

Transzgenerációs traumák a kínai-japán kapcsolatokban

— Kínai várakozások és elvárások a japán militarizmus és a koloniális múlt kínai örökségének japán kezelése kapcsán a kétoldalú viszonyrendszerben

Bemutakozás



Fazekas Gyula

rk. követ

e-mail: fgy.pek@gmail.com

mobil tel.: +(36)(20) 493-6686

- *1987-2012 a Külügyminisztérium munkatársa*
- *2006-2011 a pekingi nagykövetség első beosztott diplomatája*
- *2000-2006 a Magyar-Kínai Baráti Társaság alelnöke*

Miről is beszélünk a 70. évforduló kapcsán Kína és Japán viszonyrendszerében?

1. Történelmi sérelmek a XIX-XX. századból

- 1895 Simonoszeki szerződés
- Az I. világháború Kína számára sérelmes lezárása (Németország kínai koncessziós területei a világháborút győztes hatalomként lezáró Japánhoz kerültek)
- 1931-től Mandzsúria Japán általi megszállása, japán bábállam létrehozása a három északkeleti kínai tartomány (Heilongjiang, Jilin és Liaoning) területén Mandzsukuo néven

2. Tömeges egyéni és családi tragédiák (1931-1945)

pusztítás, rablás, emberáldozatok, biológiai- és vegyifegyver-kísérletek, máig felderítetlen készletek, szex-rabszolgaság...

3. Németország pozitív példája

Kínát irritálja, hogy Japán mindmáig nem képes / nem hajlandó szembenézni és őszinte megbánást tanúsítani II. világháborús és náci örökségével

4. Kínát irritálja a hivatalos japán kormányzat „kettős beszéde”

egyfelől elnagyolt, a bűnöket bagatellizáló, nem őszinte „bűnbánata” a külvilág felé, másfelől folyamatos belpolitikai gesztusai a japán szélsőjobb irányába (Yasukuni)

Transzgenerációs traumatizáció, vagy annál több...?

- A következő, vagy a rá következő generáció(k) kerül(nek) traumatikus állapotba – ők hordozzák (tovább) a szülők és a nagyszülők traumáját
- Nem azt jelenti, hogy a következő generáció(k) traumatizálódnak (tehát ugyanazt a traumatikus élményt élik át, amit a szüleik és a nagyszüleik), hanem inkább arról van szó, hogy a traumatikus élmények feldolgozatlansága következtében olyan feszültségek, olyan verbális és non-verbális viselkedések, felszisszenések, vagy éppenséggel elhallgatások kerülnek be a kommunikációba, amelyek a következő generációk számára feszélyező érzésekkel lesz telítve.

...A felnövvő generációkban az elööttük való titkolózás mindig bizalomvesztéssel jár. Nagyon nehéz egy családban pozitív családi identitást megszerezni, amelyben a tapasztalat arról szól, hogy hogy akik a családhoz tartoztak, bajba kerültek, vagy nem tudták megvédeni magukat, vagy a halálba meneteltek...

...Felmerül bennük a kérdés, hogy ez hogy történhetett meg...? Itt jön a szégyen, a büntudat, az áldozatok büntudata és szégyene. Ez egy roppant komplikált élménysorozat, amely hosszú évtizedeken keresztül terhelte a családokat a traumát átélő generációktól kezdve a második és a harmadik generációig...

Japán bocsánatkérések a Kína elleni koloniális és háborús bűnökért

**1972.09.29 Joint Communique of the Government of Japan
and the Government of the People's Republic of
China**

Kakuei Tanaka (PM):

"The Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself. Further, the Japanese side reaffirms its position that it intends to realize the normalization of relations between the two countries from the stand of fully understanding 'the three principles for the restoration of relations' put forward by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese side expresses its welcome for this".

