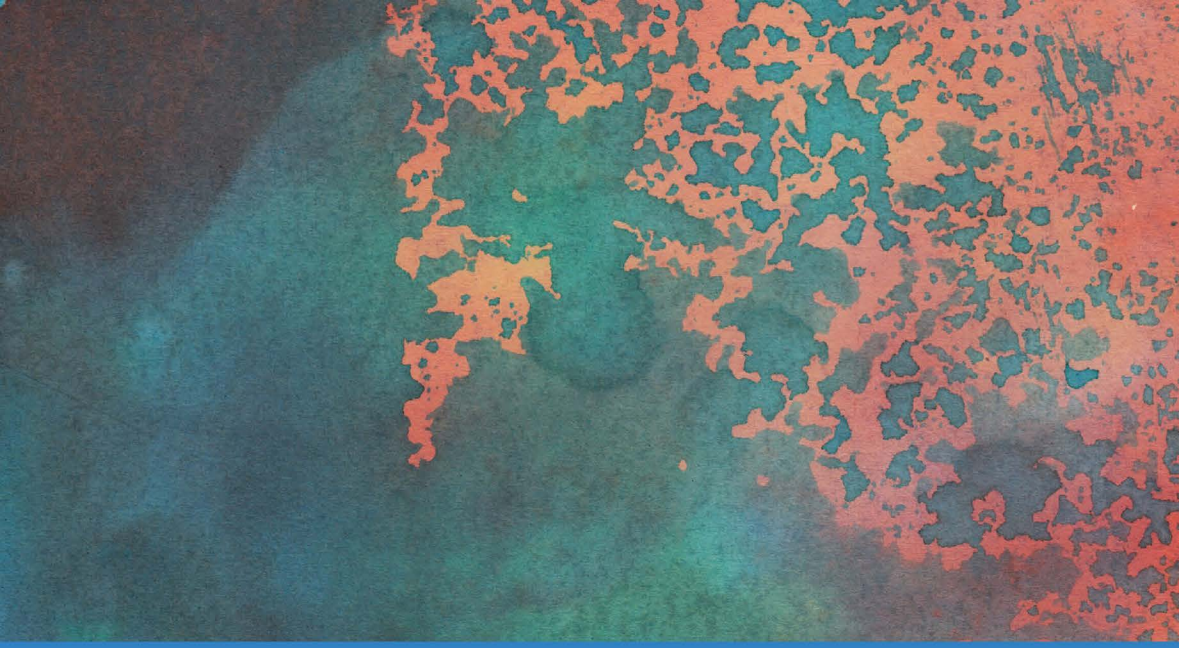
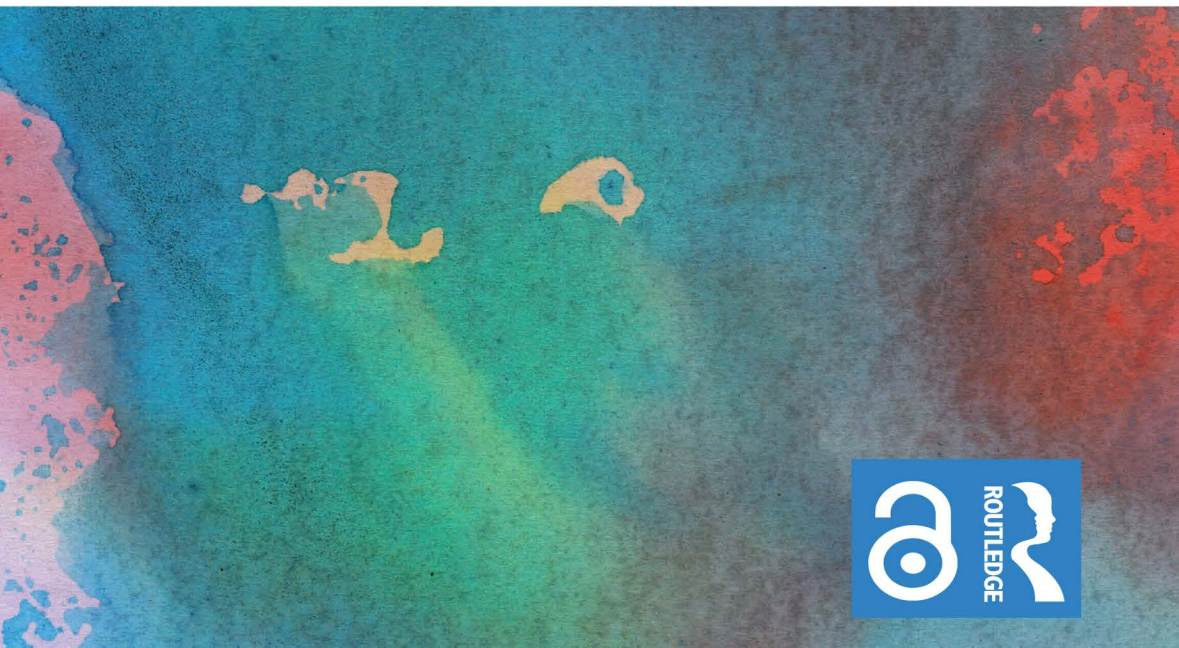


MUSEUMS FOR PEACE

IN SEARCH OF HISTORY, MEMORY, AND CHANGE

Edited by
Joyce Apsel, Clive Barrett, and Roy Tamashiro



Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change

Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change highlights the inspiring as well as conflicting representations and purposes of diverse museums for peace around the world.

Coming from various cultural and professional backgrounds, the authors explore "what *are* museums for peace and what do they mean?" Some chapters introduce alternative histories of peace, conflict, and memorialization. This innovative collection examines grassroots museums, military sexual slavery, historical memory in East Asia, and cultural heritage in the Africanized peace museum movement. The chapters discuss differing representations of Gandhi, technology of war and opposition to it, and structural violence such as racial terror and imperialism. Investigating how institutions interact with political and cultural forces, the volume demonstrates that some museums reinforce hegemonic narratives, while others resist authoritative tropes to reveal silenced histories, including peace histories.

Museums for Peace will appeal to academics and students in museum studies, heritage studies, peace studies, memory studies, social justice, and human rights. Those working in cultural studies and trauma studies will also find this volume valuable.

Joyce Apsel is Clinical Professor in Liberal Studies at New York University (USA) and President, the Institute for Study of Genocide. She is the author of *Introducing Peace Museums* (2016) and co-editor of *Museums and Sites of Persuasion* (2020), *Genocide Matters* (2014), and *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures* (2012).

Clive Barrett is Chair of Trustees of The Peace Museum, Bradford (UK), with 30 years of engagement with peace museums. His publications include *Subversive Peacemakers* (2014), and contributions to *A Cultural History of Peace in the Age of Empire* (2020) and the *Blackwell Companion to Religion and Peace* (2022).

Roy Tamashiro is Professor Emeritus in Multidisciplinary Studies at Webster University (USA). His recent publications include contributed chapters to *Building Positive Peace* (2023), *Oral History and Qualitative Methodologies* (2022), *Peace Journeys* (2019), *Museums and Sites of Persuasion* (2019), and *Pilgrimage as Transformative Process* (2018).

Museums for Peace

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Contents

Figures

Tables

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Kazuyo Yamane serves as an expert advisor to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace at Ritsumeikan University (Japan). She is the author of *Grassroots Museums for Peace in Japan: Unknown Efforts for Peace and Reconciliation* (2009) and co-editor of *Museums for Peace Worldwide* (2008, 2017, 2020).

Preface

Welcome to a conversation and journey into *Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change*. The title raises expectations that this book describes what museums for peace have been in our past and present worlds. However, it also aims to help us imagine – and re-imagine – what museums for peace will become in our lives, for our identities, our civilization, and our planetary ecosystem.

Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change is a set of original chapters about the evolving dialogues and meaning making in museums and other cultural institutions with peacebuilding missions. Although each chapter's authorship is credited to one or more individuals, the chapters contain multiple voices of those participating in conversations about museums for peace spanning decades.

The chapters in this volume reveal the wide-ranging and diverse groundings, legacies, and ways of thinking about museums for peace, even though the editors and authors share an affinity to what could be called the museums-for-peace *culture* and/or *movement*.

For example, Joyce Apsel views herself as an educator-scholar in the tradition of critical inquiry and analysis. Her energetic advocacy to address the gap between the promise of realizing rights and the reality of persistent injustices and harms is visible in her introductory chapter (Chapter 1) and concluding voices reflections (Chapter 10).

Rejecting the militaristic culture of the naval city where he grew up, Clive Barrett embraced civil society protest. His multiple contributions (Chapters 2, 3, 6, and 10) in the present collection attest to his advocacy for museums for peace to preserve the memory and honor the lives of war-resisters and nonviolent peacemakers directed toward a new direction to cultivate nonviolence and cultures of peace.

Even though he was three generations removed from his ancestors who fled the structural violence of war, colonization, discrimination, exclusion, and erasure, Roy Tamashiro sensed the legacy of generational traumas in his family from a young age. His oral history narratives of war trauma survivors and other ethnographies and psychohistories including his chapters in this volume (Chapters 7, 9, and 10) reflect an ongoing struggle to understand the legacies of structural violence and injustice.

The International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP) has facilitated these conversations in the meetings, seminars, and international conferences it has held

for 40 years. It is noteworthy that the three editors (Apsel, Barrett, and Tamashiro) and four contributing authors (Kazuyo Yamane, Kimberly Baker, Munuve Mutisya, and Satoko Oka Norimatsu) participated in the numerous dialogues at INMP-organized events and perhaps more significantly at many informal conversations emerging from their association with INMP.

INMP was foundational to the genesis and development of *Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change*. The INMP's founding General Coordinator, Peter van den Dungen, pioneered the academic study of peace museums. His successor, Ikuro Anzai, advanced the global recognition and credibility of museums for peace. He facilitated the systematic exchange of insights and ideas across museums, which became a hallmark of the present volume. Akihiko Kimijima, one of the succeeding Joint Coordinators, encouraged publications on the scholarship of museums for peace particularly in the direction of inclusiveness which the present collection has emphasized. Among other current joint INMP Coordinators, Satoko Oka Norimatsu is one of the contributing authors in the present collection, and Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, an INMP Coordinator and director of the Gernika Peace Museum (Spain) offered bold ideas, innovative initiatives, and effective leadership in her roles. Insights about contemporary challenges of museums for peace were revealed in interviews for this book project with other INMP officers; Junko Kanekiyo, former curator of The Kyoto Museum of World Peace (Japan); and Kevin Kelly, director of The International Peace Museum (Dayton, OH, USA). Our special appreciation goes to Vittorio Pallotti and Fiorella Manzini for providing images for this book, and their dedication to caring for a collection of close to 7,000 peace posters at *Casa per la Pace* (Bologna, Italy).

Authors beyond the INMP who contributed chapters to the present collection included Elisabetta Colagrossi (Chapter 5), and Jane Joo Hyeon Lee whose background in the Republic of Korea positioned her to live and study the still unreconciled history of sexual enslavement by the Imperial Japanese military during World War II (Chapter 7).

We extend gratitude to three scholars who provided valuable insights and feedback in the final stages of manuscript preparation. Amy Sodaro provided direction in the treatment of memory and memorialization issues; Lucy Bailey contributed suggestions about applying *critical cultural memory pedagogy* to design and curation processes at museums for peace; and Noor El-Gazairly reminded us about persistent mindsets that defend and perpetrate the *cultural machinery of colonialism* in museums for peace.

Finally, we extend gratitude to our respective personal life partners/family members, David, Jenny, and Margean, who have shared in our journey of the development of this book project with invaluable patience and support.

25 May 2023
Joyce Apsel
Clive Barrett
Roy Tamashiro

Section 1

Setting the Scene

1 Situating Museums for Peace

In Search of History, Memory, and Change

Joyce Apsel

Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change explores the complex dynamics and meanings in the global phenomenon of "museums for peace" that exist in diverse locations and forms. This volume emphasizes a critical analysis of museums "for peace" on a range of levels reflecting varied – sometimes complementary at other times contrasting – purposes. Different approaches are reflected in exhibits, commemorations, and other initiatives, and how and which events and themes are represented and what is left out. This rethinking and analysis provide a lens to deepen understanding of museums' content, methods, and goals for peace and their viability, relevance, and potential.

With its emphasis on the search for history, memory, and change, this volume is part of a larger cultural undertaking at different crossroads of global developments and conversations. The volume was conceptualized and chapters written against the background of the global pandemic and the concurrent range of challenges people face everywhere: structural and racial inequity, threats to social institutions and global economies, and climate change and environmental degradation. Also, new and ongoing conflicts continue, such as the destructiveness and violence in Ukraine with its repercussions including loss of life, heightened militarization, and global tensions. In this larger, constantly changing context, what challenges and opportunities do cultural institutions face?

Positionality is key here: both in the background of the editors and authors in the volume and in how museums are situated and describe themselves. The chapters are descriptive, analytical, and self-reflective, shaped by each writer's distinctive ethnocultural, generational, gendered, educational, and experiential background. While no single volume could depict all the themes and local, regional, and national variations that make up museums for peace worldwide, this collection introduces readers to selected topics and examples located in the Asia-Pacific, Europe, Africa, and North and, briefly, South America.

As social constructs, each museum for peace contributes to its public identity by situating itself within categories and genres as well as naming – museum, memorial, center, place, house, for example, along with being local, national, and international. Museums for peace, as with sites of atrocity, conscience, memory, human rights, social justice, or heritage – have multiple identities and are aligned with more than one of these categories. And, whether and to what extent they take

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these factors into account, or try to work around them, these sites are also greatly influenced by the historic time in which they were founded, their donors, and other supporters and stakeholders as well as the events and histories they focus on representing.

Museums are not neutral, political-free zones; these cultural institutions are also political and face ongoing dilemmas, interpretations, and scrutiny. From state nationalization of culture to public–private partnerships, museums are open to various influences and pressures.

This collection attempts to situate, describe, and analyze how and to what degree particular museums for peace navigate the politics of selective remembering and forgetting.

Space and time are crucial elements in designing museums and how they represent a range of themes and events. How do museums for peace carry out these complicated roles? Not surprisingly, they vary in their self-consciousness about the complex, sometimes contradictory factors that influence decision-making about museum work, such as selecting exhibit design, content, voices, images, and description. And all these factors shape and are shaped by the processes of individual, national, and popular memory-making. The themes of searching for history, memory, and change are interrelated and provide lenses into the complicated dynamics that characterize museums for peace: past, present, and future.

What Are Museums for Peace?

Museums for peace represent a diverse range of sites and topics worldwide. Why is there such a diversity of claims under the nomenclature or genre of museums for peace? Many museums are focused on recognizing past violence and what is referred to as "difficult histories" and are committed to representing these histories' ongoing impact and significance. Other museums for peace are "peace museums" telling what they see as peace stories and bringing them to life through their artifacts and exhibits, inspiring historical dialogue and education for peace-mindedness and peace-building for future generations.[1] Yet, other sites do not practice what would be expected in the peace-oriented genre of museums for peace. State politics, economic pressures, vested interests, protests against particular exhibits, and institutional biases diminish and sometimes erase the museums' "peace" messages and threaten their existence by withdrawing public funds or other support, and closing them down. And, there are museums that serve more as vehicles for state policy and propaganda. Hence, both stories of human suffering and harms and stories of resistance and heroism may be used to co-opt "peace" to further the politics of victimization, grievance, or exclusive nationalism. Thematic links and case studies provide insights into how institutions interact with these political and cultural forces. Some are "ongoing centers of resistance to state denial of past crimes,"[2] revealing hidden and silenced histories with calls for recognition, reconciliation, and reparations. Other sites, however, are invested in continuing a community or nation's identity as heroic and/or as victims, emphasizing past occupation, suffering, and harms, and deepening a

sense of grievance and vulnerability that contributes to a patriotism/nationalism that is suspicious of past enemies and reconciliation in general.

