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(Re)locating Gendered War Memories in the Asia Pacific

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I. War Memorials as International Heritage Tourist Sites

Along with increases in global flows of people through displacement, migration but especially tourism we have witnessed the internationalisation of war, commemoration and war museums (Yoshida, *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking"* 5). Large national, municipal or state-supported war institutions such as the Australian War Memorial (AWM) in Canberra, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima, the War Memorial of Korea in Seoul, and the Imperial War Museum in London and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. have effectively marketed the war memorial experience as a tourist destination, attracting millions of visitors each year from home and abroad. As with the above examples, war memorials often combine museum space in addition to monuments and other kinds or commemorative structures. They are often also the focus of commemorative activities, such as the Dawn Service at the AWM on Anzac Day. Memorials may be secular, as in the case of the AWM, or religious, as in the case of the controversial Yasukini Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum site in Tokyo.[1]

This marketing of war memory as tourist attractions is evident at many international tourist destinations. On the *National Geographic*'s on-line list of "Washington, D.C. Must-Dos," visiting the World War II Memorial, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Arlington National Ceremony with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier feature well up in its top twelve ("Washington, D.C. Must-Dos"). In the southern hemisphere, the AWM and the Anzac Parade are promoted by the Australian Government as 'unique and national landmarks,' and since April 25, 2006 they have been included on the National Heritage List, attracting over a million tourists each year (Australian Government, "Australian War Memorial and the Memorial

1. See Seaton's *Japan's Contested War Memories* (172) for a classification of war and peace museums in Japan.

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Parade"). Moving to Asia, overseas visitors on the Yahoo! Travel review site heartily praise the War Memorial of Korea as 'absolutely amazing' and 'the best historic museum I've been to.' One reviewer explains how she toured the museum with her seven and eight year-old daughters and declares that it is a "must see if your nation assisted in the Korean War." An American business man visiting Seoul notes that he enjoyed the fact that the "memorial was full of equipment, aircraft, tanks, helicopters, guns and instruments of war from all nations" ("Seoul Attractions: War Memorial of Korea, Seoul").

How can we explain this enthusiasm for visiting war museums and memorials by tourist and business visitors and in what ways are the texts (exhibitions, monuments, commemorative spaces) read by those who visit such places? Whereas words such as 'peaceful,' 'moving,' and 'tranquil' abound in reviews of war memorials, as we can see from the statement above, there is also an excitement about viewing military hardware, instruments of war. When war memorials attract visitors from across borders, is a message given out that transcends national and cultural borders and if so what is it that resonates here? Is it a case of Arjun Appadurai's "nostalgia without memory" (Appadurai 3) where globally mobile individuals raised on a post-capitalist diet of pastiche and nostalgia are moved by the reproduction of a memory of monumental suffering that is not theirs or is a deeper cord being struck here? If the text can transcend borders, can these "sites of remembrance" (Winter and Sivan 40) emerge as "contact zones" (Pratt 6) where people whose national identities are affiliated with both allied and enemy nations find ways of understanding their past and engage in 'mutual transformation' where new paths of understanding and reconciliation are made possible?[2] Alternatively, do certain representations of the war cause visitors not included in the commemorative narrative to harden their own understandings of events and bolster boundaries of defence?

Focusing largely on the construction of the text rather than its reception, this paper explores the representation of war memory and narratives of commemoration in four war memorials/museums in Japan and Australia focusing particularly on the workings of nationalism, gender and militarism. In so doing, it will also provide some pointers on the above questions. One site, the Australian War Memorial, has been noted by some for its gender-

2. I am grateful to Dr. Soyoung Baik (EIH, Ewha Womans University) for her input about mutual transformation through the practice of remembering.

balanced representation of World War II and subsequent conflicts, but also criticised by others for linking national identity with a masculinised memory of the failed Gallipoli Campaign during World War I (Lake, et al. passim). As a society that presents itself as multicultural and gender equal, Australia has been included here as a contrast to the memorialisation of war in major sites in Japan. The second site, the Yasukuni Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum in Tokyo, is highly controversial due to bellicose representations of Japan's military expansionism during the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945) and sanitization of past atrocities. It will be shown that while seemingly very different both AWM and Yūshūkan commemorate the same male-militarist version of war memory, albeit in a much more highly contested nationalistic context in the case of the latter.

The final two sites, the Himeyuri Peace Museum in Okinawa and the Women's Active Museum War Museum on War and Peace (WAM) in Tokyo, are also in the same cultural space as the Yūshūkan, Japan, but offer a counter view of these fifteen years of conflict to varying degrees. Both have attempted to offer a 'counter-memory' (Foucault 93; Hwang 219) or alternative narrative of the Asia-Pacific War by articulating the histories of those who suffered the violence of theses times as young women mobilised to serve as military nurses in Okinawa, in the first instance, and as 'comfort women' (military sexual slaves) in a variety of locations colonised or occupied by Japan, in the second. Whereas the message of the Himeyuri Peace Museum is the futility and brutality of war, the imperialist, militarist and patriarchal power structures that contributed to the war are not fully attended to. In contrast, WAM draws links between everyday violence against women and the violent conditions that the comfort women were subjected to in war tim e.[3] Here there is no nostalgia towards relations formed in wartime or any sentimentalisation of sacrifice in either.

One group of students mobilised as military nurses in Okinawa, the

3. The term 'comfort women' 慰安婦 in Japanese, is a euphemism that covers up the coerced nature by which many were recruited, the sordid nature of their assigned work and the brutal conditions under which they were forced to carry out these assigned duties. Sexual slaves would be a more appropriate term in the large majority of cases. However, given the specificity of the system and the high recognition level of the term, I will use the euphemism 'comfort women' and without quotation marks through this paper to refer to women from Japan, colonised and occupied countries and territories who were 'procured' by the Japanese military from 1937 to 1945 to service the perceived sexual needs of military personnel.