1982.08.24 **Prime** **Minister** **Zenko** **Suzuki**
(Press Conference on Textbook issue)

“I am painfully aware of Japan's responsibility for inflicting serious damages [on Asian nations] during the past war." "We need to recognize that there are criticisms that condemn [Japan's occupation] as invasion”

1982.08.26 Chief Cabinet Secretary Kiichi Miyazawa (to the people of the Republic of Korea):

"1. The Japanese Government and the Japanese people are deeply aware of the fact that acts by our country in the past caused tremendous suffering and damage to the peoples of Asian countries, including the Republic of Korea (ROK) and China, and have followed the path of a pacifist state with remorse and determination that such acts must never be repeated. Japan has recognized, in the Japan-ROK Joint Communique, of 1965, that the 'past relations are regrettable, and Japan feels deep remorse,' and in the Japan-China Joint Communique, that Japan is 'keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious damage that Japan caused in the past to the Chinese people through war and deeply reproaches itself.' These statements confirm Japan's remorse and determination which I stated above and this recognition has not changed at all to this day.

2. This spirit in the Japan-ROK Joint Communique, and the Japan-China Joint Communique, naturally should also be respected in Japan's school education and textbook authorization."

1985.10.23 Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone
(Speech to the United Nations)

"On June 6, 1945, when the UN Charter was signed in San Francisco, Japan was still fighting a senseless war with 40 nations. Since the end of the war, Japan has profoundly regretted the unleashing of rampant ultra nationalism and militarism and the war that brought great devastation to the people of many countries around the world and to our country as well".

1992.01.01

Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa
(in a press conference):

"Concerning the comfort women, I apologize from the bottom of my heart and feel remorse for those people who suffered indescribable hardships".

1993.08.04 Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono

(Statement on the result of the study on the issue of "comfort women")

"Undeniably, this was an act, with the involvement of the military authorities of the day, that severely injured the honor and dignity of many women. The Government of Japan would like to take this opportunity once again to extend its sincere apologies and remorse to all those, irrespective of place of origin, who suffered immeasurable pain and incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women"

1993.08.11 Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa
(at the first press conference after his
inauguration):

"I myself believe it was a war of aggression, a war that
was wrong".

1993.08.23 **Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa**
(in a speech at the 127th National Diet Session):

"After 48 years from then, our nation has become one of nations that enjoy prosperity and peace. We must not forget that it is founded on the ultimate sacrifices in the last war, and a product of the achievements of the people of the previous generations. We would like to take this opportunity to clearly express our remorse for the past and a new determination to the world. Firstly at this occasion, we would like to express our deep remorse and apology for the fact that invasion and colonial rule by our nation in the past brought to bear great sufferings and sorrow upon many people".

1993.09.24 Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa
(at the 128th National Diet Session):

"I used the expression war of aggression and act of aggression to express honestly my recognition which is the same as the one that the act of our nation in the past brought to bear unbearable sufferings and sorrow upon many people, and to express once again deep remorse and apology".

1994.08.31

PM Tomiichi Murayama

"Japan's actions in a certain period of the past not only claimed numerous victims here in Japan but also left the peoples of neighboring Asia and elsewhere with scars that are painful even today. I am thus taking this opportunity to state my belief, based on my profound remorse for these acts of aggression, colonial rule, and the like caused such unbearable suffering and sorrow for so many people, that Japan's future path should be one of making every effort to build world peace in line with my no-war commitment. It is imperative for us Japanese to look squarely to our history with the peoples of neighboring Asia and elsewhere. Only with solid basis of mutual understanding and confidence that can be built through overcoming the pain on both sides, can we and the peoples of neighboring countries together clear up the future of Asia-Pacific....

On the issue of wartime 'comfort women,' which seriously stained the honor and dignity of many women, I would like to take this opportunity once again to express my profound and sincere remorse and apologies. With regard to this issue as well, I believe that one way of demonstrating such feelings of apologies and remorse is to work to further promote mutual understanding with the countries and areas concerned as well as to face squarely to the past and ensure that it is rightly conveyed to future generations. This initiative, in this sense, has been drawn up consistent with such belief" (Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama on the "Peace, Friendship, and Exchange Initiative").

1995.06.09 House of Representatives, National Diet of Japan passed a resolution

(Resolution to renew the determination for peace on the basis of lessons learned from history)

"On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, this House offers its sincere condolences to those who fell in action and victims of wars and similar actions all over the world. Solemnly reflecting upon many instances of colonial rule and acts of aggression in the modern history of the world, and recognizing that Japan carried out those acts in the past, inflicting pain and suffering upon the peoples of other countries, especially in Asia, the Members of this House express a sense of deep remorse".

