

The Age of Emperor Akihito

The Age of Emperor Akihito:

*Historical Controversies over
the Past and the Future*

Edited by

Takeshi Suzuki

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



The Age of Emperor Akihito:
Historical Controversies over the Past and the Future

Edited by Takeshi Suzuki

This book first published 2019

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2019 by Takeshi Suzuki and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-3832-X
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-3832-0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ix

Section I: Rhetorical and Argumentation Analyses of Texts

Introduction 2
Takeshi Suzuki

Chapter One..... 11
A Critical Media Analysis of the *Korea Herald*:
A Controversy over the Emperor's Remarks
Takeshi Suzuki

Chapter Two 31
A Generic Analysis of Apologetic Discourse:
Emperor Akihito's Speech and President Roh's Reply
Takeshi Suzuki

Chapter Three 54
A Rhetorical Analysis of the Ceremonial Address:
President Roh before the Japanese Diet
Takeshi Suzuki

Chapter Four 64
A Pragma-Dialectical Analysis of Queen Beatrix's Speech
and Emperor Akihito's Reply
Takeshi Suzuki and Frans H. van Eemeren

Section II: A Collection of Emperor Akihito's Speeches 1989-2019

The Emperor's Accession Address (January 9, 1989) 82

1990 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan 83

1991 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	83
1992 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	84
1993 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	84
1994 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	84
1995 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	85
1996 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	85
1997 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	86
1998 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	86
1999 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	87
2000 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	87
2001 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	88
2002 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	88
2003 New Year Greeting by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan	89
2004 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	89
2005 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	90
2006 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	90
2007 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	91
2008 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	92
2009 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	92
2010 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts	92

2011 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	92
2012 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	93
2013 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	93
2014 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	94
2015 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	94
2016 His Majesty the Emperor's New Year Thoughts.....	95
The Emperor's Address at the state banquet in honor of South Korean President and Mrs. Roh Tae Woo (May 24, 1990).....	96
His Majesty the Emperor's Address at the State Banquet at Dam Palace (May 23, 2000).....	98
Message from His Majesty the Emperor: “Together with the Afflicted by the Tohoku-Pacific Ocean Earthquake” (March 16, 2011).....	101
Message from His Majesty the Emperor: “The Duties of the Emperor as the Symbol of the State” (August 8, 2016).....	103
Address by His Majesty the Emperor on the Occasion of the Memorial Ceremony for the War Dead (August 15, 2018).....	106
His Majesty's Answers to the Question by the Press on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday 2018, and the Activities of the Emperor over the Past Year (December 20, 2018).....	107
Address by His Majesty the Emperor on the Occasion of the Commemoration Ceremony of the thirtieth Anniversary of His Majesty the Emperor's Accession to the Throne (February 24, 2019).....	111
Remarks by His Majesty the Emperor on the Occasion of the Ceremony of His Abdication at the Seiden (State Hall), April 30, 31st Year of Heisei (April 30, 2019).....	114

References 116

Appendix 120

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Materials from several of my previously published works have been used in the writing of my book. I am pleased to credit each of the publications in which these materials have appeared. I am grateful to my co-author and others that have given their permission to use the materials in this book

An earlier version of Chapter One appeared as “A Media Analytic Approach to the Study of Japanese Apologetic Discourse: A Case of the *Korea Herald*,” in (ed.) Naomi Sugimoto, (1999). *Japanese Apology across Disciplines*. NY: Nova Sciences Publishers, pp. 185-206.

An earlier version of Chapter Two appeared as “A Rhetorical Analysis of Japanese Apologetic Discourse: A Rhetorical Genre,” in (ed.) Naomi Sugimoto, (1999). *Japanese Apology across Disciplines*. NY: Nova Sciences Publishers, pp. 155-183.

An earlier version of Chapter Three appeared as “President Roh at the Japanese Diet: Korea-Japan Partnership in the Asia-Pacific Age,” in *East and West: The Journal of the Language and Culture Institute at Asia University* 9, (1991), Tokyo, 1-15.

An earlier version of Chapter Four was co-authored with Frans H. van Eemeren, and appeared as “‘This Painful Chapter’: An Analysis of Emperor Akihito’s Apology in the Context of Dutch Old Sores,” in *The Journal of the American Forensic Association: Argumentation and Advocacy* 41, (2004), 102-111.

SECTION I

RHETORICAL AND ARGUMENTATION ANALYSES OF TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

A social controversy is an extended rhetorical engagement that critiques, resituates, and develops communication practice bridging the public and personal spheres. The loci of such controversy include participation in governance, distribution and use of economic resources and opportunities, assumption of personal and collective identities and risks, redress of common grievances, assignment of rights and obligations, and the processes of social justice.

