UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA Faculty of Humanities Department of Asian Studies

Behind Anime Lines: Exploring Japanese Politics Through Animation

Pro-seminar paper for the course: Political Culture in Japan

Muneera Abu Roken

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Introduction

For many years Japanese animation was considered a medium of entertainment designed especially for children. However, over the last decade more animations have been produced as intellectually challenging art forms. Moreover, older animations are being noticed by critics as the anime's popularity increases, and invested efforts are being directed toward interpreting and understanding this art form. According to Susan Napier, "anime has now entered the American vocabulary as well, to the extent that it appeared in recent years in a *New York Times* crossword puzzle" (5). It seems that since anime has been highlighted by the emerging global image of "Cool Japan"¹, it has become a global phenomenon and a cultural force reflecting, among other things, contemporary political issues.

Alongside showing influences from Japanese traditional arts, anime also makes use of a worldwide artistic tradition (Napier 4) and universal narratives. The "everywhere nowhere" cultural traits that are incorporated into anime result in scholars being puzzled over the reason behind this internationalization (Lu172). Different scholars argue different things about why anime does not use more Oriental characteristics; some arguments have to do with the Japanese people's "deeply entrenched sense of self-loathing (Sato 2003), while others speculate that it is a form of Japanese cultural imperialism (Jiaxin Xu 2001)², but no matter what the argument is it always seems to be related to Japanese political culture.

This paper attempts to show how Japanese political issues are reflected through anime, which is a medium that is, in many ways, unique only to Japan. World War II was a pivotal moment in Asian memory, and it was even more central in Japanese memory, because it caused Japan to take both the roles of the victim of the US atomic bombings, and the victimizer of Asian countries (Kim and Schwartz 12). Through analyzing three different anime films that tackle Japanese history in general and WWII memory in

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¹ "Cool Japan" is a global image associated with Japan's popular culture, and is part of a "national project incorporated in the Japanese Intellectual Property Strategy promoted by the state since 2002" (Daliot-Bul 2009)

² Both sources of arguments about the reason behind the internationalization are quoted in Lu's "The Many Faces of Internationalization in Japanese Anime." 172.

particular, this paper will show how the shaping of Japanese collective memory is reflected in anime, and specifically how the memory of WWII is dealt with.

The study is divided into three chapters with the memory of the war as its main theme. The first chapter deals with Japan as a victim, and the question of who is to blame for the war. It does so through the film *Kayoko's Diary* or in its original name *Ushiro no Shoumen Daare* (1991). The second chapter deals with the notion of Japan both as a victim and as a victimizer through an analysis of the film *Song of Raiyantsuri* (*Raiyantsuurii no Uta*, 1994). Finally the third chapter deals with the concept of history as a narrative that is shaped, manipulated, and retold over and over again. The film which manifests this is *Millennium Actress* (*Sennen Joyuu*, 2001).

As far as one can tell from the literature, academic studies on these films are scarce. However, anecdotal claims suggest that these three movies are known in Japan,³ furthermore they represent a type of anti-war movies that has been analyzed a lot recently (such as Grave of Fireflies and Barefoot Gen for example). Moreover the films have been dubbed in two other languages, and they received numerous prizes inside Japan.

It has been argued that every historical text speaks of desires (Mizuno, 104). Shifting political environments play a role in determining how these desires will be reflected in any text. Thus by treating anime as a historical text, one can discover the driving force behind it. By contextualizing anime, I seek to analyze what are the political desires that are reflected in it, and how they are expressed.

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³There is little information available in formal sources about the rating of the films since they are old, and their production company has not been active in the last four years. However Japanese people aging 20-28 who were asked about it, said they watched the films when they were children.

Chapter 1: Japan as the victim

"[Collective Memory] conserves nothing from the past except the parts which still live, or are capable of living in the conscience of the group."

- Maurice Halbwachs

In the 1980s and 1990s, the taboo on discussing war responsibility was broken, and Japan witnessed a "sudden explosion of interest in the past and Asia" (Orr 2002 qtd. in Kim 60), according to Kim (2010) reasons for that might have been the 1989 death of the Showa Emperor and the end of the Liberal Democratic Party's 38 years of rule (60). As a result of this explosion many movies dealing with the war were made in these years. Correspondingly, the animation industry offered various works that handled the subject from many different angles. Films such as *Grave of Fireflies*, *Barefoot Gen*, and *Rain of Fire* are all films made in the 80s and 90s, and they share features in their criticism of the war.

