



Social Organisation of Remembering and Reconciliation: A Case of Former British POW's

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Overall Question & Aims

- How and in what ways does the past effect present and future action?
- Aims:
 - To explore memory as a relational dynamic, as phenomenal action, and as process
 - Not as a product of world/memory mappings
 - The dynamics of remembering

Presentation Outline

- Overall question and Aims
- Rethinking memory
- Social organisation of remembering and reconciliation
- A case of Iruka Boys
- Discursive reconciliation
- Conclusion & Implications

Collective Remembering & Memory

- Active process (Wertsch, 2001)
- Socially mediated by textual resources and their affiliated voices
 - Dynamic relation between the subject and the object; interdependencies, functional dualism and inherent tensions
- No principal separation between
 - individual & collective, remembering & forgetting, intentional & unintentional, official & vernacular, linguistic & non-verbal (Brockmeier, 2002)

Discursively Accomplished Reconciliation

- Not a once-for-all settlement
- Discursively accomplished
- Unfinished process
- Accounts temporarily settle the argument, but they are subject for negotiation and reformulation
- Constituting moral accountabilities
- Mobilising situated identities

Social Organisation of Remembering and Reconciliation

- Materials from a project exploring social organisation of remembering and reconciliation
- Lives of former British soldiers who were prisoners in Burma and Japan in WWII
- How do people accommodate the changing face of world events with the personal trauma of incarceration?

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Akihito: My sorrow and pain

By Colin Brown

EMPEROR Akihito of Japan spoke last night of his "sorrow and pain" over the suffering of Allied prisoners held during the Second World War. Speaking at a state banquet at Buckingham Palace, the Emperor sought a measure of reconciliation with veteran prisoners after hundreds of them visited their father-in-law and whisked "Colonel Roger" as he strolled along The Mall at the start of a state visit.

The Emperor went so far as to admit to a "sorrow" over the loss of the treatment of prisoners, but the stability of the Japanese had to be maintained for the fall of the Emperor by the Japanese military, not to continue through out the rest of the war.

Emperor's speech: what he left unsaid

The emperor's speech tonight was the most used by the Japanese government to express regret over the prisoners of war. It has used the word "sorrow" but the word "sorrow" is much weaker than "pain". The word that the emperor used to "sorrow" while made sometimes has a more meaning, "pain" and he said: "I have committed a sin, for which I apologise". The same sentiment arose with the word "regret". The Japanese have spoken of "regret" but the emperor will not

mean it, "sorrow", "pain" and "Colonel Roger", the wartime soldier.

One 85-year-old expressed his sorrow about the Emperor's visit by holding a Japanese flag in front of the Queen and Emperor passed in The Irish State Coach.

They also spoke out and there was a great deal of sympathy and understanding from the Emperor at the depth of feeling of the veteran POWs.

They protested at various points and medals in the Emperor's presence, but the Emperor's visit to the Mall was his father and his grandfather.

There were shouts of "go home" when the Emperor left an airport in Westminster Abbey after being sworn, but he did not feel alone, surrounded with dignity.

A spokesman said: "I don't think it would be fair to expect him to say anything more. He is a constitutional monarch and like the Queen, he doesn't get involved in politics. We didn't expect him to make an apology. Prime Minister [Ryutaro] Hashimoto's apology and the Emperor's visit have convinced the Prime Minister that they are sincere in their regrets."

The visit of the Japanese Emperor to the Mall was a historic moment for the Emperor of the Japanese gov-

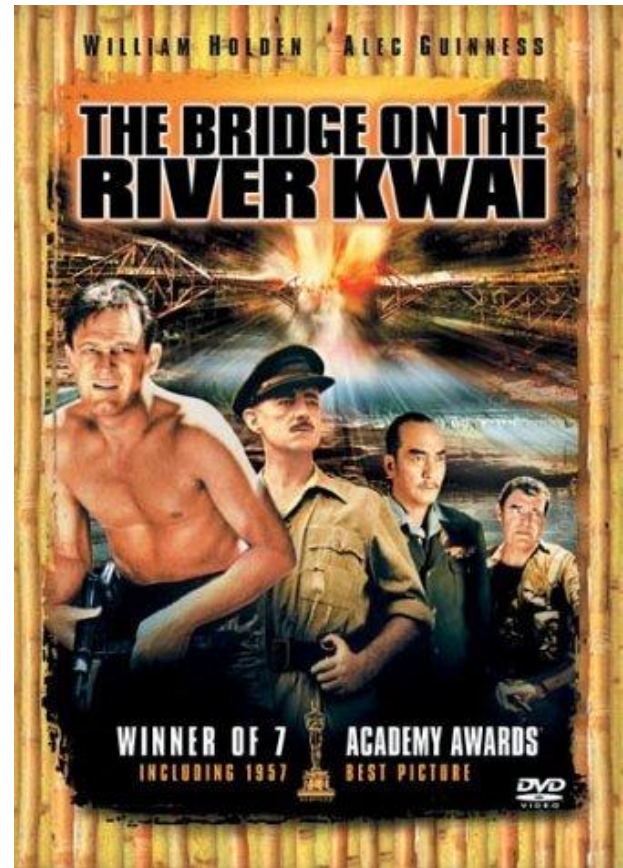


Former POW Jack Caplan, who worked on the infamous Kwai rail bridge, burns the Japanese flag during Emperor Akihito's journey along the Mall yesterday. Photograph: Paul Huxford