Museums for peace have no commonly agreed-upon definition, yet these sites often overlap in their descriptions and content.[3] This volume aims to open to readers multidisciplinary, critical understandings of the museums for peace phenomenon and its complexity. In what ways are these different sites more an amalgamation than a coherent whole as a genre? Where are museums for peace situated and their potential impact on visitors as a relatively small but important series of sites and initiatives? Chapter 2, "Understanding Museums for Peace" discusses the range of themes and complexity of representation and provides a context for exploring a number of these museums and their impact in the following chapters.

Many sites graphically depict the types of destructiveness carried out during violent conflict or structural violence against individuals, particularly civilians. In some cases, the graphic images and descriptions of atrocities on the body/ies of groups of individuals make up much of the exhibit. This raises questions about the ethics of memorialization. These spaces and sites are important sites of remembrance for individuals, families, and communities and a place to bear witness. Is there a tipping point where the graphic depiction and naming of the people, nationalities, and groups inflicting the harm deepens feelings of victimization (first-, second-, third-generation "survivors," the badge of honor of victims)? Does this depiction result in essentializing and othering the perpetrators (forever, as a race, nationality, group; as aggressors, savage, etc.) as inherently evil, and always to be distrusted, feared or to seek revenge upon? At other times, does so much graphic violence engender a numbing reaction? When and why is focus on the victims and their suffering to such a degree that the background and history of the events and of the perpetrators are downplayed and even minimized?[4] In other cases, visitors have meaningful learning experiences; opportunities to commemorate and heal. And clearly, the responses of visitors depend on their age, background, whether a school or other group visit, preparation ahead of time, sensibility, and many other factors.

To what extent do these museums share challenges with other cultural institutions adapting to changing contexts, and technological advances and digitization? Or, are they fixed in the local, in what I have come to think of as the "rooted remembered" past? In what ways do museums for change act under the umbrella of peace as agents of change and present cultures of peace, cooperation and peaceful goals? To what extent are links to "peace" in fact covers for pointing to harms and conflicts carried out by other countries but simultaneously avoiding self-examination and acknowledgment of complicity or responsibility in their own backyards? How do some sites of witness reveal and bring to a larger audience hidden and denied violence targeted at specific groups? To what extent do they hold on to founding "truths" characterized by victimization and nationalist tropes?

Other sites which call themselves museums for peace focus on victimization and link historical atrocities to hegemonic state narratives of patriotism and nationalism and increasingly an exclusive nationalism highlighting essentialist depictions of perpetrator peoples and of victimized peoples. Yet, other museums for peace emphasize peace histories and cultures introducing visitors to often unknown or

hidden histories of protest and other forms of resistance to war or cultures of peacebuilding and reconciliation. These latter, and in fact smallest in number, strongly identify as both peace museums and museums for peace, representing peace cultures and histories linking with a series of current issues from the environment to fostering community in diversity. This volume includes chapters describing these different types of museums for peace. Some reflect hybrid forms of "strategic" remembering and forgetting such as "Japanese War Memory: Ongoing Challenges of Remembering and Forgetting" (Chapter 8) as well as recurrent themes such as "How Museums for Peace Depict the Technology of War and Opposition to It" (Chapter 6).

Finally, museums for peace may serve as sites for dialogue, social gatherings, and of activism. To what extent, have they picked up on the calls for social activism and community engagement?[5] As such, these sites have the potential to bring together different generations to pass on historical recollections and histories, such as the training of "successor" docents in several Japanese peace museums and other sites.

Peace Museums: Promoting Histories and Cultures of Peace and Nonviolence

Peace museums, a subset of museums for peace, exist worldwide and ideally represent "cultures and histories of peace" including nonviolence and anti-war themes. They decry and oppose violence and warfare – in contrast to the prevailing just and unjust war popular paradigm.[6] As "repositories of the material culture of peace," exhibits reveal the largely unknown history of peace movements and peacemakers.[7] This may include diaries and other writings of pacifists, peace theorists, and various activists and link with both peace studies and peace and conflict studies. Key local and international figures in peace and nonviolent histories are highlighted. In this volume, "Gandhi and Peace in Museums around the World" (Chapter 5) discusses how his philosophy and life are represented in both permanent and temporary displays. Exhibits introduce visitors to aspects of cultures of peace from anti-war and community cohesion to international exchange projects along with for example, in The Peace Museum at Bradford, a collection of peace quilts, pacifist diaries to art from paintings to sculpture.[8]

Other peace museums focus on a particular form of peace culture, such as Casa per la Pace, La Filanda (House of Peace, Spinning Wheel) in the outskirts of Bologna, Italy, includes close to 7,000 pacifist posters from around the world collected by Italian pacifist Vittorio Pallotti. Access to viewing the posters includes their website, a series of publications, traveling exhibits created from their collection and workshops and lectures. The posters include themes such as the history of peace thinkers, nonviolent protests (marches, sit-ins, boycotts, etc.), women activists, and social justice movements to anti-war caricatures and cartoons. A number of the posters display well-known peace symbols; others convert military and war images into ones of peace and nonviolence.[9] There are posters for disarmament and ecopacifism, against war in general and specific wars and other forms of violence such as hunger, displaced persons, and migrants.

The 1988 poster (see Figure 1.1) is from Italy and was created for the National Campaign of Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures, an important

Figure 1.1 Conscientious Objection to Military Spending (CDMPI Pacifist Poster Collection, Italy, 1988).

Source: Image courtesy of the Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale (CDMPI).

initiative in the Italian pacifist movement. As a nonviolent protest movement, the poster emphasizes "Conscientious Objection to Military Spending" (fiscal objection) and "pay taxes for peace, not for war." These ideas are reflected through the images of a coin breaking a gun. "Gradually, the broken gun gives birth to a peace dove."[10] And, in the eye of the white dove is an olive branch.

Such cultural productions document and introduce visitors to nonviolent marches, sit-ins, and other forms of protests opposing nuclear weapons, militarization as well as local issues from book banning, discrimination, bullying, and police brutality. The range of nonviolent actions depicted in the posters make visible social movements advocating positive change for economic, racial, and social justice[11] and invite visitors to learn about and engage with supporting racial justice to environmental equity and link with creating a more peaceful, humane world.

History and education workshops in peace museums include such activities as learning about and making reproductions of the white peace poppy and other peace symbols at the Peace Museum in Bradford, UK, to the international postcard exchange of the Samarkand Peace Museum in Uzbekistan promoting people-to-people cooperation. Over the last decades, the Gernika Peace Museum has offered innovative workshops giving students opportunities to explore peace-related themes through art and creative expression. Examples include the following: teaching about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Picasso's painting Guernica and its history and meaning; and various cartoon characters such as Pipsas to engage with peace and human rights themes.[12] Several sites offer summer peace camps for children exploring activities and activism about cultures of peace. There are also travel exchanges for cooperation and reconciliation between groups from different countries. Diversity, inclusivity, and cooperation locally and globally are hallmarks of peace museum exhibits and projects from conflict resolution to local activism in environmental and other community projects.

Peace museums may also serve as sites of resistance by writing in histories (through exhibits, research uncovering documents, etc.) that have been denied or are absent in the country's hegemonic, nationalist tropes. War, military and nationalist museums and sites predominate in Japan, the United States, and countries worldwide. An exception is the Kyoto Museum for World Peace, which has included exhibits on Japanese aggression and human rights violations from 1933 to 1945 as well as a critique of the Korean, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and other wars alongside recording the suffering of the Japanese people. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace is the only peace museum in the world located at a university. Renovation plans include expanding the timeframe for exhibits about Japanese aggression despite increased popular and government support for militarization. A series of Japanese Peace Museums display the damages of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and indiscriminate aerial bombing, with anti-nuclear and for-peace messages. Influenced by the anti-nuclear and pacifist movements after World War II, general *heiwa* (peace) messages are generally viewed as non-threatening, as long as they do not overstep official Japanese history telling. However, there are a number of Japanese Peace Museums that combine telling both about the terrible suffering of civilians in Japan as well as the state's military aggression, colonization, and war crimes.

In the early years of the International Peace Museum in Dayton, Ohio (then called the Dayton International Peace Museum), the only peace museum that still exists in the United States, on the top floor of the Pollack House where it was then located, an exhibit on the impact of the 1945 bombings of Hiroshima brought back from Japan displayed in detail some of the physical and ongoing medical harms survivors of the bombings and their children continue to live with. Such a display of exhibits detailing the effects of the bombings raised questions about the morality and military effectiveness of indiscriminate bombing of cities and the use of nuclear weapons are a rarity in the United States. The renovated, newly located International Peace Museum continues to emphasize nonviolence, nuclear disarmament, and related themes in exhibits and public events. The aforementioned examples describe the small number of museums that to different degrees are willing to challenge the predominant, triumphalist depiction of wars carried out and methods used under the banner of various nationalist flags and just war rationales. These sites provide a counter-narrative to visitors, allowing space to re-think issues from patriotism to national security. Hence, peace museums are part of a continuing evolution – serving as examples of a more focused, peace-centered message – within the broader frame of museums for peace.

In Search of History

This volume reflects the complicated, contested processes of history telling and its uses and misuses. Since the 1970s, re-thinking history[13] has challenged the long-held "truth" of the historians' history telling and historical narrative as objective and neutral and instead began emphasizing how a range of factors (background, timing, training, etc.) contribute to what makes up recording, selecting and ordering documents and other information, and in the actual writing of history. Historical experiences are multiple and layered, and such fluidity includes being "in transit" with "plurality and hybridity."[14]

How do we tell our stories? Which of our voices do we use? Who are the audiences we are speaking to? Traditionally, museums have been considered sites of truth-telling that related historical events, presented chronologies, and provided the viewer with access to meaningful cultural artifacts. Becoming aware of the power of narrative and its fragility opens up recognizing the struggles to find voice and perspective and within this process a "struggle for human value."[15]

Central to this volume is uncovering the layers explicit and implicit in history telling and narrating within museums for peace. De-centering long-held "truths" and the lessons that have come to be associated with them is also part of this. Several sites discussed in "Museums for Peace and Reconciliation in East Asia" (Chapter 3) claim to educate the audience to prevent the recurrence of future violence. As a dominant trope at many memorial and atrocity sites and museums, particularly heightened with the growth of Holocaust museums from the 1970s on, the goal of "never again" has been embraced as a promise and commitment. In fact, "ever again" in terms of othering and targeting groups has been the post-World War II reality. Increased militarization and competition continue as well as distrust and resentment, including in East Asia. For example, while Japan has by far the largest

number of museums for peace in the world, a number of them are struggling to continue and new ones are not being established. This contrasts with the popularity of history, war, and memorial sites that valorize the military and past wars and promote patriotism.

How do we deconstruct past history telling to allow museums to convey a deeper, more complicated narrative? How to recognize narratives embedded in hegemonic structures and voices, including state power and authority, and move beyond them? One area mentioned earlier in this chapter where this is taking place is in looking at the ongoing impact of colonialism and its violence along with harmful, destructive practices such as intentional silencing and destruction of indigenous histories, traditions, and practices. "The Africanized Peace Museum Movement and the Significance of Cultural Heritage" (Chapter 4) describes how in East Africa traditions and other indigenous cultural practices acknowledging "rights" and dignity were silenced and discredited during colonialism and are how they are being rediscovered. From indigenous concepts of *utu*, humanness, and dignity to the peaceable resolution of conflicts, the Africanized Peace Museum Movement through its sites and traveling exhibits counters the popular, essentialist narrative about "inevitable conflicts" and re-introduces histories of indigenous African traditions for co-existence and peace-building within communities.

Like history telling, education is embedded in particular perspectives and goals. Educating for the future remains a priority among many museums for peace. Several chapters in this collection explore which types and how such educational projects take place. To what extent are exhibits, programs, social media and other initiatives educating audiences about nonviolence, repair and recovery? In other cases, tropes and graphic depictions of victimization, harm, and suffering may lead to educating for revenge or for heightening exclusive nationalism.

How to present history in museums is a central, ongoing dilemma and the answers are complicated. For example, early on many of the smaller museums for peace in Japan were made up of donations from survivors of the 1945 aerial bombings of cities. As founders of museums grow older, how do these sites carry on and/or change directions to bring in new audiences and link with current themes and issues? How to allow for integrating new resources and interpretations alongside testimonies to contextualize and complicate historical narratives and provide space for ongoing memory-making? The oldest organization providing information and meetings is the Japanese Citizens Network of Museums for Peace which publishes *Muse*, a newsletter that includes information about exhibits, lectures, commemorations, and other activities.

Since museums may follow popular tropes and simplified, stereotypic narratives in history telling, the challenge continues of how to move beyond narratives of good and evil and of victims and perpetrators to convey the dynamics and contexts that are part of historical processes and the grey zones that appear during conflict and lives *in extremis*. Alongside these issues, what are the complicated dynamics of peacebuilding, layers of peace traditions and stops and starts of witness and reconciliation?

In Search of Memory

Since the 1970s, there has been significant growth in museums and memorials, and a growing number represent civilian deaths and suffering. Developments in museum studies and trauma and memory studies are crucial in re-thinking and critiquing how and why museums represent peace as more than the absence of war and have their own political and cultural history as well as representing human conflict, loss, and suffering and their ongoing impact. The burgeoning area and literature of memory studies with its own journal, association, and analytic tools has influenced other academic fields, popular culture, and a range of museum professionals from curators to designers. How do we remember? What is the role of memorialization? What exactly is memory and how does it work?

Traditionally, museums' contents were based on collecting items to showcase. In many cases, this meant "taking away treasures" and with that the traditions and artifacts of indigenous peoples. Increasingly, these practices, at times described as "cultural appropriation," have been recognized as illegitimate, stealing, and criminal; the booty and habits of conquest and colonization by states over peoples they claimed were inferior, backward, and less civilized. Along with other fields (e.g., anthropology, sociology, and history, which were part of the dominant practices and rationales for cultural appropriation), in recent decades the field of museum studies has shaped changing responses to these practices, putting them in a new light and contributing to a global restitution movement returning captured items to their countries of origin. Another important thread in museum studies is acknowledging how exclusive and elite, the "high culture" associated with most museums has long been.

There continue to be calls to re-think collections, practices, and narratives in line with "socially responsible museum work" and to "present the richness and diversity of life and keep choice and dialogue alive for all visitors."[16] And this volume is in keeping with such calls for a more open and critical approach. General readers, visitors, social activists, museum professionals, public policy, and government officials are encouraged to engage more broadly in this self-reflective approach to museums for peace and cultural institutions. These attitudes and approaches contribute to re-invigorating exhibits to museum activities and inviting new audiences to engage interactively. The recent publication of *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism*[17] attests to the diversity and growth of the growing field of memory activism, and the links between memory, activism, and social movements.