Kayoko's Diary, an anime film which was made in 1991 and based on the autobiography of Kayoko Ebina⁴ is one of the successful movies of director Seiji Arihara, who has devoted most of his works to the subject of World War II. The story follows the life of Kayoko, a nine-year-old girl in 1940 Tokyo. Kayoko lives with her conservative poor extended family that includes three brothers and a grandmother. She loves playing with friends and singing, but she is very sensitive and cries a lot. By 1944, Kayoko is caring for another brother, meanwhile the war effort grows, and the fear of air raids eventually results in her evacuation to Numazu to live with her aunt. As time goes by Kayoko understands more about how the war affects life. However, nothing prepares her for what happens in March 10, 1945: from the hilltops of Numazu Kayoko sees distant Tokyo glowing with the fires of an American bombing. All of Kyoko's family is killed in the bombing, except for her brother Kisaburo, and after a year she returns to her old home to say goodbye.

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⁴Kayoko Ebina is a wartime Japanese writer born on 6 October 1933 in Sumida, Tokyo.

The film depicts Kayoko, and all Japanese citizens for that matter, as victims. It lays the blame for the war on the Japanese leaders and the bad choices they made. The leaders are described in the film as those who stole childhood, and cut the string connecting children to their ancestry, or traditions. Two scenes in the film imply this, and both of them foreshadow what happens in the war.

The first scene is when people are collecting things that have metal in them to help the army build explosives. Kayoko goes as far as contributing her only doll. The doll, symbolizing Kayoko's childhood, is stacked over other furniture and tools and driven away. Its plastic arm in the air, as though waving goodbye to Kayoko, which implies her childhood is being taken away. As Goldberg (2009) suggests, sacrificing this kind of things is to "let go of an identity connected to a happy past. Those sacrifices are made in the name of survival for the children but also for the survival of the nation." (45).

The second scene takes place inside one of Kayoko's nightmares. Kayoko hears loud sirens; she wakes up inside the dream and runs to her parents' room, only to find her grandmother drowning as the sound of war is echoing in the background. The grandmother is established in the film as the symbol for Japanese traditions. She forces Kayoko to behave like a "good Japanese woman" and obligates her to learn to play the shamisen; which is a Japanese traditional musical instrument. Thus when Kayoko loses the connection to her grandmother because of the war, she also loses the connection to the traditions of the past.



Figure 1. Kayoko's doll waving goodbye with the rest of her childhood toys.

To the surprise of the modern viewer, Kayoko is rather happy with her sacrifices. She is happy to be at help to the nation because she has been brought up by her father to think of it as a beloved nation. Her dream is to become an army nurse, to help all the soldiers in the war, and the songs she and her family sing are patriotic songs about the home land. The film subtly criticizes blind patriotism. Kayoko's adult voice says in one of the final scenes of the film that her family's death did not mean anything because Japan lost the war; thus establishing the notion that patriotism only pays off as long as Japan is winning.

The connection between patriotism and the idea of victimhood is set in the film to create an irony on which the criticism can rest. First, the scene, just before the bombing starts in the film, portrays small children repeating the battle cry- Banzai, which means in its traditional version "Long lives His Majesty the Emperor". Second, when the US airplanes start bombing Tokyo all people run to the nearest school building, because that is the order they get from their leaders, and because as an institute of the nation it is supposed to be a safe place. However, once they actually arrive there they find the school closed, and they cannot get inside. Many of the people that cannot find a way to get inside the building are burned to death by the heat of the fire caused by the bombing. It is strongly felt that the group to blame is not the USA but the leaders or the government that failed in their duty to protect the common people, and partly the loyalty and belief of the people in them.