Dynamic Relation between Agent and Cultural tool

- Past mobilised to the present
- Juxtaposition of the two: the veteran and the flag
- The photo frames and collects humans and material resources, framing the irreducible tension
- Making it available for dispersion and displacement

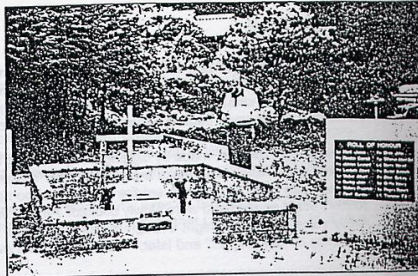
POWs in the Second World War



A Case of Iruka Boys

- 300 British soldiers interned in Iruka, now Kiwa, Japan
- Worked in a copper mine
- 13 soldiers died
- A grave was built before the war ended
- After the war, Kiwa senior citizens looked after the grave
- The grave moved to another location
- Former student workers in the camp decided to have a reunion and ceremony

IN JAPAN A PLACE THAT IS FOREVER ENGLAND



Fr Cyril Murphy examines the memorial hidden in the mountains.

Words & Pictures: FR CYRIL MURPHY

RECENTLY, when visiting Fr Bede Cleary in his parish in Shingu, Wakayama Prefecture, some 350 miles south-west of Tokyo, I had an experience which I found touching. Fr Bede took me for a drive into the hill country west of Shingu. The scenery was magnificent. We followed the winding road along the river bank, with hills rising up on either side. The valleys between the mountains were covered with orange groves and paddy fields which stretched up the sides of the mountains. Having driven along leisurely for a couple of hours we came to a village called Itaya. As it was in such a remote area, I remarked that not very many foreign visitors would come to such a place. Bede said that he would show me something that would surprise me.

At the outskirts of the village he stopped the car and there, in front of my eyes, was a Memorial to sixteen British soldiers who had died, just before the end of World War II, at a prisoner of war camp here. Two things immediately caught my attention; one was the Roll of Honour with the soldiers' names displayed in bold print; the other was the fresh flowers that had been placed in the receptacles on either side of the monument.

As I silently read the names of those British soldiers, the famous lines of the poet Rupert Brooke came to mind

'If I should die, think
only this of me:
That there's some
corner of a foreign field
That is forever England'.

To the left of the monument was an

explanation of why the Memorial was in this place. It read:

'Burial ground for Foreigners.

On the 18th June 1944, 300 prisoners of war were transferred from Malaya by the Japanese army, and under the direction of the army a P.O.W. camp was erected near the present site. More than half of the prisoners were put to work in a nearby ore mine. The rest worked in the ore processing plant or on land reclamation. These men being English, were cultured and had a high sense of pride. Their work was efficient and they themselves were gentlemanly. But being prisoners in a foreign country they were lonely and anxious. Moreover, some had contracted sickness before the end of the war, 16 died. The surviving 284 returned to their own country.'

On the copper plaque the following words are inscribed: 'To the greater glory of God and in memory of men of the British Forces who died at or near Itaya during the war of 1941 - 1945'.

While we were taking some photographs a gentleman came to greet us. He was Mr Kubo, the Chairman of the local Education Committee. He told us that he was six years of age when the prisoners were brought to Itaya and he remembers the friendliness of the soldiers. It was a time of great scarcity. The villagers were farmers but the Government took 70% of their crops for the war effort, and left them with only three months supply of food. There was no medicine available in the area. He also recalled that as soon as

the war was over, airplanes came and dropped supplies to the soldiers, who gave food to the villagers and chocolate to the children.

Until recently the Memorial was situated on the site of the P.O.W. camp; but as that is now a stone quarry, the Memorial was re-located in the present place, a few hundred yards from the original site. Each year, at the time when the people in Japan remember their dead, a Buddhist priest is invited to come and pray for the repose of the soldiers who died in this place.

I told Mr Kubo that I was surprised and impressed to find fresh flowers at the Memorial. He explained that the Senior Citizens Association of Itaya had undertaken to care for the monument and keep it supplied with fresh flowers.