Himeyuri Corps, have a prominent place within Japanese war memories and survivors have created a clear space to tell their stories not only in the Himeyuri Peace Museum but also other peace museums and memorials in Okinawa. At the same time, their memory has been utilised by nationalists and peace activists alike to portray the suffering of the Japanese people. As we will see, the Himeyuri narrative has a prominent place in the Yūshūkan War Museum. The stories of the former comfort women, on the other hand, were until recently silenced within Japanese war memories. The opening of WAM in August 2005 marks the first memorial site in Japan to create a space for the exhibiting of the counter memory of women who, in their youth, were forced to 'serve' the sexual needs of the Japanese military. This counter memory is highly contested and as such so too is WAM. Unlike the AWM, Yūshūkan and the Himeyuri Peace Museum, WAM is not promoted as a tourist destination and is tucked away from the mainstream.

While Foucault defines counter-memory in his essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* simply as "a transformation of history into a totally different form of time" (93), he implies that it has a disrupting power that can challenge or even overturn mainstream memorialisation (see Faulkner 9). I am also drawing on the work of Su-kyoung Hwang who defines counter-memory in a similar way as that which "forces revision of existing histories by supplying new perspectives about the past," pointing similarly to the disturbing power of counter-memory in relation to mainstream memory (Hwang 197). Foucault's theorizing of Nietzsche's concepts of 'traditional history' and 'effective history' is also tied in with the idea of counter-memory and will be utilized here. Effective memory "deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations" (88). Its vision is up close.

> An event, consequently, is not a decision, a treaty, a reign, or a battle, but the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it. (Foucault 88)

This perspective will be used to make sense of the unsettling power of WAM within Japanese society and to a much lesser extent the Himeyuri Peace Museum.

The idea of effective history stands in contrast to 'traditional history' which, deals with, or has pretensions to deal with, things from afar. It is a "contemplation of distances and heights: the noblest periods, the highest

forms, the most abstract ideas, the purest individuals" (Foucault 89). We will see how this idea of abstract and noble narratives of history aid in our understanding of the similarities in approach between the geographically and ideologically distanced Yasukuni Shrine/Yūshūkan War Museum site and the AWM.

II. The Gendered Nation and the Politics of War Memory

As feminist scholars have noted, "the foundational fictions of the [modern] nation are produced by gendered stories" (Dudink 147). In many modern nation states, especially those that have engaged in imperialist aggrandisement, military-masculinity has been an important building block of this "foundational fiction" (Ibid. 146-47). Whereas "masculinised memory" of militarism in former colonizing nations frequently dwells on the glory and sacrifice of soldiers, an equally gendered, nationalistic counter-discourse tends to emerge in formerly colonized nations, that of masculine humiliation (Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases* 44). This masculine humiliation is usually linked to the inability of the men of the nation to protect their women folk. Both versions of this narrative serve to reinforce the linkage between imaginings of the nation, militarism and a certain privileged version of masculinity. This linkage can contribute to a process by which militarism gains additional legitimacy even in 'peacetime' and militarised masculinity is further privileged.

In this paper I draw on Cynthia Enloe's definition of militarism as a "compilation of assumptions, values and beliefs ... about what is good, right and proper and about what is bad, wrong and improper" (Enloe, "Demilitarization—Or More of the Same?" 23). The core assumptions, values and beliefs of militarism are that that conflict between human beings, ethnic groups and states is inevitable; armed force is the ultimate way of resolving tensions; that a state needs to have a strong military; that women and children are groups that need armed protection in times of crisis; and that for a man to refuse "to engage in armed violent action for his country" shows cowardice and is "jeopardizing his status as a man" (Ibid. 23-24).

Memorialisation is a highly political and often ritualized process and one about which tensions have been extremely high in Japan and other parts of North East Asia over the past two decades due, in part, to the inconsistency of the Japanese government's response to its own imperialist and wartime

legacy. Responding to outside pressure various politicians and prime ministers have offered an official line of remorse, while unofficially many have close ties to revisionists who deny the Nanking Massacre and argue that the former comfort women were prostitutes paid generously for their services. Visits to the Yasukuni Shrine by prominent government politicians and former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi contribute the view that any displayed remorse is *tateme* (建前 public position) and not *hone* (本音 genuine feelings).

War memory has also emerged as an area of tension in Australia where the Anzac Story, a narrative that transforms the failed Gallipoli Campaign of World War I into birth-of-the-nation myth, has been criticised for militarising national memory and excluding other narratives of nation building (Lake et al. passim). In particular it has been noted that official history generally, and the Anzac Story specifically, has "served to marginalise 'Aboriginal' knowledges, customs and beliefs and further ensures a privileged place for the 'white' knowledges, customs and beliefs as the foundation of Australian society" (Trees 167). Thus, in attempting to create a history of noble deeds, purest sacrifice and abstract ideals, nationalised narratives of war memory may generate pain and tensions for those whose memories have been excluded even while the intent, ironically, may be to create a unified history of the nation.

At the same time, memorialisation, can also act as an essential part of the healing and learning process following conflict for previously excluded groups as they find a way of making sense (framing) of previously unspeakable experiences. It is the very process of revealing and naming that which previously was too awful to mention that allows for a disruption significant enough to cause fundamental shifts in memory, as happened with the 'coming out' of the former comfort women in Asia, starting with Kim Hak Sun's testimony in 1991. Although the stories of the former comfort women started to be gathered by women's activists in Korea in the late 1980s, it was the late Kim Hak Sun's testimony in 1991 that brought international attention to the issue.[4]

III. Constructing Exemplary Citizenship through Rolls of Honour — the AWM

The Australia War Memorial (AWM) is a giant in the war memory

4. See Yoshimi; Tanaka; Ueno.

market place. A largely federal-funded memorial, museum and archive repository, it attracts huge numbers visitors, both local and from overseas, each year; 5 million if you include those that access the website containing digitalized archival material and virtual exhibitions (Gower 2007).