Important elements making up the construct of memory are the layers and complex depictions of history and memory. Part of this dynamic is exploring memory on various levels with different dimensions: memory as individual, public, collective, and national.[18]

In academic literature, new terms and lenses continue to emerge; for example, "prosthetic memory," "multidirectional memory," and "moral remembrance."[19] Identity and memory are intertwined and linked to trauma. "Individuals may be

the primary nodes for *experiencing* mass violence, but its effects seep out, shaping political cultures and the institutions that govern them."[20] And, this is very much the case for cultural institutions as well. While some museums for peace have been influenced by these new ideas and ways to think about representation and memory, exhibits, activities, and goals, a number were founded and remained rooted in more traditional visual and narrative museology. This volume aims to broaden the conversation across museums for peace to include more traditional and newer museums and facilitate a re-thinking of histories and the processes of remembering and forgetting.

Museums can be sites of community where people meet and attend exhibits, lectures, and other projects; a sense of solidarity is formed out of shared histories. Traveling exhibits and exchanges provide an important dimension to this network and outreach to larger audiences.

"Museums for Peace and Reconciliation in East Asia" (Chapter 3) describes a series of such exchanges. Groups may participate in museum-sponsored travel exchanges such as those between citizens of Japan and of China and Vietnam sponsored by the Kyoto Museums for World Peace. Noteworthy is the example of the small civil society site Grassroots House in Kochi, Japan, and its establishing friendship agreements and exchanges with the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Seoul, Korea, and Unit 31 Exhibit Hall in China. While such initiatives are carried out by a handful of private museums often initiated by civil society groups, they aim to establish person-to-person contacts, help reduce increasing tensions and resentments between former adversaries, and face difficult histories and in doing so carry out acts of resistance to silence and denial. That there are often serious limitations to the degree and effectiveness of such reconciliation reflect the persistence as well as the politics of memory.

In their work "Toward Reconciliation" the Gernika Peace Museum and the Gernika Peace Museum Foundation in the Basque Country, Spain featured in their first permanent exhibit a section on Reconciliation describing Gernika as "an advanced example of reconciliation." Six decades after the destruction of the town, German President Herzog sent a letter to survivors acknowledging Germany's role in the bombing. The Memorial to Victims of the 1937 bombing reads, "Refuse to forget, refuse to take revenge."[21] In a memorial film on view, there are images from a twinning cities exchange that took place between individuals who survived the bombing of Gernika and those from the German town Pforzheim (where people suffered from aerial allied bombing during World War II). Gernika Peace Museum also displays photos and describes the opportunities to meet, talk, and work toward reconciliation as well as exchanges between younger people from each town.

In contrast, peace themes and a number of museums for peace (as with some memorial museums) are co-opted for political, nationalist, and other reasons. "[Certain] victims' histories and memories are privileged at the cost of deeper historical contextualization and understanding."[22] In this volume, the reification of memory and how embedded tropes of memory identity become is described in "Hiroshima and the Japanese A-bomb Nationalism: Beyond the Victimhood Narratives." From the mushroom cloud image to the design of peace museums and

memorials at the site of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, such examples illustrate the power selective museums' memory-making has and is mirrored in the global selective remembering and forgetting about these events and their meanings. These processes are continued in deleting the complicated factors such as the history of Japanese aggression, decisions of the US government, and mosaic of victims. Iconic images and support for world peace are used as rhetorical devices. In May 2023, at the annual meeting of the G7 and the invitation of the Japanese Prime Minister, world leaders visited and posed for photos at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

Another example is the person and philosophy of Gandhi, while widely admired, is also objectified and commodified to manipulate memory. On the one hand, the person and nonviolent philosophy of the universal figure of Mahatma Gandhi have been the focus or part of a series of museums and centers in India and worldwide. And, his representation is part of learning about his life and philosophy of nonviolence and hope. But, at other sites, Gandhi's image has also been objectified and commodified to manipulate memory, and used by ultranationalist figures such as Prime Minister Modi and others for personal and political agendas which are totally at odds with Gandhi's person and philosophy.

The "imperative to remember," "moral remembrance," and to mandate doing so "correctly" has emerged in international discourses and corrective politics as a goal linked with themes and structures of transitional justice, human rights, peace, reconciliation, and democracy.[23] But, how effective and accepted and by whom, for example, through public commemoration and sites of memory, such mandates are in helping to reduce grievances and deeply held antagonisms remain open questions in different settings. An example of how threatening such museums and memorialization may appear – acknowledging wounds and debating past history while trying to serve as a warning against violence present and future was demonstrated in April 2023 when a government agency closed the Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion in Lima, Peru.

Exhibits not only display harms, but also survivors and witnesses telling their stories, sometimes naming the victims as individuals and part of a group – all these methods may provide meaningful ways to commemorate and remember, and sometimes to move toward reconciliation and forgiveness. The past and present establishment of sites, memorials, and museums for peace may bring a community together and serve as a place of memory and memorialization. These spaces may hold annual rites, commemorations, and requiems to recollect, remember, and bear witness to loss. For a small number of participants, there may be movement toward a form of healing that could include reconciliation, though forgiveness can be very difficult indeed. Other events of memorialization are extremely controversial and political; debates, disputes, and protests emerge about their location, content, purpose, and audience. Whose lives and deaths are being remembered? When government permits are needed, are they granted or denied? To what degree are community members and their perspectives taken into account and how? When is attracting tourists prioritized? Do professional designers, architects and others ignore input from community members?

There can be little doubt of the meaning for a range of visitors learning about and witnessing such sites. In this volume, "Witnessing, Requiem, Reconciliation: Toward a Pedagogy for Curating Extreme Violence" reveals the author's multi-layered experiences in visiting and studying the National Memorial for Peace and Justice and the Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama. Besides writing in aspects of the long-silenced history of racism and lynching and providing a space for visitors to face this terrible history, the memorial and museum create an environment for bearing witness to acts of atrocity and seeking forgiveness among other emotions as part of a transformative encounter. Such profound experiences are the case for a number of visitors; many have direct, personal links to the sites. Overall, such meaningful, human experiences speak to the importance of having such cultural sites, and the role of emotion and affect as integral aspects. The potential is there.

In Search of Change

"Change" is a third key concept in this collection. The term's etymology from the thirteenth-century Old French, *changier*, meaning to alter, make different, sometimes includes having the capacity to bend, an evolution that is part of the process. Central to this interpretation of change is a shift in making available for visitors and museum workers the ongoing possibility of understanding and learning as dynamic processes. In what ways, how and to what extent are Museums for Peace sites of and for societal change, and how do they undergo change themselves? Do they provide a venue for visitors to be introduced to, re-think and re-imagine histories, and shape and re-shape memory?

There is often a gap between the production of knowledge, in this case re-thinking, critiques, and suggestions within the growing literature of museum and memory studies – historic re-interpretations, exhibit critiques to new museum pedagogies– and their actual impact on the ground in museums. This is reflected in the degree to which museums may avoid and resist addressing criticism, correcting biases, and being open to new interpretations and methodologies.

Change includes recognition and willingness to engage with themes, organizations, and other museums that share concerns about humanity, social justice, repair, and recovery in a world where suffering and conflict continue. The history of human rights and humanitarianism as modern movements included developing norms, ethics and structures sometimes at a distance, other times connected with each other.

> Challenging the artificial boundary between needs and rights, human rights activists insisted that victims had a right to, not just a need for, relief, alongside other basic rights. Furthermore, relief might be adjusted to better prepare the ground for human rights.[24]

Seeing the harm, and recognizing it as such, along with acknowledging individual and group rights, is central to the modern human rights enterprise. And, it follows

taking action to alleviate the harms and wrongs is a humanitarian imperative. Over time as pointed out in a range of critiques[25] acknowledging the imperative "to do no harm" while trying to do good has become part of the evolution of humanitarianism and its most visible sector, non-government organizations (NGOs). For example, at The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum in Geneva, Switzerland, themes overlap with those at a number of museums for peace: on social justice, rights, and responsibilities to the Geneva Conventions, other human rights and humanitarian norms, the history and activities of NGOs and various grassroots organizations. The website about the permanent exhibit invites visitors. . . "to discover the world of humanitarian action and promote understanding of its history and that of its challenges."[26] Three themes explored are as follows: defending human dignity, restoring family, and reducing natural risks.

While calls for decolonizing museums have been taken seriously at some sites, there remains a long way to go. This includes recognizing and moving beyond hegemonic narratives to contextualize the ongoing impact of colonialism and its ongoing violence. Harmful practices such as intentional silencing, for example, about the destruction of indigenous histories, traditions, and practices are deeply embedded in power hierarchies. Part of history telling is understanding what historian Eric Hobsbawm called "invented traditions"; changes that come about through power structures and concepts imposed on peoples. In Africa, for example, this was very common where indigenous culture and traditions such as tribal leaders and rites were removed and replaced with Western concepts such as "nationalism" and statehood.

The avoidance of and resistance within museums (influenced by curators, founders, funders, and other stakeholders) to addressing critiques or integrating new, different historic interpretations continues. Given the preponderance of exclusive nationalist and hegemonic narratives globally, museums as cultural institutions have the potential to present alternative representations and histories. Rather than the traditional, static view of the museum as a purveyor of "the truth," integrating new findings and interpretations allows the audience to participate in change by discovering their own meanings in the exhibits. This process is in keeping with recognition that there are layers of histories and politics in museums, the possibilities for multivocality in representation, and for audience's engagement and activism alongside links with memory and memorialization.

There is also often a gap between founders, museum staff, and supporters (corporate sponsors to public funding) and linking to younger audiences and their perspectives, lifestyles, use of technology, etc. And, more concerted efforts to listen to their interests and points of view are crucial as maintaining viability and appeal to new audiences remains an ongoing challenge. One can also argue that part of the goal of museums has long been to preserve and record. Yet, there is a growing awareness that part of and how this preservation and recording has taken place needs to be examined, a process that opens up rethinking and renovation.

As cultural structures, maintaining viability and appeal to new audiences remains an ongoing challenge. During the COVID-19 lockdowns, museums were compelled to think about new ways to engage audiences. Some took the time to

update or renovate exhibits. And, several sites did not re-open or had to relocate. Indeed, how to convince the public how valuable it is to visit the site, not just view the exhibit online or the photos and comments on Facebook, is part of the dilemma a range of cultural institutions face.

From workshops and lectures to musical gatherings, what is needed are events that draw local community members of different ages to the site. The watershed of COVID-19 and social media test how effectively museums for peace can balance keeping their commemorations, permanent exhibits, and goals while at the same time infusing and redirecting them toward a changing audience and world. Adding more elements that connect to peace and its possibilities provides opportunities to further enrich our lives and the societies we live in.

Museums for Peace: In Search of History, Memory, and Change

The following presents a description of the sections and chapters in the collection. The section "Setting the Scene" includes Clive Barrett's chapter exploring the etymology of museums for peace. Are museums conservative instruments of cultural or ideological hegemony, or active agents critiquing historical injustice? Are museums for peace trapped by the constraints of nationalism and colonialism or free to present radical alternative visions of a culture of peace? The concept of peace itself has a range of definitions and interpretations: inner (personal) peace to interpersonal (community) peace to global peace. It implies nonviolent transformation of conflict, the elimination of warfare and structural violence, together with the affirmation of human rights, and the sustainability of the planet. Intention may be as significant as content, including not only peace museums – where war resistance and peace are the themes of collection and exhibition – but also memorial museums, civil rights museums, "sites of conscience," peace parks, archives, and educational projects.

This chapter also describes diverse interpretations and meanings of the genre, with examples of the content, practices, and philosophy of a range of museums around the world. Critical analysis indicates where institutions have the potential to self-identify as a "museum for peace" providing a context and reference point for themes and museums highlighted in subsequent chapters of this volume.

"The Praxis of Museums for Peace" provides the overview for the second series of chapters. In Chapter 3, Kazuyo Yamane and Clive Barrett draw on first-hand accounts from directors and curators of East Asian museums describing the range and different perspectives of museums in the region that identify as museums for peace. An important challenge is understanding the significance of the Japanese Colonial Empire Era (1895–1945) including what is referred to at some sites as the 15-Year War (1931–1945). These events continue to be highly contentious across the region. In contrast to the predominant war and nationalist museums throughout the region, the museums whose perspectives and activities are evaluated include alternative perspectives. They include the following: the Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army, Harbin City, China, disclosing evidence of biological warfare; Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center and Treatment of Japanese War Criminals, Liaoning, China; the Museum

of Japanese Colonial History, Seoul, Korea; Chukiren Peace Memorial Museum, Saitama, Japan, established by former prisoners-of-war who admit to war crimes; Grassroots House, Kochi, Japan; and the Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum, Japan. The chapter introduces grassroots, civil society museums for peace that highlight war crimes, resist calls to exacerbate hatred, and instead seek ways to practically establish friendship agreements and exchange programs across international boundaries.

In Chapter 4, Kimberly Baker and Munuve Mutisya describe the Africanized peace museum movement and how these peace museums utilize Indigenous peace heritage traditions for peacemaking in civil society. During the 1990s, Sultan Somjee, a Kenyan ethnographer, initiated museums based on the African humanist philosophy of *utu*, a Swahili word meaning: being human. *Utu* represents traditional African values that connect the spiritual realm, ancestors, elders, community, and the environment in reciprocal relationships. With the help of a small group of Kenyans, Somjee founded 16 rural-based museums and the Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation (CPMHF).

The CPMHF emphasizes Indigenous peace heritage traditions for reconciliation and social cohesion and is making important advances in the reclamation of these cultural traditions. CPMHF established partnerships with international NGOs providing financial support to create a series of traveling exhibits and public programs applying African peace practices to contemporary conflict scenarios. The Africanized peace museum philosophy and methodology spread across Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan, and Canada by 2019. These peace museums serve as a global model for peacebuilding, wherein museum peacemakers and Elders collaborate with cultural communities in conflict to restore peace and celebrate reconciliation in a world where violence is pervasive.

In Chapter 5, Elisabetta Colagrossi addresses the musealization of Mahatma Gandhi as a pacifist leader. The figure of Gandhi as a symbol of peace – rejecting war and other violence and emphasizing passive nonviolence – encompasses many aspects of his vision. Gandhi's pacifism is an active force as well. To realize peace, Gandhi includes the need to actualize *Satya* (Truth) and *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence), acts on both spiritual and political levels. This includes a transformative dialogue between individuals and nations, the renunciation by the great powers of imperialist designs, nuclear disarmament, the ideal of the *sarvodaya* (universal uplift), and practicing voluntary poverty.

The author describes how museums for peace both inside and outside India depict Gandhi and his message considering their particular historical and cultural contexts. These institutions present audiences access to aspects of the universality of the Gandhian message, reflecting a communion between East and West. At the same time, there are examples of sites that commercialize, exploit, politicize, and trivialize the Mahatma and his vision. Past and present politicians, for example, Prime Minister Modi and his Hindu Nationalist Party, are willing to coopt the image of Gandhi for political expediency. Yet, the figure and message of Gandhi continue to inspire hope for peace; continuing to have the capacity to restore, if not the entirety and complexity of the historical figure and his message, at least in part with an invitation to deepen and explore their meaning.