We said a final prayer and left the village. As we drove back to the church in Shingu we talked about the Memorial in that isolated place, and we wondered (indeed, doubted), if a village could be found in any part of the world, where, in similar circumstances, and over forty years on from the end of the war, the people would display such a generous and 'Christian' outlook, as the villagers of Itaya. ■



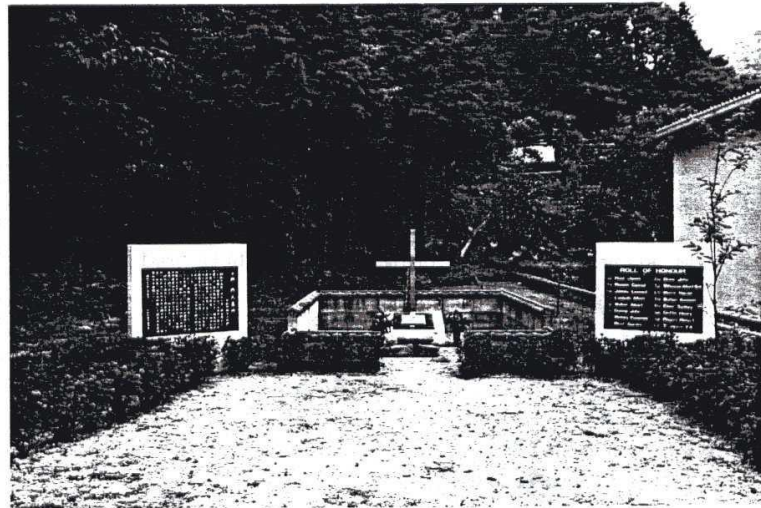
A LITTLE BRITAIN

片隅に咲く

小さな英国

BY FORMER FEPOWS AND KEIKO HOLMES

前英兵極東捕虜、恵子ホームズ共著



Grave as a Circulating Reference



- A commemorative site in Japan, POWs labour camp
- The memorial transformed from a small grave by local Japanese people
- Dynamic of collective remembering

Original grave site



Memorial of Iruka Boys





Memorial

- Functionally blank--a resource circulates in a chain of transformation
- Agency as an emergent effect of its hybrid relations of person and material
- Transforming and reordering relations
- Network of relations--textual community
- More than forming mediational means and actions
- Collectivity as an emergent effect is also made visible in the forms of reconciliation activity--in ways in which objects continually reconfigure agency



時を旅する紀和町鉱山資料館

KIWA MINE MUSEUM



紀和町鉱山資料館



イルカボーイズ

Iruka Boys

太平洋戦争中、労働力不足を補い生産増大をはかるため、昭和19年に軍当局からシンガポール戦で捕虜になり、泰緬鉄道工事に従事した英国兵300名が紀州鉱山へ配置されました。彼等は自分達をイルカボーイズと呼び、軍の監督下におかれていましたが、英

国人としての自尊心をもち、勤勉で能率的な作業をしていました。戦時中とはいえ、鉱山の従業員も町の人も彼らに対しては暖かく接していました。彼らは終戦(昭和20年)と同時に帰国しましたが、16名は病などで倒れ、故郷の土を踏むことができませんでした。



元英兵宿舎

紀州鉱山の施設にあり、彼らの大半は此で作業。一部が近辺の開墾などに従事していた。朝7時に起床後に出て、昼食は11時～12時まで、午後3時頃仕舞。夕食は4時～5時頃食事に充てられた。その後、最後の二交替制となり、夜8時～10時頃寝るまで、真真中に軍の状況でした。2週間に1回休日あり、その間は作業しなくてもよいことになっていました。



元英兵墓地

真真で故郷を思いながら暮らし、帰国後は故郷の慰問をもらうために、紀州鉱山では所山地区に墓地を設けた。その後、紀和町が墓地の整備を行ない、現在は老人会の皆さんによっておんごりに献金が続けられています。



イルカボーイズ・訪日墓参追悼式

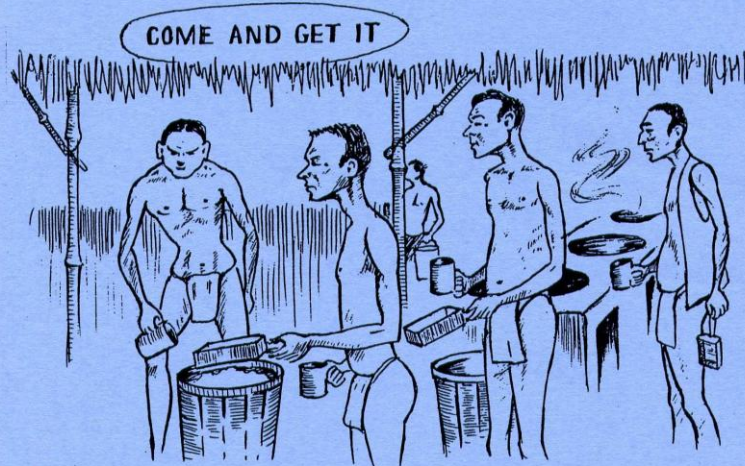
紀和町平野出身で英国在住の息子・ホームズさんの尽力で、平成17年に「イルカボーイズ訪日墓参実行委員会」が結成され、ついに彼等のもとにはイルカボーイズの訪日墓参が実現しました。関係者20名が参加して、追悼式が行なわれました。