1995.07

PM Tomiichi Murayama

"The problem of the so-called wartime comfort women is one such scar, which, with the involvement of the Japanese military forces of the time, seriously stained the honor and dignity of many women. This is entirely inexcusable. I offer my profound apology to all those who, as wartime comfort women, suffered emotional and physical wounds that can never be closed" (Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama on the occasion of the establishment of the "Asian Women's Fund").

1995.08.15 PM Tomiichi Murayama

(Statement “On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war’s end”)

"During a certain period in the not-too-distant past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asia. In the hope that no such mistake will be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humanity, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology"

1998.07.15

Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto

(letter to the Netherlands Prime Minister Willem Kok):

"The Government of Japan, painfully aware of its moral responsibility concerning the issue of so-called "wartime comfort women," has been sincerely addressing this issue in close cooperation with the Asian Women's Fund which implements the projects to express the national atonement on this issue. Recognizing that the issue of comfort women, with an involvement of the Japanese military authorities at that time, was a grave affront to the honor and dignity of large numbers of women, I would like to convey to Your Excellency my most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women.... By the Statement of Prime Minister in 1995, the Government of Japan renewed the feelings of deep remorse and the heartfelt apology for tremendous damage and suffering caused by Japan to the people of many countries including the Netherlands during a certain period in the past. My cabinet has not modified this position at all, and I myself laid a wreath to the Indisch Monument with these feelings on the occasion of my visit to the Netherlands in June last year"

1998.11.26

Prime Minister Keizō Obuchi

(Japan-China Joint Declaration On Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development)

"Both sides believe that squarely facing the past and correctly understanding history are the important foundation for further developing relations between Japan and China. The Japanese side observes the 1972 Joint Communique of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China and the August 15, 1995 Statement by former Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. The Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious distress and damage that Japan caused to the Chinese people through its aggression against China during a certain period in the past and expressed deep remorse for this. The Chinese side hopes that the Japanese side will learn lessons from the history and adhere to the path of peace and development. Based on this, both sides will develop long-standing relations of friendship"

2000.08.10

**Consul-General of Japan in
Hong Kong Itaru Umezu**

(Japan Has Faced Its Past. *Far Eastern Economic Review*,
August 10, 2000)

"In fact, Japan has clearly and repeatedly expressed its sincere remorse and apologies, and has dealt sincerely with reparation issues. These apologies were irrefutably expressed, in particular in Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama's official statement in 1995, which was based on a cabinet decision and which has subsequently been upheld by successive prime ministers, including Prime Minister Yoshirō Mori. Mr. Murayama said that Japan 'through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. In the hope that no such mistake be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology'"

2000.08.30

MFA Yōhei Kōno

(During His Visit to the People's Republic of China):

"I believe that Japan's perception of history was clearly set out in the Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama issued, following a Cabinet Decision, on the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. As a member of the Cabinet, I participated in the drafting of that Statement. The spirit contained therein has been carried forth by successive administrations and is now the common view of the large number of Japanese people"

2001.04.03

Chief Cabinet Secretary

Yasuo Fukuda

(Comments on the history textbooks to be used in junior high schools from 2002)

"Japan humbly accepts that for a period in the not too distant past, it caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations, through its colonial rule and aggression, and expresses its deep remorse and heartfelt apology for this. Such recognition has been succeeded by subsequent Cabinets and there is no change regarding this point in the present Cabinet"

2001.09.08

MFA Makiko Tanaka

(Speech at the Ceremony in Commemoration of 50th anniversary of the Signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty)

"We have never forgotten that Japan caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries during the last war. Many lost their precious lives and many were wounded. The war has left an incurable scar on many people, including former prisoners of war. Facing these facts of history in a spirit of humility, I reaffirm today our feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology expressed in the Prime Minister Murayama's statement of 1995"