—Kathryn M. Olson and G. Thomas Goodnight¹

In an address to the nation on June 8, 2016, Emperor Akihito, the 125th direct descendant of Jimmu, Japan’s mythical first Emperor, stated that he was beginning to feel that his declining health was making it harder for him to fulfill his official duties. The Japanese people were shocked. At that time, Japanese law had no provision for abdication, thus requiring politicians to craft legislation to make it possible.

After heated debates among the relevant parties, on May 19, 2017, the Japanese government approved a one-off bill that would allow Emperor Akihito to step down from the Chrysanthemum throne in what would be the first abdication in two centuries. On June 9, 2017, the Japanese Diet accordingly followed suit, enacting a special single-use law that would allow Emperor Akihito to abdicate due to his advanced age, thus paving the way for Crown Prince Naruhito to ascend the Imperial throne. On April 30, 2019, Emperor Akihito’s abdication was made reality. On the following day, May 1, Crown Prince Naruhito, the eldest son of Emperor Akihito ascended the throne, ushering in a new era of *Reiwa*, or the time of “Beautiful Harmony,” and bringing a close to the era of *Heisei*, or the time of “Achieved Peace,” which started in 1989.

Given this major change, I firmly believe it to be necessary to reflect upon the meaning of the thirty years of *Heisei* during which the Japanese people had experienced no war for the first time since the Meiji Restoration and the beginnings of Westernization in 1868. Whereas there is a great deal of literature on the historical role played by Emperor Hirohito, there is a little on the role played by Emperor Akihito (See Table

1). It is, hence, time to consider the age of Emperor Akihito for three reasons. First, the post-war period, especially in the early years, was indeed overshadowed by the wartime history of Japan. Given that, the audience for the Japanese Emperor's statements has often been both domestic and international. Second, it is necessary to understand within what contexts the words and deeds of the Japanese Emperor should be considered. He is a constitutional monarch, and he has a constitutional limit on his right to speak publicly about political issues. Without ascertaining these constraints, therefore, it is hardly possible to understand the meaning, implications, direction, and value of his activities. Finally, examining the constitutionally prescribed role of the Emperor as national symbol can help us understand contemporary Japanese society. "The ability to create a sense of community, and thus the possibility of social and political life as we know it," Mark V. Porrovecchio and Celeste Michelle Condit (2016) argue, "depends on the human capacity for communication" (p. 1). As the Japanese monarchy is the oldest continuous monarchy in the world, it is one of the wellsprings of such a sense of community for Japanese people.

Table 1: Chronology of key events related to Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko

- **Dec. 23, 1933:** Prince Akihito born as the elder son of Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako, who are posthumously called Emperor Showa and Empress Kojun.
- **September 1939:** World War II begins.
- **May 1944 to November 1945:** Prince Akihito evacuates from Tokyo due to the war.
- **Aug. 15, 1945:** Emperor Showa tells the nation by radio of Japan's surrender in the war.
- **Nov. 10, 1952:** Prince Akihito officially becomes crown prince.
- **March 30-Oct. 12, 1953:** Crown Prince Akihito visits Europe and the United States, attends the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in place of his father.

- **April 10, 1959:** Crown Prince Akihito and Michiko Shoda, the elder daughter of Hidesaburo Shoda, who later became president of Nisshin Flour Milling Co., marry, making the groom the first crown prince and later the first emperor to be married a commoner.
- **Feb. 23, 1960:** First son, Prince Naruhito, born.
- **Nov. 30, 1965:** Second son, Prince Akishino, born.
- **April 18, 1969:** Daughter, Princess Nori, born.
- **July 17-19, 1975:** First visit by the couple to Okinawa Prefecture, three years after its reversion to Japan from U.S. control. They narrowly escape a firebomb thrown at them at the Himeyuri war memorial by leftist activists.
- **Jan. 7, 1989:** Upon the death of Emperor Showa, the crown prince ascends to the throne and the couple assume the titles of emperor and empress. The era name changes to Heisei the next day.
- **Nov. 12, 1990:** Enthronement ceremony is held.
- **July 10, 1991:** Visit areas affected by a volcanic eruption of the Fugen peak of Mount Unzen in Nagasaki Prefecture.
- **Oct. 23-28, 1992:** Visit China, first trip to the country as Japanese emperor.
- **April 23-26, 1993:** Visit Okinawa, first trip to the prefecture by an emperor.
- **Oct. 20, 1993:** On her 59th birthday, Empress Michiko collapses, becomes unable to speak for months due to psychogenic aphasia.
- **Feb. 12, 1994:** Visit Iwo Jima, a fierce battleground in the Pacific during World War II, to pay tribute to the war dead.
- **Jan. 31, 1995:** Visit Hyogo Prefecture after the Great Hanshin Earthquake on Jan. 17.

