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**Peace Museums on the Land of Victims and the Land of Perpetrators:
Analyses of Curation and Design of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the
Information Center under the Field of Stelae in Berlin**

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Honor Scholar Program Senior Project

2017

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Abstract

This paper examines if, how and to which degree, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in Nakajima District of Hiroshima, Japan and the Information Center under the Field of Stelae in Berlin, Germany, transform a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality into a Culture of Peace. I analyzed sponsors, mission statements, exhibits, topographical and architectural designs, and geographical factors as a reflection of the degree of these selected museums' contribution to the cultural transformation. The two selected museums stand on the soils with a complex history involving mass tragedies. Hiroshima became the first-ever victim to the atomic bombing which killed 140,000 people as well as destroyed an integral military city of the Imperial Japan. Berlin was a capital city of the Nazi Germany as well as a victim of the Ally's air raids and post-war occupation. The comparison of these museums and the respective city tell us how the museums contribute to a Culture of Peace with different concepts of and approaches to peace. It is shaped by whether them standing on the land of victims or the land of perpetrators, and whether the city itself was completely destroyed or not in the same way as how the victims of a larger tragedy were produced.

Introduction

Background of the Atomic Bombing and the Holocaust

At 8:15 AM on August 6th, 1945, the American Air Force dropped a nuclear weapon *Little Boy* on a military city, Hiroshima City located in the west of Japan, targeted Nakajima District. Up until that point, air raids on Hiroshima City were prohibited within the American Air Force in order for them to see the actual effect of the newly invented scientific weapon. About 60,000 people were instantly killed by the atomic bombing, and the number of victims eventually increased to approximately 140,000 by the end of December, 1945.¹ To date, many survivors of the atomic bombing (*hibakusha*) suffer from different aftereffect diseases. The *Little Boy* also obliterated the city structure. Three days after the initial atomic bombing, another nuclear weapon was dropped on the city of Nagasaki. Because of these damages, Imperial Japan² realized that it was impossible for them to keep up with the Allies in the war and thus surrendered to them on August 15th, 1945. Following immediately, the U.S. occupied Japan until the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty.

The Nazi Germany perpetrated the Holocaust which killed over six million Jews, 500,000 Sinti and Roma, 200,000 people with mental or physical disabilities, and 50,000 homosexuals throughout Europe.³ It was a systematic, state-led, mass-murder operation, with the use of

¹ “Virtual Museum” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

² In this paper, I use two terms for each country to make it easier for the readers to follow the arguments. Those terms are Imperial Japan (1868-1945) and Japan (1945-today) as well as Nazi Germany (1933-1945) and (post-reunification) Germany (1989-today). It is not my intention to argue that the newer regime is completely separated from the previous regimes. Rather, it is the premise of this paper that the history and its narrative are passed down to newer generations, across regimes. They are, in a sense, inseparable when we discuss the matter of memorialization of the past.

³ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial,” in *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*. (Cornwall: TJ International Ltd, 2002)

endless violence and concentration camps, continued until May 7, 1945. After the Nazi Germany's surrender to the Allies, Germany was divided into two countries, East and West, and respectively occupied by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain. Germany reunified the country in 1989 followed to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. To date, the perpetrators of the Holocaust are still prosecuted on trials.

Rationale of the Research

The Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center are classified as peace museums and museums for peace⁴. These museums are believed to transform a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality to a Culture of Peace by providing an educational platform and by visually speaking to the visitors' heart. In the past few decades, scholars have debated that there are different types of peace within a Culture of Peace. Regarding the peace museum studies, some scholars have attempted to classify them into categories based on what type of peace they manifest to achieve through their exhibits. However, there has not been too much research that discusses *how* and *why* these museums transform culture to a more peaceful one. Moreover, there have also not been too many of specific case studies on how a museum, including surrounding memorials, its location, and historical background contribute to the transformation. It is important for us as citizens of 21st century to revisit the purpose and impact of these museums, as we face great challenges in the use of violence today all over the world.

In this paper, I compare two museums for peace, respectively located in Hiroshima, Japan and Berlin, Germany. These selected museums are the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

⁴ According to Ted Lollis in 2011, there are 55 traditional peace museums, those have "peace" in their name, and 155 other museums for peace. The number varies based on different range of definitions (Apsel, 2012).

(forward: Hiroshima Museum) and the Information Center (forward: Holocaust Information Center), which is located under the Field of Stelae or the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (forward: Holocaust Memorial) in Berlin. Among many peace museums and museums for peace in Japan and Germany, there are valid reasons why these two museums are ideally comparable. Both museums are memorial-museums, meaning, built with memorials to serve the purpose of the commemoration of the victims. They also attract many visitors from all over the world. At a larger scale, both Hiroshima and Berlin attempt to reconstruct themselves as a peace actor. The only obvious difference here is the location of the museums, not in terms of East and West, but in terms of the history behind the land they stand on.

Before the atomic bombing, Hiroshima functioned as one of the few essential military cities of Imperial Japan where the national government built naval academies, military hospitals, and military factories. Until August 6th, in terms of the functionality, the city actively supported the Imperial Japan's advancement in the war. Hiroshima-unique military unit, the Fifth Division had been formed and sent out to China and Korea to ensure the Imperial Japan's power over these colonies.⁵ From the moment of the atomic bombing, Hiroshima became the first-ever victim to nuclear weapons. All of sudden, the military city became a land of victimhood with the obliteration brought by the *Little Boy*. The Hiroshima Museum is located in the heart of the land of victimhood, the Ground Zero. Berlin, especially where the Holocaust Information Center stands, has an interesting story too. Before the establishment of the Holocaust Information Center, the land was completely empty with the Berlin Wall standing to divide East Berlin from West Berlin. The emptiness of the land comes from the destruction brought by the British Air

⁵ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

Force's multiple bombings on the land. This land also served to host the headquarter of the Nazi Germany. In other words, Berlin was, and still is, the land of perpetrators where the Nazi Germany killed hundreds of thousands of people but with history of victimhood and division.

To summarize, the only difference here is where these selected museums stand. We can see the vivid contrast of the Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center through the difference between the land being of the one of victimhood or of perpetration as well as whether the city itself was completely destroyed or not in the same way as how the victims of a larger tragedy were produced. This comparison study tells us that the Hiroshima Museum is more successful at transforming Cultures of Violence and Neutrality to a Culture of Peace than the Holocaust Information Center.

Research Questions

An overarching question of this research is how peace museums and museums for peace transform a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality to a Culture of Peace in where museums are located. A follow up question is what type of peace each museum envisions to achieve through its exhibit. To tailor these questions to the case study on Hiroshima and Berlin, they would be: How has the Hiroshima Museum transformed the city of Hiroshima from a military city to a city for peace? How has the Holocaust Information Center transformed Berlin, a symbolic city for the Nazi Germany's unspeakably horrific Holocaust execution and for the half-a-century of division of the country. What type of peace does each museum envision to achieve, and how are one's mission statements, museum curations, and museum design interconnected? To answer these questions, I focused on the following areas:

1. Sponsors of the museums: Who are involved in a process of building, designing, and curating the museums to which degree? What were their motivations behind and goals they attempted to achieve through the establishment of museums?
2. Mission statements: Which of and how historical experience or context shape mission statements? To which degree do mission statements reflect sponsors' intention?
3. Exhibits: What types of items are displayed on the exhibition? Are they aligned with the museum's mission statements? What messages can we interpret from the exhibits?
4. Topographical and architectural designs: What messages can we interpret from the exterior designs of the museums and memorials? How well do they reflect their mission statements?
5. Geographical factors about the museums: How does the location of the museum effect the messages the visitors will receive? What were the reasons for the stakeholders to choose this specific location? How does the difference in location between the museum being built on the land of victims and the one built on the land of perpetrators?
6. Are there any other influential factors for us to consider? Altogether, what can they tell us about how Hiroshima and Berlin conceptualize peace as well as how and why museums transform Cultures of Violence and Neutrality into a Culture of Peace?

Research Design

This paper comprises six parts: 1) Relations between museums and peace, 2) Analysis and comparison of the two selected museums – (a) Sponsors, (b) Mission statements, (c) Permanent exhibits, (d) Topographical and architectural designs, (e) Location, 4) Discussion on the conceptualization of peace, and 5) Discussion on the museums' transformational roles.

Relations Between Museums and Peace

Peace museums and museums for peace are believed to transform cultures in the direction of peace, justice and nonviolence.⁶ They are established to raise “awareness of the possibilities and the challenges, both past and present, of creating a world without violence and realizing social and economic justice”.⁷ These museums provide a space to speak truths, embrace multiple aspects of peace, memorialize the history, reconcile the past, and promote dialogue to find non-violent alternatives and transform a society to more inclusive.⁸ They fulfill this role by shedding light on positive aspects of creating peace such as the worth of individual’s life and human’s strength in tragic situations. Additionally, they also bring out war stories, battles and destructive weapons as negative elements.⁹ The combination of these two attempts enable the peace museums and museums for peace to transform a Culture of Violence or Ignorance to a Culture of Peace.

A Culture of Violence legitimizes direct and structural violence as well as enables any future violence to erupt quickly.¹⁰ I also added a Culture of Neutrality, which I define as a

⁶ Peter van den Dungen, Preface to *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, by Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel eds., (Hague: The International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012).

⁷ Joyce Apsel, “New Directions in Educating for Peace: Developing Critical Peace Museum Studies,” in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, edited by Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel, (Hague: The International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 124.

⁸ Joyce Apsel, “New Directions in Educating for Peace”; Roy Tamashiro and Ellen Furnari, “Museums for Peace: Agents and Instruments for Peace Education,” *Journal of Peace Education* 12 (2015).

⁹ Alicia Cabezudo, “Reflections on Peace Education in the 21st Century,” in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures* edited by Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel, (Hague: The International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012).

¹⁰ Johan Galtung, “Peace Theory,” in *Peace by Peaceful Mean: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, (SAGE Publications Ltd., 1996)
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/depauw/detail.action?docID=10369641>.

circumstance in which people do not recognize remaining neutrality as a harmful action. A Culture of Peace is “a commitment to peace-building, mediation, conflict prevention and resolution, peace education, education for non-violence, tolerance, acceptance, mutual respect, intercultural and interfaith dialogue and reconciliation”.¹¹ In other words, a Culture of Peace values respect of human rights, protection of the environment, security of basic human needs, prevention of atrocities, and cultivation of tolerance and humanitarianism.¹²

This paper examines if, how, and to which degree, the Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center transform a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality to a Culture of Peace. The comparison of these museums and the respective city tell us how the museums contribute to a Culture of Peace with different concepts of and approaches to peace. It is shaped by whether they stand on the land of victims or the land of perpetrators, and whether the city itself was completely destroyed or not in the same way as how the victims of a larger tragedy were produced.

¹¹ “Culture of Peace and Non-Violence,” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, <http://en.unesco.org/cultureofpeace/>.

¹² Alicia Cabezudo, “Reflections on Peace Education in the 21st Century”.

Museum Analysis

Sponsors

Sponsors constitute an integral part in deciding the establishment and the operation of museums. They also shape the direction the museum takes. The Hiroshima Museum has prefectural, municipal, and semi-private levels involved, which are sponsored by the national government. The Hiroshima Museum and Memorial are a part of a bigger Hiroshima reconstruction project. The Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center were established to serve the purpose of the commemoration of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The Berlin memorial project involves private journalists, historians, and the federal government. The main stakeholders in both cases come from the municipal level. However, the Holocaust Information Center engages more with academia.

At a prefectural level, then-governor, Genshin Takano influenced on the lives of citizens in Hiroshima Prefecture¹³ until 1946. Takano was away from Hiroshima when the atomic bomb was dropped. On the very next day, he came back to the city and witnessed the devastated Hiroshima City. His wife went missing just like other 140,000 citizens of the city who instantly vanished into flames. Despite the tragedy, instead of paying commemoration, he issued an official letter that was put all over the city. The letter said, “The damage is big but that’s how war usually looks like. War never stops, even for a day. We cannot stop fighting. We must take a

¹³ Prefecture is an administrative unit used in Japan. There are 47 prefectures in Japan, which each consists of multiple cities within. In 1947, Local Autonomy Law was promulgated along with the enactment of the new Japanese Constitution. With this law, prefectural and municipal government officials became no longer obligated to serve for the Emperor but are elected to represent the citizens. In 1999, the national government made an amendment to the Local Autonomy Law to change the relationship between prefectures and federal government from a servant-master relationship to an equal and cooperative relationship. (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_sosiki/jichi_gyousei/bunken/history.html)

revenge and completely destroy the arrogant enemy of ours” [translated by the author].¹⁴ This statement well reflects the Japanese national slogan, “extravagance is the enemy,” and “want nothing until we win,” implemented in 1937 as part of “spiritual mobilization”.¹⁵ As to reflect Takano’s statement and national government’s slogan, Hiroshima Security Headquarter was established on the same day with an aim to recover city’s military capability.¹⁶ The headquarter repaired one of the rail lines in Hiroshima City and resumed its operation after less than a week.¹⁷ Takano also ordered his subordinates to rescue the wounded and to provide the citizens with 200,000 of canned food.¹⁸ However, only a month after the letter, which is three weeks after Japan’s surrender, Takano announced to re-construct Hiroshima as a peaceful and scientific city.¹⁹ It was a drastic change from his previous statement.

