revisionists.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&smid=tw-nytimes&r=1>

⁹⁹Jin, L "Japan's Neo-Nationalism and China's Response" in *East Asia's Haunted Present: Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism*. 2008. Westport, Conn : Praeger Security International ; Oxford : Harcourt Education distributor. p 168

¹⁰⁰McNeill, D (June, 2005) History Redux: Japan's Textbook Battle Reignites. Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper

many Japanese subjects, principally Koreans, to become 'comfort women' (sex slaves)¹⁰¹ was unprecedented and generated a great deal of interest both inside and outside Japan, especially South Korea where many of the surviving 'comfort women' lived.¹⁰² The 1995 apology by PM Tomiichi Murayama for the destruction caused by Japan's invasions received a mixed reception in Japan. The apology was both lauded and criticised by both members of the public and political elites, with the then education minister Yoshinobu Shimamura expressing doubt on whether apologies were useful and even whether Japan had been an aggressor or not during the war.¹⁰³ The reactions to these apologies show that the Japanese public and political elites are divided on the legacy of the Japanese Empire and whether it requires apologies or not, this applies to Taiwan as well.

Conversely other comments by Japanese political elites have shown a desire to prevent foreign influence on the Japanese wartime past and to promote a more favourable view of the Japanese Empire. The declaration by former PM Yoshiro Mori in 2000 that Japan is a divine nation with the Emperor at its centre provoked strong criticism from citizens' groups, the political opposition and even his own cabinet; culminating in an apology in the Upper House of the Diet.¹⁰⁴ In 2015, Koichi Haguida, an aide to PM Abe, urged the PM not to let foreign countries use the Japanese wartime past to make diplomatic gains. Abe's allies believed that apologising for the war detracts from the peaceful post-war record and the foreign countries shouldn't use the Japanese wartime past as leverage over the current

¹⁰¹ Government of Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2014) Statement by the Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono on the result of the study on the issue of "comfort women" (Unofficial Translation) Accessed 2/4/2016: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/women/fund/state9308.html>

¹⁰² Sterngold, J (1993, August 5) Japan Admits Army Forced Women Into War Brothels. The New York Times. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/05/world/japan-admits-army-forced-women-into-war-brothels.html>

¹⁰³ Wudunn, S (1995, August 16) Japanese Apology for War Is Welcomed and Criticized. The New York Times. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/16/world/japanese-apology-for-war-is-welcomed-and-criticized.html>

¹⁰⁴ Varma, L (2007) "Japanese Nationalism: Response to Changing Regional and International Environment" *China Report* Vol. 43(1) p 67

Japanese government.¹⁰⁵ These comments show that some political elites have sought to rehabilitate wartime Japan but also to recast Japan's shared history its erstwhile empire as solely Japanese history. This would not only de-legitimise foreign criticism of 'Japan's history' but also strengthen the government's hand in promoting a national history that, in the words of PM Abe, would produce a 'beautiful country' bereft of foreign criticism or unpalatable facts about Japanese rule.¹⁰⁶

History textbooks are another means through which the Japanese government has promoted a certain view of WWII. The 'Society for History Textbook Reform' which is not a government organisation but which has sympathisers in government including PM Abe who led the organisation in 1997 when he was also an LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) MP.¹⁰⁷ The Society for History Textbook Reform promoted the view that that Japan liberated, rather than invaded many Asian countries during WWII, that Japanese troops were no worse than the soldiers of other armies and that 'masochistic' education is producing school leavers who think it virtuous to despise Japan.¹⁰⁸ The attainment of high office by Abe who support the teaching of a nationalist history has resulted in the obfuscation of Japanese misdeeds in government narratives and therefore a disinclination to recognise the negative elements of the shared history between Japan and Taiwan.