- **July 26-Aug. 3, 1995:** Visit memorials in atomic-bombed cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, as well as Okinawa, on 50th anniversary of the end of World War II.
- **July 3-12, 1997:** Empress Michiko is hospitalized for shingles.
- **Jan. 18, 2003:** Emperor Akihito undergoes prostate cancer surgery.
- **June 27-28, 2005:** Visit Saipan to honor the souls of war dead on the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II.
- **March 16, 2011:** Emperor Akihito sends a message of hope by video five days after a massive earthquake and tsunami in northeastern Japan triggered a crisis at the Fukushima No. 1 nuclear power plant.
- **March 30-May 11, 2011:** Visit disaster-hit areas in the northeast and shelters around Tokyo for seven weeks in a row.
- **Feb. 18, 2012:** Emperor Akihito undergoes heart bypass surgery.
- **Nov. 14, 2013:** The Imperial Household Agency decides to switch to cremation for the emperor and empress rather than burial, which has been the tradition for 350 years, following a proposal by the couple.
- **April 8-9, 2015:** Visit Palau to pay tribute to war dead on the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II.
- **Aug. 15, 2015:** Emperor Akihito states “deep remorse” over World War II for the first time at an annual memorial ceremony for the war dead.
- **Jan. 26-30, 2016:** Visit the Philippines, pay tribute to the war dead.
- **Aug. 8, 2016:** Emperor Akihito releases video message expressing desire to abdicate and pass the throne on to Crown Prince Naruhito.
- **June 9, 2017:** Special legislation to enable Emperor Akihito to abdicate enacted.

- **September 2018:** Visit areas affected by torrential rains in prefectures of Ehime, Hiroshima and Okayama.
- **April 30, 2019:** Emperor Akihito steps down in an abdication ceremony, becoming the first Japanese monarch to do so in about 200 years. (*Japan Times*, 2019)

Consequently, this book has two purposes: the first, to scrutinize historical controversies over the past and the future of Japan in the age of Emperor Akihito. A closer look at several episodes will reveal how rhetorical and argumentative analyses of public discourse provide a deeper understanding of contingent historical situations (Section I). The second is to present the collection of public discourse uttered by Emperor Akihito (Section II), which can be a valuable source for rhetorical analysis. For instance, Message from His Majesty the Emperor on March 16, 2011, “Together with the People Afflicted by the Tohoku-Pacific Earthquake,” was only the second time in the history of Japan for the Emperor to speak directly to the general public. The first time, of course, was Emperor Hirohito’s war-ending speech on August 15, 1945.

Specifically, in Section I, I will emphasize controversies in the age of Emperor Akihito. Each chapter provides a different aspect of the historical controversy. Chapter One, “A Critical Media Analysis of the *Korea Herald*: A Controversy over the Emperor’s Remarks” is an example of the intersectional nature of controversy. Controversies are necessarily meant to be debated, compared, and interpreted by different players. Although it is uncommon for the audience to hear neutral, or even well-balanced, views of both sides of a controversy from a single source, media nevertheless often function as an intersection of debates, so much so that that even the most concerned audience must rely on their mediated messages for understanding historical background, arguments for and against the proposed solution to a problem, and evaluations and reactions. In this regard, an analysis of the *Korea Herald* as an English-language daily in South Korea present a unique opportunity to take its international audience into account, thus, providing an essential framework for understanding the historical controversy over Emperor Akihito’s apology.

Chapter Two, “A Generic Analysis of Apologetic Discourse: Emperor Akihito’s Speech and President Roh’s Reply” is an instance of the interactive nature of controversy. In controversies, there are exchanges of ideas, values, perspectives, and, above all, arguments. The status of Emperor is highly sensitive in Japan, particularly given the twentieth

century history of war waged in the name of Akihito's father Hirohito, who passed away in 1989 (Suzuki, 2017). Though revered as a *manifest deity* and supreme ruler before and during World War II, Emperor Hirohito was subsequently transformed into a figurehead as a reflection of Japan's wartime deeds. Emperor Akihito has only served as monarch in this more limited role. An analysis of Emperor Akihito's Speech and President Roh's Reply on May 24, 1990, at an imperial banquet will present a unique opportunity to examine the case of cross-cultural rhetorical performance. G. Thomas Goodnight (1991) is right in arguing that a controversy develops communication practice by bridging the personal and public spheres. While the private sphere is sometimes charged with emotional language and arguments, or even resentments, the public sphere can make exchanges of more reasoned and rational ideas and arguments between the participants.

Chapter Three, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Ceremonial Address: President Roh at the Japanese Diet," is an example of the invitational nature of controversy. In controversies, many related issues and arguments are invited to be addressed. During his three-day state visit to Japan, Roh not only attended the state banquet sponsored by Emperor Akihito, but also served as the first president of South Korea to make a speech before the Japanese Diet, and he did so with a forward-looking posture. While clearing the wartime past *per se* was not a goal of the two nations, both did want to step forward together into the future. As of 2019, though the Korea-Japan relationship is often described as worse than ever due to a number of wartime entangled issues under the Moon Jae-in administration (see, e.g., Evans, 2019), this chapter might serve to reframe for a global Korean audience the potential of a hopeful future and partnership with Japan, as well as re-ground a Japanese audience in the complicated history between the two peoples.