There are a couple of possible reasons behind Takano’s initial decision in maintaining the city’s participation in the war. First, in the beginning, since an atomic bomb was a newly invented weapon at the time, nobody really knew how destructive the atomic bombing damages could be in both short-term and especially in long-term. Some individuals did not even know the

¹⁴ “Letters Written by Governor at Time of A-Bombing Found: Genshin Takano Frankly Describes Feelings of Chagrin,” Hiroshima Peace Media Center, published on March 19, 2014, <http://www.hiroshimapeacemedia.jp/?p=17086>. ; “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

¹⁵ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

¹⁶ Hideaki Shinoda, “Post-War Reconstruction of Hiroshima as a Case of Peacebuilding,” *IPSHU English Research Report Series 22* (2008), http://home.hiroshimau.ac.jp/heiwa/Pub/E22/E22_shinoda.doc.

¹⁷ “Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Building Modern Peace Cities,” Museum of the City, accessed on October 27, 2016, <http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-modern-peace-cities/>.

¹⁸ “Letters Written by Governor at Time of A-Bombing Found,” Hiroshima Peace Media Center, published on March 19, 2014, <http://www.hiroshimapeacemedia.jp/?p=17086>

¹⁹ Ran Zwigenberg, *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

fact it was a new bomb on a completely different level compared to the previous ones.²⁰ Without much information, it was difficult for the government officials like Takano to determine whether they should focus on contributing to the war as a military city or reconstructing the city solely economically. This leads to a second reason which is that all Japanese citizens were obligated by the *1938 National Mobilization Law* and *1938 National Service Draft Ordinance* to participate in the war in some form. As a public figure, it was impossible for Takano to go against the national order, especially the prefecture was under the precise control of Imperial Japan government. It is also much possible that Takano was brainwashed by the spiritual mobilization propagandas. Third, towards the end of the war, 80% of the national government's budget was dedicated to war expenses.²¹ As a military city, Hiroshima's functionality was critical to Imperial Japan to keep fighting in the war. Altogether, Takano had to reconstruct Hiroshima City and the surrounding cities as part of the national military functions instead of as peace carriers.

After Takano resigned in January 1946, Hiroshima prefectural government established a reconstruction department and the *Council of Reconstruction of Hiroshima City*. These two departments took an initiative to reconstruct the city and build memorials.²² The project aimed to generate employment for the people left with no job or family in Hiroshima. The economic and infrastructural recovery became a message to outside of Hiroshima of the Hiroshima citizens' strong will power.²³ The project was also a response to citizen's voice asking for a proper commemoration of the atomic bomb victims. Some example projects are the constructions of

²⁰ Masao Maruyama and Taro Maki, "In This Corner of the World," directed by Sunao Katabuchi, released October 28, 2016, (Tokyo: Tokyo Theatres Company, Inc.)

²¹ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

²² "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

²³ Hideaki Shinoda, "Post-War Reconstruction of Hiroshima"

Peace Boulevard in late 1951, Hiroshima Memorial Park in April 1954, tree planting in 1957 and 1958. The Peace Boulevard was constructed to recover infrastructure, to generate job opportunities, and to connect the broken areas in the city. The Hiroshima Memorial Park was established to serve as a large communal graveyard. The tree planting project and the park also served as a symbol of life by bringing green to the land where people once believed that there would be no more grass grown in the future.²⁴

At a municipal level, Hiroshima mayor has been involved in maintaining the mission of Hiroshima City as a peace carrier. There are three parts to it: documentation of experience and the building of a network of international partnership. First, after promulgating the *Hiroshima Memorial City Constitution Law* in August 1949 with over 90% of support in Japan's first referendum, Hiroshima City put together the first public temporary display about the atomic bombing in 1949.²⁵ From the number, we can tell the high level of interest from the country to engage with the tragic memories of the atomic bombing. Six years later, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Hall and Peace Memorial Museum became open to public. These two served the documentation purpose. Secondly after the construction of the Peace Boulevard in 1951 and the A-Bomb Cenotaph in 1952, many memorials have been founded. Originally, many of the memorials were dedicated to all the A-bomb victims in general. However, as the time went by, some memorials specifically dedicated to more socially vulnerable population such as children and Korean and Chinese forced laborers. It indicates the progress Hiroshima City made to recognize that more harm can be done to the marginalized population. In this sense, we can argue

²⁴ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

²⁵ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

that the city is making a progress towards achieving peace in a more generic term rather than solely focusing on the ban of nuclear weapons. Thirdly, in 1982, a then-mayor of Hiroshima, Takeshi Araki, called for the founding of a worldwide organization of mayor's network: Mayors for Peace, with help from the United Nations Special Sessions on Disarmament. The organization serves to bring together city mayors around the world for nuclear disarmament. Since then, the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been presiding the organization.²⁶ Although it also speaks for ongoing political issues, its primary focus is to raise awareness about the danger of nuclear weapons as well as to bring policymakers to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in hopes to end the inventions and experiments.²⁷ The Hiroshima Museum places a large responsibility on the mayor of Hiroshima City as the 'face' of the museum. Therefore, the elected individuals for generations are symbol of a peace carrier Hiroshima as well as a leader of the Mayor for Peace. It also does not have scholars but city government officials on the executive board. As a peace carrier, municipal level effort has been expanded to the international level.

At a semi-private level²⁸, the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation has been involved with oversees the Hiroshima Museum, Mayors for Peace, International Conference Center Hiroshima, Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims, and International Relations and Cooperation Divisions since its foundation in 1976. It also hosts

²⁶ Peter van den Dungen and Kazuyo Yamane, "Peace Education Through Peace Museum," *立命館国際研究 [Ritsumeikan International Research]* 18, (2006)

²⁷ "Hiroshima and Nagasaki," Museum of the City, accessed October 27, 2016, <http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-modern-peace-cities/>; "About Us," Mayors for Peace, <http://www.mayorsforpeace.org/jp/index.html>.

²⁸ It's been authorized by Japanese government as one of the public interest incorporated foundations, which serve the public well in one or more of the 23 designated topics. ("About HPCF", Hiroshima Peace Cultural Foundation, <http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/hpcf/english/>).

national and international conferences, organizes exhibitions overseas, and publishes newsletters. It has many domestic and international partners who have agreed to raise awareness of the catastrophe caused by the atomic bombings. To summarize what we have found so far, both municipal and semi-private levels of efforts have been expanded to an international effort. It is more effective this way to raise awareness of the importance of collaborative effort to achieve nuclear disarmament.

At prefectural, municipal, and semi-private levels, the Hiroshima reconstruction project is understood to serve the purposes of the documentation of the atomic bombing, the commemoration of the atomic bombing victims, awareness raising, and nuclear disarmament. These efforts have been expanded to an international level. The national cooperation is required by the Article 3 of the 1949 Hiroshima Memorial City Constitution Law, “relevant agencies of the national and local governments shall, in light of the significance of the purpose described in Article 1, render every possible assistance to the expedition and completion of the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors”.²⁹ Since the 1947 Local Autonomy Law, the Japanese national government has lost the total control over the local government’s politics. Therefore, the Japanese national government has been only rendering financial assistantship to these domestic and international peacebuilding efforts.

The memorial construction project in Berlin was originally initiated by a journalist Lea Rosh and a historian Eberhard Jackel in 1988, and since then, sectors from different levels³⁰

²⁹ Planning and Coordination Department of Planning and General Affairs Bureau. “The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law and Commentary: To accomplish our goal of constructing Hiroshima as a symbol of eternal peace.” The City of Hiroshima. http://www.unitar.org/hiroshima/sites/unitar.org.hiroshima/files/WHS_09__Supplementary_Reading__The_Hiroshima_Peace_Memorial_City_Construction_Law_and_Commentary.pdf

³⁰ It includes: The Association for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, which emerged from civic engagement, Berlin Senate Administration for Construction and Housing, Federal

came together over time to work on it.³¹ It is important to note that this project involves a civil and academic initiative rather than being a government-led economic and social recovery project. The Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center opened in 2005 are currently fully funded by German federal government, presided by the Bundestag³² President but primarily operated by academia, which is a big difference from the Hiroshima Museum. The director Uwe Neumarker and the deputy director Ulrich Baumann are both historians. This difference is critical because the academia keeps the museum up-to-date. It provides relatively more unbiased, objective points of view for the operation and the direction of the museum. For example, some scholars such as Niven argue that the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center were established to against the “all-victims-together paradigm” of pre-reunification of Germany.³³ Moreover, not only is it a response to Hitler, it also is a response to the past National Socialist regime where academia did not fulfill its role in checks and balance. This system is designed to hold Germany accountable for its commitment to commemoration of the Holocaust victims as a country.

However, just like we should not put a full trust in a government, we can not put a full trust in academia either. Niven argues that “there is a tendency even among leading world historians to hierarchize in a questionable manner”.³⁴ It is reasonable that historians and journalists sympathize more with the identity group that they personally resonate more with. It is

Chancellor, State Minister for Culture and the Media, and the Holocaust Foundation (“Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe with Exhibition at the Information Centre”, Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>).

³¹ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial.”

³² A constitutional and legislative body at the federal level in Germany. National Diet is the comparable organization in the U.S.

³³ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial,” 220.

³⁴ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial,” 222.

also logical, though it should not be acceptable, that they tend to emphasize the suffering of more ‘obvious’ and ‘socially accepted’ population. The Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center exemplifies this phenomenon. As a result, initially, the plan was only to establish a memorial for the Jewish victims. Although memorials were established for the homosexuals, Sinti, Roma, and the individuals killed by euthanasia, respectively later, they are much smaller compared to the Jewish memorial. The size of the memorials does not only derive from the number of victims of each identity group. Rather, it derives from the fact that the Nazi Germany’s persecution of the Jews was more obvious as they classified them by identity cards, the yellow badges, and residential segregation. The distinction of the Jews from Germans were, and still are, much more visible and thus easier than differing, for example, the homosexuals from the heterosexuals. Therefore, although memorials have been established to commemorate all types of victims of the Holocaust, there is clearly a hierarchy of which population to be more sympathetic victims.

We often focus too much on exhibits and do not pay a closer attention to sponsors of museums. However, in this section, we learned that they exercise their power on deciding the building and operation of the museums. We also discussed that the stakeholders can shape the direction the museums take. When any branch of government involves, the museum and memorials are also integrated as part of their city planning. The Hiroshima Museum and Memorial’s sponsors focus on documenting the damages, economic and infrastructural recovery, memorization of the atomic bomb victims, and metaphorically bringing life back to the city. Their goal is to commemorate the atomic bomb victims and *hibakusha* as well as to raise awareness of the harm of nuclear weapons. The Holocaust Memorial and Information Center’s goal seems to be set to focus on the commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust. From the

analysis of the sponsors of the Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center, we can tell that the Hiroshima Museum conceptualizes peace as economic and infrastructural reconstruction in the city, memorialization of the atomic bomb victims, emotional relief of *hibakusha*, and banning of nuclear weapons. The Holocaust Information Center, in comparison, conceptualizes peace as the commemoration of the Holocaust victims.

From the next few sections, we will see how the museums' mission statements, exhibits, and design tie back to their sponsors. Regardless of who takes a charge of the operation, we need to keep in our mind that there is always a possibility of biases, sometimes those discriminatory ones. In the next section, I will explore each museum's mission statement to see to which degree it reflects the sponsors' intentions. I will also examine how historical experiences in the World War II have shaped the museum's mission statement.

Mission Statements

As the victim of the atomic bomb as a whole city, Hiroshima Museum's mission statement is simple and clear. It is to ban nuclear weapons by accurately conveying the atrocities brought to the city by the weapon. Whereas in the case of Berlin, since the city constitutes both victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust, the expectation set for the roles of the sites varies depending on the stakeholders.

The Hiroshima Museum's mission statement presented by the director of the museum is:

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is to raise peace consciousness and ensure that the atomic bomb experience is conveyed accurately to coming generation, the museum provides opportunities for visitors to listen to eyewitness testimony by Atomic Bomb survivors and to see Atomic Bomb documentary films. It is to educate what happened in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. These are with a hope for everyone in the world to understand the true horror of nuclear

*weapons, the tragic foolishness of war, and the sacred importance of peace as well as with a hope that everyone will think about what they can do to help build a peaceful world.*³⁵

This statement is shaped around the city's atomic bombing experiences. It states that in order to raise peace consciousness of the visitors, they need to learn the reality of the atomic bomb's damages through visual aids and testimonies. The accurate conveyance of the atomic bombing experience is, according to this statement, done not through scientific data but through the voice of the *hibakusha* and the visuals capture the consequence of the atomic bombing. This means that it is up to the visitors how to interpret the messages that the museum attempts to deliver, which is the hope to abolish nuclear weapons from the world. It also means that the Hiroshima City and its citizens' war-experience is centered around their atomic bombing experience.

Hiroshima City experienced mass devastation by the atomic bombing. Up until then, it had never been attacked by the Allies. The citizens of Hiroshima, though, knew that the other cities of Japan had been bombed repeatedly and how terrifying those bombing experiences were. Still, towards the end of the WWII, air raids became normalized throughout Japan.³⁶ When Hiroshima City was attacked by nuclear weapon, many Hiroshima citizens thought that it was the "first airstrike" although they also sensed the difference from the other air raids they heard from their relatives living in other cities.³⁷ Eventually, the people came to the realization of the different experience they were going through. Their families and houses vanished into lights instantly at the time of the bombing, water was so toxic that people got ill from drinking it,

³⁵ "Meet the Director," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/frame/Virtual_e/tour_e/guide2_4.html

³⁶ Masao Maruyama and Taro Maki, "In This Corner of the World," released October 28, 2016.