Figure 1. View to Memorial Hall and Wall of Remembrance, Australian War Memorial[5]

While the museum was initially established to remember Australians who lost their lives in the First World War fighting as a colony of the British Empire, after WWII the AWM was expanded to include all extraterritorial conflicts in which Australia has participated. Veterans groups are major stakeholders and have been able to shape the spatial setting and content of the museum and memorial to large extent. Steve Gower, who took over as curator in 1996, moved to the AWM after a military career that took him to the position of Major General. He has played a major role in the redevelopment of the galleries and grounds, and in increasing visitor numbers.

The memorial prides itself on telling the individual stories of men and women in wartime and not glorifying war.[6] Since Steve Gower took over the AWM has marketed itself as a "place where a visitor could learn about the Australian identity as shaped by war—things like mateship, courage, looking

5. All photographs in this paper were taken by the author.
6. Withnell, Helen. Interview with Beverley Yamamoto, 13 Dec. 2007 at the Australia War Memorial. Assistant Director, Public Programs.

after and not letting down one's friends, endurance and high spirits: stories about ordinary, decent Australian people" (Gower 3). The memorialisation of the failed Gallipoli campaign in 1915 is the signature story of Australians in wartime and dominates commemoration and the educational activities of the AWM. On Anzac Day and other commemorative events, speakers from incumbent prime ministers downwards eulogise about the Australian spirit that was revealed at Gallipoli. The Australian War Memorial Anniversary Oration by distinguished journalist and author Les Carlyon on 11 November 2004 offers a typical rendering of the importance of this event.

> Gallipoli is an episode of military history and, in the context of the Great War, not a big one. In Australia Gallipoli is also a state of mind, a place in the heart, and *the stuff of warm inner glows* for those of us who were lucky enough not to have been there or to have suffered from its after-effects. Gallipoli is part of the folklore, one of the few words spoken in Australia with something approaching reverence. *Gallipoli has become a church* and even secular churches need myths. (Carlyon, emphasis added)

Yet this narrative of the nobility of men in wartime offers us a memory of Gallipoli from a distance; memory stripped of the violence and brutality of combat. It is a memory of noble deeds and lofty sacrifice that is presented as a fight for the home land and for freedom, when it can alternatively be viewed as an invasion of a country, present day Turkey, that had offered no direct threat to Australia.

The linking of nationhood with militarised masculinity can also be seen in the hierarchy of remembrance at the AWM and the Roll of Honour, which forms the centre piece of commemoration. The Wall of Remembrance is eye catching to the visitor, running down both sides of the walkway leading to the Memorial Hall. The Wall of Remembrance displays the Roll of Honour. From the Wall of Remembrance the visitor looks down the Anzac Parade to Lake Burley Griffin, across which the Old Parliament House is clearly in view.[7] Behind it stands the current Australian Federal Parliament. The spatial and symbolic linking of the war memorial and national politics is clearly by design and not accident, and the Roll of Honour as the centre piece demands our

7. It is now the Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House, but this was the centre of Australian politics from 1927 to 1988.

attention.

Those eligible to be honoured in the Roll of Honour are 102,000 Australian men (as of May 1st, 2011) and a few women who died during or directly as a result of active military service in a warzone since 1860.[8] The war-dead are listed chronologically and by regiment, but not rank. Executive Officer, Linda Byrne, stressed that this equality in death is an important part of the Australian spirit. Regardless of rank and background, in death these heroes are equal in terms of the recognition of their contribution to the defence of their country.[9] This idea of equality in death for those who sacrificed themselves for their country is a common theme in militaristic rememberings of wartime and we will see it again at Yasukuni Shrine. Thus it is not particularly Australian, rather a standard part of the myth making of militaristic war memory.

The superficial equality accorded to the military heroes remembered in the Roll of Honour, however, thinly covers over a privileging of certain forms of 'dying for one's country' over others. The Roll of Honour sits at the top of a hierarchy of commemoration. Defending this hierarchy, Byrne emphasized that it was the public themselves that created it.[10] But what of civilians who lost their lives in warzones, nurses, journalists, photographers, and workers in philanthropic organizations? We will see that student nurses in Japan have been apotheosized at Yasukuni Shrine and given equal status to men who died in uniform. What about military and civilian personnel who died in 'non-war' settings, such as 'conflict' and international 'peace keeping' exercises?

Given the centrality of a discourse of equality in mainstream Australian society it is not surprising that these deaths have not been forgotten even if they do not take centre stage. Two additional rolls have been created for those who died for their country in war or war-like situations, but are not eligible for inclusion in the Roll of Honour; one to list military personnel who died in 'non-war' settings since the 30th June 1947 (The Remembrance Book) and the other to record the names of civilians who died in war settings

8. For full details of eligibility rules see: <http://www.awm.gov.au/research/people/roll_of_honour/introduction.asp>.
9. Byrne, Linda. Discussion with Beverley Yamamoto, 13 Dec. 2007 at the Australia War Memorial, Executive Officer, National Collection & Public Programs.
10. Ibid.

(The Commemorative Roll). These two books are locked in a glass cabinet not visible from the Wall of Remembrance and not easily accessible to mainstream visitors. The Internet offers greater equality of access, as on-line searches can be carried out. Yet, in terms of the memorial, those listed in these two rolls are not remembered in the same way as those listed in the Roll of Honour. Neither is there the same symbolic, spatial linking of their deaths with the state.

This hierarchy of remembrance attests to the strength of a militarised national identity and the naturalization of the relationship between military conquest and the state. But what kind of value packaging leads to an honouring of those who died in active military service above all other victims of war; an honouring of those mobilised not only to die but also to kill for their country (Anderson 9-10)? Why is their sacrifice so important at this national site of remembrance? By what sleight of hand does the reversing of the norms of civil society (honouring perpetrators of violence) go unnoticed?

The naming of 'those who we should not forget' in the Memorial Hall is a part of an honouring of those who died committing violence at the behest of the state, but memorialisation is constructed from such heights that only the dying and not any brutality or violence that may have preceded death is remembered. In other words, the practice of remembering here contains its reverse, the practice of forgetting. Such treatment of death in active military service during wartime may be viewed as state insurance lest future generations, as was seen in the United States over the Vietnam War, focus on the horrors of killing rather than any honours associated with dying, thus making mobilization of young men for war more problematic. Many states require a continuous supply of young men "willing to kill or harm Others and 'die on behalf of the state'" (Repo 221). Nevertheless, it would it would be a mistake to assume that this version of events is imposed by the state. As noted by Benedict Anderson, the enormous mobilising power of the nation as an 'imagined community' means that with careful orchestration various groups that will come to be labeled 'the public' may well be complicit in sustaining a memory of war that re-writes the death, violence, brutality and pain of war as a 'glorious sacrifice' (Anderson 9-10; Damousi 1-2).