In Chapter 6, Clive Barrett explores how museums for peace depict and interpret the history and consequences of the weaponization of science and technology and civil society's opposition to such weaponization. The author outlines the history and development of a selection of weapon technologies, and the roles and attempts at self-justification of scientists and engineers whose work led to devastating destruction and incalculable loss of human lives and cultures. Several ways these technologies have been portrayed and critiqued in museums for peace are analyzed in the context of the museum's mission to promote and cultivate a culture of peace. The author examines the roles of Nobel, Haber, Ishii, and scientists who developed nuclear weapons, and of Einstein, Rotblat, and others who subsequently worked for peace, justice, and planetary sustainability. Museums for peace are shown as potential agents for exhibiting and promoting the achievements of civil society and mass movements in opposing the military misuse of scientific and technological knowledge.

The framework for the third section is the "Identification and Portrayal of Violence in Museums for Peace." Jane Joo Hyeon Lee and Roy Tamashiro in Chapter 7 explore how museums for peace depict *juugun ianfu* (従軍 慰安婦), the institution of sexual enslavement by the Imperial Japanese military, euphemistically known as the "comfort women" system. A common aim among museums presenting the military sexual enslavement phenomenon has been to highlight the history and injustices of the system. Museum exhibits include survivors' oral history testimonies and the call to redress these human rights violations. By positioning themselves as part of the "comfort women redress movement," the museums present counter-narratives that oppose the iconic, national identity narratives which justify and normalize the "practice."

These narratives stand in opposition to a backlash and denialist movement led by historical revisionists and the Japanese right wing that attempt to discredit the museums' attempts at consciousness-raising and advocacy for victims and survivors. By adopting a meta-witnessing perspective, the museums could facilitate co-witnessing and co-constructive processes that generate new narratives to acknowledge the complexities of human nature and collective identities and that open meaningful pathways toward justice and a shared sense of well-being.

Satoko Oka Norimatsu in Chapter 8 emphasizes that nearly eight decades after the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Japanese war memory still lacks recognition of Imperial Japan's seven decades of colonial rule and aggressive wars. Instead, the focus remains on Japanese suffering in the war and identity as victims, particularly the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The chapter points out how this tendency is prevalent even in the "peace" and "anti-nuclear" communities in Japan. These self-perceptions are accentuated by a "Hiroshima-centred Historical View," and "a-bomb nationalism" signified by the frequently used expression of Japan as the "only a-bombed nation." The world-renowned Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum represents this historical view. Limitations include failure to describe the Korean *hibakusha* adequately to silence about the United States' responsibility for the use of nuclear and other bombings aimed at civilians. The chapter argues that such sanitization of historical responsibilities contributes to the present-day acceptance of the United States–Japan military alliance. Hence,

such further military buildup in the region contributes to the identity of Hiroshima as a permanent "war capital." It concludes by presenting a vision for an alternative peace narrative in Hiroshima and beyond.

In Chapter 9, Roy Tamashiro describes observations arising from a phenomenological, autoethnographic study of the peacebuilding work at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and the companion Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama (USA). The two sites identify themselves in the genre of museums for peace for their aims to acknowledge, address, and heal the violent legacy of racial terror in the United States. Three focused ways of describing the museums' peacebuilding goals emerged as their pedagogy of design and curatorial practice. Goal 1: To enable the audience to witness and acknowledge the "historical truths" of unspeakable violence, terror and dehumanization. Goal 2: To emphasize remembrance as a requiem, funerary honor, and repose. Goal 3: To promote reconciliation as a cooperative, communal effort to disentangle and heal the societal dysfunction of racial privilege and domination. These focused peacebuilding goals offer a valuable lens for guiding the design of museums for peace which depict historical legacies and events of extreme violence.

In Concluding Voices (Chapter 10), each editor discusses perspectives on aspects of the present and future of museums for peace and the possibilities ahead for changes and renewal. How and to what extent will a range of present and possibly future museums for peace continue and what approaches will promote new themes to strengthen histories and cultures of peace and peacebuilding? How to balance representation and memory making and make available museum visits that are meaningful in content and as experiences? And, finally, resilience and hope remain central themes as museums for peace continue in search of history, memory, and change.

Notes

1 The terms museums for peace and peace museums are often used interchangeably in popular discussions and literature; both are social constructs with similar and at other times contrasting themes and emphases. In this article, I distinguish between the two based on my research, museum visits, and analysis; for further discussion see the history and parameters described in Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (2016) where peace museums are positioned as they are in this chapter within the broader genre of museums for peace. For a different interpretation, Takashi Yoshida in his book *War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea: From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace* (2014) continues to use the term peace museum for all the sites he describes but acknowledges a number of so-called peace museums fall far short of promoting peace (235–7). See also, Philip A. Seaton's insightful description of peace museums in Japan (within the context of war memory and preponderance of war museums) including the chapter "Regional Memories" (154–68) in *Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'Memory Rifts' in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).
2 Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 5.
3 Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums*, 8.
4 Amy Sodaro, "Selective Memory: Memorial Museums, Human Rights, and the Politics of Victimhood," in *Museums and Sites of Persuasion: Politics, Memory and Human Rights*, eds. Joyce Apsel and Amy Sodaro (London: Routledge, 2020), 19–35.

5 For example, Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, *Museum Activism* (London: Routledge, 2019).
6 Political philosopher Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars, 5th ed*. (New York: Basic Books, 2017) is a classic text about the history and ethics of warfare within the framework of *jus in bello* and *jus ad bello* looking at a range of factors from competent authority, disproportionate force to likelihood of victory. The extent to which museums, especially those government funded, provide a "safe" space to exchange ideas about the merits of a particular war is limited. This is the case in autocracies who control/nationalize cultural institutions. Despite the rhetoric of democratic governments advocating free speech and dissent, such debates are often limited in the face of particular "just wars" for self-defense, defending democracy and other rationales.
7 Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museum,* 1.
8 "The Peace Museum Bradford," Accessed May 15, 2023, www.peacemuseumcollection.org.uk/
9 "Political Posters," Accessed May 15, 2023, www.manifestipolitici.it
10 Vittorio Pallotti, "A Museum for Peace: Images and Themes from the Poster Collection housed in Casa per la Pace," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, eds. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: INMP, 2012), 203.
11 See Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, 3 vols. (Boston: P. Sargent, 1973). Sharp's work includes listing and descriptions of all types of nonviolent citizen actions. During a lecture series in Italy decades ago, Sharp met Vittorio Pallotti and recognized the significance of the project encouraging him to keep collecting pacifist posters.
12 Momoitio Astorkia, Iratxe, "The Gernika Peace Museum: Education Workshops on Peace and Human Rights with Children and Teachers," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, eds. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: INMP, 2012), 63–68.
13 See, for example, Roy Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003).
14 Dominick LaCapra, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004).
15 See Ken Plummer, *Narrative Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019).
16 Robert R. Janes, "Museums, Social Responsibility and the Future We Desire," in *Museum Revolution: How Museums Change and are Changed*, eds. Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod and Sheila Watson (London: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 134.
17 Jenny Wüstenberg and Yifat Gutman eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Memory Activism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2023).
18 Ana Lucia Araujo, "Introduction," in *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Sphere* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).
19 Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). Michael Rothblatt, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization: Cultural Memory in the Past* (Stanford University Press, 2009). For valuable insights into the concept of "moral remembrance" see Lea David, *The Past Can't Heal Us" The Dangers of Mandating Memory in the Name of Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
20 Adam Lerner, *From the Ashes of History: Collective Trauma and the Making of International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).
21 Gernika Peace Museum, *Gernika Peace Museum Foundation: A Museum to Remember the Past, a Museum for the Future*. Museum catalog (Gernika-Lumo: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 2004).
22 Sodaro, "Selective Memory," 33.
23 David, *The Past Can't Heal Us,* 3.
24 Michael N. Barnett, "Introduction: Worlds of Difference," in *Humanitarianism and Human Rights: A World of Difference?* ed. Barnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1–2.
25 This important collection, with Red Cross affiliation, Jonathon Moore (ed.), *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and

Littlefield, 1998) raised key issues about humanitarianism from aid dependency to prolonging conflict. In particular, see Mary Anderson, "You saved my life today, but for what tomorrow? Moral Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid": 137–55. Critical literature on aspects of human rights and humanitarianism has multiplied; the challenges of implementation including those described in Anderson's article continue.

26 "International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum," Accessed May 15, 2023. http://redcrossmuseum.ch/exhibitions/permanent-exhibition/

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2 Understanding "Museums for Peace"

Clive Barrett

Museums for Peace – A Global Phenomenon

This chapter explores the etymology of *museums for peace* and the diverse interpretations and meanings of the genre. While there have been several collections and essays that use the title Museums for Peace,[1] there remains no unanimity or unifying expression. Are museums conservative instruments of cultural or ideological hegemony, or active agents critiquing historical injustice? Are museums for peace trapped by the constraints of nationalism and colonialism or free to present radical alternative visions of a culture of peace?

The highest concentration of museums for peace, with over 80 examples of the genre, is in Japan. These institutions embrace the Japanese terms, 平和博物館 (*heiwa Hakubutsukan*) and 平和資料館 (*heiwa Shiryokan*), both of which are translated into English as "museum," even though the latter may indicate an emphasis on archival and reference functions with exhibitions a secondary activity. The majority of these museums reflect the global peace concept of *heiwa*, implying a level, calmness, and lack of threat in the world.

The International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP) has no formal requirements for membership, hence, "There is no universally accepted definition (of a Museum for Peace) and included institutions are essentially self-defining."[2] In its 30-year existence, INMP has informally explored various descriptions of what museums for peace might be in their practice and intention, but it has shied away from formal definition.

> Museums for peace inform the public about peace and nonviolence using illustrations from the lives of individuals, the work of organizations, campaigns, historical events, etc. The INMP also includes peace gardens and other peace related sites, centers and institutions which are involved in public peace education through exhibitions, documentation and similar activities.[3]

There are four components to understanding the meaning of "museum for peace." Each of the three words is elusive and needs consideration on its own. Finally, the current usage of the phrase "museum for peace" requires scrutiny, leading to an examination of the future direction of the concept, "museum for peace."

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"Museums"

This discussion on terms is timely. In 2019, an international furor in museum circles arose about the meaning of the word "museum." The International Council of Museums, ICOM, was in disarray. Its standing definition from 2007 – the full version, nearly 300 words, embracing diverse operations from parks to planetaria – was challenged:

> A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.[4]

For some, this definition itself was a museum piece, a reflection of the static, conservative nature of museums in a past age, not taking into account the social impact that every museum inevitably has, for good or ill, within its own context. Given such impact, do museums necessarily have social and political responsibilities? Do museums have a role to play in perpetuating the social status quo or in actively promoting change, and if the latter, what sort of change? An alternative definition was proposed at an ICOM general assembly of 4,500 delegates in Kyoto in 2019, but that proved to be so controversial that the only decision made was to postpone the vote for three years. The unsettling – for some – proposal read:

> Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people.
>
> Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing.[5]

There was common ground between the definitions – research, exhibition, not for profit – but there were key differences in nature, purpose, and mode of operation. "Polyphonic," "diverse memories," and "critical dialogue" imply multiple voices, even dissent. "Democratising" indicates intention to act for change. One commentator, Bernadette Lynch, even argued that the role of museums was to disturb the peace, not only addressing conflict and injustice but tackling it head-on.[6] The implicit paternalism of the former definition morphed into "participatory" and "partnership," with an explicit aim to "contribute . . . to social justice." There was a new egalitarianism, with transparency at its core. (In the interests of transparency, I indicate my own implicit bias at the end of this article.)

The proposed change of definition was not accepted, and ICOM embarked on nearly two years of wide consultation and voting, leading to the agreed adoption of a new definition in 2022:

> A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.

For our purposes, the criteria listed in this 2022 definition provide a framework for critiquing those institutions or spaces which are claimed, or would self-identify, as museums for peace. How many would satisfy the required criteria?

Some museums for peace fall between definitions. The Global Art Project for Peace, for example, is an institution that creates spaces for critical dialogue (2019 phrase, omitted in 2022), without being such a space itself. Nominated for a UNESCO prize for the promotion of tolerance and nonviolence, it organizes the exchange of artwork between schools from diverse cultures, across national boundaries.[7] The geographical coordinates of the central administration site (actually Tucson, Arizona) are irrelevant.

Most museums for peace would generally welcome the underlying values and intended outcomes expressed in the 2022 definition, though the fostering of diversity might not be perceived as a high priority in some monocultural societies. Some museums for peace would have a broad interpretation of the activities mentioned in the opening sentence of the definition. Educational sites which emphasize the teaching of peace education might give a low priority to collecting and conserving tangible heritage, for example, but they could conceivably describe part of their work as interpreting and exhibiting intangible heritage.

One aspect of the 2007 formula, largely retained in 2022, is this acknowledgment of the intangible heritage of humanity. Diana Walters includes the concept of peacebuilding in that genre, along with "the (hidden) histories and cultures of peace and living traditions (such as peace movements, dances, songs, and ceremonies) not widely exhibited or documented in museums."[8] Not all museums for peace have an "acquired" collection of tangible artifacts. Indeed, being associated with such an amorphous concept as peace, the entire content of some museums may well be intangible. To give one example, Lindau Peace Rooms, Germany, is, in essence, a center for contemplation. (The Tehran Peace Museum, which does exhibit tangible artifacts, nonetheless hopes that visitors' experience will enhance their "Inner Peace.") Many museums are primarily peace education centers, with exhibitions and education programs, but little or no interest in acquiring a physical collection. Even the most successful and well-known museums, such as the Nobel Peace Center, Oslo, may have an extremely small, acquired collection. In Oslo, a single peace laureate's medal is exhibited in what is otherwise a large education and entertainment complex. That is a significant exhibit especially in the light of

the action of 2021 laureate, Dmitry Muratov, to auction his medal, raising over $100m to support UNICEF's work with Ukrainian child refugees.

A number of museums for peace overlap with the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience network (ICSC). "These 'lieux de memoire' concern battlefields, extermination camps, holocaust sites, gulags, prison camps, forced labour camps, torture chambers, slavery sites, sites of terrorism and so on."[9] Such museums "represent histories of war, atrocities, and other human rights violations and of resistance to them (the terms *memory*, *memorial*, and *resistance*, for example appear in the names of many sites of conscience)."[10] ICSC is particularly strong in South America. Perhaps surprisingly, "Memories," an aspect of intangible heritage made explicit in the 2019 proposal, did not survive into the 2022 text.

One of the earliest examples of the genre, Ernst Friedrich's Anti-Kriegsmuseum, opened in Berlin in 1925, displaying photographs of body parts and the mutilated corpses of soldiers slain in 1914–1918. Yamane and Anzai feature, inter alia, such institutions/spaces as genocide museums (Choeung Ek and Tuol Sleng, Cambodia), Nazi concentration camps (Dachau and Sachsenhausen, Germany and Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland), terror museums (Heydrich, Czech Republic and "House of Terror," Hungary), and numerous anti-Japanese imperialism institutions in China and Korea. Visiting such sites, sometimes known as "dark tourism,"[11] can be a profound, shocking, moving, even spiritual experience; few visitors, though, would describe it as "enjoyment."