³⁷ Masao Maruyama and Taro Maki, "In This Corner of the World," released October 28, 2016.

hibakusha were bleeding from every part of their skin, slowly getting rotten, or becoming ill everyday.³⁸ As the years go by, people started noticing the long-lasting effects of the radiation from the atomic bombing. For example, Sadako Sasaki, a 12-year-old girl, developed leukemia and died in 1955. Sasaki was only 2-year-old when she was exposed to the massive radiation.³⁹ Her death and the following campaign organized by *hibakusha* children raised an awareness of the long-term effect of the atomic bombing.⁴⁰ These short- and long-term impacts on the people and the society made the citizens and important figures of Hiroshima City to want to accurately convey the atomic bomb experiences so that the world would become more aware of how much devastation the weapon could cause. By being the first victim of nuclear weapons, the citizens of Hiroshima came to understand how the American Force used Hiroshima as a sample of their experiment of the newly developed weapon to raise awareness of the harm. The Hiroshima citizens also questioned how much awareness the American Force had had before they bombed the city, especially about the long-term influences on the *hibakusha*'s health. From these thoughts, raising peace consciousness became the priority in the museum's mission. It is far more powerful if the museum conveys the first-person narratives and visual aids to make the visitors aware what could possibly be done by the atomic bombing. As a result, the museum resorted to using *hibakusha*'s testimonies about their atomic bombing experiences and visual

³⁸ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html; Masao Maruyama and Taro Maki, "In This Corner of the World," released October 28, 2016.

³⁹ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

⁴⁰ Clive Barrett, "Sadako or Al Qaeda? A Peace Museum Approach to Counter Terrorism," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, edited by Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel, (Hague: The International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012).

aids of the consequence. They believed that raising awareness of the harm would lead to raising peace consciousness and thus contribute to achieve a more peaceful world.

Secondly, *hibakusha* wanted to raise the sense of urgency in banning nuclear weapons. It derives from the power struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The U.S. and Soviet Union led the two blocs and competed against each other in multiple areas. A nuclear arm race is one of the most epic competitions they got themselves involved in, in which they aimed to build bigger, better, and quantitatively more nuclear weapons. The U.S., for example, tested their new atomic bombs 23 times between 1946 and 1958. Both countries began inventing hydrogen bombs as the power struggle heated up. After witnessing the damage occurred to themselves, Hiroshima City could only imagine that those new bombs can be far more destructive than the Little Boy. The second half of the Hiroshima Museum's mission statement, "hope for everyone to understand the true horror of nuclear weapons [and] the tragic foolishness of war" reflects Hiroshima's fear for another nuclear bomb testing and actual practice to happen and their consequent aspiration to end further inventions and to prohibit the use of the weapons. Especially during the Cold War, Hiroshima must have felt the sense of urgency to stop the ongoing nuclear weapon inventions. To Hiroshima, the current world that allows the further inventions and possible use of nuclear weapons is a Culture of Violence. Today's society where people are starting to forget the true horror of atomic bombings is perpetuated by a Culture of Neutrality. They, therefore, sought to transform these cultures to a Culture of Peace, in which everyone around the world understands the weapon's true horror and agrees to end this horrifying threat.

Thirdly, Hiroshima City's desire to secure the freedom of press is reflected in their mission statement. Accurate reports of the damages caused by the atomic bombings in Hiroshima

and Nagasaki had not been available to Japanese public for a few decades after the war and had been controlled by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP; or also known as General Headquarter (GHQ)). The SCAP imposed censorship to ban Japanese and foreign journalists from releasing any visual aids. For example, the SCAP kept many pictures taken by a Japanese photographer Shigeo Hayashi immediately after the bombing until 1973.⁴¹ The medical data collected by the SCAP through the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) since 1947 was not handed to Japan for a long time. The data also turned out to be only focused on “the long-term biomedical effects of radiation on the survivors”⁴² and not include an effective treatment of those victims.⁴³ The people of Hiroshima were deprived their rights to access to accurate information. It is in turn reflected in part of the museum’s mission statement, which is “to ensure that the atomic bomb experience is conveyed accurately to coming generation”.⁴⁴ The Hiroshima Museum has a consistent voice advocating for the world peace only to be achieved by the abolishment of the atomic bombing.

In the case of the Holocaust Information Center and the Memorial, the Memorial Foundation’s Charter states the objectives of the memorial project. It says that the goals for the Memorial and the Information Center are to: 1) “commemorate the National Socialist genocide of European Jewry”; and 2) “contribute to ensuring that all victims of the National Socialist regime are commemorated and honoured appropriately”. The charter treats the Holocaust as the

⁴¹ Kazuyo Yamane, “Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Beginning of the Nuclear Age,” *Medicine and War* 11 (1995).

⁴² Kazuyo Yamane, “Hiroshima and Nagasaki,” 13.

⁴³ Kazuyo Yamane, “Contemporary Peace Education”.

⁴⁴ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

past tragedy happened in a different regime from the current one. Their main objective is solely focused on the commemoration.

In addition to the Foundation Charter, there are many other stakeholders who have different views of what the roles of the Information Center and the Memorial should play. At the memorial's opening ceremony in 2005, five important figures made speeches about the roles of the site. These individuals were then-German Bundestag President Wolfgang Thierse, Dr. Paul Spiegel, the President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, Peter Eisenman, an architect of the Memorial, Sabina van der Linden, one of the Holocaust survivors, and Lea Rosh, a journalist who initiated the memorial project. Each conveyed a different type of messages which I will discuss in the next few paragraphs.

Lea Rosh, together with a historian Eberhard Jackel, proposed a plan of establishing the Holocaust Museum in August 1988, and called for the cooperation on the project from the country in a year after.⁴⁵ At the time, she suggested to build a “memorial as a visible affirmation of action...on the former grounds of the Gestapo in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin”.⁴⁶ In early 1990's, Rosh saw the threat of the re-emergence of totalitarianism.⁴⁷ Out of the fear for it as well as seeing the need of proper commemoration of the victims, in her 2005 speech, she stated that the roles of the Holocaust Information Center and the Memorial are 1) “to prevent their obliteration from falling victim to a comfortable forgetfulness”; 2) “to preserve the memory of this singular event”; 3) “to honour those murdered”; and 4) “to keep alive the memory of the

⁴⁵ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial”.

⁴⁶ “Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe with Exhibition at the Information Centre”, Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>

⁴⁷ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial”.

victims, of the dead”.⁴⁸ This statement indicates that she is afraid of the recurrence of the Holocaust in today’s Germany due to what she views as problematic political beliefs. To prevent it, Rosh places a significant value in remembering the Holocaust. To her, therefore, this project should be a sustainable effort that can be carried out for many decades.

Then-German Bundestag President Wolfgang Thierse viewed the Holocaust Information Center and the Holocaust Memorial as complements to each other, providing a place of commemoration and education. Here is some excerpt from his speech:

*...This Memorial in the centre of [Germany’s] capital recalls the greatest crime in its history.....This is intended to be a place of commemoration. It should thus overstep the boundary between cognitive information and historical knowledge on the one side and empathy with the victims, sorrow and grief for the dead on the other, though both certainly are intertwined. This Memorial, with its Information Centre, can make it possible for us today and for coming generations to confront, intellectually and emotionally, the incomprehensible events that occurred.*⁴⁹

Thierse’s view of the commemoration slightly differs from the Foundation Charter. The Foundation viewed the building of the Memorial would serve the commemorative purpose while Thierse viewed the inseparable relations between commemoration, emerged from emotional responses to the Memorial, and education, an intellectual input. “This Memorial, with its Information Center” suggests the complement nature of the Information Center to the Memorial.

To the Memorial architect, Eisenman, there are three roles that the Memorials and the Information Center serve, which are: 1) “to establish a permanent memory”; 2) “to record what

⁴⁸ Bill Niven, “8: The Holocaust Memorial”; “Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe with Exhibition at the Information Centre”, Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>

⁴⁹ “Speech at the Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe/speeches-at-the-inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html>

has been in this capital city”; and 3) “to begin a debate with the openendedness that is proposed by such a project, allowing future generations to draw their own conclusions”.⁵⁰ Eisenman viewed the site as the commemoration, remembering, and educational opportunities. Eisenman’s approach to education of the Holocaust differs from the educational capacity Thierse saw in the site. While Thierse sought to provide the right reasoning and judgment of the injustice of the Holocaust, Eisenman believed in the capacity of artworks to let the visitors have open and honest conversation. If Thierse’s education model were to look like a one-way street, Eisenman’s would look like a flat platform where anyone and everyone can access to the knowledge and make new paths to peace.

The President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, Dr. Paul Spiegel has a mixed view of the Information Center and the Holocaust Memorial. He stated in his inauguration speech that the Memorial would serve well to make the visitors question their guilt and responsibility. On the other hand, he stressed that the Holocaust Memorial should not be the only and centered memorial of the Holocaust as it is “not an authentic site”.⁵¹ The unauthenticity, compared to other historical sites such as the concentration camps, comes from the fact that the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center are newly-made, artificial commemoration site that does not have any direct connection to the Holocaust history. Therefore, Spiegel argued that Germany must keep the historical sites such as the concentration camps available to the visitors

⁵⁰ “Speech at the Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” Stiftung Denkmal fur die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe/speeches-at-the-inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html>

⁵¹ “Speech at the Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” Stiftung Denkmal fur die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe/speeches-at-the-inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html>

to give them a true chance to put themselves go through the historical experience. To Spiegel, the roles of the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center are “to prevent a catastrophe comparable to the National Socialist crime against humanity from ever occurring again” and to “remember in gratitude and respect the survivors and contemporary witnesses”.⁵² One of the things set Spiegel apart from other speakers is that he viewed the Holocaust as a crime against humanity rather than just the Nazi’s horrible persecution tactic of the Jews in Europe. Therefore, instead of placing the responsibility of the Holocaust on the Nazi Germany, Spiegel’s speech spoke to individuals for their responsibility to prevent the recurrence of the Holocaust. The drive of his statement is not necessarily the same as Rosh’s. While Rosh feared for the re-emergence of totalitarian thoughts, Spiegel recalled the anger and hopelessness of the victims and survivors of the Holocaust. Additionally, to Spiegel, while the Memorial is still a commemoration site for the victims, his speech reminds the audience of the ongoing suffering by the survivors and the victims’ families as well as of the importance of the authenticity of historical narratives passed down by the survivors and witnesses. Unlike the other’s, his speech included witnesses as an important stakeholder as well as had much more personal tone to it.

Lastly, to a Holocaust survivor Sabina van der Linden, the roles that the Memorial and the Information Center can serve are to make the descendants of the Holocaust perpetrators and supporters to responsible to “fight the evil of racism, discrimination, prejudice, inhumanity”.⁵³

⁵² “Speech at the Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” Stiftung Denkmal fur die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe/speeches-at-the-inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html>

⁵³ “Speech at the Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,” Stiftung Denkmal fur die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe/speeches-at-the-inauguration-of-the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html>

By judging from her speech, Linden is one step ahead in creating peace. She not only focuses on the prevention of the recurrence of the Holocaust but on the active engagement in reducing injustice in the society.

The Hiroshima Museum's mission statement is solely shaped around the city's experience with the atomic bombing. Their conceptualization of peace is still aligned with the sponsors' intent. It is to have the world commemorate the victims of the atomic bombing as well as be aware of the harm of nuclear weapons. With this concept, the Hiroshima Museum could potentially transform Cultures of Violence and Neutrality to a Culture of Peace by actively raising awareness of the importance of banning nuclear weapons, not only in Hiroshima but internationally. The Holocaust Information Center's concept of peace is the commemoration of the Holocaust victims, according to the Founding Charter. However, different individuals expect different roles from the site. If the Holocaust Information Center only sticks to its commemorative function, it could potentially generate some frustration, especially from the victim community. Some individuals like Linden saw the needs of fighting for a more just society, back in 2005. In the next section, we will observe if the Holocaust Information Center has made any progress for the justice since 2005. Otherwise, it could potentially not only fail to transform Cultures of Violence and Neutrality to a Culture of Peace, it could also potentially perpetuate the injustice protected by a Culture of Violence.

Permanent Exhibits

In the last section, we examined roles that stakeholders expect the museums to play. For the Hiroshima Museum, it is to raise international awareness of the harm of nuclear weapons and to properly commemorate the people lost to the atomic bombing. On the contrary, due to the

multiplicity, the roles of the Holocaust Information Center still seem to remain vague to us. In this section, I will explain how both museums' exhibits reflect the respective mission statement and the sponsors' intent. I will also analyze what other messages we can possibly interpret from the selected exhibitions at the museums. With this section, I hope the readers understand more clearly which role that the Holocaust Information Center chooses to focus on its display. There are some similarities and differences in the permanent exhibits at the Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center due to respective historical context and sponsors' intents. In this section, I argue that the Hiroshima Museum may not be able to achieve its goal of promoting the threat and the subsequent ban of nuclear weapons by focusing too much on the innocence of the victims. For the Holocaust Information Center, I argue that it may be failing to make its non-Jewish visitors to feel responsible about the matter. As a consequence, the Hiroshima Museum fails to advocate a Culture of Peace while the Holocaust Information Center fails to transform a Culture of Neutrality.

