

ICOA1726: WORLD HERITAGE IN THE MIDDLE OF POLITICAL CONFLICT: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MIXED REACTIONS IN RESPONSE TO THE NOMINATION OF SITES OF JAPAN'S MEIJI INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Subtheme 02: The Role of Cultural Heritage in Building Peace and Reconciliation

Session 1: Heritage as Peace Builder, Tying and Benefitting Community

Location: Silver Oak Hall 1, India Habitat Centre

Time: December 13, 2017, 14:45 – 15:00

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Abstract: Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining were accepted at the 39th UNESCO World Heritage session. Nevertheless this decision triggers intensive debates about using Chinese and Korean forced labour during Second World War and enthusiastic patriotism in China as well as Korea. This world heritage in Japan initiated by the Japanese central government implicates a national narrative about Japan which initiates the negative past memory in the other neighbour countries occupied and attacked by Japanese military during the Second World War. In this study firstly I want to analyze the conflictual discourse about the nomination of Meiji Industrial Revolution as world heritage in countries China, Korea and Taiwan occupied or colonized by Japan before 1945. Secondly I want to study the reason why the people in China and Korea have vehement opposition to this nomination. Finally I want to discuss the role of world heritage in the situation of contradictory memory to the past and how the heritage could be an initiative to the building of reconciliation.

Key words: *reconciliation, conflict, disaster, identity*

Introduction

Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution were inscribed as World Heritage by UNESCO on July 5, 2015. Moreover, this action recognized Japan as the first successful transfer of industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation. When Meiji Industrial Revolution was listed to the World Heritage Tentative List in 2009, it became a dispute among the Northeast Asia countries. Why does this cause dispute about the Japanese application among Japan, Korean and China? How does UNESCO face this international dispute about heritage?

This kind of incident doesn't happen for the first time and doesn't happen for the last time in the future. During the period of writing this paper, the US State Department has announced on October 12, 2017 that America will quit the UN's cultural agency UNESCO after December 2018, in part because of its "continuing anti-Israel bias". A few hours later, Israel set out to quit as well. The reason why America quit UNESCO is that UNESCO has passed various resolutions that lambast Israel, and some in particular have provoked anger among Israelis and Diaspora Jews, such as the July resolution that recognized Hebron's old city and the Tomb of the Patriarchs as Palestinian heritage sites. Likewise, it is an application of world heritage, and refers to the meaningful interpretation and narrative of sites. Also, it involves in inter-national, ethnic, religious history and international politic difficult problems. We reasonably believe that we have to face similar issues seriously and theoretically reflect ourselves, practically think of action plans.

Japan wrote down the following sentences on the first page of the report submitted to UNESCO: "The country's rapid transformation from an isolated feudal society into an industrial nation, founded primarily on technology transfer during the second half of the nineteenth century, was a phenomenon at that time unique in history. The series is testimony to the first, and only, non-Western country to do so. The series of sites illustrate the unique 'Japan model' of industrialization." These sentences revealed that Japan hoped to focus on technology transfer and self-development; plus, the time is the historic development between 1850's and 1910. Moreover, this nomination consisted of 23 component assets located in eight prefectures and the range of industry is iron and steel, shipbuilding and coal mining which is closely related to the heavy industry. These industries are the foundations of making the Japan rich and its military force efficient under the strong countries around.

Japan's world cultural heritage application highly drew attention and criticism of Korea, China, and the news media. The following are the reactions of the two nations individually.

The Analysis of Chinese News media

China, the main victim of the Pacific War, strongly opposed the intention of Japan's world cultural heritage application in the beginning. By analyzing the information of China's media, the primary arguments are compiled as follows:

1. Japan only divided the reign of Emperor Meiji (1868-1912) to apply for the inscription, avoiding the negative factors of history of colonizing Korean Peninsula prior to the end of World War II and launching Japan-China War. In an article on August 4, 2014 called «Focus: what is the intention of Japan's world cultural heritage application.».