One more topic that the film raises is the de-masculinization of Japan. Napier asserts in her book that "Scholars argue that Japanese culture now exists in a demasculinized state [that is] still haunted by images of a dead, absent, or inadequate father and a problematic masculinity" (227). This symbolic mode that has dominated much of Japanese postwar culture is a result of the actual deaths of the fathers in military service, and the loss of the emperor, "who was represented in prewar propaganda as the symbolic head of the Japanese nation-as-family" (227). Due to that Japanese cultural identity is being feminized, and it is manifested in the films not only in the image of the dying father, but also in the choice of the main characters, who are all females. (228-29)

As many scholars have pointed out "victim consciousness may be the most visible aspect of Japanese war memories" (Seaton 25). In this collective memory Japanese people are

seen as "helpless victims of a corrupt and evil conspiracy between their government and the military" (Napier 218). The film effectively depicts wartime period, and it constructs an ideology of victimhood and loss that allows the viewer to identify with the tragic story, but it also attempts to construct a "national identity in which the loss of the war gives depth to the Japanese soul" (Napier 229). It does so, in this film, by playing with the meaning of the phrase "Ushiro no Shoumen Daare" which translates to "who's left behind?"

At the beginning of the film the phrase "who's left behind?" is played as part of a nursery rhyme used by children in a game where one child is seated at the center covering his/her eyes, while the other children circle around him/her. The child then has to guess who is behind him/her. However, at the end of the film when Kayoko is seen crying at the remains of her fully destroyed house, begging her family to take her with them, the rhyme is played again in the background, only this time it means who has the war left behind? This dramatic use of the nursery rhyme with its obvious answer-"our children", creates a notion of an "us" that sets the Japanese people as a group of victims. And as Kayoko pleads the phantoms of her family, who are saying goodbye one last time, to take her with them, her mother tells her: "for everybody sake you have to stay". Her mother's saying reinforces the idea of a collective; an "everybody" that includes the Japanese viewers because she has to stay for their sake too.

In conclusion, though it seems that the war in the film destroys the collective characteristic of Japanese society, by putting the blame on an entity that is no longer there (imperial Japan), it creates a new collective that cannot dwell on memories from the past, because the past is no longer there. Both of the films *Kayoko's Diary* and *Song of Raiyantsuri* were marketed as an educational experience for Japanese schoolchildren. They were recommended by the Japanese Ministry of Education, the PTA, the Japanese Youth council, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and others. The message is unmistakable; we are victims of the past.

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⁵ All information on this matter were provided by Mushi production, the studio that created these movies.< http://www.mushi-pro.co.jp/>

Chapter 2: Japan as the victimizer

"If the community is completely honest it will remember stories not only of suffering received but of suffering inflected-dangerous memories, for they call the community to alter ancient evils."

- Robert Bellah

Song of Raiyantsuri (Raiyantsuurii no Uta) and Kayoko's Diary are both directed by Seiji Arihara, but the films could not be more different from each other. The films both deal with the Second World War in Japan. However, while Kayoko's Diary depicts the tragic story of Japan's victims, Song of Raiyantsuri depicts Japan as the victimizer, telling the story from the eyes of Chinese victims. The 1994 film is based on Yoichi Takashi's book Fugitive of the North (北の迷亡者,1989), which tells the story of Liu Renjin, a Chinese prisoner who was taken from Shandong on September 1944 and was forced to work coal mines in Japan. On July 1945 he escaped along with four other workers, who did not make it. Not being able to find his way back to Shandong he hid in the forests and mountains of Tobetsu, Hokkaido for thirteen years because he did not know the war ended at that same year⁶.

In the film, the character of Liu Renjin is called the fugitive, and he is found by Tomoko, a girl in the first grade who, for some reason, cannot speak. Once the girl hears him singing she starts calling him "mama" which is, as the film declares, the Chinese word for mother. Later in the film, although it is not explicitly stated, the viewer understands that Tomoko is the fugitive's child, whom he never saw because he was taken away before she was born. As a result of the traumatic events she went through in China she lost the ability to speak. Tomoko keeps begging the fugitive to sing, the viewer later finds out that the song is the lullaby which her mother used to sing to her when she was a toddler in China.

The movie starts in a small village in Hokkaido, where everybody works in the fields, or as hunters. After that it shows Tomoko and depicts her as someone who is completely in

⁶A monument to his story was made in Tobetsu. http://atsites.jp/asobihorokerusan/ryurenjin.htm

harmony with nature, to the extent that sometimes she seems more like an animal than a human. She eats, drinks, and even sleeps with the animals in the forest, and she does not speak. The fugitive does not use speech either, because he has no one to talk to. When he sings all animals stop to listen. Tomoko only starts speaking when she is together with the fugitive. Later on, the viewer understands that Tomoko's trauma is that when she was running away from Japanese soldiers with her mother, the Japanese soldiers killed her mother and left her in the streets. Mr. Zenzou, who used to be a Japanese soldier, found her wandering feebly on the streets and brought her to the address of relatives that was sewed on her clothes.