While the AWM was opened in 1941 to provide a symbolic resting place for those who died in battles overseas for the Commonwealth of Australia in the First World War, its prominent and significant positioning close to the heart of federal power attests to the importance of remembering military

sacrifice not only for individuals who might mourn loved ones, but also for the nation. The fact that high level visitors from other states, both those who may have been allied as well as in conflict with the Commonwealth of Australia during many of the remembered conflicts, for example former President Bush from the United States and former President Koizumi from Japan, suggests still further that remembering these war dead is at the very heart of current national and international politics.

IV. Enshrining the Dead Whose Names Live On: Yasukuni Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum

Turning our attention to Japan we look at site tied in tightly with the imaginings of the nation and where the idea of honour and sacrifice represent even more highly gendered, militarised, imperialistic and nationalistic remembering; Yasukuni Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum. They are perhaps the most controversial of a number of highly controversial war memorials and museums in North East Asia. Ironically, this has arguably resulted in a situation where visitors hold more polarised views and are more self-consciously critical of the exhibitions than their counterparts visiting the AWM.

The Yasukuni Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum share grounds located in the centre of Tokyo near to the Imperial Palace. Both shrine and museum are operated by the Nippon Izokukai (日本遺族会, The Japanese War Bereaved Family Association), which has long campaigned for the government to again officially support the operation of the shrine and museum, as it did through to 1945.

While legally separated from the realm of state power with the promulgation of the 1947 post-war constitution, Yasukuni Shrine along with the Yūshūkan War Museum are key militarised sites of nationalistic expression in Japan. They glorify Japan's military history in general and the 'Great East Asia War' in particular. While legally separated from the workings of state, the shrine and museum are closely linked with the politics of the nation, as shown by the controversy over prime ministerial level visits to the former, and deeply linked symbolically with the imperial family.

The Yasukuni Shrine dates back to the second year of the Meiji era (1869) when Tokyo Shokansha was established by the Meiji Emperor and ten years later renamed Yasukuni Shrine (in 1879). It was established "to

commemorate and honour the achievement of those who 'dedicated their precious lives' to their country" ("About Yasukuni Shrine: Deities," 4 May 2011). Currently 2,466,000 men and (a few) women are memorialised as deities in the shrine (Ibid.). The majority of these are male soldiers who died 'sacrificing themselves for their country' during the Asia Pacific War (1931-1945) although deities that died as far back as the Ansei Purge (1858-1859) prior to the modern era are also remembered. The shrine website emphasises that some women and former colonial subjects are also enshrined. Controversially, since the 1970s fourteen men found guilty by the Allied Forces of A-class war crimes have also been enshrined. We are told that these various deities have total equality in death regardless of their rank (or deeds) in military life due to the fact that they 'sacrificed themselves for the nation' (Yasukuni Shrine Website). Not surprisingly, there is no mention of lawsuits that have been taken up by relatives of former colonial subjects who have sought to de-enshrine deceased family members as they are not happy with this equality in death.[11]

The Yūshūkan War Museum also has a controversial past. It was established in 1882, destroyed in the Great Tokyo Earthquake in 1923 but later opened again 1931, was subsequently closed under Allied Occupation through to 1961, then opened but underwent major redevelopment of its galleries at the cost of four billion yen to re-open in July 2002 (Murphy; Yoshida, "Revising the Past, Complicating the Future" 2-3). The 2002 renovations saw a doubling of the gallery space, an increase in English translation of items pertaining to the Pacific War period, and a heightened use of sentimentalisation, especially through the use imagery of the sacrificial mother. This funding came largely from the Nippon Izokukai (Murphy, 2002) and attests to the importance of sustaining and re-constructing updated rememberings of the past in the present.

The Yūshūkan War Museum is directly linked to the Shrine's memorialisation process, displaying photos, letters and other memorabilia of 'enshrined deities' from The Great East Asia War—a period of military expansionism that is dated from the point Japan invaded the US in December 1941, but presented as the final stages of a glorious, albeit failed, military campaign to liberate Asia from Western imperialism. While not as systematic in its organisation as the AWM's Roll of Honour, Exhibition Halls 16-19

11. See Repo 236.

covering the Great East Asia War contain approximately 3,000 photos of 'enshrined deities' relating to the period, although they do not appear to be displayed in any particular order. Museum books with lists can be viewed by name order or by home prefecture. Unlike the AWM, there is no clear indication of how those memorialised in the museum were chosen (Gordon, n.d.). Nevertheless, two groups are given particular attention, those who died as members of the Special Attack Corps (Tokkōtai or kamikaze suicide pilots) and young women who died while carrying out nursing duties, either as qualified nurses or mobilized students (including the Himeyuri Corps). There is another group whose presence is felt even if their personal details and photos are not on display, and that is the sacrificial mothers who sent their sons (and daughters) to war.

While only one display case in a single gallery deals exclusively with the Special Attack Corps, their presence is felt from the moment of entry into the museum with a towering statue of a kamikaze pilot standing before the entrance. Once inside, four exhibition halls contain numerous photos and memorabilia related to those whose bodies became an extension of the military's weaponry. The Great Exhibition Hall displays a manned glider and manned torpedo use by the Special Attack Forces. Reading areas and the book shop offer printed material in Japanese and English on the Special Attack Forces. While the Shrine and Museum authorities are at pains to point to the equality of those who have been enshrined, it is clear that these young men, who were expected to show bravery, courage, ruthlessness and aggression by killing themselves along with their enemy, have a special place in the ritual of commemoration. In the display on the Battle of Okinawa, for example, it is not the devastating loss of life among civilian populations that is remembered, but the 'bravery' of the suicide pilots. In the museums account of the Battle we are told that:

> The entire population of Okinawa was one as they fought on for months. No wonder the cost was so high. ... In the field of battle, suicide attacks were deployed in the air, at sea, and on the land. The battleship Yamato played its part, as did aircraft, and the infantry units, too, who took on the American tanks. All of these were suicide attacks. (Breen 153)

Needless to say, the Battle of Okinawa is remembered very differently by Okinawans. Here we see history from afar with a narrative of unified populace

and noble deeds that is the hallmark of traditional history.