Chapter Four, "A Pragma-Dialectical Analysis of Queen Beatrix's Speech and Emperor Akihito's Reply" on May 23, 2000, concerns the dialectical nature of controversy. In controversies, participants are often forced to face a tough reality and attempt to transcend it rhetorically through joint efforts. Dutch Queen Beatrix's speech and Emperor Akihito's subsequent reply are a perfect example. Even though there are positive and negative sides to all social and historical relationships, rhetoric should be employed as a means of problem-solving, rather than a means of problem-causing. This chapter illustrates what roles topical potential, adaptation to the audience's demands and expectations, and presentational devices at the speaker's disposal can play in a critical moment of historical

controversy.

In Section II, rather than rhetorical and argumentative analyses, I will present Emperor Akihito's public discourse, manifest in a collection of his speeches and question-and-answer sessions. It should be noted, because the Japanese Emperor is constitutionally barred from making any political statements, he cannot say anything explicitly pertaining to mundane political decision-making. However, such a constraint does not mean that his rhetoric cannot carry weight in influencing Japanese society. As Thomas B. Farrell (1991) argues, "rhetoric derives its materials from the real condition of civic life, the appearances of our cultural world. At the same time, this activity makes room for disputation about the meaning, implications, direction, and value of cultural appearances" (p. 184). In fact, the Emperor's august words can serve to heal the nation's wounds in times of crisis, such as the 2011 Northeast Japan Earthquake, or bring them joy, as in such a ceremony as his birthday appearance. Therefore, it is worth reading the collection with this in mind so that we may better understand the psychological structure of the Japanese people. Moreover, although it is beyond my focus in this book, just as American presidents have formed a rhetorical genre (e.g., Campbell & Jamieson, 2008), so too may the Japanese Emperors form an analogous genre within the framework of constitutional monarchy. I hope that my project will pave the way to develop rhetoric as epistemic, or a way of knowing, for scholars of Japanese Studies both in Japan and beyond.

In closing this introductory chapter, I want to thank many people who have contributed greatly to this work. History Department Chair Laura Hein who kindly invited me to Northwestern University and the Buffett Institute for Global Affairs which generously provided me with a lot of help to complete this project. Patrick Sanguineti whom I first met at the University of Cambridge, gave me critical insights and suggestions for the improvement of my original manuscripts. I also want to thank Robert C. Rowland at the University of Kansas for inspiring me in a number of ways regarding how to "struggle" with rhetorical analysis. James House at Meiji University carefully checked the final manuscript with me. I also would like to thank Frans H. van Eemeren of the University of Amsterdam for co-authoring with me concerning the Dutch Queen's speech and the Emperor's reply. Above all, I want to thank G. Thomas Goodnight at the University of Southern California for providing a context for discussion of many of rhetorical problems, especially those of controversies and public discourse.

All of these scholars have contributed greatly to this work, and the

finished product is as much theirs as it is mine—though I alone claim any of its short comings.

Note

¹ Olson, K. M., & Goodnight, G. T. (1994), p. 249.

References

- Campbell, K. K., & Jamieson, K. H. (2008). *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words 2nd ed.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- “Chronology of key events related to Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko.” (2019, April 30). *Japan Times News*. Retrieved May 21, 2019 from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/04/30/national/chronology-key-events-related-emperor-akihito-empress-michiko/#.XOP9HaZUvs0>
- Evans, C. (2019). “Serious Threat to Japan-Korea Relationship,” *nippon.com*. Retrieved January 22, 2019, from <https://www.nippon.com/en/column/g00640/a-serious-threat-to-the-japan-korea-relationship.html>
- Farrell, T. B. (1991). “Practicing the Arts of Rhetoric: Tradition and Invention,” *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 24, 183-212.
- Goodnight, G. T. (1991). “Controversy,” In Donn W. Parson (ed.), (pp. 1-13). *Argument in Controversy: The Proceedings of the 7th SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation*, Annandale, VA: Speech Communication Association.
- Olson, K. M., & Goodnight, G. T. (1994). “Entanglements of consumption, cruelty, privacy, and fashion: The social controversy over fur.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80, 249-276.
- Porrovecchio, M. V. & Condit, C. M. (2016). “Introduction,” *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader 2nd ed.* NY: Guilford Publications, pp. 1-13.
- Suzuki, T. (2017). *The Rhetoric of Emperor Hirohito: Continuity and Rupture in Japan’s Dramas of Modernity*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