It wrote some conspiracy words. For example, what is the relationship between Japan planning to add Meiji Sites to UNESCO World Heritage List and First Sino-Japanese War? It had its sleeve up. The timing is sensitive and the content is ambiguous. It connected the application of UNESCO World Heritage List with First Sino-Japanese War. Why did Japan submit the application of UNESCO World Heritage List right in 2005? Track back to the history, it is not hard to find that The Treaty of Shimonoseki was made by Japan and China on April 17th in 1895 and Treaty of Portsmouth was made by Japan And Russia on October 14th in 1905. In other words, for Japan, year 2015 is a year of highly importance and worth celebrating grandly since it was the 120 anniversary of the victory First Sino-Japanese War and also the 110 anniversary of the victory of Russo - Japanese War. The loser, Qing government, paid two hundred and thirty one million and fifty thousand taels of silver to Japanese government, which was equal to 3-year revenue of Qing government. Japan spent twenty million dollars importing equipment and technical skills from German and built the biggest nationally steel works before WW2 in Japan- The Yawata Steel Works. It manufactured Military equipment, such as artillery, material of warship, and quick - fire shells.¹

The Yawata Steel Works seems to be only a steel work, but it was actually the direct product of Sino-Japanese War and the core power for Japan to aggress other countries. However, the steel work which was built by the indemnity of Sino-Japanese War and played an important role in the history of Japanese aggression turns out to be the powerful proof of the earliest Non-Western Europe industrialized country claimed by Shinzō Abe government. If Japanese government applied successfully, how could Chinese people stand that.²

2. Japanese government emphasized that the reason why they applied the UNESCO World Heritage List was the earliest Non-Western Europe industrialized country. Therefore, this application has a meaning of world history. As a result, the reason why Japanese government made the application focuses on they are model of industrial skills learning, transferring, and the development of industry. However, Chinese media declared that Japanese government emphasized the “industry”, which is too partial and can’t reflect the history.³ For example, the Yawata Steel Works in Fukuoka city, which was built by the indemnity of Sino-Japanese War; Shiratsuyu class destroyer made by Mitsubishi Shipbuilding & Engineering Company, Ltd took part in Battle of Shanghai in 1937; Kirishima battleship had attacked Pearl Harbor; JS Hyūga, DDH-181 and Musashi battleship were the combined fleets of Japanese navy; Amagi was the last aircraft carrier destroyed in the war.⁴

3. Chinese media thought this so-called “common human heritage” and “universal value” by Japanese president, Shinzō Abe, to be negative heritage and even mentioned in the same breath with Auschwitz and Hiroshima Peace Memorial. The speakers claimed that Hiroshima Peace Memorial promote the cruelty of atomic bomb explosion and pathos of citizenship. Nonetheless, they

¹<http://www.waou.com.mo/newsxxhp/shownews.php?lang=cn&id=3888>. (2015). 餘波未了: 日本明治工業革命遺址申遺 [online] [Accessed October 19, 2017]

²<http://www.guoxue.com/?p=22006>. (2014). Focus: what is the intention of Japan’s world cultural heritage application. [online] [Accessed October 20, 2017]

³<http://www.waou.com.mo/newsxxhp/shownews.php?lang=cn&id=3888>. (2015). 餘波未了: 日本明治工業革命遺址申遺 [online] [Accessed October 19, 2017]

⁴<http://culture.people.com.cn/BIG5/n/2015/0707/c22219-27265443.html>. (2015). 揭秘日本‘明治工業革命遺址’: 與曼哈頓不可分 [online] [Accessed October 20, 2017]

forgot that Hiroshima was the army city in WW2 and Mitsubishi Shipbuilding & Engineering Company, Ltd was built here. Annually memorial activity makes people forget about the army city and magnify the symbol of peace. Evil and justice seem to be confused. Japanese recent industrial constructions were not cultural heritage like Tōdai-ji and Rokuonji, which are closely connected with Japanese modern history. As a result, how to correctly, objectively, and generally describe history is quite a big issue to all parties involved.

“When Japan aggressed other countries in WW2, they slaughter people in other countries. As the aggressor and the defeated country, if they want to apply heritage with the sin of war UNESCO World Heritage List, they should confess their sin on history and cherish for peace first. For example, the notorious heritage, Auschwitz centration camp, was on the list of UNESCO World Heritage in 1979. Japan refused to confess the sin they had done in WW2 in comparison of German profoundly introspecting. Before they refused to confess that they had aggressed and had sin, they applied the war heritage UNESCO World Heritage List, which is showing off the result of war but not introspecting. This behaviour disobeyed the purpose of protecting world peace by UNESCO.”⁵

The Analysis of Korean News media

On Jan in 2014, Japanese government submitted the application of 23 sites which stand for Meiji industrial revolution to UNESCO committee. The topic was «From A Small Asian Country To World Economic Power Country». They wanted to flourish the tourism and revive the public proud nationality. This reminded Korean of the memory in WW2 which is called compulsory entrainment. In «朝鮮人強制連行の記録» published in 1965 by Pu Qingzhi, the definition of compulsory entrainment was as follow: under Japanese Imperialism, even they claimed they suffered identically, but actually not. That's the relationship between the ruler and the native.