2001

PM Junichiro Koizumi

Letter from Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to the former comfort women (Also signed by all the prime ministers since 1995, including Ryutaro Hashimoto, Keizō Obuchi, Yoshirō Mori)

"As Prime Minister of Japan, I thus extend anew my most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women. We must not evade the weight of the past, nor should we evade our responsibilities for the future. I believe that our country, painfully aware of its moral responsibilities, with feelings of apology and remorse, should face up squarely to its past history and accurately convey it to future generations"

2003.08.15

PMJunichiro Koizumi

(Address by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi at the 58th Memorial Ceremony for the War Dead)

"During the war, Japan caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. On behalf of the people of Japan, I hereby renew my feelings of profound remorse as I express my sincere mourning to the victims"

2005.04.22

PM Junichiro Koizumi

(Address at the Asia-African Summit 2005)

"Japan squarely faces these facts of history in a spirit of humility. And with feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology always engraved in mind, Japan has resolutely maintained, consistently since the end of World War II, never turning into a military power but an economic power, its principle of resolving all matters by peaceful means, without recourse to use of force. Japan once again states its resolve to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world in the future as well, prizing the relationship of trust it enjoys with the nations of the world."

200508.15

PM Junichiro Koizumi

"In the past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. Sincerely facing these facts of history, I once again express my feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology, and also express the feelings of mourning for all victims, both at home and abroad, in the war. I am determined not to allow the lessons of that horrible war to erode, and to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world without ever again waging a war."

2007.03.01

PM Shinzo Abe

(stated in a newspaper article)

...that there was no evidence that the Japanese government had kept sex slaves, even though the Japanese government had already admitted the use of brothels in 1993. On March 27, the Japanese parliament issued an official apology. This was regarding the surviving comfort women who had demanded an apology from the Japanese government for being used as sex slaves.

2015.04.29

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe

(during the first speech of a Japanese prime minister at a Joint session of the United States Congress)

stated "deep repentance" for Japan's actions during World War II.

Comments clarifying past apologies

1997.09.06 **PM Ryutaro Hashimoto** (MFA Press Conference on: Visit of Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto to the People's Republic of China)

"In 1995, on the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, the Government of Japan expressed its resolution through the statement by the Prime Minister, which states that during a certain period in the past, Japan's conduct caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, including China, and the Prime Minister expressed his feeling of deep remorse and stated his heartfelt apology, while giving his word to make efforts for peace. I myself was one of the ministers who was involved in drafting this statement. I would like to repeat that this is the official position of the Government of Japan. During the summit meeting that I had during my visit to China, I have made this point very clear in a frank manner to the Chinese side. Premier Li Peng said that he concurs completely with my remarks".

2013.10.18

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe

"Japan inflicted tremendous damage and suffering on people in many countries, especially in Asia. The Abe Cabinet will take the same stance as that of past Cabinets."

2015.08.14

PM Abe Shinzo

(beszéd a háborúvesztés 70. évfordulóján)

- Sajnálkozás a „háborús bűnök miatt”, de nem helyesli a folyamatos bocsánatkérést. A múlt helyett inkább a jövőbe tekintene.
- Kinek akarjon megfelelni? *(Kína, Dél-Korea és az USA elvárása szerint elődei példájára bünbánatot mutasson és megalázkodjon, vagy hívei kívánsága szerint még keményvonalasabb legyen?)*

Kinek lesz jó a köztes megoldás?

- Mély szomorúságát fejezte ki a háborúval kapcsolatban, és elismerte országa felelősségét.

„Hazánk mérhetetlen károkat és szenvedéseket okozott ártatlan embereknek. Bármikor – most is –, amikor őszintén gondolok ezekre a tényekre, szólni sem tudok, és a szívem telve van szomorúsággal. A háború befejeződésének hetvenedik évfordulóján mély tisztelettel adózom minden ember előtt, akár itthon, akár külföldön veszett oda”

- érvényesnek tartja azokat a bocsánatkéréseket, melyeket elődei – elsősorban Murayama Tomiichi (1995) és Koizumi Junichiro (2005) tettek. Ám ő maga nem kért bocsánatot.
- Japán népességének 80 százaléka a háború után született, és ők nem hibáztathatók az ország 70 évvel ezelőtti hibáiért. Akiknek semmi köze ahhoz a háborúhoz, a mai japán nemzedékbe nem kellene folyamatosan belesulykolni, hogy újra és újra kérjenek bocsánatot.
- Japán – miközben nagyon is akar tanulni a történelmi leckékből – szeretne előrelépni. A történelem kemény, ami megtörtént, nem tehető meg nem történtté.