CHAPTER ONE

A MEDIA ANALYSIS OF THE *KOREA HERALD*: A CONTROVERSY OVER THE EMPEROR'S REMARKS

TAKESHI SUZUKI

The question of clearing negative legacies of Japan's military expansion before and during World War II was one of the most contested issues among the Japanese people in 1990. Wartime atrocities of the "Great Empire of Japan" left a deep wound in the minds of the Korean people, and still existed as the source of a delicate, yet potentially volatile, problem in the diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea. As South Korean President Roh Tae-woo orchestrated his visit to Japan, he requested that an imperial apology be extended to Korea regarding Japan's thirty-five-year colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula that ended in 1945. Despite the fact that Emperor Hirohito delivered his apology in 1984, Korean officials had requested a more explicit apology for Japan's wartime deeds. Although Toshiki Kaifu, the then Japanese Prime Minister, promised to give such an apology, the issue created a heated debate among Japanese government officials over how far Emperor Akihito should go in apologizing, since the postwar constitution of Japan limits the Emperor to a symbolic role, thus, keeping him from playing any political role.¹

At the same time, the Akihito apology controversy became of great concern to the Korean people, since "many Koreans--and other Asians--believe that Japan, unlike Germany, has never shown true remorse" ("Korea, Japan at odds," 1990, p. 8). Some Korean diplomats reportedly said that, given Roh's sinking popularity and continuing political problems at home in those days, it was particularly difficult for him to make the trip without the assurance of Akihito's apology ("Korea,

Japan at odds," 1990). It was necessary for Roh to resolve the apology issue on the occasion of his impending visit to Japan, since he wished to accelerate technological transfers from Japan to South Korea and step up efforts to rectify the bilateral trade imbalance. Thus, Japan and Korea were at serious diplomatic odds over whether the Japanese Emperor should apologize for his country's deeds.

In what follows, a critical analysis of editorials that appeared in the *Korea Herald* on Akihito's apology, is conducted in an attempt to elucidate how this newspaper saw the delicate political problem. In this era of instant and universal communication, all communication is inherently mediated by some apparatus. As communication is the process by which shared meaning is created, social opinions are largely influenced by mass media, and vice versa. Therefore, this criticism would provide an opportunity to examine the *Korea Herald* as a channel of communication in terms of its influence upon information and people.

Specifically, the four editorials that dealt with the apology will be examined: "Unequivocal apology" (May 13, 1990), "Obstacle to Korea-Japan ties" (May 17, 1990), "Renewal of Korea-Japan ties" (May 24, 1990), and "Akihito's 'deepest regret'" (May 26, 1990). These four comprise *all* editorials on the subject that appeared in the *Korea Herald* during the period between May 7, 1990, when the Japanese government started preparing the statement and May 26, 1990, when Roh was returning home from his historical visit to Japan. Prior to Roh's visit, officials of the two sides met several times in Tokyo and Seoul to find solutions satisfactory to both sides. The series of four editorials, accordingly, can be viewed as a complete set of texts on the Akihito apology controversy.

Stage I: The Editorial of May 13, 1990, "Unequivocal Apology"

The first editorial, "Unequivocal apology," plays an introductory role for its readers regarding the imperial apology controversy. To begin with, the *Korea Herald* has been one of the two leading English Dailies in South Korea since 1977.² It has to take its plural readership into consideration, since it is *not* a translation of the Hangul language newspaper. Its current circulation is two hundred eighty thousand strong, 60% of which is sold domestically, and 40% in one hundred and forty-eight foreign countries. The readership of this newspaper is generally made up of the educated

classes in Korea and in the other countries where it is sold. Of its domestic readers, for instance, about 10% are students, 15% military, and 10% foreigners. Therefore, the *Korea Herald* is written not only for Korean readers but also for international readers, including Japanese.

As an introduction, the first section of the editorial summarizes the situation well: "How far the Japanese emperor should go [in] apologizing for Japan's 35-year colonial rule of Korea will be of great concern to Koreans during President Roh Tae-woo's visit to Tokyo late next week" ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8). As Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (1972) indicates, "rhetorical discourse is public, addressed to others" (p. 3). She further argues that rhetoric deals primarily with social questions which the individual cannot solve him/herself; he/she requires others to share his/her attitudes, his/her way of looking at things, and who are willing to commit themselves to similar cooperative action. At this juncture, it is assumed that the editorial is calling for a cooperative action between Koreans and its international readers. Since Koreans' concern about the apology controversy is already high, it is natural for the *Korea Herald* to stimulate interest among its readers abroad, particularly the Japanese.

Then, the second section of the editorial provides a historical review of Japan's wrongdoing. It points out Japan's annexation of the Korean Peninsula between 1910 and 1945, and it argues: "This marks a difference between Korea and other parts of Asia in terms of what Japan did. And this is why Koreans will be watching how Japan makes amends for what it did in the past to destroy this country's sovereignty" ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8). Hence, this historical reference serves as grounds for Korean people to comment on Japan's behavior.