> Such exhibits remain fraught with contradictions of purpose. Curators are asked, "For whom are they created, to display what, and why? To argue what?" To focus on the horror of war and militarism? A vision of a transformed world? To illustrate genocide as a moral lesson? To seek to empower and transcend racism and prejudice?"[12]

There are many important memorials and museums of the Holocaust, from Auschwitz-Birkenau to Anne Frank House, Amsterdam. Consideration of their aims and objectives lies beyond the scope of this chapter. The majority of institutions relating the Jewish experience of the holocaust tend to shy away from self-identifying as museums for peace. This is not necessarily because of antipathy toward the concept, but because the word does not adequately or appropriately sum up their distinctive sense of purpose, specifically in transmitting the history and horror of human destructiveness alongside the place of the Shoah in Jewish memory.

In several of the aforementioned instances, the museum building itself is the substantive artifact, whether purpose-built or historical premises. Other examples would include the Peace Palace in The Hague, which opened in 1913 as the site for the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and the League of Nations building in Geneva. The same could be said, for example, of the Franciscan basilica at Assisi, not included in any lists of museums of peace, despite its association with the peacemaking stories of both Francis and his fourth-century CE predecessor, Martin of Tours: Simone Martini's fourteenth-century fresco at Assisi depicting Martin's refusal to fight in the Roman army is the earliest known representation of Christian pacifism.

The Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, holding Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fourteenth-century frescos on The Allegory of Good and Bad Government, could come in the same category.

Closely related are peace monuments, substantial artworks, or physical commemorations of treaties, truces, and statues of peacemakers. Many of these, together with historic examples of peace art in scattered collections not otherwise associated with peace, were cataloged by Edward Lollis.[13] One of the most colossal and ancient artifacts, which has its own museum building, is the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. This massive, decorated altar, consecrated in 9 BCE, commemorates the militarily-enforced Pax Romana, one of the least turbulent eras in the history of ancient Rome. It has never been considered as a museum for peace, and whether or not it commemorates an ordering of society one might wish to call "peace" is a subject for debate; but stimulating such debate is surely part of the purpose of museums for peace.

One outstanding proponent of "democratising" (2019 proposed definition) has been the Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, NIOD. The content of the exhibition "World War 2 in 100 photos" was sourced from contributions by thousands of citizens from each province across the country, bringing forward images from family collections and then voting on those that best represented such themes as collusion, repression, resistance, and daily life. The image bank amassed contains over 175,000 pictures.[14] Erik Somers, cultural historian and a curator at NIOD, explained that "Participation of the people plays a crucial role in this process. . . . The public puts together the exhibition." With social media and prime-time television coverage, the exhibition process engaged with a substantial portion of the population.[15]

The 2019 requirement to be polyphonic could have challenged conservative and radical museums alike. Countless war and military museums around the world are unambiguously monophonic in extolling militarism and nationalism. Some museums for peace would be equally selective in their collections, exhibitions, and promotions in refusing to express sentiments supportive of violence. Polyphony has its limits.

Perhaps one of the best examples of polyphonic voices is at the Musée Historial de la Grande Guerre in Peronne, France, in which 1914–1918 artifacts and accounts are presented in parallel in French, German, and English. The Musée, however, neither claims, nor is claimed to be, a museum for peace. Addressing the same conflict, and equally polyphonic, with a myriad of voices for peace, is the In Flanders Fields Museum at Ieper, Belgium. This "defies the archetype, of a purely militarized memory, of war museums. It states that it is *not* a peace museum, but curated by a memory worker with wider vision, it focuses on following human stories, many electronically recorded."[16]

The 2022 definition not only describes the components of a museum's operation but also the underlying values and the intentional impact of that operation – particularly in terms of "fostering" diversity and sustainability. As the accompanying ICOM press release acknowledged, the new definition "is aligned with some of the major changes in the role of museums, recognising the importance of inclusivity,

community participation and sustainability."[17] This may not go as far as the 2019 proposal that museums should always promote "human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing," but it raises the possibility of every museum being *de facto* a museum for peace. To explore that further requires an examination of what, exactly, is meant by "peace."

"Peace"

"Peace" is no easier to define than "Museum." The multi-volume series, *A Cultural History of Peace*,[18] has no fewer than six chapters on "Definitions of Peace," though the content of these is admittedly more descriptive than definitive. That does, however, indicate the scale of the problem. Johan Galtung's influential approach divides the subject in two:

> *negative peace* is the absence of violence (e.g., a cease-fire or similar circumstance keeping enemies apart), that is, moving from negative, disharmonious relations to indifferent, direct, and structural relations, or both. *Positive peace* involves moving from indifferent to positive, harmonious relations, intentional or unintentional, direct or structural, or both.[19]

He asserts that there is "a holistic continuum from negative to positive, reducing and/or eliminating direct and structural violence not only by solving conflicts, but also by building positive, harmonious relations."

Peace may embrace all aspects of life from domestic relations to international treaties. Negative peace – not-war, not-violence – includes opposition to war, weapons, and large-scale violence, whether international, intra-national, or inter-community. It can include opposition to violence at all levels: structural violence, domestic violence, and violence to the planet. In contrast, positive peace looks to transform conflict, promote social justice, and build up relationships, even to the point of reconciliation. How is this opposition expressed; this transformation enacted? When the process and goals are consistent, with means and ends mutually compatible, then "peace" is close to becoming a verb, the means by which the goal of peace is attained.

This sense of process, movement, and change indicates that peace is not static, but fluid. "Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct."[20] Peace is a state of acceptable change in which conflict is addressed with patience – a positive assessment that shelters hidden negatives. Change is not enforced, or a cause of distress, but assented to; conflict is an inevitable part of human relations and what matters is how it is addressed; "patience" here is a synonym for nonviolence.

The irony in this is that many of the themes, exhibitions, and activities of the peace museum cohort of museums for peace (see later) may relate to negative, oppositional peace – the celebration of war-resisters and disarmaments movements, for example – whereas sites that have grown out of violence and horror could be at the forefront of promoting reconciliation, transcending past conflicts

and renewing fractured relationships. In practice, there is considerable overlap, and the distinction between negative and positive peace in no way reflects the diverse nature of museums for peace.

"For"

Peace Museums

The International Network of Peace Museums was founded in Bradford in 1992. The first General Coordinator of the Network was Peter van den Dungen, an academic peace historian in Bradford. Twenty-five years later, he was still advocating for peace museums, writing that they

> remember and celebrate the history of peacemaking and peacemakers and thereby provide a much-needed alternative depiction of historical reality that shows the triumph of empathy, kindness, nonviolence, understanding, reason and tolerance. They hold before the visitor the prospect of a better, more humane world that provides hope and encourages engagement. Because peace museums, more than any other museums, are created not only to celebrate but especially also to advance the cause of peace their displays and programmes should convince the visitor that peace is possible and that working for peace is promising. The ideal peace museum should thus not only inform but also inspire, empower and encourage.[21]

The content is both positive peace and war resistance, themes which resonate across cultures and continents.

> Peace Museums are able to demonstrate not only the universality of the deeply rooted desire for peace and peaceful conflict resolution, at all levels of social interaction, but also the necessity of rediscovering and revaluing such vitally important cultural heritage in our own time.[22]

Van den Dungen links peace museums with peace education and, especially, the history of peace. For him, acquired physical collections exhibited in peace museums can bring peace history to life in a way that surpasses photographs in a book.

Peace Museums are diverse in content, operation, and the ways in which they flourish within contrasting cultures. The Tehran Peace Museum draws out the values and aspirations for peace in its society and culture. The Dayton International Peace Museum, Ohio, with a different model of operation in a contrasting milieu, highlights nonviolence and social justice.

A Culture of Peace

This combination of peace education, history, and museums, to which could be added, monuments, music, arts, and any object or action which contributes to and

impacts upon an environment where individuals and societies relate and interact, has the potential to be a culture of peace. It is a phrase explored by UNESCO since the 1980s. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution recognised that peace must be founded "upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."[23] A 1986 Peruvian publication by Felipe MacGregor, "Cultura de Paz," led to UNESCO promoting the concept three years later. Sema Tanguiane, a UNESCO advisor, argued that a culture of peace

> consists of values, attitudes and behaviours that reflect and inspire social interaction and sharing, based on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, that reject violence, endeavour to prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation and that guarantee the full exercise of all rights and the means to participate fully in the development process of their society.[24]

With the Network in its infancy, Federico Mayor, a Director General of UNESCO, described the spirit of a culture of peace in terms which would have resonated with its members. At a Forum for Education and Culture, San Salvador, April 28, 1993, he stated that the underlying spirit of a culture of peace aims:

> To promote the apprenticeship and practice of a culture of peace, both in the formal and informal education process and in all the activities of daily life;
>
> To build and strengthen democracy as a key to just and peaceful negotiated settlement of conflicts;
>
> To strive towards a form of human development, which, with the participation of the entire population, values the social capabilities and human potential of all members of society;
>
> To give pride of place to cultural contacts, exchanges and creativity, at national and international levels, as a means of encouraging recognition of respect for other and the ways in which they differ; and
>
> To strengthen international co-operation to remove the socio-economic causes of armed conflicts and wars, thereby permitting the building of a better world for humankind as a whole.[25]

Mayor's comments go beyond the ICOM (2019) proposal to describe a possible mission statement for many museums for peace. It is to that concept that we now turn.

Museums for Peace

Three aspects of remembering are as follows:

- Remembering what
- Remembering why
- And remembering in order to.[26]

At their fifth conference, in Gernika in 2005, representatives of peace museums changed their collective name to the International Network of Museums for Peace. This marked a significant change in direction, an expansionist move reflecting a broader understanding of peace embracing not only issues of war, overt violence, and war resistance, but also structural violence and injustice. It also enabled the Network to include more general local or national museums which occasionally or permanently included relevant special exhibitions, and for whom peace was not their principal subject matter, from the Imperial War Museum, London, to the National Museum of Australia, Canberra. As for the mode of operation of members in the newly named Network,

> "Museums for peace" are also expected to meet . . . three requirements. . . : 1) they should contribute to fostering the mind for reconciliation and peace, not enhancing hatred and resentment; 2) they should display not only war damages experienced by the nation, but also aggressive conducts of the nation taken by the military forces in other countries; and 3) they should carefully check the "psychological strength of their exhibits" regarding whether or not they may damage visitors' positive belief in humanity.[27]

The third criterion would be a particular challenge to some sites of conscience.

There were several consequences of the change in name. One was that the content of a museum was no longer expected to be that of a museum *of* peace. Museums would not necessarily exhibit the artifacts and stories of peacemakers or war-resisters. To that extent, "peace" was downgraded in the definition. On the other hand, the understanding of peace was broadened and enhanced by the implicit inclusion of structural peace. In due course, that led to the potential for further institutional overlap with the 2010 foundation of the Federation of International Human Rights Museums.

The other consequence of the 2005 name change was that museums were encouraged to consider both their intent and the impact they made on those who engaged with them. The interpretation was key. Did visitors take away a sense of "Never again" to war, fascism, genocide, nuclear weapons, etc.? Did they take away a commitment, or renewed commitment to make peace in their own lives?

To be a museum *for* peace implied a sense of purpose. The intent was prioritized over content, which no longer had to be *of* peace. It was a transition ahead of its time prefiguring, in many ways, the recent ICOM debate. Every museum, whether it intends to be political or not, cannot avoid the political as well as social context in which it operates and the messages it conveys, deliberately or not, about its acceptance or opposition to those contexts. To be a museum "for" peace is to recognize and own one's own capacity to educate and influence people, directly or indirectly in the ways of peace.

Intent is everything. Holding significant peace artifacts is not, on its own, sufficient. The Louvre, Paris, holds both Hammurabi's stele, an eighteenth-century BCE indicator of the benefits of social order, and also Jacques-Louis David's 1799 painting, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*, depicting women interposing

themselves between Roman and Sabine fighters in order to stop a battle, but that does not make the Louvre a museum for peace.

Recognition that museums are necessarily agents of influence has led to calls, generally resisted, for INMP to take an overt political stand on issues of shared concern – nuclear weapons, for example. Lucetta Sanguinetti, associated with the independent Peace Lab Museum in Collegno, Italy, has been a strong advocate of such public statements. Other museums, especially those receiving public funding such as the Gernika Peace Museum, would imperil their funding and existence should they be associated with explicit political statements. In The Peace Museum, Bradford, the extent to which the museum engages directly with political issues has long been a cause for internal debate. The solution has generally been not to promote opinions explicitly but to tell the stories of those who do.

Museums, whether or not categorized as museums for peace, can have a role in rebuilding society after violent trauma, a topic pursued by Diana Walters, whose experience includes museum practice in the post-conflict Balkans.[28] Part of this process involves reclaiming and re-evaluating hidden histories. More dynamically, museums can be places for the facilitation of dialogue, enabling communication, listening, and mutual understanding.[29] Such an outlook does not happen passively but by active choice and intention of the museum. Constructive contributions to East Asian reconciliation and harmonious relationships can be linked to initiatives of several museums for peace in Japan to reach out to museums in China and Korea. The Grassroots House Peace Museum in Kochi, Japan, has built relationships with the Colonial History Museum in Seoul and The Exhibition Hall of Evidences of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army, Harbin, China. The latter also has links with the Oka Masaharu Memorial Peace Museum, Nagasaki, Japan, which, in turn, connects with the Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders, Nanjing, China, the Shanghai Normal University Chinese Comfort Women Museum, and the National Memorial Museum of Forced Mobilization Under Japanese Occupation, Busan, Korea. These museums provide much-needed cross-border cultural engagement in a region of ongoing tensions.

Inter-museum partnerships also have the potential to impact relationships between museums in the global north and global south. Sultan Somjee, a pioneer of community peace museums in Kenya, argues for increased international partnership between museums, especially north–south and south–south partnerships. He is particularly critical of the roles nationalism and war memory have in museums of the global north.