Based on the data of «Forced mobilization truth discovery network», 360,000 Korean served for army and 720,000 Korean people were labours among all the people who were in the compulsory entrainment. The sites of compulsory entrainment were more than 1,500, including Gunkanjima. Another research made 70 years after the war indicated that the number of Korean forced to labuor in Nagasaki where the Gunkanjima was and about 8,000 people served hard labour in Gunkanjima. The deceased were about 122 people (but according to many oral records, about 500 to 800 Korean and about 200 Chinese died in Gunkanjima)

The cultural incident about cultural heritage discussing its value, authenticity, and integrity suddenly becomes a national politic diplomacy incident. According to Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japan's world cultural heritage application was considered historical distortion⁶; moreover, it is against spirit of UNESCO 'World Heritage List' to inscribe these sites which were full of painful memory in Japan's neighbouring countries. Korean government tried to explain in a diplomatic way the fact that Japan had used forced labour sent to Kyushu when occupying Korean Peninsula. Based on German news

⁵http://news.ifeng.com/a/20150515/43763939_0.shtml (2015) 独家解读：中国为什么反对日本“明治工业遗址”申遗. [online] [Accessed October 19, 2017]

⁶<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-japan/south-korea-brands-japan-bid-for-heritage-status-for-industrial-sites-historic-distortion-idUSKBN0NS0GC20150507>. (2015). South Korea brands Japan bid for heritage status for industrial sites 'historic distortion'. [online] [Accessed October 22, 2017]

media report, Korean ambassador in Germany particularly said to the reporter, Mark Siemons, of Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung that Japan forced Korean, Chinese, and allied prisoners of World War II to work in the immoral environment in at least seven of the 23 sites and a lot of people died here. Siemons used 'Insels des Grauens' as the topic.

Japanese government wanted to make two thirds of member states agree with the application of UNESCO Heritage List. They sent seven vice ministers and parliamentary vice ministers of Cabinet Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology to visit German, Poland, Finland, Serbia, Colombia, India, Vietnam etc. those who had suffrage.

During July, 2015, German held the UNESCO meeting, Japanese Ambassador to the United Nations claimed and agreed to set up centre of data to commemorate the victim and let the outside world visit and understand the history. Korean then didn't boycott Japanese application of Meiji industrial revolution heritage.

"Japan is prepared to take measures that allow an understanding that there were a large number of Koreans and others who were brought against their will and forced to work under harsh conditions in the 1940s at some of the sites."⁷

However, Japan didn't carry out his promise to reveal the whole history after two years. When you travel in Nagasaki, you can see the flag of promoting world heritage from time to time. Nevertheless on the way to Hashima (The Battleship Island, in Japanese Gunkanjima), you can't see or read any words related to the Korean and Chinese compulsory entrainment on the guide book and instruction. Korean civil used their powerful media to make a movie called «The Battleship Island» at the viewpoint of Korean compulsory entrainment. This movie aroused more discussion of secrets behind the Hashima among Asian countries. Korean civil wanted to make more people know about the other side of the industrial revolution history. They raised funds and made a clip call "the truth of Hashima" by 5,500 net pals and Gunhamdo filmmaking team. Since July 3, 2017, this 15-second clip has been played more than 1,000 times on the big screen in Times Square in New York. Japan had applied successfully. "We started with the fact to reveal the history that they forced (Chinese and Korean) to labour and killed 120 innocent people. At the end of the film, we wanted to tell everyone that the true name of Hashima is the Island of Hell," claimed by Xu Junde, a professor in Korean Sungshin University.⁸

The Analysis of Japanese News media

Take movie «The Battleship Island» which was produced by South Korea and was released worldwide for example. In the movie, it implied that Japan had forced Korean people to move and work during the colonial period. In addition, this movie had triggered heated debates since the movie trailer was released. After the movie came to theatres, Japan's Cabinet Secretariat, Suga Yoshihide, said that «The

⁷<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/06/japan-sites-get-world-heritage-status-after-forced-labour-acknowledgement>. (2015). Japan sites get world heritage status after forced labour acknowledgement. [online] [Accessed October 20, 2017]

⁸<https://www.facebook.com/SisyWorldNews/videos/1435608353183505/>. (2017). Sisy's World News. [online] [Accessed October 20, 2017]

Battleship Island» was a fictional movie rather than a totally factual documentary just like the director's words. And he would not comment on it as the government party.⁹

Although Japan officials did not make any further response, non-governmental organization, Hashima residential committee, issued declaration of English and Japanese versions to research and protest against Korea.