According to this narrative of 'monumental masculinity,' everything good that the Japanese people enjoy today is thanks to these suicide pilots. The plaque by the statue of the kamikaze pilot at the entrance of the museum tells us that the 5,843 men from the Army and Navy who 'bravely plunged into enemy warships' are the 'cornerstones of today's prosperity' bringing their sacrifice through to the present. As the words above suggest, the fact that these young men took part in a unit where death was certain not only elevates their sacrifice, but also the excitement generated by it. It attests to the strength of the 'Japanese spirit' and marks the nation as strong, masculine and warrior-like. Needless to say, there is no questioning of the morality of the kamikaze strategy, that of sending young men to certain death, even within the context of military strategy and convention.

It is important not to overly localise this narrative, however, as in the privileging of the Special Attack Forces we see an extension of the militaristic and nationalist logic already noted in the Roll of Honour at AWM, even if the relationship between dying and killing for one's country is starker and the violent masculinity that is being celebrated shown in an even clearer light. The mixture of youth, reckless bravery and violent intent appears to be a heady one indeed. It would seem that for at least some of the 1,000 plus visitors a day to the museum, including those from overseas, the story of the brave kamikaze resonates with idealised images of glorified manhood.[12] A cursory look on the internet suggests that the glorification of the kamikaze and the myth of manhood contained within it travel well across borders.[13]

The few female images on display in the museum far from contradicting the nationalist logical of glorified manhood further enhance it. Deliberately set to contrast with the displays concerning the Special Attack Forces are those of military nurses and a photo of the cornerstone in Okinawa commemorating the 222 Himeyuri Student Nursing Corps in Exhibition Hall 16. Not only does the presence of these female 'deities' (especially the 135 young women from Okinawa who have been enshrined at Yasukuni), demonstrate the expedient nature of such commemoration, with the amplified image of the feminine innocence of adolescent women from the periphery being used in an explicit attempt to draw in a greater variety of people in to support the

12. See comments by visitors in Murphy.
13. The Charge of the Light Brigade and Tennyson's famous poem memorialising this would be a British example of this transcendent quality of the warrior narrative.

core message glorifying males from the centre (the *naichi* 内地).[14] At the same time, it articulates hegemonic ideas about the proper gendered role of men and women in wartime. We are told how the brave student nurses from Okinawa tended to the Japanese soldiers wounded in battle. The message is clear: we were all one and fought together bravely to overcome western imperialism. There is a notable silence about the brutal conditions that these young women, hurriedly trained in nursing techniques, faced during the battle of Okinawa and of their eventual abandonment on the 18th June by the military to face what was almost certain death. What is important here is there youthful and feminine sacrifice. They are the "sacrificial daughters" whose deaths were "necessary and unavoidable, thereby rendering their loss/sacrifice more valuable" (Repo 233). As such, they are the symbolic sisters of the youthful kamikaze. The femininity and purity that they embody throws into even greater relief the militarised masculinity of the kamikaze pilots. Protection of these pure, gentle, women (sisters) demands their counterpart, the recklessly brave and violently masculine Japanese males.

The image of the sacrificial mother, a powerful figure in Japanese culture, throws the militarised masculinity of the kamikaze into even greater relief. While wives, daughters and nurses are all used symbolically to show who the soldiers were dying for, mothers have a special place in the sentimentalisation of war. Letters from kamikaze pilots to their families, but particularly those to mothers, are displayed prominently. Gifts donated to lost sons by mothers are also on display. Most prominent are the two bridal dolls dedicated by mothers whose son's died before they were able to marry. The loss of son is sentimentalised through the bridal dolls, with the caring of the sacrificial mother continuing on even after her child's death.

As Repo makes clear, international controversy surrounding the shrine and museum has been more concerned about state level visits to a shrine that deifies A-class war criminals than with problematising the glorification of (chauvinistic) nationalism per se (Repo 220). Needless to say, the glorification of violent masculinity in the museum similarly goes largely unquestioned by many visitors. There is tendency for those who question this commemorative logic, a logic that turns civil society norms on their head, to be silenced with accusations of 'unpatriotic' or 'feminist,' as if these are illegitimate positions.

The glorification of masculine violence and brutality is possible because

14. I am particularly indebted to Philip Seaton for this insight.

the distance and height of the historical vision is sufficient to render the broken bodies, the earth ripped apart and 'saturated in blood' difficult to see. Our vision is further clouded by placing the "violences" of humanity (of nations) "in a system of rules," which disguise the reality that may be seen differently using a shorter lens (Foucault 185). As eloquently stated by Foucault, "The nature of these rules allows violence to be inflicted on violence and the resurgence of new forces that are sufficiently strong to dominate those in power" (Ibid. 185). Rules that not only allow but demand that nations and males "fight for freedom" and "protect women and children" allow "violence to be inflicted on violence" (Ibid. 85) both within and between nations (the violence of forcing men to kill for their country, the particular violence of sending young men off to battle as suicide pilots, and the equally gendered violence of "recruiting" young women from colonised and occupied nations/territories to sexually service men coerced into the military), are then disguised and then meanings inverted through the narrative of "monumental sacrifice." But a shortening of the vision, leads us to find not "lofty epochs" but "barbarous and shameful confusion" (Ibid. 89).