> My observation is that most museums of peace in Europe and Asia teach peace by memorialising violence, sometimes at sites of war itself. . . . Often [they] demonstrate patriotism as nationalism in the tradition of the national or state museums. This was no doubt important in post-war reconstruction, but the institutions stay embedded in political and nationalistic ideals at best.[30]

In such a context of nationalism, consideration of intent, impact, and consequence has the potential to provide a discomforting critique for some listed

museums for peace, not least museums in China, and, to a lesser extent, Korea. Their narratives center on Japanese imperialism in the first half of the twentieth century. In Japan, that is a repressed subject, with politicians and institutions preferring to focus on Japan's post-1945 victim status (see Chapter 8 in this volume). When museums for peace address the issue of Japanese imperialism, they face criticism for running counter to the dominant culture. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace, the Chukiren Peace Memorial, Saitama, and the Women's Active Museum for Peace, Tokyo, are among several Japanese museums for peace that dare to stand against this nationalist narrative. When Ikuro Anzai was invited to oversee the reordering of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, including a section on Japanese aggression during what is known by many in Japan as the 15-Year War,[31] a legal challenge was – unsuccessfully – mounted by the nationalist Rising Sun Flag Association, Hinomaru-kai. Anzai described the event as "one scene of the reactionary movements carried out by the revisionists in Japan to deter peace museum workers from displaying the facts of aggression by the Japanese military forces."[32]

In that context, Chinese revelations of Japanese imperialism can appear superficially supportive of that challenge to nationalism. However, Chinese nationalism is seldom far from the surface, and when examination moves from content to intention, the picture becomes more problematic. First, the period is known in China as the Anti-Japanese War, so exhibitions run the risk immediately of reinforcing anti-Japanese sentiments in a way that is more likely to breed calls for revenge than reconciliation. (There were anti-Japanese demonstrations in China in 2005 and 2008.) In recent years, there has been a rapid increase in the number of Chinese museums addressing the Anti-Japanese War. Several museums, for example, the Baiyangdian Yanling Memorial Hall, Wenhayuan, and the Shanghai Songhu Memorial Hall for the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, self-define with reference to the post-1991 decision of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to promote Patriotic Education, an official campaign launched in reaction to the repressed democracy-advocating Tiananmen movement. Zheng Wang describes this policy as a "massive attempt by the party at ideological reeducation," with substantial implications:

> This campaign is a nationwide mobilization effort targeted mainly at Chinese youth. As a central part of the campaign, Beijing called upon the entire nation to study China's humiliating modern history and how much the country has been changed by the Communist revolution. The CCP has set the entire propaganda machine in motion for this initiative, the content of which has become institutionalized in China – embedded in political institutions and inaugurated as the CCP's new ideological tool.[33]

The focus on resistance to imperialism and occupation is understandable, and features in resistance museums around the world, but the relationship between patriotism, nationalism, and peace is complex and not always comfortable. Excessive emphasis on internal relationships – patriotism, nationalism – is not always conducive to building those external relationships which are essential for a wider peace. Any group has a selective memory, linked to its identity. Any nation's chosen past

trauma and its associated myths help to define the nation, its values, and future antipathies. They can also keep the ruling party in power. In 1994, the CCP Central Committee issued an "Outline on Implementing Patriotic Education," promoting the establishment of local "patriotic education bases" across the country. In particular, it stated,

> Different sorts of museums, memorial halls, buildings in memory of martyrs, sites of important battles in revolutionary wars, protected historic relics, and scenic sites are important places for conducting patriotic education.[34]

Through Patriotic Education in schools – and museums – the CCP, no longer wedded to communist ideology, could attempt to justify its continued hegemony by redefining its role in China's historic struggles for independence. The largest of these museums, claiming over nine million visitors, is the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, opened by the Party leader Den Xiaoping in 1987, with the Communist Party General Secretary, Jiang Zeming providing an inscription for a 1997 renovation, "Hold high the patriotic banner, use history to educate people, promote and develop Chinese national spirit and rejuvenate the Chinese nation."[35] Raising the profile of historic CCP resistance to Japan is central to the party's political ends, maintaining hostility toward Japan and endorsing China's resistance to foreigners bearing dangerous alternative ideologies like democracy.[36] Hence, a number of museums for peace may not be what they seem. Not all museums for peace have the same understanding of peace.

Many, perhaps most, people would want to identify with the geographical, historical, and cultural communities to which they belong, and where relevant to commemorate those communities' resistance to imperialism. There is a fine line, however, between this patriotism and nationalism which includes implicit or explicit claims of superiority over outsiders. Is it even possible to be "for peace" in a context which requires patriotic loyalty? That is a question that some museums outside China might also ask themselves. The museum at Yser Towers, Belgium, makes the unproven assumption that Flemish nationalism is inevitably a force for peace.

Most nationalisms are a force for conflict more than for peace, reflected in peace historian Nigel Young's call for "postnational memory."[37] No wonder that Apsel advises visitors to museums for peace to have a critical, watchful eye on the narrative presented to them.

> Often, the line between a positive description and propaganda (influenced by the state, national as well as individual perspectives and sometimes deeply held prejudices as well as the pressure from private and public funding sources) is blurred. And visitors are cautioned to carefully weigh the language and content of what is being included and exhibited and take note where subjects and groups are left out. The important message for visitors is to evaluate to what degree those museums and centers that include peace in their title or affiliate as museums for peace in fact promote peace and peace-related themes including anti-war and positive peace through inclusivity, reconciliation, and other themes.[38]

Categorizing Museums for Peace Today

Self-defining museums for peace may relate to physical heritage – artifacts or the built environment – or lean toward the virtual. They are most conveniently considered with reference to their place, focus, and activity.

Place

Museums for peace are situated where they are for a reason. The site may be:

A Significant Place in the History of Peace and War Resistance

Some museums are close to places linked to peace history, such as Dayton, Ohio, the site of the Peace Accords in 1995 to curtail violence in the Balkans. The Cambodia Peace Gallery recognizes that that country has stories not only of war but also of recovery from war. Other museums are associated with the giants of peace history – the National Gandhi Museum, New Delhi; Fredens Hus, Uppsala, Sweden, which relates to the life of Dag Hammarskjold; Franz Jagerstatter House, St Radegund, Austria, home of a pacifist opponent of the Nazis.

A Significant Place in the History of War and Violence

Many museums are at sites associated with the history of war, genocide, or other violence. There are museums at sites of battles: the Bridge at Remagen Peace Museum, Germany, Caen Memorial Museum for Peace, France, and the Himeyuri Peace Museum, Okinawa, are but three of many. Museums are in towns and cities where civilians were bombed: Gernika, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Tokyo, and at sites of atrocity (Auschwitz).

A Place Associated with Peace-Building or Education for Peace

The Kyoto Museum for World Peace is associated with Ritsumeikan University, which has a long-standing peace studies program. Bradford's diverse population was regarded as an asset by museum founders because of the potential for local cross-cultural community peace-building.

A Non-Specific Base

For some projects with an international reach, such as the aforementioned Global Art Project for Peace, the administration site is less relevant.

Focus

Memorial

The primary focus may be as a memorial (of the people or event of a particular time or place); in most cases, this is a memorial to the horrors of war/genocide.

Two examples from Phnom Penh, Cambodia, would be the Choeung Ek Genocide Museum and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. (Contrast this with the Cambodia Peace Gallery, which highlights the achievements of the Cambodia peace process.[39]) The Tehran Peace Museum supports those who experienced the horrific 1988 chemical attack at Halabja. For post-1945 Japanese museums for peace, a memorial has often centered on the personal testimony of witnesses and survivors. Hibakusha, survivors of the 1945 atomic bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are increasingly committing their memories to audio and video recordings.

Historical

The focus may be historical, drawing on stories from the past, such as war stories, war-resistance stories, or peacemaking stories. This is true for many museums for peace, but a leading example would be the Kyoto Museum for World Peace. There may be parallels in the way different, but similar stories are told in sites which are commemorating different events and suffering. Both Mémorial de Caen and the War and Women's Human Rights Museum, Seoul, portray the emerging horror of the 1930s as a descent, literally, into darkness.

Contemporary

Alternatively, the focus could be contemporary, associated with current actions of violence, war resistance, or promoting social justice. The Peace Museum, Bradford, engages with both contemporary and historical examples of peacemaking.

Activity

Museums for peace design their activities through one or more of the following:

Possessing a Collection of Artifacts of Peace or War

a) This could be a *living* collection, constantly being added to by contemporary events. Examples include the Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, near Bologna, Italy, and The Peace Museum, Bradford, UK.
b) Or it could be a closed (or semi-closed) collection, confined to one particular event or time in the past.

Exhibition

a) This could be physical and fixed – the Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels in Higashimatsuyama, Saitama Prefecture, Japan, houses the world's most important artworks depicting the horrors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki – and/or
b) physical and traveling – the No More Hiroshima, No More Nagasaki Peace Museum in Nagpur, India, specializes in touring exhibitions – and/or
c) online – the Australian Living Peace Museum is exclusively online.

Education for Peace

a) This could be through personal engagement, and/or
b) online, and/or
c) through any other medium or activity.

Special Events

These take various forms including Commemoration/Memorial Events; Survivor Testimonial Talks and Symposia; and significant anniversary events. Memorial museums are often associated with a key date in history – the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum marks August 6 every year, commemorating the destruction caused by the atomic bomb that day in 1945. Other museums, too, work alongside anti-nuclear groups on that anniversary. Special events, whether annual or occasional, keep museums fresh in the public consciousness.

Archives and Library Services

Museums may hold a research collection of books, journals, video documentaries, multimedia archives, and databases. Universities with peace studies courses possess peace archives and collections of peace literature. A classic peace library with a focus on international agreements would be that in the Peace Palace, The Hague. The Swarthmore Collection, Pennsylvania, is a substantive peace research library with a large collection of peace ephemera, but not self-defining as a museum for peace, unlike the Quaker Heritage Center at Wilmington College, Ohio, which does. Similarly, the Commonweal Collection, Bradford, is an independent Gandhian lending library, including Gerald Holtom's original 1958 drawings of the global peace symbol, housed in a university library building.

Research

A number of museums for peace have facilities to explore content beyond that displayed in current exhibitions. Through their documentation, oral and video history collections, and other artifacts, they enable historical research and academic exploration in heritage studies, peace studies, and related disciplines. The competing ICOM definitions refer to education, study, and "enhancing understanding." This includes both carrying out research and enabling research. Museums hold stories not to restrain them but to liberate them; a museum's role is essentially about knowledge transfer, pedagogical communication, and accessible interpretation.

Founding and Funding

The nature of a museum, not least its willingness to criticize the dominant culture, is often determined by its founding narrative. This may be based upon an individual's personal obsession, civil society collaboration, or the initiative of the state or other institution. The latter include museums at Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Gernika, and Caen.

The Kyoto Museum for World Peace is linked to a university – Ritsumeikan – and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum in Geneva is a showcase for one of the world's most prominent NGOs. In contrast, plans to make the Peace Palace in The Hague into more than a peace library have floundered.

The first peace museums resulted from the labor of obsessive enthusiasts. At the end of the nineteenth century, a Polish engineer, Jan Bloch, also known as Jean de Bloch (1836–1902), wrote at length in *The War of the Future* about the dangers of destructive new technology of war. He presented his ideas at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris. His goal was to gather examples of these deadly machines together in a museum, to increase public revulsion at the potential horrors of war to such an extent that a preference for future war would be inconceivable. The Internationale Kriegs-und Friedensmuseum opened in Lucerne in 1902, shortly after Bloch's death (see Figure 2.1). It survived until 1920, by which time Europeans no longer needed a museum of weapons to inform them about the deadly nature of war.

The second peace museum was also the work of an obsessive. Ernst Friedrich, 1894–1967, a German socialist disillusioned by denials of the horrors of 1914–1918, gathered a display of images of mutilated bodies and corpses – published in 1924 as *Krieg dem Krieg!* – which he exhibited in Berlin from 1925 to 1933 when it was broken up by the Nazis (see Figure 2.2). Friedrich's museum was closed by the political power of his day. How many other, unknown, museums for peace have been closed by political forces for whom peace is symptomatic of unwelcome dissent?

Figure 2.1 Jan Bloch's Internationale Kriegs-und Friedensmuseum, Lucerne, 1902.

Figure 2.2 Ernst Friedrich's Anti-Kriegsmuseum, Berlin, 1931.

Source: Used with permission from Tommy Spree, Director, Anti-Kriegsmuseum, Berlin, 2023.

Friedrich's legacy continues with the Berlin Anti-Kriegs-Museum run by his grandson, Tommy Spree.

Other museums associated with individuals include the First Austria Peace Museum, located in the Kulturhaus, Wolfsegg; the passion of Franz Deutsch, who died in 2009, it ran from 1993 to 2018. Vittorio Pallotti has dedicated himself to the Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, near Bologna, Italy, since its foundation in 1993. In Germany, Thomas Wechs founded peace museums at both Lindau and Bad Hindelang, while Hans Peter Kürten created the Bridge at Remagen Peace Museum in 1981, securing its future by handing it over to the municipality in 2018.[40] The No Gun Ri Peace Memorial in Korea records Chung Koo-do's perspective on a massacre of Koreans at the site by US forces in 1950.[41]

As is shown in Chapter 4 of this volume, peace museums in Kenya are rooted in communities, indicated by their collective association with the Community Peace Museums and Heritage Foundation. Such community peace museums are repositories of the peace culture of geographical, ethnic, and religious communities.[42] Within Western civil society, The Peace Museum, Bradford, can trace its origins to a Quaker charity, established by Gerald Drewett, the Give Peace A Chance Trust. With strong links to activist peace groups, it tells the stories of collective anti-war campaigns, as well as individual peacemakers.

Small museums share many operational concerns and are vulnerable to folding through a lack of basic funds. The Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace, which publishes a biannual newsletter, *Muse*, encourages mutual support of independent civil-society museums, but the network itself is insecure, being dependent on philanthropic donations.

Globally, museums for peace are an expanding phenomenon, but some have closed raising wider questions about the lifespan and ending of museums, and indeed about ideas and aspirations that never made it off the ground. Many have dreamed of starting museums for peace, without being able to convert those dreams into reality. Great claims were made for imagined museums in London, New York, Washington, and elsewhere, which were never actually established. Others were downgraded to traveling exhibitions or websites.

The United States, in particular, has proved to be a difficult territory for establishing brick-and-mortar museums. The Dayton International Peace Museum, founded by Chris and Ralph Dull in 2004, is an exception to this trend. The Chicago Peace Museum, however, was one to fall by the wayside. It opened in 1981, heady days for the Western peace movement with the Cold War at its most intense, and it held a successful exhibition on music and peace featuring one of John Lennon's guitars which had been donated by Yoko Ono. Without a permanent home or secure funding, however, it led a precarious existence before falling into debt in 2004. Seven years later, a legal action was undertaken to protect its collection, which was then distributed to other museums.[43]

From Lucerne to Chicago, some museums for peace were products of their age, failing to negotiate changing conditions. At Burg Schlaining, an Austrian castle, what was originally promoted with hubris in 2001 as the European Peace Museum

also found that its ambition was not sustainable; its closure was confirmed in 2019, a few months after the death of its founder, Gerald Mader, although a Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution continues.[44] It is a challenge for any museum, large or small, especially those fixed on a single receding date in history, to remain relevant in public perception and economically viable.

A museum's sources of funding are not only critical to its survival; they also impact its content and operation. Museums for peace with primary funding from the government – be that national, regional, or local – are likely to have to balance conflicting concerns. They may be among the best resourced museums but may be restricted, for pragmatic reasons as much as from direct political pressure, from addressing counter-cultural attitudes. Their fortunes, even their survival, may depend on the political preferences and priorities of specific political parties or leaders, especially at times when public spending is reduced. The same applies to any museum beholden to a large institution such as a university, or indeed to a wealthy benefactor. In contrast, independent museums, relying entirely on the support of civil society, public donations, and grants from charitable trusts, are likely to be smaller, used to a more frugal existence, relying on a wider support base. They also have more freedom to promote counter-cultural peace.

Museums may earn income through entry fees (in some cases, but not all), the provision of education services and through retail sales. The Swords Into Plowshares Peace Center and Gallery in Detroit sell peace and justice-themed works of art. Consideration of retail sales, however, can provide critical insight into a museum's priorities, as two UK examples reveal. The Imperial War Museum, London, which is omitted from the latest edition of *Museums for Peace Worldwide* (having featured in previous editions, despite its unpromising name), does hold some anti-war materials, including an extensive peace movement sound archive, but leaves visitors with the lasting memory of massive murderous "boys' toys" displayed in its main weaponry gallery. The Royal Armouries, Leeds, exhibits the UK's national weapons collection but has permitted The Peace Museum, Bradford to co-curate a small permanent *Farewell to Arms* display. Neither the Imperial War Museum nor the Royal Armouries, however, permit peace-related material in their museum shops. There is more profit in war.