The third section describes in more detail how Japan humiliated and mistreated Korean men and women. According to Hideki Kajimura (1977), in the decades following the 1910 annexation, the Japanese government not only forced Koreans to adopt Japanese names and worship the Emperor but also shipped hundreds of thousands of them to Japan to work as laborers in its coal mines and factories. During World War II, Japan even conscripted Korean men to fight for the emperor, and sent Korean women to work as prostitutes in the troops' quarters (Howard, 1996). This section concludes the historical review by declaring that "[t]heir atrocities have left deep wounds in Koreans, not to mention their deprivation of Korea's sovereign rights" ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8). As such, the negative legacies of Japan's colonization period still exist as "trauma" on the part of Korean people.

The fourth section condemns the late Japanese Emperor Hirohito's

apology as coming far short of satisfying the Korean people. While hosting a state banquet for former President Chun Doo Hwan in 1984, he referred to the annexation and ensuing rule as the "unfortunate past" and "indeed regrettable" without mentioning the physical suffering Koreans experienced ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8). A Korean Foreign Ministry official, for instance, believed that the statement of apology by Akihito should not only include an expression of regret for the wrongdoing but state who committed what to whom ("Invitation of Akihito," 1990, p. 1). Some Koreans even felt that what the Japanese regretted was "that they lost the war" ("Korea, Japan at odds," 1990, p. 8).

In the next section, the editorial explains why the Koreans wanted Akihito's "unequivocal apology" despite his symbolic status under the present Constitution of Japan:

Now, [the] Japanese are reportedly saying that the present emperor is only a symbol of their country, not a living god, as his father was once regarded. They are making this point in urging their government not to involve the imperial family in diplomatic problems. But the emperor represents Japan as its constitutional monarch. *His authority is awesome in that regard.* ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8: emphasis added)

Here the editorial reverses the argument by stating that if the emperor is still sacrosanct to Japanese people, then the Korean people demand an apology from that authority for the wrongful deeds of the Japanese. In fact, Lee Hong-koo, a special assistant to Roh, asserts that only the emperor's own words were likely to satisfy most Koreans, since "[e]verything was done in the name of the emperor" ("Korea, Japan at odds," 1990, p. 8). The *Chosen Ilbo* newspaper stated in its editorial: "Kaifu is doing a very good job, his popularity is going up, but when it comes to the historical legacy, he is irrelevant. [...] That is the view of most Koreans" (as cited in "Korea, Japan at odds," 1990, p. 8).

In spite of such harsh opinions by most Koreans, the last section of the editorial employs a less inflammatory approach by saying that "Korea is not a country that is looking backward, engrossed in getting even for the past deprivation. Instead, it is *forward-looking and open-minded*" ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8: emphasis added). Thus, the *Korea Herald* chooses to fulfill the persona, or role, of a forward-looking and open-minded citizen of its country. In so doing, any proposal by the editorial would also be forward-looking and open-minded, and anyone opposed to the proposal would be perceived as backward-looking and

narrow-minded.³

Based on the persona described above, the same source suggests that "Koreans feel it as an acute need to improve relations with their closest neighbors including Japan, amid the global developments, in search of co-prosperity" ("Unequivocal apology," 1990, p. 8). Clearly, the *Korea Herald* is trying to perpetuate a forward-looking posture.

In sum, the first editorial, "Unequivocal apology," provides historical information necessary to understand the apology issue, and reveals underlying conflicts in the minds of the Korean people. Its purpose is to convince its Korean as well as foreign readers that a new era of friendship between Japan and Korea could not be achieved without achieving a common understanding of the past.

Stage II: The Editorial of May 17, 1990, "Obstacle to Korea-Japan Ties"

The second editorial, "Obstacle to Korea-Japan ties," is intended to create conflict by comparing Korean and Japanese arguments regarding the apology issue (1990, p. 8). On the one hand, leaders of Japan's ruling party opposed an apology by Emperor Akihito because of constitutional restrictions on the involvement of the emperor in politics ("Akihito's apology," 1990). In fact, Japan's constitution stipulates that the cabinet must give advice on and approval for the emperor's actions in matters of state, such as on ceremonial occasions and at the reception of foreign officials. But it does not specify the emperor's role on such occasions ("Akihito's apology," 1990). On the other hand, the Korean government was increasing diplomatic pressure on Japan so that it would take a "progressive attitude" on the question ("Seoul presses," 1990, p. 1).

Under such circumstances, intense rhetoric arises from the conflict. As Campbell (1972) states, "Rhetoric arises out of conflict--within an individual, between individuals, or between groups. The basic conflict involves the perception of a problem--a gap between existing conditions and desired change, or between current policies and practices and proposed goals" (p. 9). For that reason, the situation calls for rhetoric to bridge the perceptual gap between what Korea would desire and what Japan could offer. The beginning of the editorial quoted below illustrated the Korean point of view: "It is most unfortunate that Korea and Japan have lately been bogged down in a delicate, yet volatile, diplomatic feud over the issue of making an apology for Japan's occupation of Korea

before and during World War II" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8).