V. Shortening the Vision —The Himeyuri Peace Museum in Okinawa

The lofty mages of the Asia Pacific War presented at Yasukuni Shrine and the Yūshūkan War Museum are highly contested both in and outside Japan. The very large number of peace museums (over 200 dealing with peace or peace and war combined, of which most focus on the Asia Pacific War) in Japan attract many visitors and clearly attest to the need felt by many to construct a different narrative of the Asia Pacific War.[15]

The Himeyuri Peace Museum is a medium-sized museum located in southern Okinawa at the very periphery of present day Japan, approximately 1,500 kilometres from the capital Tokyo. Despite its location, it attracts large numbers of visitors each year. It is popular site for peace education in Japan, with students not only from Okinawa but also from the main land visiting as part of a school-based tour of the island.

15. See Tsuboi, 1992; Association of History Educationalists ed, 2000.

Figure 2. Monument in the Grounds of the Himeyuri Peace Museum

As with other museums that we visited in Okinawa, the exhibition halls in the Himeyuri Peace Museum emphasise the brutality, violence and devastation of war and militarism.[16] As the only part of Japan to experience front line battle on the ground and from the sea, a conflict in which one in four Okinawans died, it is not surprising that homogenizing, nationalistic narratives of the Asia Pacific War seen in the Yūshūkan War Museum have been challenged by the counter-memory of Okinawan local history. In the Himeyuri Peace Museum we see a complicated, up close, locating of the Himeyuri Student Nursing Corps and other Okinawans as victims of both the Japanese and American forces. The harsh reality of being literally stuck between two enemies is highlighted, with personal testimony revealing the Okinawan people's positioning as colonial-like subjects of the Japanese Empire.

The Museum and Memorial were built to remember students and teachers from Okinawa Women's Normal School and the First Prefectural Girls' High School who were forcibly mobilised to serve as student nurses during the Battle of Okinawa. Among the students mobilised, the youngest was just 14 years of age. The museum particularly focuses on the 222 students and 18 teachers who were assigned to the Haebaru Army Field

16. Kazue Muta, Kimura Ryoko and I visited Okinawa from the 9th to 11th 2010 and visited the Haebaru Town Museum, Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, and the Himeyuri Peace Museum.

Hospital, which had been relocated to a cave at the height of the Battle of Okinawa. The youngest girls ran dangerous missions outside the cave to get and cook food. The older girls carried out the most grisly of nursing duties. Conditions inside the cave were appalling with soldiers wounded and dying, many with dysentery, tetanus, and gangrene. Most of the Himeyuri Corps survived these dreadful conditions through to the 18th June when the Japanese military suddenly issued orders for the Corps to be disbanded. Ordered not to surrender and left to defend themselves during the heaviest period of fighting, most perished over the next five days. On the 23rd June the Japanese force ceased any organised resistance, but it was too late. At the end of this five day period, 219 of the Himeyuri Corps had been killed.

The Museum is made up of five chambers, the Multipurpose Hall and Passage of Peace. Through the exhibitions we learn about the gradual militarization of the lives of the girls while students, their calling up to serve in the Himeyuri Corps, and of the harsh conditions they encountered. Each day in Chamber 2 a survivor is there to give her own testimony of what happened. I was struck at how causally groups of visitors listened and then moved on, as though looking at an image rather than listening to a living person with real memories of this time. In Chamber 3 footage shot by the US forces during the Battle are shown with a voice over of survivors explaining what happened once the order to disband had been given. The first hand testimony of survivors trying to stay alive, but losing friends along the way leaves little doubt about the realities of war. There are no lofty ideals here, only loss of life. The footage was watched silently by many who were, no-doubt, trying to comprehend what war was all about. Ironically the intensity of this viewing of reproduced images, contrasted sharply with the lack of respect and attention giving to the survivor's talk.

Chamber 4 serves as a requiem naming the dead. In this sombre chamber we see the young faces of all the students and teachers who lost their lives when the Japanese military retreated south on the island and then finally disbanded the corps. The young faces that stare at you from the wall make a clear statement about war. There are also books of testimonials from the survivors, some translated into English. As noted by Terence Duffy in an article on peace museums in Japan for the *Museum International*, "The futility of their death is employed as a metaphor for peace education." He carried on to note that, "This is no small statement as Japanese society is still sensitive on the issue of war deaths, but the Himeyuri Museum makes an

important contribution to portraying the emptiness of war and the grief that is experienced on all sides" (Duffy 52).

The stark contrast between representations of the Himeyuri here and at the Yūshūkan show clearly how the memory of one group can be utilized (co-opted) by other groups with very different, even conflicting, motivations. The message of the Himeyuri Peace museum is that the lives of these young women were militarised as every aspect of their lives was influenced by or directed to the demands of the Japanese state. The central message of the museum is the lives of these young women were thrown away not only because they were forced into front line duties, but also because once the order for the Corps to be disbanded was given nobody offered them any protection. If the central tenet of the masculinity narrative of 'dying for one's country' is 'protecting their women folk,' the Himeyuri story shows the shallowness of this myth. The majority died not while working as student nurses, but after they were abandoned by the Japanese army. The main message of the Himeyuri story as portrayed at the museum is that there was no 'noble sacrifice' and no meaning to their deaths. In other words, they died in vein completely abandoned by the men who were supposed to protect them.

In contrast, the narrative of noble sacrifice that is central to the exhibitions at the Yūshūkan claims that the brave Himeyuri sacrificed themselves for their country and the liberation of Asia from western imperialism. There abandonment goes unmentioned, and there is historical amnesia about the systematic brutal treatment of Okinawans, both in military policy[17] and on a day-to-day level with reports of random acts of violence and murder.[18] While according to the Himeyuri Museum the death of every single young woman was in vain, according to the Yūshūkan every death was for emperor and country and therefore imbued with noble meanings.

It should be noted, however, that even the Himeyuri Peace Museum was quiet on one subject, the possibility that these young women were sexually abused. Given the brutal and uncontrolled behaviour of the Japanese military recorded in this and other museums, it would not be surprising if these young women suffered sexual violence and rape. Yet, this topic is not raised and if it were it would probably undermine the discourse of innocence that the Himeyuri Peace Museum seeks to maintain. Such a silence was not possible

17. Islands were used as a shield for the mainland.
18. See testimony at the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Museum.

for the young women who are remembered at our final museum.