¹⁰⁵Sieg, L (2015, July 29) Japan shouldn't cave to foreign pressure on PM war anniversary remarks: aide. Reuters. Retrieved from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-ww2-anniversary-japan-idUSKCN0Q317H20150729>

¹⁰⁶ Takahashi, K (2014, February 13) Shinzo Abe's Nationalist Strategy, *The Diplomat*

¹⁰⁷ Sun, X (2013, May 13) Shinzo Abe and the Return of Japanese Nationalism - A View from Beijing. *World Crunch*. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldcrunch.com/opinion-analysis/shinzo-abe-and-the-return-of-japanese-nationalism-a-view-from-beijing/shinzo-abe-japan-nationalism-populism-revisionism/c7s11792/>

¹⁰⁸McNeill, D (June, 2005) History Redux: Japan's Textbook Battle Reignites. Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper

4. Cooperation between the Japanese and Taiwanese Governments

There have been disputes between Japan and Taiwan over ownership of the Pinnacle Islands (known in Japan as 尖閣諸島 *Senkaku Shotou* and Taiwan as 釣魚台 *Diaoyu Dao*), such as in 1995 when Japanese right-wing organisations built a lighthouse on the islands.¹⁰⁹ Similar disputes have also erupted between Japan and Taiwan over the disputed Okinotori Island/Atoll in 2016, with the Taiwanese leadership vigorously defending the rights of Taiwanese fisherman to fish around the disputed territory.¹¹⁰ However, there have also been occasions of cooperation between Japan and Taiwan. The two countries succeeded in reaching agreement in 2013 over fishing grounds, with the agreement concluding that further Japan-Taiwan cooperation will be more likely due to the fishing agreement achievement.¹¹¹ The efforts among some LDP legislatures, such as Nobuo Kishi, the younger brother of PM Abe, to create a Japan-Taiwan Relations Act was favourably reported upon by some Taiwanese media outlets.¹¹² Finally, with the election of Ingwen Tsai in January 2016 as DDP (Democratic Progressive Party), the time seems ripe for more Japan-Taiwan cooperation. This is due to Tsai's position as head of the DPP, a party that opposes 'reunification' with China. In Taiwan, to be anti-China is usually to be pro-Japanese and the cold reception China gave to Tsai's election will naturally steer Tsai closer towards Japan. Cooperation between Japan and Taiwan is thus greater now than at any point in the past with the prospects for greater cooperation appearing promising. With this in mind, the potential for

¹⁰⁹ Togo, K (2010) *Japan's foreign policy, 1945-2009 the quest for a proactive policy*. Boston : Brill p 151

¹¹⁰ Tiezzi, S (2016, May 3) Taiwan-Japan Fishing Dispute Heats Up. *The Diplomat*

¹¹¹ Government of Taiwan, Public Diplomacy Coordination Committee (2013) Republic of China (Taiwan) signs fisheries agreement with Japan. Accessed 15/07/2016: http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=539A9A50A5F8AF9E&sms=37B41539382B84BA&s=E80C25D078D837BB

¹¹² China Post News Staff (2014, February 27) Japanese Lawmakers' Version of The Taiwan Relations Act. *The China Post*. Retrieved from: <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/editorial/taiwan-issues/2014/02/27/401521/p2/Japanese-lawmakers.html>

convergence between Japanese and Taiwanese views of the shared past may be high, with Tsai's desire to improve maritime ties with Japan a possible sign of things to come.¹¹³

5. Taiwan's place in Japanese Diplomacy

The changes regarding war memory in Japan that came about in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, such as the exposure to the views of Taiwanese and others about WWII have continued since then. Although Japan has once again become useful to the US, this time as a bulwark against China, the importance of Taiwan and others, such as South Korea, in influencing Japanese war memory is not going to return to the insignificance of the 1970s or before then due to such countries' economic importance. Togo has written that war responsibility is one of the five longstanding issues in diplomacy that remains unresolved¹¹⁴ and therefore, the increased diplomatic relevance of Taiwan to Japan has given Taiwan a greater say on the issue of war responsibility and the shared wartime experience in general. The souring of Japan's relations with China by the early 1990s has meant that Taiwan has become more important to Japan. The 1995-1996 Taiwan Straits Crisis not only exacerbated anti-Chinese feeling in Japan but also created considerable sympathy for Taiwan while simultaneously deepening the suspicions of Japanese governments regarding Chinese goals.¹¹⁵ The informal yet extensive political ties between Japanese and Taiwanese politicians¹¹⁶ and visits by high-level Taiwanese politicians to Japan, such as Ingwen Tsai in