In the second section, the editorial uses even more emotional language such as "chronic," "resurging," "stubbornness," "self-righteous," and "ego" for describing Japan's attitude toward the subject ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8). Clearly, the emotional tone of the editorial is largely influenced by the political atmosphere between the two countries, and such a tone is intended to increase the interest of both its domestic and international readers.

In the third section, the editorial presents the Koreans' established position that Akihito should express repentance about Japan's thirty-five-year colonial rule over Korea:

The standing position of Korea, and for that matter most Asian nations which suffered a similar fate, has been that the Japanese should offer apologies for their historical crimes and misdeeds committed before and during the Pacific War in order to wipe the slate clean for entering upon new and friendly relations. ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8)

There is no question that this is the key argument in the second editorial. Nevertheless, this position is not as rigid as it appears in the sense that it utilizes the "to wipe the slate clean" metaphor.

Generally, any analysis of metaphoric arguments is concerned with the implications seen as strengths and with limitations seen as weaknesses.⁴ In terms of the strengths, the "to-wipe-slate-clean" metaphor provides three insights within this particular context. First, "what is already done cannot be undone." Even if Japan tries to ignore the historical fact, it remains as it is written on the slate. Second, the metaphor suggests that Korea and Japan could erase what is written at present once both sides reach an agreement to do so. Finally, on the clean slate, the two countries can write something that posterity would be proud of.

In terms of the weaknesses, however, the metaphoric appeal is limited to those people willing to adopt the forward-looking posture toward the Korea-Japan relationship. This single metaphor alone, in other words, is too weak to overcome the presumption held by a hostile Korean audience whose collective wartime memory is still vivid.

Since it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to conduct diplomatic negotiations on the delicate issue between Korea and Japan, both sides need to look at the problem with a new perspective which the metaphor suggests. In his article, "To wipe the slate clean," Kim Young-won (1990) identifies two difficulties inherent in any summit-level meetings between

Korea and Japan:

For one thing, a Korean President is both head of state and chief executive, whereas in Japan, the head of state is the emperor and the chief executive is the prime minister. For another, both Japanese and Koreans are notorious for their insistence on appearance, pomp and circumstance, as perhaps any full-blooded Orientals ought to be. (p. 8)

Given the difficulties associated with Korea-Japan diplomacy, the "to wipe the slate clean" metaphor provides the two countries with the paradigm offering a solution to the emotionally committed issue of imperial apology (See, for an analysis of the transcendental capacity of the Emperor's rhetoric, Suzuki, 2017).

In the fourth section, the editorial requires Japan to change its attitude toward Korea. It argues that "whenever the occasion arose, its chauvinistic and haughty elements made no bones about thinking and feeling otherwise" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8). The next section elaborates on this point by demonstrating that such an attitude had given

rise to frequent controversies between the [Asian] governments and peoples with regard to the so-called attempts at whitewashing the historical record on that score and to fears of the sun of old imperial Japan rising again over the horizon of Asia and the Pacific. ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8)

Thus, regarding the imperial controversy, Japan's stubbornness is still closely connected with war memories in the mind of other Asian peoples.

In the sixth and seventh sections, the editorial attempts to criticize Japan's attitude toward Korea by alluding to the late Emperor Hirohito's apology. To start with, it contends that "[t]he ongoing squabble over an apology would have been forestalled" had he "spoken in clearer terms than an airy expression of regret about the unfortunate past" to the visiting Korean President in 1984 ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8).

Furthermore, the editorial refutes Japan's constitutional limits argument that the emperor should be "a figurehead above the political and diplomatic affairs of state" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8). The editorial argues that if this is indeed the case, "Akihito ought to have been ruled out of the picture altogether from the beginning" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8) by pointing to Japan's self-contradiction concerning the imperial apology.

The eighth section maintains that Koreans are "not interested so much in the rhetoric or the manner of apology as [in the] honesty and sincerity of

this rite" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8). Hence, the ninth and last section concludes the second editorial by demonstrating a need for a change in the Japanese way of thinking: "A bold reorientation in the thinking and profile of the Japanese nation toward full candor, openness and humility is necessary to place Korea-Japan relations on a solid bedrock" ("Obstacle," 1990, p. 8).

In the final analysis, the purpose of this editorial, "Obstacle to Korea-Japan ties," is not only to present Korea's view that Japan should offer an apology as Prime Minister Kaifu had already accepted, but to indicate that the emperor should do so in order for such an apology to be sufficient to "wipe the slate clean."

Stage III: The Editorial of May 24, 1990, "Renewal of Korea-Japan Ties"

The third editorial, "Renewal of Korea-Japan ties," primarily discusses Japan's possible future actions, rather than the imperial apology itself (1990, p. 8). One possible explanation is that "[t]he prolonged tug of war between Korea and Japan over the issue of Japanese Emperor Akihito's apology for Japan's colonial rule over Korea finally ended" on May 23, 1990 "as the Tokyo government conveyed the last version of the emperor's statement to Seoul via its Ambassador to Korea Kenichi Yanagi" ("Issue of Akihito," 1990, p. 1). Given the completion of the imperial apology text, the focus of the problem already shifted from the content of the text to future actions stemming from it.