In the film Japanese people are depicted as brutal, sneaky, and liars, who cannot admit their mistakes even after the war ends. The film starts with the first representation of Japanese soldiers. When five of the Chinese prisoners try to escape, they hunt them down and the viewer hears gunshots implying that they are killed. However later in the film when Tomoko grows up and ventures on a journey to get information about what happened to the fugitive, the authorities tell her that such event never happened, that there was never any prisoners so to speak, that they were workers who were paid fairly and that after the war ended they were returned to their countries honored.

Even the action of taking the fugitive as a prisoner is done in a malicious way. When he is working in the field with his pregnant wife, a truck stops by them and a Chinese man asks him for direction. Once the fugitive finishes explaining, the Chinese man tells him to come with them to show them, but when the fugitive says he cannot because he is working, the Japanese soldiers get out of the car and force him in. He screams and fights and the viewer can see that inside the truck there are many more worried looking prisoners. The fugitive shouts to his wife "I will come back" and the Japanese soldiers laugh loudly and scornfully.

The criticism of Japan's war responsibility intensifies in the film many years after the war is over. When Tomoko goes to coal mining companies and to the police to seek information about the Chinese man, she is met with a special way of handling responsibility. As long as Tomoko and her teacher are asking politely, the two men at the police station keep repeating the questions to each other without giving a clear answer;

they never address what really happened or who is to blame. Which seems to be a tactic that is used in many Japanese contexts; each one passes the responsibility to somebody else, and clarity is not provided by anyone.

Other authorities just deny that they ever had foreign workers at the time of the war. Or they send representatives that say that none of the workers would have even wanted to escape because the work they did was joyful. One company manager hears their questions and when they finish he asks: "are you his relatives?" When Tomoko's teacher answers with an ambiguous answer: "we are not Chinese" he says: "then you are wasting my time and yours." The mixture of these responds with scenes that show how brutally Japanese soldiers treated their prisoners, sketches an image of hypocrisy that seems to be implanted in Japanese culture when it comes to memory of the war.

The film deals with the notion of the other, not only through showing the non-Japanese, but also through showing a Japanese person that is not fully Japanese. Mr. Zenzou is a peculiar character in the film. He is defined, by the fugitive, as "the only kind Japanese person", while he calls the rest of the Japanese people:" those enemies. Mr. Zenzou is separated from Japanese society. He tells that during the war Japanese army gave him and his son's family a house in Manchuria, he lived there until his family was killed in one of the battles. He then went back to Japan, but he does not have any relatives left and therefore he is, in a way, not connected to Japanese society anymore. In the film he states that he saved Tomoko because she was "like him". While this can mean that she is like him because she lost her family, it can also mean that she is like him because he too is an outsider or an 'other'.

The film seems to offer a solution to the problematic war memory through Mr. Zenzou's story. Through grieving over his son, Mr. Zenzou is able to sympathize with Tomoko even though she is not Japanese. As Morris Suzuki asserts, it is a "two-step solution: first, let Japan mourn its 3 million war dead, then, through this self-induced grief, let it mourn Asia's 20 million dead. The way may then be opened both to true apology and to a cleansing of Japan's collective conscience" (qtd. in Fukuoka and Schwartz 72).

While all the rest of the characters in the film have the same drawing style, the same light skin color, the same clothes style, etc. Mr. Zenzou always wears unusual clothes, his skin color is noticeably darker, and his features are very different. Strangely, all the things that seem to be unique about him are also compatible with the stereotypical notion of the Ainu people.





Figure 2. Mr. Zenzou's unusual features.

Anthropologist Arnold Henry Savage Landor describes the Ainu people in his book⁷ as:

Having deep-set eyes and an eye shape typical of Europeans, with a large and prominent brow ridge, large ears...slightly flattened hook nose with large and broad nostrils, prominent cheek bones, large mouth and thick lips and a long region from nose to mouth and small chin region. ("Ainu People." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation. Web. 20 Sept. 2014.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ainu_people.)