VI. Border Crossing — The Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM)

The final museum that we will consider here is WAM which also offers an anti-war statement, but from a more overtly feminist perspective. WAM markets itself as "the first museum to focus on violence against women during war and armed conflicts from a gender perspective." It also claims to be the "first museum to record the facts of Japanese aggression, and of the suffering of Japan's military 'sexual slaves,' the so-called 'comfort women"' (WAM). It is the latter point that makes the museum and its staff subject to attacks by neo-nationalists.

As a case in point, when I visited the museum in January 2008 with plans to interview the curator, Rumiko Nishino, I was embroiled in a stand-off between the museum staff who, on police advice, were determined not to let a group of revisionist protesters into the museum, and the revisionists. The group, the Association for Restoration of Sovereignty (主権回復を目指す会), marched on to WAM from a protest calling for the re-calling of the 'Kono Statement,' the official statement made by then Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoho Kono made in August 1993 which admits direct government involvement in the comfort women system, the coerced nature of the recruitment of girls and women to be comfort women and the appalling conditions that they were kept in. The protestors claimed that recognition of the former comfort women as military sexual slaves will destroy the nation『亡国』. In addition, the group held up banners containing racist slogans about resident Koreans in Japan, the blatant nature of which would not be tolerated in many countries.[19]

19. Warned that the protestors were likely to try to enter WAM by the police, I was asked to go down to the protest sight to gather some information about the group. Nishino and the other workers wanted advance warning of who they were facing. While I was able to take photographs of the protest, I soon found myself being photographed by the protestors. They also surrounded me when I finally left WAM demanding to know who I was. This incidence gave me a taste of the reality that those supporting the former comfort women in Japan have to face.

Figure 3. Protests against the Kono Statement near WAM

This protestor, although taking what appears to be an extreme stand, highlight the way that nationalism and militarism fit into a broader value system "about what is good, right, proper and about what is bad, wrong and improper" (Enloe, "Demilitarization —Or More of the Same?" 23). The many sexist and racists slips by prominent politicians and bureaucrats show that while these officials attempt to stay on the right side of political correctness, at the *hone* level many sympathise with a broader value system that sees human rights for foreign residents and women as a threat. The comfort women issue brings a number of key flash points together in one: foreign women demanding not only justice, but for a revision of the narrative of monumental masculinity dying to protect their country and women folk. The level of menace and heightened emotion imbued in the protest by the Association for Restoration of Sovereignty attest to the extent to which the counter-memory of the 'comfort women' story presented at WAM disturbs and fragments the hegemonic narrative of masculine heroism and noble deeds.

The idea for WAM was conceived by the late Yayori Matsui (1934-2002) who was the founding member and chair of the Violence against Women in War Network Japan (VAWW-Net). She was pioneering in the way that she made connections with other Asian women to create shared space that paved the way for dialogue. During the bubble years of economic boom in Japan (1980s), she argued that Japanese women were benefiting directly from the exploitation of other Asian women, disconcerting many. Matsui also protested against the use of Asian women to fuel the Japanese sex trade. It was Matsui who proposed the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's

Military Sexual Slavery, which was a transnational grass roots attempt at restorative justice for the former comfort women held in Tokyo in December 2000.

WAM was the realisation, posthumously, of Matsui's vision of a museum that would serve as a comprehensive hub of information on violence against women in wartime situations, both past and present conflicts, and a hub for women's peace networking in the world (VAWW-NET, 2004). She left her entire estate to establishing the museum, which is run by grassroots activists following through on her principles. The museum serves as an archive, library, meeting space as well as housing an exhibition space. Just 115 square meters, the museum is on a very different scale to the other memorials and museums that we have focused on in this paper. While small, it is taken as a huge threat to revisionist values.

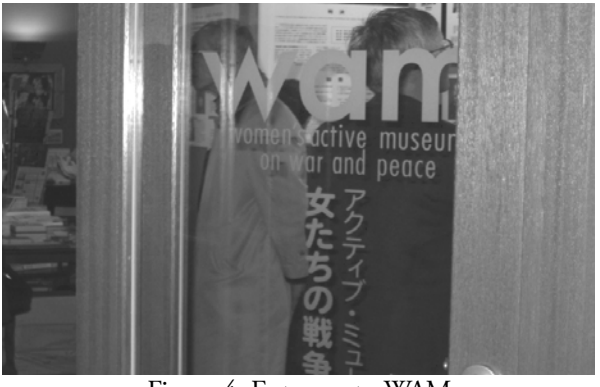

Figure 4. Entrance to WAM

To enter requires the visitor walk through a space where the survivor portraits of 150 elderly women from various parts of Asia stare down at you. We are given their names and a brief indication of the background to their experience of sexual violence by the Japanese military. In contrast to the other museums looked at in this paper, here we see the faces of those who lived on to talk about their up-close memories of being young women who brutally experienced war from a make-shift cot on the floor servicing the sexual 'needs' of the Japanese military. These survivors are presented as the "courageous 'comfort women' who broke the silence" that had been forced on them by the patriarchal systems of their own countries, and that of Japan and the Allied

Forces, which failed (fails) to view the sexual violence that these women endured as a war crime (WAM publicity, 2006). While there is the same 'naming of names,' a roll call of those impacted by war, the message is very different. Here are the names of women of many nationalities forced to serve as comfort women or in other forms of military prostitution during the period 1931 to 1945. It is an international roll call of women who suffered as result of militarism, nationalism, imperialism and the privileging of a particular kind of masculinity. Those who have listed their names, survivors and supporters, have done so to end impunity surrounding violence against women in wartime and under military occupation. There are no borders here, but a worldwide network that seeks to globalise in order to bring feminist peace to the world.