The Hiroshima Museum displays over 200 items as a permanent exhibit among more than 21,000 historical items and documents collected from the officials, survivors, and remained families.⁵⁴ These artifacts range from personal belongings and everyday necessities to the remainder of buildings. The permanent exhibition is divided into a dozen categories, which are: 1) Hiroshima Before the Atomic Bombing; 2) War, the A-bomb and the People of Hiroshima; 3) The Nuclear Age; 4) The Path to Peace; 5) August 6, 1945; 6) Material Witnesses; 7) Hiroshima in Ruins; 8) Damage by the Heat Rays; 9) Damage by the Blast; 10) Damage by the

⁵⁴ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

Conflagration; 11) Damage by the Radiation; and 12) Relief Activities.⁵⁵ At the end of the permanent exhibition, there is a special, temporary exhibition. The visitors go through these categories in order, across over two buildings: East Building and Main Building.

The East Building consists of four exhibitions: 1) Hiroshima Before the Atomic Bombing; 2) War, the A-bomb and the People of Hiroshima; 3) The Nuclear Age; and 4) The Path to Peace. The exhibit starts with an introduction with the museum's purpose: "The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum works to abolish nuclear weapons and bring about lasting world peace".⁵⁶ This purpose statement sounds slightly different from the mission statement. While the mission statement mostly discusses the learning opportunities for the visitors, the purpose statement sounds to remind the visitors of their individual responsibility to find ways to abolish nuclear weapons. As we discovered earlier, the Hiroshima Museum's exhibit contains many visual aids. It also consists of various items that make the visitors imagine the atomic bomb victims' life before the bombing.

The visitors are first introduced to the previous look of Hiroshima City before the atomic bombing. They learn that Hiroshima had always functioned as a military city since the phase of preparation for the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese war. The display explains how quickly Hiroshima city's primary production changed from everyday necessity to military equipment since 1941, Imperial Japan's entering to the World War II. These are all described as the national order rather than the Hiroshima residents' active involvement in the wars. However, the residents of Hiroshima City are portrayed as generous and innocent individuals. For example, the display

⁵⁵ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

⁵⁶ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

shows that the people took care of the wounded soldiers not because of their support for the war but out of their care for other human beings.⁵⁷ They shipped necessities to neighboring cities attacked by air raids, not due to their enthusiasm to keep fighting in the war but they knew other people like them were in need of those.⁵⁸ The museum's display tells us that the Hiroshima citizens still fell into a victim to the atomic bombing, despite of their goodness. They were the ones went through extreme hardships like the shortage of food and other supplies. They were the ones took care of the wounded returning soldiers, and lent their houses for soldiers who gathered in the harbor city to be deployed. They were the ones that were forced to work but were also hardworking laborers in first commercial factories and later military factories.⁵⁹ Additionally, the Hiroshima residents are portrayed separate them from the rest of Japanese population. For example, when the exhibition discusses the hardships in life before August 6, it puts the Hiroshima citizens as a subject. When it discusses Japanese citizens' support for the wars, the subject of sentences changes to "Japan" or "Japanese citizens".⁶⁰ It almost seems as though the Hiroshima Museum made sure to have no single negative association of wars with the Hiroshima residents. Although these descriptions are applicable to other Japanese in the rest of Japan, the exhibition focuses on making Hiroshima citizens look innocent.

Visitors are then introduced to the process leading up to the atomic bombing. The museum explains America's motivation of dropping a nuclear weapon on Hiroshima as "the U.S.

⁵⁷ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.

⁵⁸ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html.; Masao Maruyama and Taro Maki, "In This Corner of the World," released October 28, 2016.

⁵⁹ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁶⁰ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

believed that if the atomic bomb could end the war, Soviet influence after the war would be restricted and domestically the tremendous cost of development would be justified”.⁶¹ This description provides the tone of how the U.S. belittled the lives of the Hiroshima residents. It also kills the argument of the atomic bombing being the last resort for the Allies to stop Imperial Japan’s further advancement, which is the claim the U.S. and many of Imperial Japan’s former colonies.⁶² In other words, this connotation overwrites the Imperial Japan’s history of involving crimes against humanity. It also hints the Cold War nuclear race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which raised the sense of urgency among *hibakusha* to ban the use and the development of nuclear weapons. As to strength it, at the end of the East Building, first, the museum reiterates the importance of abolishing nuclear weapons by stating it is “essential for our [human race’s] survival”.⁶³

The exhibition also separates a Hiroshima-base military unit, the Fifth Division, from the rest of Japanese military through different annotations. While the museum uses the active voice to describe Japanese military’s action, it uses the passive voice to describe Fifth Division’s involvement in the war. The Fifth Division’s involvements are, for example, described as “The Fifth Division *was* mobilized and sent to China,” The Fifth Division *was* deployed in Korea, Manchuria and as far as northern China,” and “The Fifth Division *was* mobilized for most of Japan’s War” [emphasis added by the author].⁶⁴ This difference in voice can be interpreted as the

⁶¹ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁶² Dana Lindaman, and Kyle Roy Ward, *History Lessons: How Textbooks from Around the World Portray U.S. History*. (New York, NY: The New Press, 2004).

⁶³ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁶⁴ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

museum's intention of portraying Hiroshima's soldiers as innocent victims of the atomic bombing rather than active war participants who deserve some harsh consequences of the war. The museum also has some defensive attitude for the Japanese military. Although it makes Japanese military look evil in terms of forcing Hiroshima to involve in the wars, it also maintains their reputation. For example, the exhibition comments on the forced laborers brought from China and Korea but it does not mention who brought them to Japan, when in fact it was the Imperial Japan's military-government. It does not elaborate much on Imperial Japan's colonization of other countries nor its military's crimes against humanity actions in the colonized territories. The exhibition portrays the Fifth Division as a passive war participant as well as the Imperial Japanese military's course of actions irrelevant to the atomic bombing.

The exhibition also reflects one of the museum's motivation behind its mission statement – securing of the freedom of press. The display about the HICARE, Hiroshima International Council for Health Care of the Radiation Exposed in Chernobyl, is a response to the U.S. who did not allow Japan to access the medical data nor bothered to investigate effective treatments of *hibakusha*. It is also to exhibit one of the examples of Hiroshima's international effort in peacebuilding, as we saw earlier how smaller and more private actors expanded their peacebuilding efforts to an international level.

Lastly, the East Building seeks for recognition from its visitors on Hiroshima's economic and social recovery, as it is an indicator of strong will power of Hiroshima City residents.⁶⁵ For example, one of the exhibition explains, “the citizens, in the confusion after the bombing and the enormous changes wrought by surrender and occupation, while struggling with food shortages,

⁶⁵ Hideaki Shinoda, “Post-War Reconstruction of Hiroshima”.

lack of funds, and lack of materials, each arose and worked to rebuild their lives”.⁶⁶ This quote and other displays treat the city’s economic and social recovery as self-led effort. Having a completely empty land was not a very uncommon situation in Japan back then but the exhibition does not mention the rest part of Japan’s suffering. Additionally, the exhibition does not recognize Japan for its effort in peacebuilding as a whole but rather portrays the country as a follower of Hiroshima City’s effort.

The Main Building focuses on conveying an accurate image of the damage caused by the atomic bombing. Therefore, its exhibitions are divided into: 1) August 6, 1945; 2) Material Witnesses; 3) Hiroshima in Ruins; 4) Damage by the Heat Rays; 5) Damage by the Blast; 6) Damage by the Conflagration; 7) Damage by the Radiation; and 8) Relief Activities.⁶⁷ The artifacts range from bigger displays such as diorama and the remaining piece of buildings to smaller items such as everyday necessities and clothes. It also includes some scraps collected from the city council such as scissors and glasses lenses. Some of them are extremely difficult to look at, as they remind of visitors the extreme devastation that the city and its citizens underwent. Like the museum director describes the exhibition, these items well represent “the grief, anger, or pain of real people”.⁶⁸ At the same time, there are some more hidden messages behind these exhibitions. It is important to note that the exhibitions have been intentionally picked out from over 21,000 options to convey to visitors the following two messages.

⁶⁶ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁶⁷ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁶⁸ “Meet the Director,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum,
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/frame/Virtual_e/tour_e/guide2_4.html

First, it shifts people's focus to the innocence of the victims. The majority of the displayed artifacts used to belong children or women but to adults or men. Even considering that the children population in Hiroshima City had significantly increased towards the end of the war⁶⁹, it is hard to imagine that none of adult's belonging was left after the bombing. Similarly, even though a lot of men were deployed to fight on the frontline, there must have been some items belonged to men left in the destroyed city. By removing adults' and men's items almost completely from the exhibits, there are two effects. One, it can create an innocent image of victims in Hiroshima City. Women and children are perceived to be typically not involved in any war activities. Therefore, it shapes the discourse around the victimhood to be more sorrow-based. Whereas men and adults are usually seen to be involved in political and military activities that shapes the discourse around the victimhood to be more responsibility-based. Two, it can also separate Hiroshima from the rest of Japan. By separating these two, the museum can silence an argument that views the atomic bombing to be the last resort for the Allies to stop Imperial Japan's further advancement in the war. By separating the atomic bombing experience from a political discourse, the museum can more effectively promote the horror of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, the exhibition lets visitors imagine the ordinary life the Hiroshima residents had had before the atomic bombing. Oftentimes, when we imagine people's everyday life in war, we typically deny the normality and apply the image of people doing nothing more than fighting or hiding in shelters. However, what the exhibit tells the visitors is an extremely ordinary life that the Hiroshima residents had led. The children went to school, the adults went to work and the

⁶⁹ Children's population in Hiroshima City increased because many of them were escaping from the neighboring cities to avoid constant air raids. There was a rumor spread in those cities that Hiroshima City never gets air bombed, which turned out to be true only until the atomic bombing ("Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html).

transportation carried people from a city to another. In fact, it is said that if the Hiroshima residents were not leading this normal life, the casualty from the atomic bombing would have been much less than it actually was.⁷⁰ This way of presentation is more powerful because then the visitors can picture how horrifying it is to lose everything and everyone they have in their life in a flash of light and heat. By making the experience more imaginable, the museum can convey more effective image of the horror and cruelty of the atomic bombing.

At the end of the exhibit, the visitors have the opportunities to hear testimonies made by *hibakusha* through videos. It is a very powerful experience as Barrett also discusses, “[t]he way we all understand better the horror of suffering for large numbers of people is to focus on the story of one individual”.⁷¹ After visitors have been given a chance to learn the horror of nuclear weapons, the innocence of victims, and Hiroshima’s involvement in achieving peaceful world, they are now finally able to put faces to all these insights. They can imagine these individuals mourning for the death of their families and friends, can feel the atomic bombing experience more personally, and can empathize with the victims without pulling out a political discourse.

Murakami argues that the Hiroshima Museum’s exhibit is “an effective and powerful method for peace education in Japan”.⁷² Through the analyses of the exhibit, we learned that it promotes the horror of nuclear weapons very well. However, I argue, at the same time, that the exhibit at the Hiroshima Museum could also blind people about the reality of wars. It removes the city and its people from the regular war discourse that involves politics. It also successfully centers visitors’ attentions around Hiroshima in the discourse of peacebuilding. By doing so, it

⁷⁰ “Virtual Museum,” Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.
http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁷¹ Clive Barrett, “Sadako or Al Qaeda?” 79.

⁷² Toshifumi Murakami, “A Comparison of Peace Education in Britain and Japan,” *Peace Research* 24 (1992), 43.

creates an innocent image of the victimhood too clearly. It shapes a conversation to ‘the people of Hiroshima did not deserve to be a victim of the atomic bombing,’ instead of ‘it is wrong to bomb any city with a nuclear weapon’. Therefore, the Hiroshima Museum’s exhibits may not be successful directly led to a creation of a Culture of Peace. However, I also argue that it is powerful to drastically reduce Cultures of Violence and Neutrality.

The Holocaust Information Center consists of seven exhibition rooms that the visitors can explore. Like the Hiroshima Museum, it does a good job to put faces to the numbers. When it comes to imagining the actual tragedy, oftentimes, a big number takes away a clear picture from us.⁷³ The number makes people’s lives very plain and gray, which makes it difficult for the visitors to understand and feel the victims’ pain. By putting the victims’ names and faces to the measurement of the tragedy, the museums bring back the victims to a livelier figure to the visitors. For example, the Hiroshima Museum both exhibits and publishes video testimonies made by the survivors of the atomic bombing. The Holocaust Information Center dedicates one of its exhibition rooms as the Room of Names to memorialize the murdered or missing Jews by exhibiting their short biographies. It is a dark room surrounded by four screens on the wall with a narrow pathway to come in from a previous room and go into a next room. All the four screens show the same name and the audio system tells a biography of the victim to the visitors in the room. Everything in the room is so simple and plain that makes it harder for the visitors to make any interpretation. Rather, the visitors can only rely on the audio information, which will make them focus more on the information they listen to.

⁷³ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

The Holocaust Information Center has some differences from the Hiroshima Museum. As for the differences, first, the Holocaust Information Center does not showcase too many of personal belongings in their actual form. Rather, it projects people's faces and names and pictures of historically important places on the screen. Secondly, the exhibited Jewish victims represent multiple backgrounds: women, men, adults, children, elderly, and various nationalities. In the next few paragraphs, I will delve into the analysis of the reasons for these differences.