¹¹³ Chung, L (2016, March 24) Tsai's New Tack: Taiwan moves to mend Maritime ties with Japan. *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1952180/tsais-new-tack-taiwan-moves-mend-maritime-ties-japan>

¹¹⁴ Togo, K (2010) *Japan's foreign policy, 1945-2009 the quest for a proactive policy*. Boston : Brill, p 429

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 151

¹¹⁶ Thim, M; Matsuoka, M (2014, May) The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan's Unlikely Friendship. *The Diplomat*

2015, albeit before she became president¹¹⁷ show that the two countries regard each other as diplomatically significant.

6. Taiwan's image in Japan

The image of Taiwan in Japan has continued to improve since 1992. Ties between the political elites of two countries and the cultural and tourist links between the populations has drawn the two countries closer together, strengthened further by Taiwan's status the only Japan-friendly state in East Asia¹¹⁸ The 2000 and 2008 peaceful democratic transfers of power to the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) and GMD respectively, improved Taiwan's image in Japan.¹¹⁹ The defeat of the GMD in the 2000 election, identity debates and relations with the PRC have provoked greater interest in Taiwan among Japanese scholars. Taiwan has become a place worthy of study in its own right, not just as an appendage of China.¹²⁰ This scholarly interest has some effect on both the public and political leaders and as a result, the image of Taiwan in Japan has improved. The generosity displayed by the people of Taiwan in 2011, when they donated US\$260 million to Japan brought the two peoples closer with some Japanese journeying to Taiwan to hold events to thank Taiwanese in person for the donations.¹²¹

In popular culture, the comic (aka *Manga*) *On Taiwan* (臺灣論) by the Japanese comic book writer Kobayashi Kobayashi depicts Taiwan as a place where 'Japanese' virtues are preserved, in contrast to Japan itself, where they have been lost.¹²² Kobayashi also

¹¹⁷ AP, (2015, October 10) Taiwan Opposition Leader Tsai Ing-Wen alludes to meeting Japan Cabinet ministers during Tokyo Visit. *South China Morning Post* Retrieved from: <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1865996/taiwan-opposition-leader-tsai-ing-wen-alludes-meeting>

¹¹⁸ Thim, M; Matsuoka, M (2014, May) The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan's Unlikely Friendship. *The Diplomat*

¹¹⁹ Sugano, A "Taiwan Studies in Japan" European Association of Taiwan Studies, January 2016, Issue 7

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Lai, H (2014, March 10) Japanese thank Taiwanese for Disaster Aid. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2014/03/10/2003585314>

¹²² Hwang, Y (2010) "Japan as "Self" or "the Other"? - The Turmoil over Yoshinori Kobayashi's *On Taiwan*" *China Information* Vol. 24 (1) p 78

stresses the modernisation that took place under Japanese rule, with his work replete with references to agriculture and transportation.¹²³ Kobayashi also includes comments by Taiwanese who share his positive view of Japanese rule, strengthening the author's conclusion that Japan was a benevolent master and that Japanese today do not need to feel ashamed about ancestors who were involved in Japanese imperialism.¹²⁴

The result of Kobayashi's work is to strengthen the view in Japan that Japan is responsible for Taiwanese development and that the shared history between two is something to be celebrated, rather than be ashamed of.