Kínai reakciók

Kína kifogásolta a beszéd tartalmát és hangvételét

- a japán kormányfő nem alázkodott meg eléggé
- Abe felhígított bocsánatkérése nem ment át az őszinteségi vizsgán. *(Abe azzal, hogy kifejezte, Japán jövőbeni generációinak nem kellene bocsánatot kérnie, tulajdonképpen lezártnak tekinti a történelemnek ezt a fejezetét.)*
- Abénak konkrétan ki kellett volna térnie a katonai agresszióra, melyet Japán tanúsított, és bocsánatot kellett volna kérnie, ezt azonban elmulasztotta, és kicsinyíteni igyekezett Japán háborús bűneit.

Az Abe-kormányzat ellentmondásos gyakorlata

- **2006 október:** PM Shinzo Abe bocsánatkérése napján parlamenti képviselők egy 80 fős csoportja látogatott el a Yasukuni szentélybe...
- **2008:** két évvel Abe Shinzo bocsánatkérése után tagadta, hogy a japán császári hadsereg nőket kényszerített volna szex-rabszolgaságra a II. Világháború idején...
- Abe kijelentette, hogy az “A” kategóriájú háborús bűnösök a japán törvények szerint nem “háborús bűnösök”...
- Abe kormánya megkérdőjelezi Murayama bocsánatkérésének egyes elemeit (pl. az agresszió” definíciója)

Forms of apology

- Washington Coalition for Comfort Women Issues also rebuffed the use of a word *Owabi*, not *Shazai*, in those Japanese apologies. The coalition said, "the expression *owabi* in Japanese in most cases means a sense of apology only slightly weightier than an *Excuse me*."
- The coalition also criticized the Japanese government for denying any legal responsibility over such crimes as forced comfort women and refusing to compensate the survivors directly.

Szembenézés a világháborús- és náci örökséggel — Németország pozitív példája

kormányzati hozzáállás

- 1970. Willy Brandt gesztusa a varsói gettólázadás áldozatainak emlékművénél
- a német nép világos és tartós lépéseket tett / tesz a megbánás és a kompenzáció érdekében

Törvényhozás

- A német állam ígéretei és konkrét intézkedései is azt bizonyítják, hogy Németország ma is felelősséget visel a náci bűnökért
- folyamatos a kártérítés az áldozatoknak
- emlékhelyek állítása és gondozása
- az ország törvényei tiltják a náci ideológia propagálását
- gondot fordít az ifjúság anti-náci nevelésére

Európa meggyilkolt zsidó áldozatainak emlékműve Berlinben



Történelem oktatás

- A Német Oktatási Miniszterek Egyesített Konferenciája külön rendeletben írta elő az összes német középiskola számára a náci történelem valósághű tanítását / bemutatását.
- Minden tankönyvet szakmailag lektorálni kell a történelmi tények eltorzításának megakadályozása érdekében.

Kártérítések

- Németországban a történelmi múlt sikeres feldolgozása náci-ellenes szellemiséget eredményezett a történelemoktatásban és az ország jogrendszerében, a kormányzatot pedig a Holocaust-túlélők kompenzálására, őszinte intézkedésekre ösztönzi.

Történelmi gyökerek

- A II. világháború utáni német politika felszámolta a náci politikai rendszert, és ma is mindent megtesz a náci bűnök felderítése és az elkövetők felelősségre vonása érdekében.

Hogyan tovább?

Lesz valódi szembenézés a múlttal...?

...vagy minden folytatódik az elmúlt
évtizedek szellemében...?

Köszönöm
megtisztelő figyelmüket!

fgy.pek@gmail.com

(20) 493-6686