First, Holocaust Information Center relies on digital information because the victims' personal items do not convey much message as testimonies and biographies would. Most of the personal items still remain as how they would have looked in the 1930's and 1940's. These items do not have much story to them. Instead, the second room of the Holocaust Information Center, Room of Families, presents fifteen Jewish families lives before, during and after the persecution to give visitors a clearer picture about the destruction of Jewish culture.⁷⁴ On the contrary, in the Hiroshima's case, the atomic bombing took away people's ordinary lives rather than destroying a culture of specific population.

Secondly, the Holocaust Information Center exhibits all different types of Jewish victims of the Holocaust and showcases the effect it had on diverse population so that it can deliver messages to different audiences. Although there are different stakeholders' voices and some critiques to the degree of its influence, the main purpose of the Holocaust Information Center is to accompany the memorial and commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. However, there are some critiques to the exhibit at the Holocaust Information Center. In addition to the fact neither Rosh nor Jackel, who initiated the memorial project, had shown much sympathy towards other

⁷⁴ "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe with Exhibition at the Information Centre", Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, <https://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/the-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.html#c694>

Holocaust victims, the Holocaust Information Center focuses on the Holocaust's impact on Jewish people and their culture, which could potentially perpetuates discrimination in the country.⁷⁵

The Holocaust Information Center seems to well fulfill its educational and commemorative roles. Their conceptualization of peace in terms of these two roles is achieved successfully. It is also successful at letting the visitors imagine the Nazi Germany's atrocities against the Jews during the Holocaust. Therefore, it reduces a Culture of Neutrality. However, the museum does not seem to document the causes leading up to the Holocaust. In other words, the museum has stronger emphasis on the Holocaust victims rather than on the perpetrators. As a result, the concerns addressed by Linden have not been taken into consideration in the curation of the museum exhibit. Therefore, with the exhibit, although the Holocaust Information Center reduces a Culture of Neutrality, it may not be necessarily successful at reducing a Culture of Violence or actively generating a Culture of Peace.

Topography and Architecture

In the previous sections, we learned how sponsors can influence museum's mission statements and permanent exhibits. We also learned that both the Holocaust Information Center and the Hiroshima Museum may have failed to transform a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality to a Culture of Peace. However, while mission statements and exhibits deliver messages of peace through a more visible form, factors such as topography, architecture, and location can also deliver messages of peace in a less obvious still yet powerful form.

Topographical and architectural designs usually reflect the societal context at times as well as the

⁷⁵ Bill Niven, "8: The Holocaust Memorial".

architects' view. Both Hiroshima and Berlin ended up employing architects who pursue designing a city as a whole rather than only a building and who value their city design's transformational effects. The Hiroshima Museum and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park (forward: Peace Park) were carefully designed by a Japanese architect Kenzo Tange. Through the design of the area, Tange sought to express the interconnection of peace and human souls and the balance between nature and order. He also attempted to express the containment of the wounds from the atomic bombing within goodness of human souls. The Holocaust Memorial and the Holocaust Information Center were designed by Peter Eisenman which allow the visitors to trace the lost, confusion, and helplessness that the Holocaust victims experienced during the persecution. Together with the geographical factors, which I will elaborate later, I argue that the topographies and architectures of Hiroshima and Berlin contribute to the transformation of city's cultures to be a Culture of Peace.

Kenzo Tange is an exceptional architect who designed the overview of the Peace Park, the A-bomb Cenotaph, and the Hiroshima Museum. Tange sought to reflect people's mindset through visualization of immanent system with his every design.⁷⁶ Tange lost his mother to an air raid in Imabari⁷⁷ on the same day as the dropping of the *Little Boy*. Tange went to a high school in Hiroshima where he met the works of Le Corbusier which inspired him to become an architect.⁷⁸ Later, Le Corbusier's work became the foundation for Tange's architectural design. On August 6th, Tange was on his way to see his ill-father at his death bed in Hiroshima. On the

⁷⁶ “知られざる丹下健三—海外プロジェクト・都市計画を中心に [Unknown side of Kenzo Tange – through his overseas projects and urban planning],” LIXIL Publication, published September 2013, <http://10plus1.jp/monthly/2013/09/issue1.php>

⁷⁷ A city about 100 miles away from Hiroshima City

⁷⁸ “Spotlight: Kenzo Tange,” ArchDaily, published September 4, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/270043/happy-birthday-kenzo-tange>

very next day, Tange arrived in Hiroshima and was shocked by the annihilation caused by the atomic bombing. His father turned out to pass away four days before the atomic bombing. Tange's experience in losing his mother to air raid and in witnessing the ruin of the city he shares his architectural identity pushed him to design a memorial in Hiroshima. He applied for a design competition with his Hiroshima memorialization project and was selected to work on establishing memorials around the Ground Zero. His personal sorrow shaped the design of the Peace Park and Hiroshima Museum to be more sympathetic to the victims. The memorials are also shaped to express condolence for the victims of the atomic bombing and sincere hope for a peaceful world. Interesting to note, although Tange and Takano had a similar experience in the atomic bombing, they took a completely different direction in engaging with the obliterated Hiroshima city. While Takano served as an ideal political figure who devoted himself to obeying the national orders, protecting his citizens, pursuing the city's economic recovery, and preserving the country's reputation, Tange chose a path to show his disappointment in humanity and his hope for the future peace. He also sought to incorporate architecture with the reflection of modernism and people's everyday emotion, which are the factors he believed make architecture fully complete.⁷⁹

To align with his own intentions in architectural designs, Tange had a larger, overview picture of cities he designed his building in. In a sense, he was an urban planner who also envisioned to influence the country's future.⁸⁰ As for the memorialization of the Hiroshima's

⁷⁹ “【丹下健三】生誕100年で父を振り返る丹下憲孝社長 [“Tange Kenzo” Noritaka Tange reflects on his father Kenzo Tange on his 100th birth anniversary],” 建設通信新聞 [Kensetsu Tsuushin Shimbun] (blog), published September 29, 2013, <http://kensetsunewspickup.blogspot.com/2013/09/100.html>.

⁸⁰ Kenzo Tange and Terunobu Fujimori, *Kenzo Tange*; Fumihiko Maki, *The Pritzker Architecture Prize 1987: Presented to Kenzo Tange*.

atomic bombing experience, Tange considered in an urban planning framework, unlike the rest of the architects who also applied for the competition. Tange believed that his project would directly contribute to the rebuilding of Hiroshima.

Tange's design connects the A-bomb dome, Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims (forward: A-bomb Cenotaph) and Hiroshima Peace Memorial on the same line, vertically integrated with the Peace Boulevard (See Figure 1 below), the first government-initiated project for the reconstruction of Hiroshima. By integrating with the first government-initiated reconstruction project, it also symbolizes the economic and social recovery in Hiroshima, that is considered to be a miracle. This vertical integration can be viewed as a compass, which points toward North, South, East, and West, and thus symbolizes wholeness. Another interpretation could be a Tange's hope for peace in every direction and thus in a whole world. This vertical integration could also be interpreted as the Cross in Christianity, given Tange himself was a Catholic. Some people argue that it also has a similar structure to Itsukushima Shrine, one of the most valuable religious entity for a Japanese-native faith in Hiroshima. Regardless, this religious symbolization has three significant meanings. First, it will protect the city from destruction. If another enemy comes to Hiroshima to drop a bomb, they would see the Cross inscribed in the area that would make them feel morally wrong to destroy an area with a religious motif. Second, the religious symbolization makes the citizens feel safe and secured. It gives people a sense of protection from something uncontrollable or beyond humanity. Thirdly, it gives people a feeling of settlement for the victims buried in the area. It serves a role of religious monument to commemorate the souls lost in the place.



Figure 1: Map of the Ground Zero area. (Google Map Screenshot [Annotations added by the author])

Shifting a focus from the larger picture to the Hiroshima Museum, we can find some other interesting intentional designs Tange installed. From the open space between the two middle pillars of the Hiroshima Museum, we are able to see the straight line connecting the museum, the A-bomb Cenotaph, and the A-bomb Dome (See Figure 2). The museum's pillars serve a role as a perfectly symmetry picture frame that captures the A-bomb Dome, a constant reminder of the obliteration, as well as the A-bomb Cenotaph, a memorial condoling the lost souls. Altogether, it is Tange's message to the world to always remember the tragedy but also to hope for the better, more peaceful future as this path leads from the obliteration to the lost souls to the peace.



Figure 2: A picture from between the two middle pillars of the Hiroshima Museum. (<http://arch-hiroshima.main.jp/main/a-map/hiroshima/p-museum.html>)

If we walk closer to the A-bomb Cenotaph, which was also designed by Tange, we are able to see the A-bomb Dome through the cenotaph (See Figure 3). It also is a perfectly symmetric frame to capture the dome which symbolizes the tremendous damage caused to

Hiroshima and its citizens. Japanese people typically believe that their ancestors are always watching them from the sky. This cenotaph looks like half of an eye staring at the A-bomb Dome, which could be interpreted that while the lost souls are always watching their descendants, half of their eyes are also always watching what Hiroshima and the world are doing to promote peace and to never repeat the wrong use of nuclear weapons. The arch-house shape of the cenotaph was designed to protect the victims sleeping underground from rain.⁸¹ This intention derives from the fact that many people were exposed to the high-level of radiation from the Black Rain⁸² that did not stop for several days after the atomic bombing. The memorial stone has an inscription says, "Let all the souls here rest in peace; For we shall not repeat the evil".⁸³ Here, the word 'we' refers to the entire human race, and 'the evil' refers to the use of nuclear weapons and the wrong use of technology at large.⁸⁴

⁸¹ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁸² A type of nuclear fallouts after the use of nuclear weapons, which contains dust and mud. It's believed to contain uranium, and many stories tell us that it brought secondary *hibaku* (radiation exposure) such as mass bleeding, leukemia, and loss of hair. However, according to a newspaper, *Kawakita Shinpo* on December 8, 2012, science researchers announced that there is no correlation between cancer and exposure to the Black Rain by getting wet or by drinking the water. However, some scholars critique their research method as incoherent thus the result to be invalid. To date, there are still many *hibaku* stories that have yet been revealed how they happened.

⁸³ "Virtual Museum," Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/index_e.html

⁸⁴ Kazuyo Yamane, "Contemporary Peace Education in Peace Museums Student Visits to Hiroshima and Nagasaki," *立命館国際研究* 27 (2014).



Figure 3: A-Bomb Cenotaph. (<https://www.hiroshima-kankou.com/world-heritage/world-heritage/dome>)

The memorials also see the interaction between humanity and nature. Tange was known to pay a careful attention to the connection between humanity and nature such as water and green, on the contrary to the urban design based on violent orientalism often used by Le Corbusier, the aforementioned architect who inspired Tange to also pursue architecture as a life-time profession.⁸⁵ With the Peace Museum, Tange was intentional in using Fibonacci Formula⁸⁶ to express the entwined relationship of the humanity and nature (See Figure 4). Tange explained that 2,482 meters is a symbolization of humanity and 6,498 meters (which is two numbers after

⁸⁵ Kenzo Tange and Terunobu Fujimori, *Kenzo Tange*; Fumihiko Maki, *The Pritzker Architecture Prize 1987*.

⁸⁶ $F_n = F_{n-1} + F_{n-2}$, when $F_1 = 1, F_2 = 1$ or when $F_0 = 0, F_1 = 1$. (Wikipedia: Fibonacci Number)

2,482 in Fibonacci numbers) symbolizes a society as a whole.⁸⁷ 17,012 meters (which is two numbers after 6,498) is length of the side of the building which is parallel to two rivers surrounding the Ground Zero area. It can be interpreted as something beyond humanity or society, which is an ultimate nature. Together, the building describes the interconnectedness of individual, society, and nature. It also is a symbolization of two lenses for individuals to look at the outer world of the museum. It is a reminder for the visitors to have a lens that sees society, world, and the nature as something emerges from and merges back into each individual. It is, therefore, a message from Tange about individual's responsibility to contribute to the betterment of humanity and the nature.