The positive opinion Japanese have of Taiwan and the ability of the two publics to think well of each other is especially important when the reputations of China and South Korea in Japan are considered. The rise of nationalism in China and South Korea have also strengthened nationalism in Japan as the place of Japan as invader and occupier in both Chinese and South Korean nationalisms piques a counter reaction in Japan.¹²⁵ The increase in nationalism in which Japan was the designated enemy in China and South Korea after the 1990s, due to economic development of those countries and their decreasing dependence of Japanese technology for modernisation has increased Japanese public awareness of Japanese actions in the 1930s and 1940s but also encouraged a counter reaction amongst nationalists in Japan. The relentless criticism aimed at Japan by the Chinese and South Korean governments and publics also highlights the generally positive Taiwanese attitude towards Japan and thus improves the image of Taiwan in Japan. The positive image of Japan in Taiwan lends itself to a convergence of interpretation on the shared wartime history, which,

¹²³ Ibid, pp 78-79

¹²⁴ Ibid, p 79

¹²⁵ Mitchell, T; Harding, R; Mundy, S (2015, August 11) Asia: History lessons feed rival nationalisms. The Financial Times. Retrieved from: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/491a5866-3ba7-11e5-8613-07d16aad2152.html#axzz491V3T45O>

as Japan and Taiwan are friendly to each other and both feel threatened by China, tends towards a positive interpretation of Japanese rule of Taiwan.

7. Identity Politics and Historiography in Taiwan

The localisation movement in Taiwan resulted in important historiographical changes. These changes were epitomised by the adoption of a new subject in the secondary school curriculum in 1997, entitled ‘Knowing Taiwan’ (認識台灣) which aimed to examine the history of Taiwanese from a Taiwanese perspective.¹²⁶ The publishing of Taiwanese veterans’ oral accounts in 1997 constituted the first time since the end of the war that such accounts of the war entered public discourse.¹²⁷ A special exhibition entitled ‘Exhibition of Taiwanese People’s Wars’ (台灣人戰爭展) was also held in 1997 by the Taipei Municipal Government. The inclusion of personal effects and historical records pertaining to Taiwanese who had fought for Japan made the exhibition the first government event held in Taiwan that publicly featured such soldiers as the focus of the event.¹²⁸ In contrast to the Sinocentric narrative propagated by the GMD since the end of Japanese rule, these new historiographical perspectives cast new attention on Taiwanese who fought for Japan, both at the level of the public and those of the political elite. These historical investigations and exhibits were and are highly political; the goal of “demanding debt-payment and seeking compensation” was, along with “experiences in overseas battlefield” and “reflection on postwar experiences” was stated as one of the three main themes at a seminar held in 1995.¹²⁹ Taiwanese veterans have also criticised Japanese colonial discourse, particularly those of assimilation and impartiality,

¹²⁶Lan, M, (2013) “(Re-)Writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the Taiwanese-Native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* Vol.21 (4) p. 814

¹²⁷*Ibid*, pp. 814-815

¹²⁸*Ibid*, pp 816-817

¹²⁹*Ibid*, pp 819-820

arguing that the different treatment afforded to Japanese compared to erstwhile Japanese subjects after WWII make a mockery of such pretensions.¹³⁰ The voicing of experiences which had previously lain dormant therefore inevitably exerted an effect on interpretations of the shared history between Taiwan and Japan.

However, the narrative of the period of Japanese rule continues to be dominated by the imported GMD narrative. Official narratives of WWII continue to focus on the GMD's opposition to Japan in China and neglect the experiences of Taiwanese who fought for Japan, with the effect that the existence of the latter is not widely known amongst the Taiwanese population.¹³¹ Events held by the state, such as the WWII victory parade in 2015 in which the President Ma sought to claim credit for the GMD for defeating Japan¹³² shunt aside the role that some Taiwanese played in fighting for Japan and further the pre-democratisation narrative propagated by the GMD that replaced the actual series of events in Taiwan with an imported Chinese narrative. The lack of ceremonies to commemorate the 200,000 Taiwanese soldiers who served Japanese as Japanese subjects and the misperception amongst many Taiwanese that Taiwanese were fighting against, rather than for Japan during WWII¹³³ indicate the paucity of presence Taiwanese veterans of the Japanese imperial military possess in Taiwanese popular culture. This prevailing ignorance about the existence Taiwanese soldiers who served Japan reduces the political importance of the issue in Taiwan, which in turn reduces its impact on the Japan-Taiwan relationship.