In response to the accusations about Japan immorally forced Korean people to move to Hashima and dig for minerals in the South Korean movie «The Battleship Island», Foundation of National Congress of Industrial Heritage¹⁰ published a protesting article which is about Japan treated Korean people immorally in Hashima during the Meiji Restoration period and written by «*真実の歴史を追求する端島島民の会*» to Suddescher Verlag on the website on August 14 2017,¹¹ issuing a declaration of Hashima did not do any immoral behaviours to Korean during the Meiji Restoration period, and created a website called«*軍艦島の真実－朝鮮人徴用工の検証*» to explain the truth after the verification.¹²

As the above mentioned, Japanese government encouraged them to resign and the local government used the resource gained after resigning to prosper tourism and economic. For local government, how to prosper the economic is a big issue. Sub-replacement fertility and Population ageing were heatedly discussed. Sub-replacement fertility and Population are not only because of low fertility but also because of population outflow. When Japanese economic was rapidly growing, large amount of people moved from local to metropolis like Tokyo and Ōsaka-fu. Although many people moved to metropolis, local population was still enough to support the economic activities. However, people who moved to metropolis didn't go back to their birth place when the economic development was growing slow down. In addition, with the population ageing, non- metropolis areas were lack of labours and many areas faced serious economic recession.

Population outflow and ageing brought with economic recession. Many local political parties scratched their heads. The application of industrial heritage brought them a silver lining. If there is a industrial heritage in administration area, it means a chance to develop tourism. Take the report by Kyushu Bureau of Economy, Trade and Industry in March 2016 for example, it counted the entire industrial heritage in Kyushu and proposed, such as how to combine industrial heritage with tourism. Then, it prospers economic, including cooperation and research with enterprises; how to value the heritage by spatial exhibition; reconstruct the system and lodging equipment to welcome visitors. Also, combining with education makes people more understand about industrial heritage.

A variety of research is accumulating along with industrial heritage resigning in all parts and academic research about industrial heritage like heritage structure and conservation in architectural

⁹<https://sangyoisankokuminkaigi.jimdo.com/>. (2017).

映画「軍艦島」に菅義偉官房長官「史実を反映した記録映画ではない」から「コメントしない」. [online] [Accessed October 15, 2017]

¹⁰<https://sangyoisankokuminkaigi.jimdo.com/>.(2017). National congress of industrial heritae. [online] [Accessed October 20, 2017]

¹¹<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B31q9trKC5ZzSnBKX05fREZ1NIU/view>. (2017). Protest letter. [online] [Accessed October 15, 2017]

¹²https://www.gunkanjima-truth.com/l/ja_JP/. (2017). Misinformation is currently being spread across the world - Gunkanjima, part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site, was not an "island of hell".[online] [Accessed October 19, 2017]

academia, flexible usage of heritage resource in touristic academia, and review of local people knowledge of industrial heritage in social academia. (Kimura 2006)¹³

Although some industrial heritages are defined as “negative heritage”, they record indelible dark side of human in history. However, through the process of Japanese application of industrial heritage, they purposed on reviving the local economic caused by population outflow, sub-replacement fertility, and population ageing. Japanese government didn’t have a clear answer to the accusations based on historical facts from nearby countries.

Discussion

Japan’s application for the List of World Heritage does not attain the full recognition of neighbour countries. Unfortunately under the existing international power relationship Meiji Industrial Revolution World Heritage does not create a possibility of reconciliation between China and Korea on the one side, and Japan on the other side. The new status, instead, adds new gunpowder regarding conflicts in the future. The purpose of this paper is not going to judge who is right or wrong on the both sides of balance, rather, it will focus on the problems of inscription of world heritage.