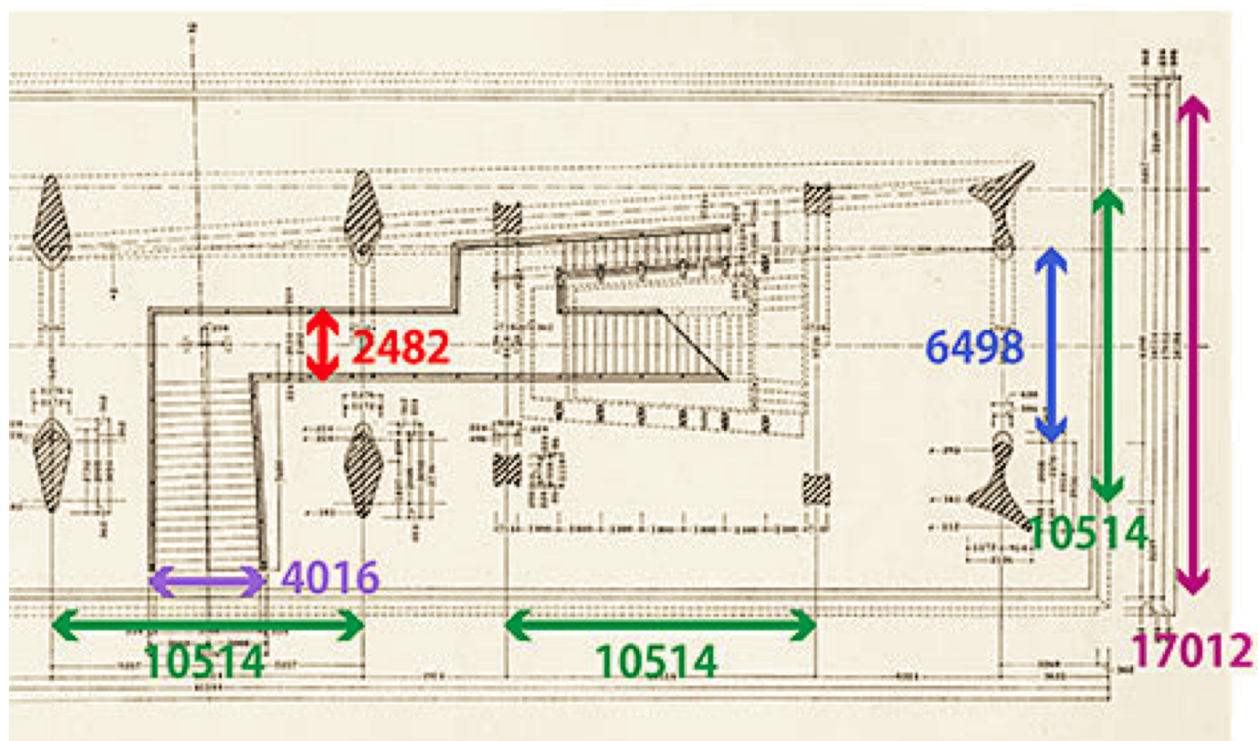


Figure 4: Architectural sketch of the Hiroshima Museum by Kenzo Tange. (<https://www.hiroshima-kankou.com/world-heritage/world-heritage/dome>)

⁸⁷ Kenzo Tange and Terunobu Fujimori, *Kenzo Tange*; Fumihiko Maki, *The Pritzker Architecture Prize 1987*.

Through his design, we can see Tange's desire to raise peace consciousness like the Hiroshima Museum's mission statement states. However, we can also see the difference between his intention and the museum's goal. Tange attempted to not only capture the tragedy but also the path to peace. His design provides the visitors with the opportunity to see the spectrum of violence and peace. It also reminds the visitors of the interconnectedness among individuals, the world, and nature. Tange's design encourages individuals to work towards peace by shifting violence on the spectrum and by maintaining the harmony and orderliness of the world. Therefore, Tange and his design are essential to shifting Cultures of Violence and Neutrality to a Culture of Peace.

The Holocaust Information Center and the Memorial have tremendous meaning behind too. Eisenman was very intentional about socially engineering people's feelings, perceptions, and even reactions to his buildings. The Holocaust Memorial is a 19,000 m² site covered with 2,711 concrete stelaes that share same length and width but are different height (See Figure 5). The paths among the stelae are long, straight, and narrow. Each stelae could be a symbolization of the victims of the Holocaust as it looks like a gravestone and the different heights among the stelaes may symbolize a wide range in ages of the victims. When the visitors walk among the forest of stelaes, they must feel alone, lost, and helpless, as they cannot foresee the paths or know when they can get out of the forest (See Figure 6). They also experience some change in brightness from brighter to darker, blocked by taller stelaes, as they walk further into the field. It is a metaphorical experience for the Jews losing hope for their future as the Holocaust affects their lives more and more. This experience allows the visitors to trace the victims' feeling of loss, confusion, and helplessness. The up-and-down pathway also allows the visitors to trace the Holocaust victims' turbulent life during the persecution period.

The underground Holocaust Information Center bears two impressions. One, the Information Center could be the foundation to the Memorial. Thierse's view on the site serving an intertwined educational and commemorative role resorts to here. Second, the Holocaust Information Center is made hidden and invisible from the rest of the world. The way it is set up strengthens the Holocaust Information being a complement to the Holocaust Memorial. These topographical and architectural designs help the visitors become more aware of the emotional side of the victim's Holocaust experiences. It does not, however, create a conversation about the prevention of any future atrocities like the Holocaust. Therefore, the designs of the Holocaust Memorial and Information Center do not give a more holistic sense of peace but rather support what is exhibited at and expected from the site.



Figure 5: Some partial overview of the Holocaust Memorial.
(<https://www.umass.edu/ihgms/memorials-photo-archive>)

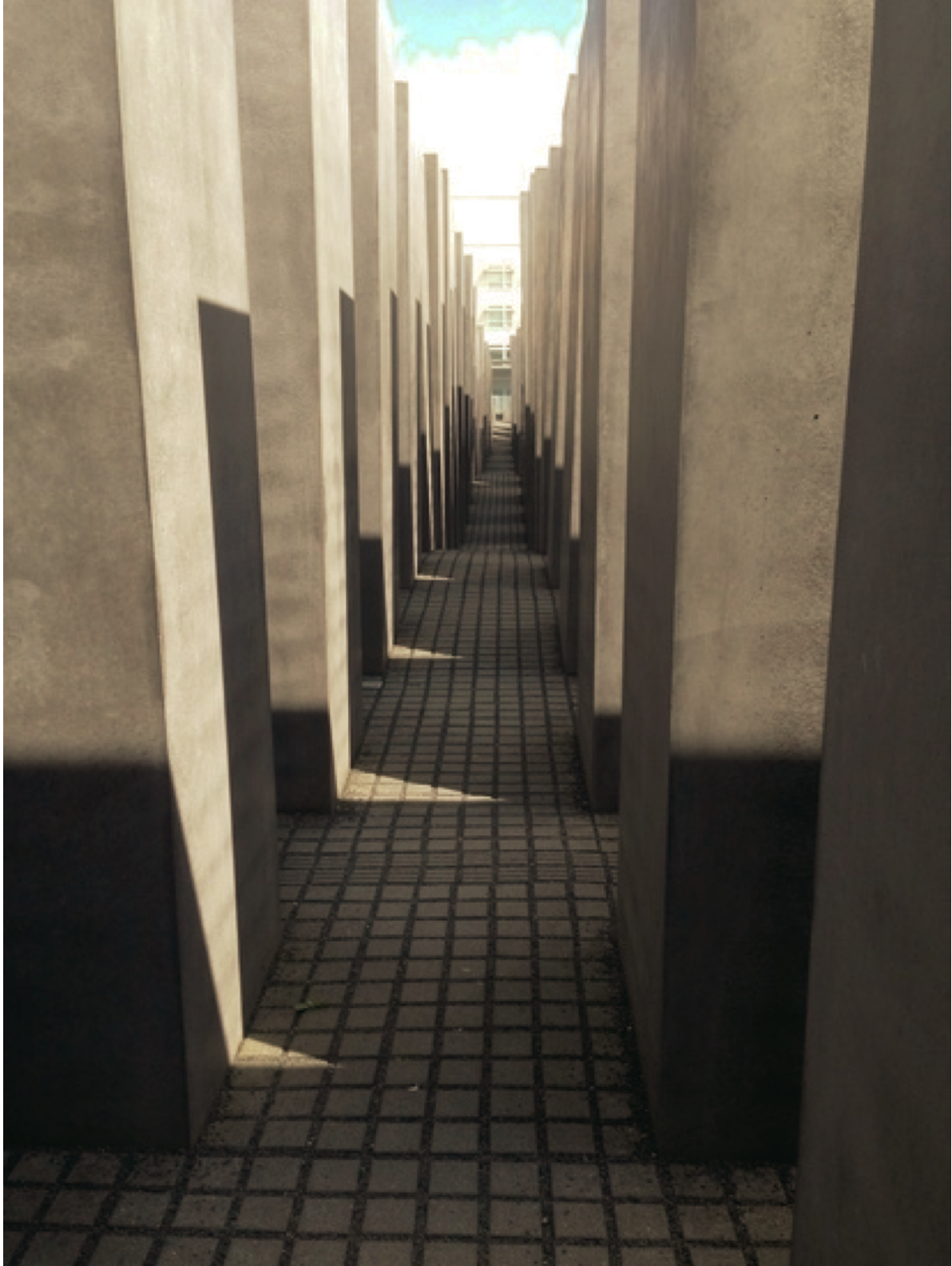


Figure 6: Inside of the Holocaust Memorial. (<http://www.theartblog.org/2013/07/summer-in-berlin-history-and-the-here-and-now-make-the-city-great-for-contemporary-art/>)

Location

The location of museums can have a significant impact in transformation of the peace cultures. Johan Galtung argues that one of the keys to transform a Culture of Violence (and in this paper, a Culture of Neutrality is added to a category of harmful cultures) to a Culture of Peace is an awareness of some impacts on collective minds of the society.⁸⁸ For example, Galtung argues that street names can have significant impact on how people perceive the world. In addition to topographies and architectures, locations of peace museums can also deliver some messages about peace. Therefore, it can shape how residents and frequent visitors in the neighborhood without them even aware of the change to their mind. There is another set of arguments about the importance of the location of peace museums, which claims the chosen locations reflect the stakeholder's overall goals aimed to achieve through these memorialization projects. In this section, I will analyze both domestic and international meanings of Nakajima District of Hiroshima and Berlin.

The Hiroshima Museum is located in Nakajima District, an area around the Ground Zero, which is manifested to symbolize the city's impressive economic and social recovery from the atomic bombing. This triangle area is surrounded by two rivers and Peace Boulevard. Before the atomic bombing, it was a residential area. However, due to the massive damage brought by the Little Boy, the entire area except the A-Bomb Dome was completely swept away. Rather than building new buildings to bury the memory of the atomic bombing under the ground and completely forget about it, Hiroshima chose to leave this big area as a reminder of the damage.

⁸⁸ Johan Galtung, Introduction to *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, by Charles Weber and Johan Galtung, (London: Routledge, 2007).

The clean rivers in the area mark one of the many important symbolizations of recovery of the city. Immediately after the atomic bombing, many wounded people wandered around the city to look for water. There were also, unfortunately, many people who refused to drink water because they believed a wide-spread rumor that drinking water leads to death. Many of those who drank water from rivers with Black Rain, also eventually passed away due to the high radiation contained in the water. Therefore, clean water surrounding all the memorials is a symbolization of continuous provision of water for the dead who desperately needed water at the time of the atomic bombing. Peace Boulevard, a 100-meter width road and one of the major economic and infrastructure recovery projects led by a city government, connects these two rivers like a bridge. Together, this area serves as a constant reminder for the world of the horror of the atomic bombing.

The Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center are located in the area, right on the border between the former East Berlin and the former West Berlin, that were used to be divided by the Berlin Walls until 1989 (See the blue circle on Figure 7). After the collapse of the wall, this area was completely empty. It could be used for the building of some architecture for the promote of nationalism within the country, for commercial or for residential buildings. Instead, the government had decided to build a memorial and documentation center dedicated to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. We could make three interpretations from this decision. One, it was to publicly announce the establishment of a completely new regime, built from scratch rather than inherited from the previous regimes. Second, it was to rebuild reunified Germany's identity around commitments to commemoration of the Holocaust victims, given Germany had just been reunified and was seeking to rebuild the country's identity as one nation-state. They could have built this memorial somewhere near the concentration camps, which are the

remainder from the horror of the Holocaust. Instead, Germany decided to establish the memorial in the middle of its capital city, near the important government buildings.⁸⁹ Third, it was to separate the new regime from any of the past regimes and to rethink about the Holocaust in a clean slate.



Figure 7: Relation of the Holocaust Memorial location to the Berlin Wall.
(http://bcsmaps.blogspot.com/2013/12/bcs-presidents-monthly-bulletin_20.html)

⁸⁹ To the south of the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center, there are Vertretung des Landes Niedersachsen beim Bund (Representation of Lower Saxony at the Federal Government in Berlin), Landesvertretung Rheinland-Pfalz (Representation of Rheinland-Pfalz State at the Federal Government in Berlin), Landesvertretung Schleswig-Holstein (Representation of Schleswig-Holstein State at the Federal Government in Berlin), Landesvertretung Saarland (Representation of Saarland State at the Federal Government in Berlin), Hessische Landesvertretung (Hessische State Representation at the Federal Government in Berlin), and Landesvertretung Brandenburg (Representation of the State Brandenburg at the Federal Government in Berlin).