Despite the celebration of independence at the end of WWII and criticism of Japanese

¹³⁰Ibid, pp. 826-828

¹³¹Wang, C (2014, August 22) The Forgotten Souls: Where Are Taiwanese Soldiers in History? Thinking Taiwan. Retrieved from: <http://thinking-taiwan.com/the-forgotten-souls-where-are-taiwanese-soldiers-in-history/>

¹³²Wu, J (2015, July 4) Taiwan president remembers Nationalist victory in Sino-Japan war. Reuters. Retrieved from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-military-idUSKCN0PE0HS20150704>

¹³³Wang, C (2014, August 22) The Forgotten Souls: Where Are Taiwanese Soldiers in History? Thinking Taiwan. Retrieved from: <http://thinking-taiwan.com/the-forgotten-souls-where-are-taiwanese-soldiers-in-history/>

rule, praise for Japanese rule has also been voiced by both political elites and the public. The ex-President Yingjiu Ma remarked in 2015 that the good things Japan did for Taiwan should not be forgotten.¹³⁴ This view is broadly shared by much of the Taiwanese population¹³⁵ and considering that Ma, as a GMD president belonged to a party generally defined as pro-China and anti-Japanese, spoke of the benefits of Japanese rule, speaks volumes on Taiwanese views on their history with Japan.

Summary of this period

In sum, from 1992 to the present day Japanese views on the shared history with Taiwan have become positive. The close relationship between the Japanese and Taiwanese people, and to an extent, their governments, have created an atmosphere conducive to cooperation and mutual influence, unlike Japan's ties with China or South Korea. The growth of nationalism in Japan has garnered some criticism in Taiwan, yet the agreement of the Japanese LDP with the Taiwanese DDP on the value of Japanese rule of Taiwan and the danger posed by China has done much to damage the Japan-Taiwan relationship. The growing relevance of Japan and Taiwan to each other diplomatically and the generally positive view of Japanese rule on Taiwan by Japanese and Taiwanese, are harbingers of a move towards historiographical consensus.

¹³⁴ Blanchard, B (2015, October 25) Taiwan President says should remember good things Japan did. Reuters. Retrieved from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-taiwan-china-idUSKCN0SJ03Y20151025>

¹³⁵ Ibid

V Conclusion

In conclusion, Japanese attitudes towards Japan and Taiwan's shared history have moved from one of ignorance and indifference before the late 1980s; after which, Japanese generally think of Japan and Taiwan's shared history positively. This change has come about due to a plethora of factors, the most important of which are the economic and political development of Taiwan; the existence of Taiwan as an island of friendship to Japan in a sea of enemies; the democratisation and localisation movements in Taiwan and simply that; depending on one's values, Japanese rule was good for Taiwan. In contrast to the Qing Manchu and the Chinese GMD, the Japanese did more for Taiwanese than either their predecessors or immediate successors. Yes, Japanese rule was a form of colonialism and imperialism yet, the same can be said of the Manchu and the GMD, neither of whom did much for Taiwanese development, at least not for the first thirty years of GMD rule.

The political polarisation in Japan over Japanese rule of Taiwan that I hypothesised is to some extent true, yet I am inclined to think that positive rather than negative views of the shared history dominate in both Japan and Taiwan. My hypothesis that the increasing saliency of internal factors would prove decisive is valid as without the democratisation and localisation movements in Taiwan, the growth in the economic and political importance of Taiwan of Japan and the resultant influence of Taiwan on Japanese public and political elites would never have come to pass. The inveterate criticism from China and South Korea over Japan's wartime history also pushed Japan and Taiwan together as Taiwan was the only country friendly towards Japan. Without these factors, Japanese would likely have continued to ignore Taiwan, rather than paying it attention, with the end result that both Japanese and Taiwanese, for the most part, have a positive view of the shared history between them.

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