Transparency

Since I have argued that all institutions have intent for peace, whether implicit or explicit, and critiqued several for their operations or intentions, I want to now share my own positionality; to reveal my perspective/bias and aims, which are keys to this article's analysis. As an activist and peace movement historian, I attended the founding 1992 Bradford conference of the International Network of Peace Museums, thereafter assisting in the planning, establishing, hands-on running, and managing of the UK's only peace museum, in Bradford. I currently serve as Chair of the Board of Trustees overseeing the strategy and well-being of that museum. With nearly 30-year immersion in peace museums, I am a passionate advocate for peace museums in general, and The Peace Museum, Bradford, in particular.

Peace museums, like the one in Bradford, have peace as their content and peace as their goal. There are hidden stories of peace to be reclaimed, retained, and retold. This means direct engagement with the history of peace, individual peacemakers, and, most of all, peace movements. Two things follow: first, the importance of the academic discipline of peace history, often missing from university peace studies departments; many of which offer little more than politics and international studies under a different name. Second, the relationship between peace museums and active civil society is key. While it is good to mount a panel exhibition about such inspirational figures as Martin Luther King, Jr. or Mahatma Gandhi, excessive focus on individual peace heroes risks portraying them as such exceptional characters that they could not possibly be emulated. More recent figures such as Malala Yousafzai and Greta Thunberg are at least more accessible. However, a focus on civil society, that is on ordinary citizens banding together to achieve anything from small local changes to international nuclear disarmament, can encourage museum visitors to become active, participatory citizens themselves. The education program of The Peace Museum, Bradford, regularly includes campaigning skills: historic peace campaigning posters, badges, and banners from the Museum's collection are not kept in the past but used to inspire new generations to make their own campaign materials, whether their campaign be for "negative" protest or "positive" awareness-raising. Without itself being a campaigning body, the Museum becomes a resource for civil society and the wider peace movement.

Furthermore, many museums for peace, and peace museums in particular, have a role to play in building peaceful community relations. In the west, this means taking seriously such movements as Black Lives Matter, both in a museum's outward-facing exhibitions, and by having an awareness of diversity and equality in its own internal operations. Bradford has a large South Asian diaspora population, and through active community engagement, The Peace Museum produced a substantive exhibition on *Peace after Partition*, 70 years after the traumatic events which led to the founding of Pakistan (see Figure 2.3). Associated events enabled communities rooted in both sides of the historic divide to remember and reflect together, building peaceful relationships across local community boundaries, which would have seemed inconceivable to previous generations. If any slogan encapsulated this approach, it would be "Think global, act local," an approach that has led to the development of "peace trails" in many towns and cities in different countries.

I conclude by returning to the opening discussion about the nature of museums, where many museums are perceived – rightly or wrongly – as agents of those who benefit from the dominant narrative of society. Where those histories are contested, however, where civil society thrives, then peace museums have a chance to flourish. The existence of peace museums is an indicator of the democratic health of society. There should be more.

> It is good to go to Hiroshima, to understand the war story of that place, to become committed to the peace witness that results. It is even better to discover the peace stories in your own place, to reclaim those stories in popular consciousness, and to build a culture of peace where you are.[45]

Figure 2.3 "Displacement," interactive artwork by Lakhbir Sangha, 2017. Visitors are invited to "select a fabric scroll to unravel and read . . . the voices of people who lived through one of the greatest humanitarian catastrophes of the 20th Century. . . . Framed by and contained within a pre-partition map of India this work highlights the commonality of the experiences of every community involved in the hope of reconciliation and peace."

Source: Courtesy of The Peace Museum, Bradford.

Notes

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3 Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel, *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures* (The Hague: INMP, 2012), 10.
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11 van den Dungen, "Heritage," 14.
12 Nigel Young, *Postnational Memory, Peace and War* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020), 212.
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27 Ikuro Anzai, "Definition of Peace, Peace Museum and Museum for Peace with reference to Peace-Related Museums in Asia," in *Museums for Peace: Past, Present and Future,* eds. Ikuro Anzai et al. (Kyoto: INMP, 2008), 114.
28 Tatjana Cvjetićanin and Aida Vežić, "Museum, Peace and Reconciliation: The Impact of the Balkan Museum Network," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding*, eds. Diana Walters et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), 77–91.
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45 Clive Barrett, "Your Place or Mine? Locality and a Culture of Peace," *Peace Review* 22, no. 3 (2010): 266–7. The ambiguities of Hiroshima are explored in Chapter 8 in this volume.

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Section 2

The Praxis of Museums for Peace

3 Museums for Peace and Reconciliation in East Asia

Kazuyo Yamane and Clive Barrett

The Need to Acknowledge the Past

Strong, lasting relationships between nations can only be built on mutual honesty, including open acknowledgment of the horrors of the past. With the help of partners in China and Korea, a small number of progressive museums for peace in Japan are addressing their nation's difficult history and actively promoting regional reconciliation.[1]

In a society that largely colludes to deny the atrocities of Japanese imperialism in the 1930s and 1940s, preferring instead to focus on Japan's victim status since 1945 (see Chapter 8 in this volume), a handful of Japanese museums for peace are taking counter-cultural steps to break the silence, and to be open about war crimes committed in the name of Japan. With their Chinese and Korean partners, they are cooperating to build the foundations for reconciliation between East Asian nations.

These are small, independent museums for peace, which are run privately, allowing greater freedom of speech than is possible for publicly funded peace museums in Japan, which are more constrained by dominant public opinion and politics. The activities of museums for peace at the grassroots level have not been reported widely in Japan and abroad, and many people do not know of their existence. The more well-known, larger, public museums for peace are less likely to show Japan's dark history of aggression toward other countries, not least because the Japanese government has not faced the past honestly.

A key component of the mission of these independent museums for peace is the collection of individual testimonies. The revelation of memories – personal statements and oral histories – not only of the victims but especially of the *perpetrators* of war crimes, both a) challenges the silence, denial, and misinformation in the official history of the perpetrating nation, and b) also has the potential to soften calls for revenge by the victim population and their descendants. The former concerns the reclamation of truth, humility, and apology in the cause of reconciliation; the latter uses this acknowledgment of truth as the foundation for building peace and opportunities for future cooperation.

The accounts that follow stress the importance of personal testimony to overcome official national silences of the past. These may be the silence of defeated nations, ashamed of having once been victims, or the silence of a perpetrator nation

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seeking to avoid examination of past atrocities. The memories of participants challenge official histories. The personal testimonies and confessions of the perpetrators and witnesses of war crimes force a perpetrator nation to admit and acknowledge the brutal impact of its previous imperial policies. After being witnessed and received by victim nations seeking revenge and reparation, these accounts and apologies have the potential to reduce demands for retribution. Belatedly, each is more receptive to viewing the humanity of the other. As a consequence of holding a shared understanding of history, all nations involved have the potential to cooperate, reducing tensions and building toward future more peaceful relationships.

Some museums for peace in Japan, China, and Korea are at the heart of this search for the painful shared truth of the past. They have pioneered the collection of first-hand testimonies of people involved in past atrocities and the dissemination of that information in each country through exhibitions and other media. More than that, through their preparedness to engage in cross-border cooperation and exchange, with each other and with other agencies, even at a time of increasing international tension, these museums for peace are at the forefront of building lasting bonds between individuals and working toward peaceful relations between previously warring nations.

This difficult, innovative process will be considered here principally through examination of five East Asian museums: the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea; the Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army, China (both of these will be explored with particular reference to their relationship with Grassroots House, Kochi); Chukiren Peace Memorial Hall, Saitama, Japan; and Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum.

Case Study 1: The Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea

Many people within Japanese society harbor feelings of antagonism and hatred toward Koreans as a people, especially Koreans in Japan. This growing phenomenon reflects a lack of historical awareness and ongoing intolerance. Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea are at their worst since 1945, not least because of Japan's refusal to reflect on its past, and to take responsibility for such colonial crimes as the abuse of so-called "comfort women" by the Japanese army (see Chapter 7 in this volume). Historically, Japan took away property, land, and sovereignty from people in the Korean peninsula. Antagonism continues; when Korea's Supreme Court, in 2018, ordered Nippon Steel to compensate Second World War forced labor workers, the Japanese Government told companies not to pay such compensation.[2]

Where there has been progress in building relationships and acknowledgement of past atrocity, Japanese civil society groups have taken the lead for the most part. A ceremony was held in Seoul on September 19, 2015, to commemorate the return of the remains of 115 Koreans who were forced out of the Korean Peninsula to Japan during the Asia-Pacific War, and who died after being made to work in coal mines and dam construction in Japan. The solemn ceremony was followed by a briefing on the research and excavation efforts of the Japanese and Korean citizen groups who had worked for many years for the return of the remains. About 1,000

citizens were involved in the event, but few Japanese were present, except for those participating. The ceremony itself received little or no mass media coverage in Japan.

Background to the Colonial History Museum

The Colonial History Museum is a civic museum that opened in Yongsan, Seoul, in the Republic of Korea on August 29, 2018. The construction of the museum was led by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, a Korean civic organization founded in February 1991. The Institute has been conducting research and campaigning to recognize and come to terms with past colonialism, denouncing the violence of Japanese imperialism, clarifying the truth of the forced mobilizations of victims, and restoring their honor. At the same time, the Institute's goal is to properly record and reflect on the complicated, difficult history of cooperation by some Koreans with Japanese imperialism. The Colonial History Museum is the fruit of an 11-year campaign by the Institute for Ethnic Studies since 2007 to build a museum to overcome colonialism and create a base for activities for peace in East Asia.

Colonial

The first feature of the Colonial History Museum is its name. There is no museum in a colonial country with the name "Colonial History," though museums may display the history of resistance movements and heroic figures or incidents of damage caused by colonial rule. Museums in former colonialized countries do not accurately cover the history of the perpetration of colonial rule. The name of the Museum of Colonial History reflects the museum's goal to take a critical look at the unaccounted-for "colonial history" of imperialism around the world by firmly focusing on the reality of the Japanese invasion and colonial rule of Korea. It also raises questions about the validity of Japan's educational system and school textbooks. Most of them do not explain Japan's dark history, and some textbooks still glorify colonial rule and the war of aggression against Asia through rationales of theories of modernization and Asian liberation.

Content

Related to this, the second feature of the exhibition is its content. Materials on modern and contemporary Korean history are collected and preserved, and exhibitions are held to promote peace education by citizens' power. There are images of the "Japanese Imperialists" – the invaders and rulers – along with the damage they caused to Koreans. The history of the victims and their families is presented, as well as the anti-Japanese movement. This is alongside the history of the "pro-Japanese" faction that was complicit in Japan's colonial rule and continued to hold power even after the "liberation" of Korea. There is also insight into the movement by Korean and Japanese citizens to reclaim a perspective on this difficult past that is not taught in either Korea or Japan. This is a major feature of the museum.

The permanent exhibition consists of personal records and other materials that the Institute of Ethnic Studies has been collecting since the mid-1990s, as well as materials donated by many citizens, including descendants of independence activists, researchers, members of the Institute of Ethnic Studies, victims of forced mobilization, and bereaved families. Japanese citizens have also donated many materials that vividly convey the realities of the war of aggression and colonial rule of Korea. These materials are intended to raise issues about Japan's responsibility for the war and occupation and recall the lives of those who resisted and suffered from the invasion and colonial rule of Korea, and by facing history set a foundation to create a more peaceful future.

Community

The museum was created and continues to be operated entirely by citizens and allows the voices and perspectives of community members to be heard rather than the dominant state narratives. Nearly half of the construction fund was raised through donations from citizens in Korea, Japan, China, and the United States. In particular, in Japan, the "Association Connecting Japan with the Colonial History Museum," known as the "Connecting Association," was formed in November 2015 and received support from over 800 Japanese and Korean residents living throughout Japan who raised over 10 million yen. This reflects a desire on the part of the citizens of Japan and Korea to open up the history of East Asia, which has been stained by wars of aggression and colonial rule, and to build a peaceful future together. A number of Japanese citizens expressed their wish to have a similar colonial history museum in Japan.

Cooperation

The fourth characteristic is that the Colonial History Museum is a place of exchange and activities. Facing history through exhibitions, fieldwork, and meeting the protagonists of history is an important way to interact. The museum is a place where people gather to think, worry, and act together about how to live in the present and to consider what they as individuals should do to overcome colonialism and realize peace in East Asia. There are programs that include the following: citizen lectures, seminars, symposiums, and grassroots exchange meetings where victims, bereaved families, young people, students, and citizens of Korea and Japan can meet and talk with each other. Also, there are strategy meetings to figure out how to proceed with the reckoning of the past. In particular, exchanges and cooperation with Japanese citizens are ongoing and highlighted. Prior to the disruption due to the coronavirus, 10% of the museum's visitors came from Japan. Peace groups, university seminars, study tours, family trips, and donors from all over Japan, from Hokkaido to Okinawa, have visited the Colonial History Museum. For over 20 years, the Colonial History Museum has worked in solidarity with members of the "Truth Network for

Forced Labor," in order to resolve the issue of forced labor and mobilization in Japan.

Yeonghwan Kim, Seungeun Kim, and Kaori Nogi, staff members at the Colonial History Museum, speak of the "journey to overcome colonialism and achieve peace in East Asia." They argue that "we cannot move forward to a peaceful future without revealing the truth of the past," and they express the hope,

> that the Colonial History Museum will continue to serve as a place where citizens of Japan and Korea can work together to restore the honor, dignity, and human rights of victims who have been harmed by past history and create a peaceful future.

Staff at the museum believe "that the barriers created by the state can be overcome through the solidarity of citizens who share a belief in peace and who work together to transcend national and ethnic boundaries."

There have been three exchange agreements signed with Japanese peace museums: Grassroots House (Kochi); the Women's War and Peace Museum/Women's Active Museum (Tokyo); and the Koryo Museum (Tokyo). The role of the Grassroots House is considered next.

A Japanese Response from Grassroots House, Kochi

The stated purpose of the Grassroots House (Kusanoie) Peace Museum in Kochi, Japan, which opened in 1989, is to increase public awareness of modern Japan's wars of aggression and to contribute toward peace by promoting research, publications, exhibitions, concerts, and other activities. These highlight not only the past damage caused by both Japan and the United States (including US air raids on Kochi, and the atomic bombings) but also resistance to such aggression, and opportunities for reconciliation and peace today. Those involved with Grassroots House recognize that friendship with people of other Asian countries would be impossible without addressing the history of Japanese invasions. Grassroots House has organized a series of visits to China and Korea to increase Japanese understanding of the atrocities committed by Japan, and hence, the reasons behind Chinese and Korean antagonism toward Japan.

In the 1990s, the group conducted six "Peace Trips to China"; they toured former battlefields, visited survivors, and heard first-hand testimonies about the brutality of the Japanese military. Shigeo Nishimori, the founder and the first director of Grassroots House, said of his "Peace Trip to China" that he became painfully aware of his own lack of understanding of the colonial war that Japan had instigated and that "every day was a journey of self-improvement."