1. Undoubtedly, the nomination of 23 components in 8 areas sets an example of conserving cultural heritage for the other Asian countries. Nevertheless this carefully articulated package of world heritage is guided by the grand narrative of modernization development excluding workers and women who are part of this transformation process. Sophia Labadi (2007) already observes this tendency in her study: “Most nomination dossiers provide very detailed chronological and objective descriptions of the construction of the whole property, or significant buildings within it. Implied in these linear representations of history is the idea of continuity, which helps to construct or reaffirm stable and homogeneous collective national identities.” The ICOMOS experts point out the similar problem by evaluating the application: the meaning of Industrial Revolution “widely used goes beyond technology to embrace educational and social change and the negative, as well as positive consequences of Industrialization” (ICOMOS 2015: 94) The problem is that the representation of sites is too clean, sanitised and “in order to satisfy consumer demand for environmentally-clean, socially-harmonious and economically-productive heritage landscapes” (Summer by-Murray 2002: 6)

2. This above mentioned masculine, linear modernization narrative will be limited between 1850s and 1910. It seems that the end of Meiji era could be the perfect time frame for the process of Meiji Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless during the Meiji era the buds of militaristic imperialism already grow partially and the imperialism develops overwhelmingly during the post Meiji period, and leads finally to the explosion of total pacific war under the political slogan of emancipating Asian folks. This disruption of linear evolutionist model of narrative represented in the application will be excluded similarly, and the past of “forced labourers” and PoWs is forgotten systematically. The imperialist ideology should eventually be the product of learning from the western power.

3. The nomination and evaluation of World Heritage is guided by the “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” as well as “The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention”. The “outstanding universal value” should be the most essential criteria for the listing. The Operational Guidelines present the following definition: “Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which

¹³ 木村至聖 (2006) “文化遺産保存の場における記憶のダイナミクス: 社会学的記憶論の再検討を通じて”. *Kyoto Journal of Sociology*. P. 43-57.

is as exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.” J Thomas (2000) discusses already this universalism paradigm of Enlightenment which had the effect of erasing variability, reducing humanity to a set of standardized themes. This enlightenment rationalism will be instrumentalized by the nation state and adapted to the Imperialism during the first half of last century and forms the dark side of humanity. Now it seems the adequate moment to reflex the “negative” or “difficult” side (Macdonald 2009) of nation planned heritage project and open new space for the voices of diverse groups.

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ICOA1726: LE PATRIMOINE MONDIAL AUCŒUR DU CONFLIT POLITIQUE: UNE ANALYSE DU DISCOURS DES REACTIONS MITIGÉES EN REPONSE A LA PROPOSITION D'INSCRIPTION DES SITES DE LA REVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE JAPONAISE DE MEIJI

Sous-thème 02: Le rôle du patrimoine culturel dans la construction de la paix et de la réconciliation

Session 1: Le Patrimoine En Tant Que Constructeur De Paix, Communautaire De Types Et De Bénéfices

Lieu: Silver Oak Hall 1, India Habitat Centre

Date et heure: 13 Décembre, 2017, 14:45 – 15:00

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Résumé: Les sites de la révolution industrielle japonaise de Meiji: le fer et l'acier, la construction navale et l'extraction du charbon ont été inscrits sur la liste du Patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO lors de la 39ème session. Néanmoins, cette décision a déclenché des débats intenses en raison de l'utilisation du travail forcé de Chinois et de Coréens pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale par le Japon, débats soutenus par le fort patriotisme de la Chine et de la Corée. Ce bien Patrimoine mondial japonais, porté par le gouvernement central japonais, suppose que la narration nationale prenne en compte ce que la mémoire passée peut avoir de négatif pour les autres pays voisins occupés et attaqués par l'armée japonaise pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Dans cette étude, je souhaite tout d'abord analyser la teneur de la contestation au sujet de la nomination de la révolution industrielle Meiji au Patrimoine mondial portée par la Chine, la Corée, Taïwan, tous pays occupés ou colonisés par le Japon avant 1945. Ensuite, je voudrais étudier la raison pour laquelle les peuples chinois et coréens sont fondés à s'opposer avec véhémence à cette nomination. Enfin, je voudrais discuter du rôle du Patrimoine mondial dans une approche contradictoire de la mémoire du passé et comment le patrimoine peut représenter une initiative en faveur de la construction de la réconciliation.

Mots-clés: *réconciliation, conflit, désastre, identité*