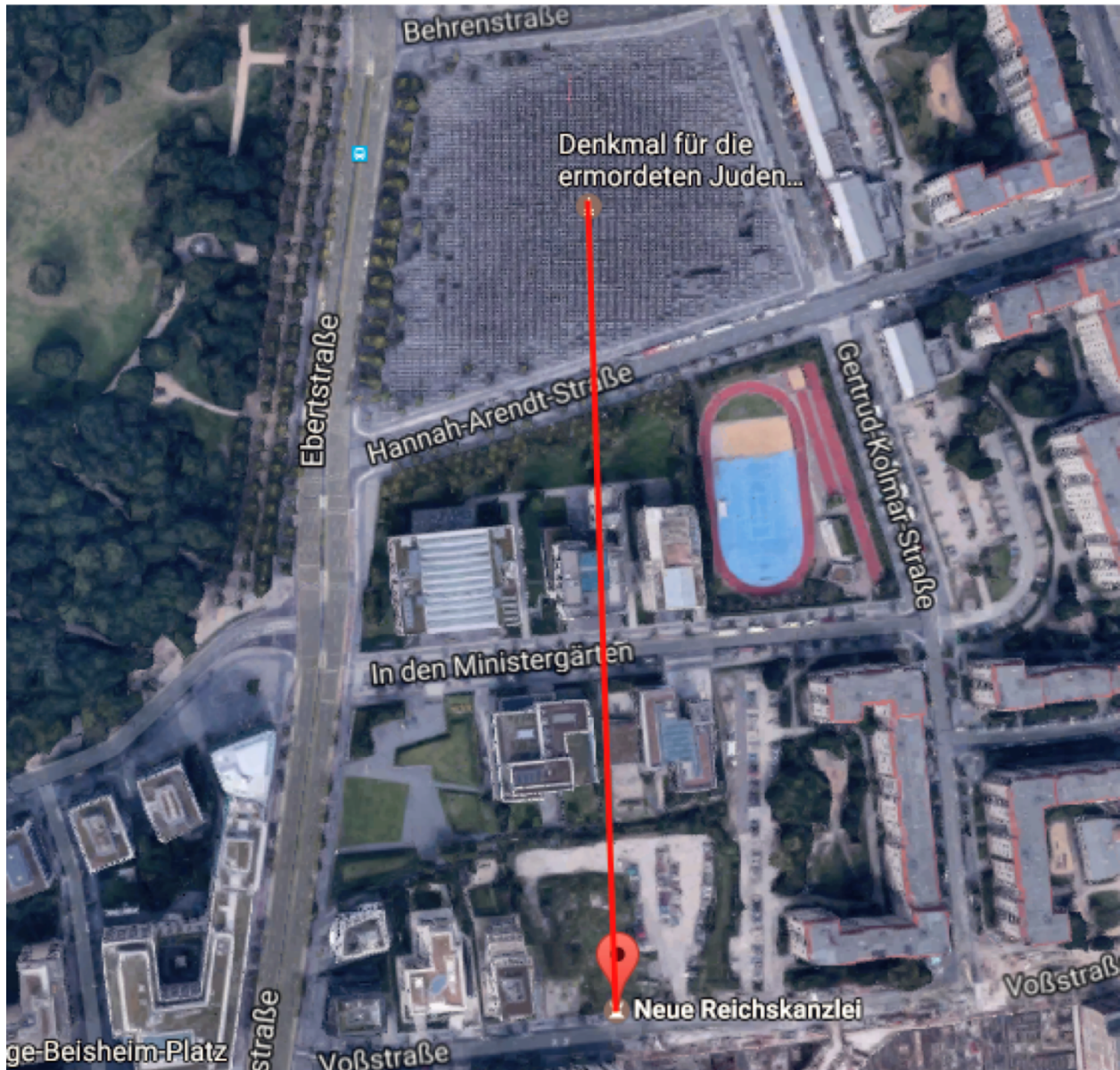


Figure 8: Map of the Holocaust Memorial area. (Google Earth Screenshot [Annotations added by the author])

Additionally, there are some trees planted on the left side of the Holocaust Memorial (See Figure 8). It looks like a wall dividing the Memorial from a highway. They were probably planted originally to serve as a cushion of noise coming from cars driving on the highway so that the memorial would be kept quiet and peaceful. However, it is also interesting to note that by having a tree, the horizontal center of the memorial becomes straight ahead of the Neue

Reichskanzlei (New Reich Chancellery). It could be interpreted as the core of the memorial is being a watchdog for the past and possible re-emergence of a New Reich regime.

There is a vivid contrast between the field of stelae, greens, and modern architecture at the site of the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center (See Figure 9 through 12). The memorial is surrounded by tall buildings and green as to symbolize the city's economic and social recovery. One of the drives pushed Nazi Germany to advance into wars and the Holocaust was lack of economic prosperity within the country. Therefore, it is notable to have these symbols of the country's prospered economy of today metaphorically locks away the horror of the Holocaust. Additionally, the Holocaust Memorial is located far lower than the surroundings. It seems like a reminder for the humanity, that even ordinary people having a normal everyday life could potentially have some feelings or motivations hidden somewhere deep down in their heart that would contribute to or support some cruel acts like the Holocaust. It also seems like a reminder for the society, that factors shape the Holocaust could totally be found in the midst of everyday life. From each of these government buildings (noted in Footnote 86), people can see the Holocaust Memorial. Thus, it serves a remembrance purpose strongly, especially to the government officials representing states of all over the country.

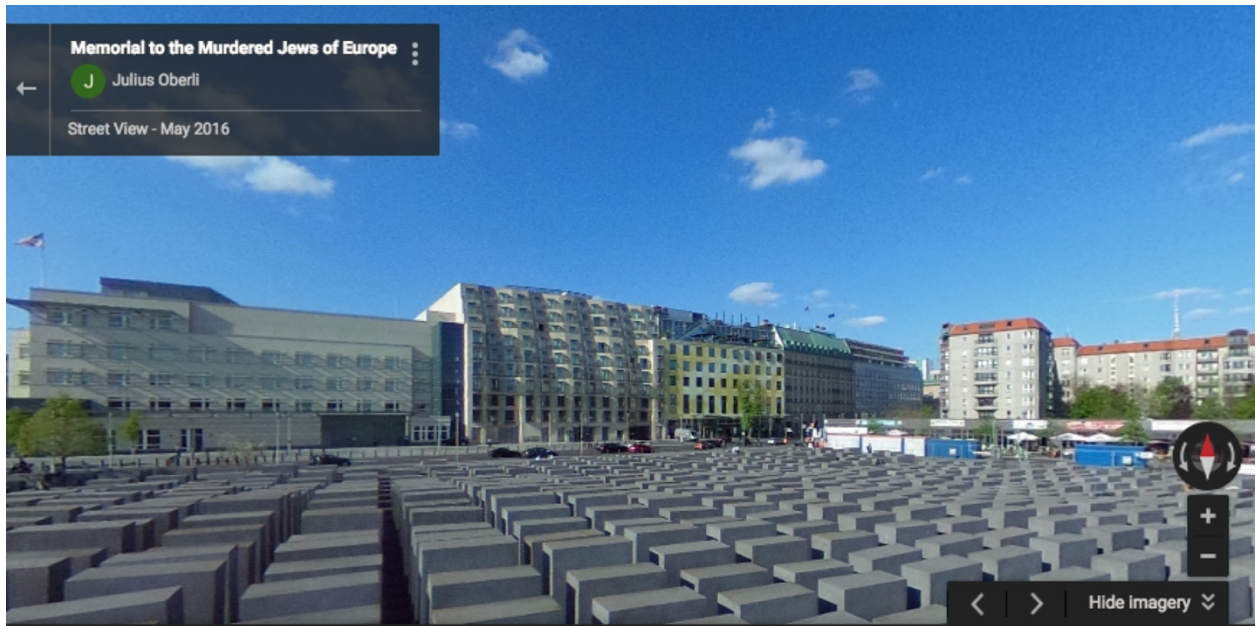


Figure 9: North of the Holocaust Memorial (Google Street View)

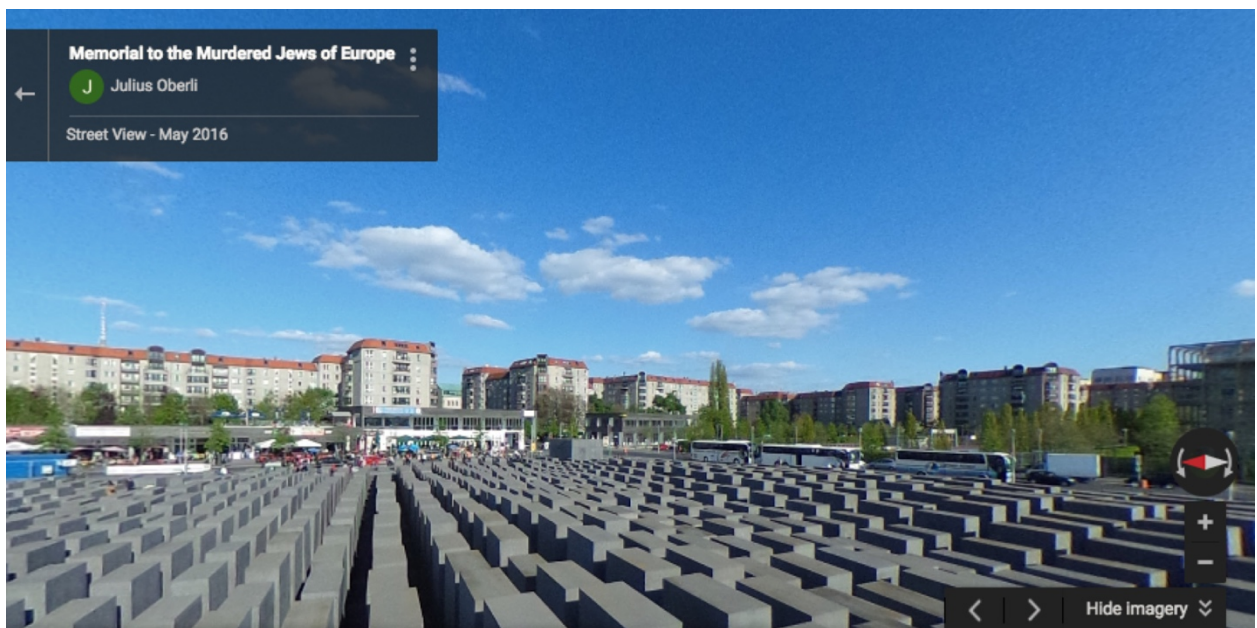


Figure 10: East of the Holocaust Memorial (Google Street View)

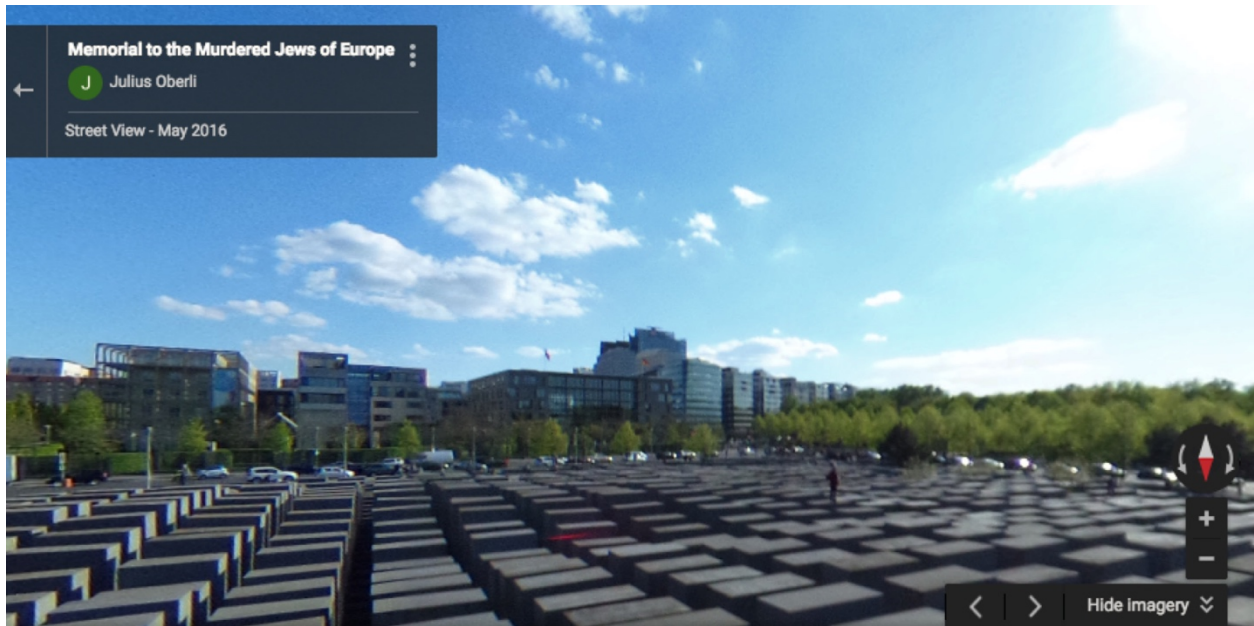


Figure 11: South of the Holocaust Memorial (Google Street View)

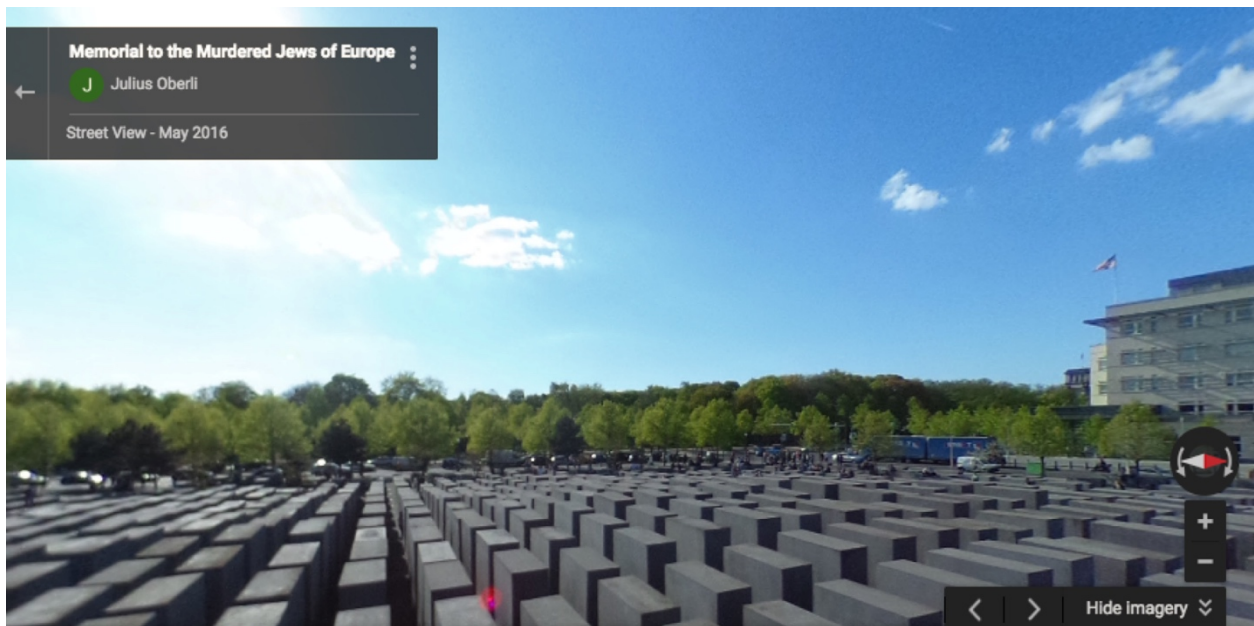


Figure 12: West of the Holocaust Memorial (Google Street View)