Following on from the entrance hall, there is one exhibition room, an open space for seminars and meetings, a shop area selling books and other materials concerned with the comfort women issue, a video booth, a corner dedicated to Matsui and an open archive centre. While extremely small scale, WAM has reached out across borders and made an impact well beyond Japan. In 2009 WAM was awarded the Pax Christi International Peace Award for its "commitment to healing women of wartime sexual violence through therapeutic methods by sharing feelings in comfortable atmospheres" (Website of Pax Christi International). The Pax Christi award recognises individuals and organizations who have worked at a grass roots level to improve peace in the world. While not on the international war memorial tourist circuit, WAM has nonetheless gained attention from those in the world who seek to challenge the traditional memory of monumental masculinity.

VII. Conclusion

The analysis in this paper has pointed to the political linkages between events and actions that are located in the past and the ways in which they are remembered in the present. It has argued that normative (hegemonic) narratives of wartime in Japan and Australia, as displayed in the Yasukuni Shrine/Yūshūkan War Museum site and the AWM, "monumentalize masculine heroisms" (Hwang 197) and downplay the violence involved in 'killing for one's country' while, at the same time, amplifying sacrificial acts of courage (imagined or real) among drafted or professional military

personnel prior to 'dying for one's country.' They are, then, traditional histories viewing war memory from abstract "distances and heights" (Foucault 89). This seizing of history from afar, that seeks to create a unified story of noble deeds, structures rules of remembering that serve to cover over the "barbarous and shameful confusion" of war (Ibid.). Ironically, the more bellicose message of the Yūshūkan has sparked a more critical reading of the text than in the case of the AWM, where its location as a national heritage site in 'multicultural Australia' appears to have resulted in fewer questioning the military-masculinist narrative.

In contrast the up-close memories represented in the Himeyuri Peace Museum and WAM, are forms of effective history that ground themselves firmly in time and place. This counter-memory has the potential power to re-construct the borders of conflict and pain by bringing to the surface histories and perspectives that have previously been distorted, excluded or suppressed. WAM and the Himeyuri Peace Museum fragment and disturb hegemonic narratives (even ones that utilise the Himeyuri image for very different reasons) by giving a voice to women whose stories undermine the narrative of male noble deeds and sacrifice for the nation. They allow nationalistic histories that naturalise war and militarism to be challenged and resisted, if not fundamentally re-constructed. This is achieved through a fundamental shortening of the vision, to examine "those things nearest to it" (Ibid. 89).

WAM in particular, with its activist approach, creates 'effective history' that shatters the unitary narrative of sites of memory that monumentalize the deeds of an imagined or constructed masculine hero. WAM, which is the product of the coming together of women of the former colonizing and colonized nations as well as the invading and invaded nations, stands as an example of history transcending borders in an attempt to recreate the rules that have hitherto silenced them. It is so disturbing to those wedded to monument of male sacrifice and heroic deed because the testimonies of the former comfort women (girls) exposes not only the brutality and violence of war, but also the intimate relationship between military masculinities and violence.

The challenges of offering a different version of events are great, not only in Japan but in many other nations where the 'sacrifice of our boys' is a sacred ideal that is staunchly protected, even with violence, if challenged. Feminist historian Marilyn Lake and others in Australia that have challenged the

linking of the Anzac Spirit with Australian identity have been denigrated as unpatriotic and attacked with hate mail. Ironically, those who support militaristic values use the Internet, among other things, to network with likeminded men and women from other nations. This is where we see the ideal of militarised masculinity articulated through the kamikaze pilot crossing borders to re-invent its self elsewhere. It can lead to bizarre alliances, such as the visit to Yasukuni Shrine in 2010 by a large group of high profile far right European revisionist who were attending an international conference organised by a Japanese revisionist group the Issuikai or One Water Association. Sharing an anti-immigration platform, these European and Japanese revisionists found a common language in that of ultimate sacrifice for the nation. As Enloe argues, however, we need to learn to track militarization and throw light on the "multi-layered processes by which militarism gain legitimacy and popular and elite acceptance"(Enloe, "Demilitarization—Or More of the Same?" 23).

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Abstract

This paper explores the representation of war memory and narratives of commemoration in four war memorials/museums in Japan and Australia focusing particularly on the workings of nationalism, gender and militarism. One site, the Australian War Memorial, has been noted by some for its gender-balanced representation of World War II and subsequent conflicts, but also criticised by others for linking national identity with a masculinised memory of the failed Gallipoli Campaign during World War I. The second site, the Yasukuni Shrine and Yūshūkan War Museum in Tokyo, is highly controversial due to bellicose representations of Japan's military expansionism during the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945) and sanitization of past atrocities. It will be shown that while seemingly very different both AWM and Yūshūkan commemorate the same male-militarist version of war memory, albeit in a much more highly contested nationalistic context in the case of the latter.

The other two sites, the Himeyuri Peace Museum in Okinawa and the Women's Active Museum War Museum on War and Peace (WAM) in Tokyo, are also in the same cultural space as the Yūshūkan, Japan, but offer a counter view of these fifteen years of conflict to varying degrees. Both have attempted to offer a 'counter-memory' or alternative narrative of the Asia-Pacific War by articulating the histories of those who suffered the violence of theses times as young women mobilised to serve as military nurses in Okinawa, in the first instance, and as 'comfort women' (military sexual slaves) in a variety of locations colonised or occupied by Japan, in the second. Whereas the message of the Himeyuri Peace Museum is the futility and brutality of war, the imperialist, militarist and patriarchal power structures that contributed to the war are not fully attended to. In contrast, WAM draws links between everyday violence against women and the violent conditions that the comfort women were subjected to in war time.

It will be argued that WAM in particular, with its activist approach, creates 'effective history' that shatters the unitary narrative of sites of memory that monumentalize the deeds of an imagined or constructed masculine hero. WAM, which is the product of the coming together of women of the former colonizing and colonized nations as well as the invading and invaded nations, stands as an example of history transcending borders in an attempt to recreate the rules that have hitherto silenced them. It is so disturbing to those wedded to monument of male sacrifice and heroic deed because the testimonies of the former comfort women (girls) exposes not only the brutality and violence of war, but also the intimate relationship between military masculinities and violence.

Keywords: effective history, comfort women, war memorials, Anzac spirit, hegemonic masculinity

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