All of these physical descriptions seem to be compatible with Mr. Zenzou's features, especially when he is compared to the rest of the characters in the film. Moreover, Mr. Zenzou's dwelling place is very much like that of the traditional house of the Ainu; it is made from what seems to be bamboo grasses and barks, and located inside the forest, where he can easily hunt bears⁸.

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⁷ Savage Landor, A.H. *Alone with the Hairy Ainu: 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and the cruise to the Kurile Islands*.

⁸ It is Ainu tradition to hunt bears.

Mr. Zenzou is also the only one who eventually can confront his past. In one of the final scenes, Tomoko and her teacher sit with everybody and converse about their attempt of finding information about the Chinese man. The teacher asks:" what did the war do to people? Everyone we asked tried to escape the memories of the war..." Mr. Zenzou replies:" it is hard to remember what the war made us do, I only knew later, that we were thieves." The memory that plays in this scene is the house that the army gave Zenzou and his family in Manchuria. It is implied that the real (Chinese) owners of the house were murdered or driven away for the sake of the Japanese. To this Tomoko responds:" it seems like the war hasn't ended yet."

Japan's identity seems to be fixed on borders that are "defined and redefined in opposition to differences embodied in a multiplicity of 'others'." (Rumelili 2004: 31-3 also Neumann 1996: 1 and Zehfuss 2001. qtd. in Bukh 11). In other words Japan can only be itself in relation to what it is not. However, this film poses the idea that only through accepting the 'other' can Japan confront its responsibility. It might be hard for Japan to confront its war actions, because if Japan admits the things it did it would be an act of understanding the 'other', and when one understands the 'other' the 'other' ceases to be so different. If Japan's identity is based on this difference between its 'self' and the 'other', then as soon as the 'other' ceases to be different Japan will stop being the same.

A metaphor of the solution is implanted in the film. The pear tree that the fugitive plants in Japan, miraculously grows where it is not supposed to survive, and it is what leads Tomoko to her release from the traumas of the war. The Japanese soil that accepts the growth of a foreign tree inside it could be analyzed as the film's suggested resolution. Once Japan accepts the other inside it, it might change, but that change would be fruitful.

Chapter 3: History as a narrative

"We become what we behold. We shape our tools and thereafter our tools shape us"

- Marshall McLuhan

The film Millennium Actress (Sennen Joyuu, 2001) by director Kon Satoshi, is a Japanese anime that won awards from film critics, both at home and abroad. The plot centers on Chiyoko Fujiwara, a 70-year-old actress who left acting 30 years ago, and was the most famous star of a movie studio that is being torn down. She tells her personal and professional life story to two journalists who want to make a documentary about her. One of those journalists Genya Tachibana delivers a key to her, a key that was given to her by a man she ran into during her youth. Chiyoko helps the man (who seems to be a revolutionary) escape the police and she spends her whole life pursuing that man. She becomes an actress because it makes it possible to track him down. Oddly enough even her movie roles tell a story about a woman pursuing a man, and as she tells her story Genya and his cameraman are drawn into her memories.

As Ortabasi asserts "[The film] employs, and expects a fairly deep knowledge of Japanese history and culture", as well as the history of Japanese film (278). The movies Chiyoko acts in tell stories from Japanese history spanning from the Sengoku period of the $15^{th} - 17^{th}$ centuries to the distant space-age future. Obviously the film is very much concerned with the telling of history, and as Kon states in one of his interviews he made a lot of research to give the film its realistic feel⁹. As Kon puts it, Chiyoko, the protagonist, is "like a time traveler... running through time" (Midnight interview: Satoshi Kon). Even her name has to do with history; dividing the Japanese name 千 (chi) 代 (yo) and 子(ko), the symbols mean-the child of a thousand generations.

Even if it is not the main idea in the film, the film makes a statement about history and that is that history is written and rewritten, and that just by attempting to document the past we change, add, and delete from it subjectively. The notion of historical revisionism

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⁹ "Midnighteye Interview: Satoshi Kon."

is commonly known by now, and it is either the legitimate scholar re-examination of existing knowledge about historical events, or the illegitimate distortion of historical records. ¹⁰ But even without inventing ingenious documents, or manipulating statistics and translation, political agendas do shape to some extent how history is written, or what parts of history are emphasized ¹¹.