The streets around the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center are also noteworthy. They are surrounded by four main streets (See Figure 13) and each of them is named after famous individuals from the past. On the North, there is Behrenstraße, named after Johann Heinrich Behr in December 1997, who built Berlin-Friedrichstadt in the 18th century, now

became a host neighborhood to the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center. On the West, there is Ebertstraße, named after Friedrich Ebert in 1999, who was a leader of the Social Democratic Party movements in Germany and later became a President of the Weimer Republic from 1919-1925.⁹⁰ On the South, there is Hannah-Arendt-Straße, named after a Jewish philosopher Hannah Arendt known as an author of *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1955) in which she discusses the emergence of anti-Semitism, imperialism and racism. Arendt was a political activist in Germany until she migrated to France and later to the United States. Whilst she was in Germany, she publicized increasingly difficult circumstances that the German Jews were in, as anti-Semitism rose in Germany with the establishment of National Socialist regime.⁹¹ On the East, there is Cora-Berliner-Straße, named after Cora Berliner, an economist, social scientist, and an activist. She advocated for the rights of Jewish girls, as she herself was also a Jew. She headed multiple organizations to represent Jewish women and German Jews as the Nazis came to power.⁹² The last witness of her presence was reported in Minsk, a ghetto that housed thousands of Jews during the persecution. Most Jews housed there were eventually taken to the Trostinets extermination camp, and therefore, it is believed that Berliner was also murdered at the camp sometime between July 1942 and October 1943. Cora-Berliner-Straße is extended from Gertrud-Kolmar-Straße, named after Gertrud Kolmar,⁹³ a German-Jewish poet. During her lifetime, she produced 450 poems, three plays, and two short stories, which Krick-Aigner argues as “a vehicle

⁹⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. “Friedrich Ebert,” updated June 11, 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Friedrich-Ebert>

⁹¹ *Jewish Virtual Library*, s.v. “Hannah Arendt,” accessed March, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hannah-Arendt>

⁹² *Jewish Women’s Archive Encyclopedia*, “Cora Berliner,” accessed March, 2017, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/berliner-cora>

⁹³ Gertrud Kolmar is her literary pseudonym. Her actual name is Gertrud Käthe Chodziesner. (*Jewish Women’s Archive Encyclopedia*, “Gertrud Kolmar”, accessed March, 2017, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Kolmar-Gertrud>)

for readers of the early twenty-first century to come to terms with the events of World War II and the Shoah,⁹⁴ as well as for German-Jewish identity through reflection and remembrance”.⁹⁵

Kolmar was deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp in March 1943, a year after she lost her 81-year-old for the deportation to Theresienstadt.

Behr, Ebert, Arendt, Berliner, and Kolmar all represent the core value of which reunified Germany is attempting to achieve. Behr laid the foundation of the current structure of this area, where reunified Germany had decided to plant its new root and rebuild its identity around the commemoration of the Holocaust victims. Ebert sought to unite Germany as a parliamentary democracy through the establishing of the Weimar Republic.⁹⁶ The recognition of these two figures is an indication of Germany’s desire to celebrate the reunification of the country with democracy as a foundational political ideology. It also implies the influence from the former West Germany on the post-1989 Germany. Arendt is a worldly well-known philosopher whose life was saved by migrating to the U.S. She was chosen to represent not only because she became a worldly renown philosopher but her values aligned well with today’s Germany’s values. Arendt questioned the validity of totalitarianism and advocated for a more just society that provides fundamental human rights based on constitutions.⁹⁷ The names of Arendt and Ebert lie in the heart of Berlin tell us the new German regime’s stress on constitutionalism. Her fortunate

⁹⁴ The Shoah is defined as “the mass murder of Jews under the German Nazi regime during 1941–5”. While the Holocaust refers to a mass scale slaughter or destruction, the Shoah specifically refers to the persecution of Jews. (*Oxford Living Dictionaries*, “Shoah,” <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/shoah>).

⁹⁵ Gertrud Kolmar is her literary pseudonym. Her actual name is Gertrud Käthe Chodziesner. (*Jewish Women’s Archive Encyclopedia*, “Gertrud Kolmar”, accessed March, 2017, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Kolmar-Gertrud>)

⁹⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. “Friedrich Ebert,” updated June 11, 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Friedrich-Ebert>

⁹⁷ *Jewish Virtual Library*, s.v. “Hannah Arendt,” accessed March, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hannah-Arendt>

situation brings out the even harsher journeys of which Berliner and Kolmar went through, who lost their lives to the Nazis' crime against humanity. The Berlin's recognition of these three figures shows, again, its commitment to the commemoration of the Holocaust victims, more specifically, the Jews among the victims.

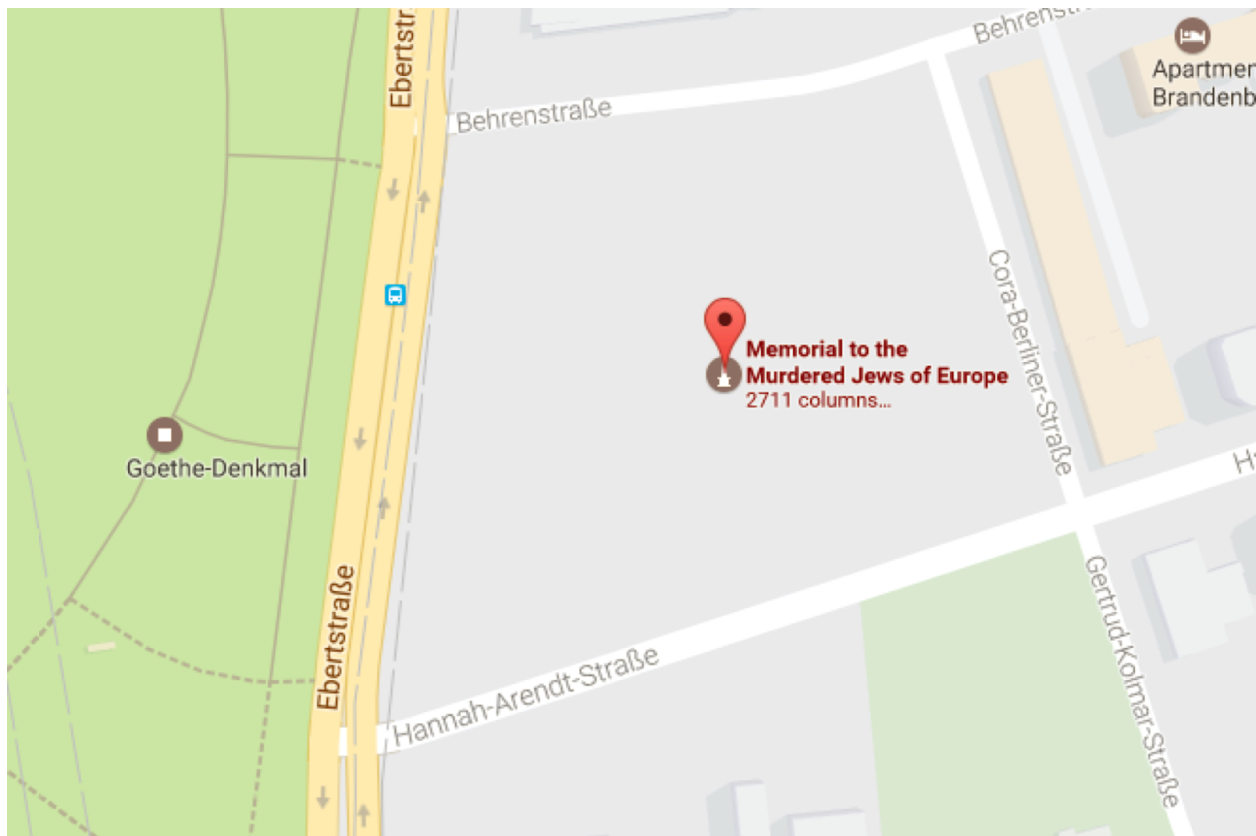


Figure 13: Streets around the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center (Google Map Screenshot)

The way the Holocaust Memorial and the Information Center are placed reminds me of a moat around a castle. Everything is kept so well in one area of Berlin with many watchdogs. It almost looks as though this structure attempts to ensure that the memory of evil thoughts and actions will not get out of the place and spread to the entire city, country, all of Europe, or the world. From my interpretations and analyses above, I argue that the sponsors attempted to keep the dark memories of the Germans and the tragic memories of the Holocaust victims all in one

place. It ties back to how Rosh expects the site to be sustainable and forever remember the victims of the Holocaust. Once again, although the Holocaust Information Center and the Memorial serve the commemorative and educational purposes well, they need to be more actively engaged with the confrontation of Germany's past as a perpetrator of the Holocaust.

Discussion

Throughout the paper, we looked at different influential factors shaping museums' roles and their impacts on society. Based on the observation and analysis, I argue that how museums conceptualize peace and how they transform Cultures of Violence and Neutrality to a Culture of Peace are shaped by the sites' historical experiences.

As for the conceptualization of peace, the Hiroshima Museum defines it as economic and infrastructural prosperity in the city, memorialization of the atomic bomb victims, *hibakusha*'s emotional reconciliation with the past, and the awareness raising of the horror of nuclear weapons, across its sponsors, mission statements and exhibit. With its topography, architecture, and location, the concept of peace is broadened a little more to the cultivation of peace-oriented mindset. As for the Holocaust Information Center, across the sponsors, Foundation Charter, exhibit, topography, and architecture, the main focus is placed upon the commemoration of the Holocaust victims. From its geographical factors, we can sense the fear for the recurrence of the Holocaust and thus the concept of peace is shifted to the prevention of the recurrence of such atrocity.

As far as museums' peace-cultural transformational roles go, overall, we can argue that the Hiroshima Museum and Memorial have the potential to drastically reduce Cultures of Violence and Neutrality and to cultivate a Culture of Peace, as the museum and memorials complement each other's role. In comparison, the Holocaust Memorial and Information Center also has the potential to reduce a Culture of Neutrality but may not necessarily be successful at reducing a Culture of Violence or creating a Culture of Peace, as the Information Center and the Memorial serve in the same capacity to commemorate the Holocaust victims. We can not make much observation of the site encouraging the peacebuilding effort.

These differences derive from where the museums stand. First, in Hiroshima, it is very hard to find the legacy of the perpetration done by the Imperial Japanese army. Although given its nature as a military city, Hiroshima had containment camps for the captured soldiers, the Japanese army committed to crimes against humanity elsewhere in the world. In other words, Hiroshima City's war memory primarily comes from its victimhood to the atomic bombing. On the contrary, Berlin remembers its both involvements as a victim and a perpetrator in the war. Therefore, even to date, visitors can still find the legacy of the wounds and perpetration all over the city, around Germany, and across the countries in Europe.

Secondly, we can argue that the location of the respective country matters. Since Japan is an isolated island from any other continents, including the land of victims, it is easier for Hiroshima to avoid the discussion of its guilt in the war. In contrast, Berlin thus Germany is surrounded far more closely by the countries fell into victims of Nazi Germany. As a result, Berlin feels pressure from the international community to discuss its guilt in the war.

To conclude, Hiroshima's war-history was totally overwritten by the atomic bombing experience. The Hiroshima citizens' shock at the collateral damage caused by nuclear weapon as well as at the world keeps producing this dangerous weapon serve the foundation to their motivation to achievement of peace in their definition. Berlin's war-history is still trapped in its own status as a perpetrator of the Holocaust. The people of Berlin still have not been able to figure out how it was possible at all to have had millions of people supported and involved in the crime against humanity on its own land. The fear for this indescribable mass movement is behind the museum's hope for the prevention of the recurrence of the Holocaust.

The comparison of the Hiroshima Museum and the Holocaust Information Center has told us that Hiroshima may be more successful at effectively promoting the peace they envision

to achieve than Berlin. This difference ultimately derives from the fact that the Hiroshima Museum stands on the land of victims while the Holocaust Information Center stands on the land of perpetrators. However, both of them need some improvement to provide them with more reality of wars, of human nature, and of peacebuilding works. Specifically, they fail to thoroughly and articulately address conflict prevention, intercultural and interfaith dialogue and reconciliation, and education for mutual respect, which are all essential factors to a Culture of Peace. Without the effort in these areas, both sites and cities will not be able to completely transform themselves from a Culture of Violence and a Culture of Neutrality to a Culture of Peace.

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