7.15.22



OF RICE AND MEN

By Jimmy Walker



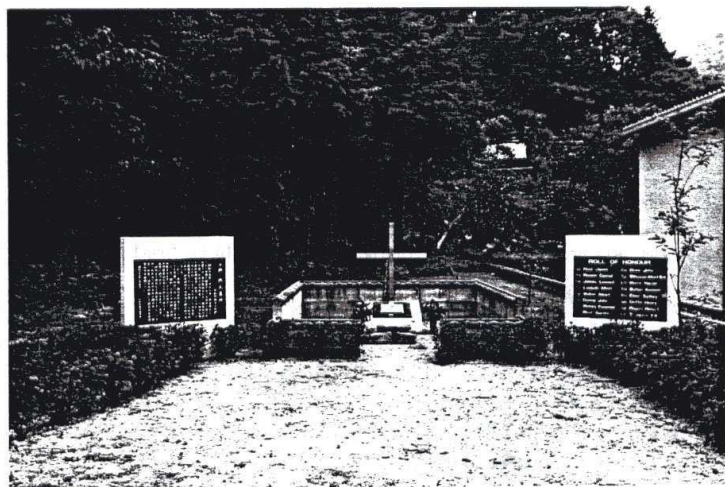
The only true war story with a surprise ending

A LITTLE BRITAIN

片隅に咲く
小さな英国

BY FORMER FEPOWS AND KEIKO HOLMES

前英兵極東捕虜、恵子ホームズ共著



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Redemption Narrative: Claiming change

- Data: Group interview in Greater London in Spring 1999
- 2 Iruka Boys, 1 informant, and Interviewer
- Interview as part of the flow of reconciliation practices

Fred's Story of photo-taking

Extract

F: I was in Battersea Park some years ago, after the war, ten years after the war and I'm sitting out in the open air with a cup of tea at the table and two little children running around in front of me and I said to myself, "oh my god, is that Japanese." Because they could be Chinese or Thai,

K: hum

F: you know what I mean, but to me they were Japanese I thought. I didn't have to wonder very long, because just behind me (there's) somebody calling out "*Oi, koi.*" Right? "come here" or

K: hum

F: yes?, I thought I know that. That means 'come here', or means 'come back'. I half reluctantly turned around and {at} the next table behind me was a Japanese man and woman. They all got up and they went down, stood by the lake.

And this is the story. He took a picture of his wife and two children. She came and took a picture of him and the two children. And me being, I don't use the camera and all that, but what I would normally do in a case like that, and I have done it many times, I would go out and say and "Excuse me, do you mind if, would you like me to take a photograph of all of you?"

K: Yes.

F I half got up and I thought "°No why should I.°" And I regretted that. I regretted it. But some years later, when I was over at Yoko's place in [Place Name], a Japanese man, lady, doctor?

M:Hiro?

F: and the two children they came and they stood on the stairs by Yoko's room there and I took a photograph with my camera then. I thought perhaps I've been redeemed at last. (ha ha ha) You know that's a little thing.

K: Yes.

Collection, Dispersion & Re-collection in the flow of talk

- Redemption narratives as functionally blank object
- How talk of reconciliation accomplishes settling and resettling
- Way of telling the narrative illustrates moments of settlement--discursive settlement and 3 levels
 - as a form of accountability

Discourse, images and objects

1. Elements of structure and trajectory: content, plot, actor, scene, resolution, etc.
2. Interactional sense-making and establishing shared understanding: discursive settlement
 - Displays participants' concern developed interactionally--moment by moment settlement
3. Juxtaposition of the first story and the second story (Sacks, 1992)
 - The second story displays its relevance of the first, in the way second story is told
 - The second story is the recollection of the first

Summary

- Rethinking memory
- Discursive reconciliation – unfinished business
- Collectivity of memory
 - As an emergent effect
 - Accomplished in a circulation of functionally blank objects in a flow of human action
 - A process of continuous mediational action of collection and dispersion, framing and displacement, settling and unsettling, and ordering and disordering

Discursively Accomplished Reconciliation

- Not a once-for-all settlement
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- Accounts temporarily settle the argument, but they are subject for negotiation and reformulation
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Moving Forward...

- How do we face difficult history?
- Crossing boundaries
- Possibility of being otherwise
- Approaches to creating dialogues
- A form of analysis for what is unsaid
- Developing material resources and conditions
- Space and time for dialogue/engagement