Through Kon's fluid editing techniques, past and present become ambiguously interlocked. As Chiyoko tells her story, the distinctions between the "real" and the filmic worlds become increasingly obscure. The viewer does not always know whether she is acting in one of her roles or is interacting with people in her real life. In one of her roles as a geisha she says:" I just want to see him one more time, and give him back what is his." It seems quite plausible that she could be having this conversation in her real life behind the scenes of one of her movies. Even when she seems to be in the midst of filming one of her movies the real names of the actors are still used, and some of the roles could chronologically be part of her life, so the film purposefully does not let the viewer decide what is real and what is not.

Genya becomes increasingly involved in Chiyoko's reenactments of her story. At first, when the viewer sees Chiyoko's memories, Genya and his cameraman are following her around in her memories and commenting on numerous things, but then when she is in danger Genya saves her. He appears in each period of time in a different role to protect Chiyoko and her chase. This logically suggests that if Genya has not been documenting Chiyoko's history her journey would have come to an end because she would have been killed or imprisoned. At one instance when this happens, the cameraman comments: "wasn't this supposed to be a documentary?" All of the small modifications of the past

¹⁰"Historical Revisionism." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 16 Oct. 2014. Web. 18 Oct. 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_revisionism

¹¹This has been shown in comparing how certain issues are presented in school textbook in the same place in different periods of time. For example: the first post war history textbook, *The Country's Footsteps*, represented a radical departure from pre-war pedagogical guidelines issued under the Imperial Rescript on Education...[It] alluded to the government's accountability for having started the war and causing great hardship on the people (Gluck 1993:68 qtd. in Kim 57)

imply that the stories of the past are made by people from the present. They are not just written by them but also changed.

Kon says that in this film "the method itself is the aim of the film" 12. While it might be true that he means the trompe l'oeil like style of the movie, this statement could also be applied to the fact that the movie shows how the past is changed because someone is trying to document it. To say it differently, the form of this movie is inseparable from its content.

In one of his interviews Kon says that "Most modern Japanese have specific images of the Edo Period, which are not necessarily the actual Edo Period. Television and movies have created those particular images... I wanted Chiyoko to run through such images." (Kon and Murai, "A Conversation with the Filmmakers.") Thus it can be said that what Chiyoko is recalling are the stories and characters that are remembered through historical narratives, and not actual Japanese history.

Lastly, the emblem of the key that opens "the most important thing of all" is also a statement. Throughout the story we never get to know what does the key open, and it could possibly be just something the fugitive said to persuade young Chiyoko. However, on her death bed, old Chiyoko says to Genya that the key "opened the door to [her] memories." To put it differently, if the key opens the most important thing of all and it opened memories, then the way the past is remembered is the most important thing of all.

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¹²"Midnight Interview: Satoshi Kon."

Conclusion

Popular culture in Japan is a useful mirror to contemporary Japanese society; it offers insights into the significant issues of the day. Films that deal with history, be it anime or other media, are inevitably linked to the culture that makes them, and they eventually shape the materials of a nation's past.

In this paper, I argued that political issues are reflected in anime, and that war memory is very present in anime films. The film *Kayoko's Diary*, which seems to be an analogue to how the war is remembered in Japanese collective memory, shows that blaming the government of Imperial Japan, which is no longer existent, creates a new collective of victims. The second film, *Song of Raiyantsuri*, criticizes how Japan's problematic past is (not) remembered. It shows that Japan allowed the atomic bombing to cancel out responsibility for its aggression against other countries in Asia such as China. It then suggests that the only way to take responsibility is to accept the other as part of the Japanese nation. Trough the last film, *Millennium Actress*, one can see that the past is changed each time it is told, and that political agendas overwhelmingly influence historical accounts.

The past that is in our consciousness is flexible and constantly changing as our memory reinterprets what has happened. Political interties can use that in order to construct a sense of national identity. My analysis demonstrates that political forces in Japan attempted to shape memory to enable Japan to become united again. After the war, the old Japan was shattered, and the notion of the Japanese-nation-as-family crumbled. As follows, Japan tried to create a different connection between Japanese people that will construct a collective again, and by this keep Japan a nation even after the nationalistic feelings were diminished.

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