The first section of the editorial mentions the international situation which is "in flux, calling for timely and effective readjustment of our foreign policy to meet the new requirements and challenges" ("Issue of Akihito," 1990, p. 1). It points out that "Korea-Japan relationships are also in need of improvement and renewal" ("Issue of Akihito," 1990, p. 1). Thus, the editorial employs a strong analogy that, given the recent inexorable trend of the international situation, it is natural that Korea and Japan follow the trend to meet the new requirements and challenges.

In the next section, the editorial specifically emphasizes the need to improve Korea-Japan relationships, referring to the "to wipe the slate clean" metaphor used in the second editorial:

The vociferous polemics and friction proceeding the visit were caused by the necessity to wipe the slate clean for evolving fresh and better ties of

bilateral friendship and cooperation, free from the dismal memories and legacies of the unfortunate past. ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8)

Thus, the focus of this editorial is no longer to state why Japan should apologize "for its old crimes and injustices done to the Korean people" but to propose how Japan should and could "dispose of the unhappy relations between the two counties" ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8).

In the fourth section, the editorial argues that Japan should compensate Korea for the past not merely by uttering words but by taking actions:

The apologetic and compensatory stance of Japan toward Korea should and could be proven by a consistent policy put forth by the Tokyo government in the future. Specific words of apology are important. *Actions to match them are more important.* ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8: emphasis added)

Thus, adopting a "tough" or realistic tone, the third editorial advocates that Japan carry out policy changes toward Korea. At this point, Campbell (1972) explains that "rhetorical discourse is practical":

... [rhetoric] is designed to communicate feelings and information for a purpose, to evoke a concrete and relevant response from an audience to the rhetorical situation. Rhetoric, then, is characterized by its instrumentality, its intent to produce further behavior. (p. 3)

Accordingly, the following sections of the editorial specifically outlines three vital policy areas where Korea wants Japan to take action ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8). First and foremost, it indicates that Japan should change its domestic policy concerning the status of Korean residents in Japan. Most of them are the offspring of Koreans who were taken to Japan for labor and other mobilization purposes during World War II while their country was under Japanese colonial rule ("Koreans in Japan," 1990). When the war ended, there were some two and a half million Koreans in Japan. Some returned to Korea, but six-hundred-thousand of them decided to stay (Kajimura, 1977). They had jobs or businesses in Japan, or no one to return to in Korea. Many were second-generation and spoke Japanese better than Korean, others had married Japanese (Kita & MacIntyre, 1990).

Despite such an inauspicious beginning, these Korean descendants were required to register as aliens and have their fingerprints taken at the age of sixteen in Japan. The Korean government had repeatedly called for the abolition of this and other discriminatory measures being imposed on

Korean residents in Japan ("Koreans in Japan," 1990). The fifth section of the editorial even charges angrily that "Japan has long been blamed for its anachronistic policy of discrimination against aliens in Japan in general and Korean expatriates in particular" ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8).

In the next section, the editorial forcefully promotes a righteous solution to the situation, viz., Japan's reorientation in terms of the perception of its historical responsibility toward Korea:

Since most of the Koreans residing in Japan were victims of Japanese imperialism and colonialism prior to and during World War II, they deserve special consideration and treatment as a legitimate part of the Japanese community. ("Renewal," 1990, p. 8)

Actually, in order to facilitate Roh's smooth visit to Japan, Korea and Japan already agreed to exempt third-generation Korean residents in Japan from the fingerprint regulation. The *Korean News Review* reports that "[e]limination of the most controversial of the so-called four vicious rules imposed upon Korean expatriates in Japan, considered a palpable symbol of discrimination against Koreans, averted continued confrontation for the immediate future" ("Korea-Japan Talks," 1990, p. 34). But the same source continues and indicates:

The representatives of the two governments apparently met each other halfway on all four main points at issue which also included reentry permits and deportations of Koreans. The results were largely disappointing for most of our Korean compatriots in Japan, who have cried out for remedying the persistent segregative treatment meted out by the Tokyo government to Koreans either openly or covertly. ("Korea-Japan Talks," 1990, p. 34)

Thus, hammering out a solution to the longstanding Korea-Japan dispute hinges upon Japan's perceptual reorientation and response to its historical responsibility. Consequently, Koreans hope that President Roh's visit could, and should, be an occasion to give them a new trust in their further productive relations.

Second, the editorial suggests a foreign policy change on the part of Japan, i.e., an economic partnership with Korea. The editorial considers Japan to be "an industrial giant of the world" which is "in a position to do more to redress the lopsided trade heavily in its favor and to increase technology transfers to help in the development of Korean industries"