Subsequently, Grassroots House has been a pioneer of cooperation and exchange with museums in China and Korea. In 2001–2006, a staff member of Grassroots House, Yeongwhan Kim, who is now Chief of the External Relations Team at the Colonial History Museum, facilitated a series of friendship visits between Kochi and

Korea. Keizo Dehara, Deputy Director of Grassroots House, speaks of the importance of such "people-to-people encounters and ties," and how enriching they were.

> The first step of modern Japan's war of aggression started from the Korean Peninsula. If we don't know this fact and start from here, we will never be able to clear up or overcome the past.

In particular, Dehara speaks glowingly about the Colonial History Museum and states, "there is so much for us Japanese to learn." He describes the museum as "the crystallization of a longstanding movement of researchers and citizens," inheriting the history of the struggle for independence from colonial rule and becoming "a base for a movement to reclaim the past," actively aligned with more recent democracy protests such as the Candlelight Revolution of 2016. "Although it is a small museum," says Dehara, with inadequate labeling in Japanese,

> it will show you events that rarely appear in Japanese history textbooks, depictions of history from perspectives that Japanese people are not aware of. . . . This is a museum that literally examines history from the feet up and connects it to the present. . . . [It] has a certain freshness and stimulation that you don't find in Japanese history museums.

The culmination of the steady building of cordial relationships was the friendship exchange agreement, mentioned earlier, signed in September 2019 by Masahiro Okamura, director of Grassroots House, and Seungeun Kim, Chief Curator of the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea (see Figure 3.1). On behalf of their institutions, the two parties agreed

> to deepen mutual investigation, research, and exchange of the historical facts of the Japanese imperialist war of aggression against the Korean peninsula and colonial rule; and to promote mutual human exchange in order to deepen a friendship suitable for the 21st century, based on respect for individual dignity and basic human rights.

Dehara expressed his hope that the agreement would further stimulate exchange between Kochi and Korea and that the sharing of history would create an improved relationship. Aware that the people who could give first-hand accounts are aging, and their numbers diminishing, Dehara observed that time is of the essence.

> We must now urgently recover the history that has been forgotten, and is about to be lost, through exchanges with the Colonial History Museum. By doing so, the place of tragedy can become a place of reconciliation and the "negative legacy" can be sublimated into a shared and irreplaceable asset.

Grassroots House's exploration of the impact of Japanese imperialism in China centers on the Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of

Figure 3.1 Masahiro Okamura (left), director of Grassroots House in Japan, and Seungeun Kim, Chief Curator of the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea.

Source: Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea.

the Japanese Imperial Army (hereafter called the 731 Exhibition Hall). It is to that museum that we now turn.

Case Study 2: Unit 731 Exhibition Hall. Remembrance and Restoration

The History of Unit 731

Unit 731 was part of the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II, located in Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, China. The first commander of the unit was Shiro Ishii, Lieutenant General of the Army Medical Department. The base consisted of a large group of properties equipped with special prisons and research facilities for the secret testing and production of bacteriological and biological weapons, used in Japan's biological warfare in China. By some estimates, up to three thousand men, women, and children, from anti-Japanese organizations captured by the Japanese military police, were used as human experimental material, as "Marutas (logs)" in a "special transfer treatment."

After Japan's defeat, the Allied Forces (GHQ) arrested the war leaders and charged them with crimes at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. The directors of Unit 731 were exonerated from war crimes by handing over the data of the human experiments to the United States and being placed

under its protection. The existence of the unit was hidden for many years after the war.

Seiichi Morimura and "The Devil's Gluttony"

The Japanese writer Seiichi Morimura explored the site of Unit 731 with the intention of making public the experiments that had taken place there that were largely kept secret. His substantive research was published in 1981 and 1982 under the title, *The Devils' Gluttony*. This volume exposed the crimes of human experiments and bacterial warfare committed by Unit 731. At Morimura's suggestion, the site of Unit 731 was officially protected by the government of Harbin. Since then, there have been a series of works and further research on the crimes carried out by Unit 731.[3]

In 1984, a musical adaptation of *Akuma no Hōshoku* (*The Devils' Gluttony)* was published with Morimura's words set to music by Ikebe Shin-ichiro.[4] A choir, with piano accompaniment, exposed the war crimes of Unit 731 and called for peace. This musical account has been performed in Japan, China, Korea, Russia, and elsewhere.

The following year, the 731 Exhibition Hall was established in Harbin under the auspices of the Chinese Government to memorialize the site and exhibit the crimes carried out by Unit 731. The Exhibition Hall is responsible for protecting the war site, recording the history of war and the experiments on human beings that took place as well as keeping alive the memory of what happened there. Exhibits range from artifacts on the crimes carried out to testimonies by survivors. The 731 Exhibition Hall has served as a site to reflect on issues of war and peace with Japanese peace groups and museums, making the Chinese public aware of their activities, and promoting reconciliation and cooperation.

This story has a postscript from 2015, when 82-year-old Morimura donated all of the data collected during his writing of *The Devils' Gluttony* to the 731 Exhibition Hall. Later that year, he was awarded the title of an "Honorary Citizen of Harbin" on the recommendation of the 731 Exhibition Hall.

The ABC Plan Committee's Exhibitions in Japan, and the "Monument for Apology"

A Japanese anti-war group, the ABC Plan Committee – which opposes atomic, biological, and chemical weapons – has long cooperated with the 731 Exhibition Hall and actively supported the protection of the site of Unit 731. Since 1993, the ABC Plan Committee has held a "Unit 731 Crime Evidence Exhibition" all over Japan. The content of the exhibition not only involves academic reports but also personal testimonies from former members of Unit 731. These have proved shocking for some audiences. During the exhibition, the ABC Plan Committee actively appealed for the site of Unit 731 to be designated as a world cultural heritage site and established a foundation to raise funds for the protection of the site; more than 10 million yen have been raised and donated to the 731 Exhibition Hall.

In 2011, the ABC Plan Committee, vowing to prevent what they described as "such a great inhumane crime" ever being committed again, built the "Monument

for Apology and for Peace without War" in the area of the site of Unit 731. The monument is engraved with the following words:

> During the Japanese invasion of China, Unit 731 committed unprecedented national crimes in China. As citizens of the victimizing country, we express our sincere apology to many innocent Chinese who have been murdered and their families, and we pledge to use history as a warning against the recurrence of the same crime.

The construction of the monument was a deliberate attempt to foster friendship and permanent peace based on apology and reflection between China and Japan. In 2015, Yukiko Yamabe, the former director of the ABC Plan Committee, was invited to attend the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War and the World's Anti-Fascist War.[5] In 2020, on the recommendation of the 731 Exhibition Hall, the ABC Plan Committee was awarded the "Mayor's Special Award of Harbin," and Yukiko Yamabe, the former director of the ABC Plan Committee, emulated Morimura in becoming an "Honorary Citizen of Harbin."

Relationships between Grassroots House and the 731 Exhibition Hall

With such a positive attitude toward reconciliation, the 731 Exhibition Hall was an ideal partner for Grassroots House. Building on a "1991 Peace Trip to China," designed to show the Japanese people their responsibility as perpetrators of aggression, Grassroots House held its first Unit 731 exhibition in Kochi in 1994. A local member of the 53rd Division of the Japanese Imperial Army delivered a controversial testimony. Later that year, Han Xiao, the director of the 731 Exhibition Hall, and Jing Fuqiu, a family member of a plague victim of Japan's germ warfare program, were invited to Kochi. This was a conscious attempt at reconciliation. Han Xiao said in response that "Recognizing the correct history, learning the lessons, and passing them on to next generations are the keys to friendship between China and Japan, and the way to prevent war."

Interviewing Unit 731 Members

With the assistance of Grassroots House, Japanese peace groups and others supportive of the project, researchers of the 731 Exhibition Hall have been to Japan five times since 1998 to interview the former members of Unit 731. They have interviewed over 40 members of the Unit and amassed a collection of over 400 hours of oral history recordings.

Not every perpetrator of atrocity has agreed to or felt it was necessary to have a long stay at a war crimes treatment center, such as that at Fushun (see later) in order to admit to participating in war crimes. Among those men of Unit 731 who have separately acknowledged their roles as perpetrators or witnesses of bacterial warfare, and who have since publicly apologized are as follows: Yoshio Shinozuka, who worked on bacterial production and took part in bacterial warfare in Nomonhan;

Naokata Ishibashi, formerly of Unit 731's pathology section, who was engaged in vivisection and participated in bacterial warfare in Ningbo; and Chikuzen Ohara, a former member of Unit 731. Liu Ru, a Researcher at the 731 Exhibition Hall, describes the importance of first-hand accounts both for historical remembrance and for peace-building: "The testimonies and repentance statements of the former members of Unit 731 are displayed in the 731 Exhibition Hall, in order to arouse the audience's deep reflection on war and medicine, war and human nature, war and peace."

Both the 731 Exhibition Hall and the Chukiren Peace Memorial Hall (see later) reveal the power of oral history and personal accounts of atrocities. They challenge deniers, and those who are accomplices through their continued silence, to speak out about this terrible history. For the victims of Unit 731 and their descendants, displays of personal admissions of war crimes may contribute to reducing feelings of vengeance and enmity and turn the corner toward more normalized relationships.

In recent years, the relationship between Grassroots House and the 731 Exhibition Hall has flourished. A Japanese visit to Harbin in 2015 led to an exhibition in Kochi, including such original items as scalpels used in the Unit, fragments of bacterial bombs, and copies of the personal statements of troops involved in human experimentation. The following year, Jun Chengmin, Director of the 731 Exhibition Hall, with three colleagues, gave a commemorative lecture in Kochi on "Criminal Records of the Unit 731 and Historical Issues."

The 2016 Cooperation Agreement

The friendship and trust between the two museums deepened and progressed culminating in the signing of a 2016 Cooperation Agreement for academic research, investigation, and friendship, based on the position of "the truth of history is one." This Cooperation Agreement between the Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army and the Grassroots House Peace Museum is a significant citizen-level movement to build peace in East Asia. Hopes for the future were expressed by Liu Ru:

> The 731 Exhibition Hall has made efforts to cooperate with Japanese peace groups and friends, and has achieved good results in promoting reflection on war and peace, and strengthening cooperation and reconciliation between China and Japan. We hope that on this basis, the two sides will continue to strengthen cooperation and exchanges and work together for peace and friendship between China and Japan.

Case Study 3: Acknowledging the Past. A War-Criminals' Museum: The Unique Story of Chukiren Peace Museum

Origins

The Chukiren Peace Museum was built by a group of former Japanese military, captured and tried by China, who, on their return to Japan in 1956 and 1957, self-identified as war criminals. Since that time, they have personally testified to Japan's

invasion of China, and have carried out peace and anti-war activities based on their experiences. In 2006, Kiyokazu Hosokawa, one of the directors, reports that "with the help of citizens' donations, they were finally able to open the peace memorial museum as a base for their activities." The museum houses copies of confession statements written by around one thousand war criminals. These detail the horrific realities of Japan's war in China, and especially those crimes that Japanese society still does not want to hear about: massacres, looting, forced labor, rape, and arson – all violations of international wartime law. Hosokawa describes this period further:

> The war criminals who wrote the affidavits are military officers who acted as the nation's sentinels during Japan's invasion of China from the 1930s until Japan's defeat in August 1945. They were officials who manipulated the politics of the puppet state "Manchukuo" behind the scenes and led its misrule by plundering resources and collecting heavy taxes. The military police and policemen suppressed, arrested, tortured, and executed citizens who resisted the invasion. Such war criminals were captured by the Soviet Union at the time of defeat and interned in Siberia, then handed over to China in 1950 and imprisoned as war criminals in the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center.

The Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center of Japanese War Criminals, located in Fushun City, Liaoning Province, is a prison built in 1936 by the former Manchukuo State to imprison anti-Japanese Chinese citizens and Koreans. (It was later the setting for Bernardo Bertolucci's movie *The Last Emperor* about Puyi, the last emperor of the Qing Dynasty.)

The captured men initially regarded themselves as prisoners of war and denied they were war criminals. They were part of a Japanese invasion that killed more than ten million Chinese citizens, yet they argued their innocence on the grounds that they were only carrying out the orders of the military or acting in accordance with the orders of the higher levels of the state.

The Chinese response was more restrained than might have been expected. When the Chinese Communist Party came to power, in an attempt to restore diplomatic relations with Japan, it made the controversial decision (within China) to forgive Japan for perpetrating war crimes. Hosokawa describes the Chinese regime's attitude toward the Japanese prisoners:

> He [Zhou Enlai] ordered the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center to treat war criminals generously, not as murderers, but as human beings with character, and to teach them to recognize their crimes. Humanitarianism and democracy were the basic principles of the Chinese Communist Party at the time of the founding of new China. The guards suppressed their desire to take revenge on the Japanese who had killed their families and obeyed the orders. There was no forced labor or torture. The war criminals were encouraged to study history, philosophy, sociology, literature, etc. to understand how they were turned into murderers by the militaristic state of the Japanese Empire. It took four years, but the war criminals understood that their crimes were unforgivable as human beings and that they could not shift the blame to the

> state or the military. In 1956, 45 people were indicted by the Shenyang Military Tribunal, but there were no death sentences or life sentences, and even the fixed-term sentences – the longest of which was 20 years – were reduced by eleven years, taking into account six years already spent in Siberia and five years in the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Centre. The remaining 950 or more were exempted from prosecution and released. After the war, about 1,000 Japanese were executed by the Allied war crimes tribunals, but none were executed in the People's Republic of China. Zhou Enlai made the unbelievable choice that the Chinese citizens, the victims, would first forgive the Japanese, the perpetrators, in order to break a chain of retaliation to achieve reconciliation and friendship between China and Japan.

Reflection

The Human Capacity for Horror

The unique personal statements held at the Chukiren Peace Memorial Hall give profound insight into the actions and attitudes of the perpetrators of war crimes. Hosokawa reports that,

> we can see that under the extreme conditions of fear and hatred in war, and in a situation where people are not held accountable for anything they do in the name of the nation, even ordinary people commit terrible crimes without hesitation.

The background to this was nationalism, ethnic and racial discrimination, the mass media that sympathized with them and could stir up a crowd, and the peer pressure of public opinion that blindly followed the state's line.

The Human Capacity for Change

On the other hand, the records of the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center indicate that, when given humane treatment and appropriate guidance, even those who commit murder and war crimes can reclaim their humanity, admit their crimes and apologize. This was not a smooth process, with those involved repeatedly denying their responsibility before admitting their guilt.

After returning to Japan, the war criminals confessed that they had a hard battle with themselves, repeatedly denying and affirming their role before eventually admitting their guilt. Human thoughts and attitudes are not fixed but can change through trial and error. New understanding comes from reflection on the past.

Reconciliation

In the history of reconciliation between Japan and China, those held at the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center recognized the nature of the actions they had carried out, admitted their crimes and apologized. A group of victims then forgave

the perpetrators, enabling the cycle of retaliation to end. It is a model that could be replicated in seeking solutions to the tensions and wars between nations and ethnic groups that continue to occur around the world today.

The Chukiren Peace Memorial Museum, which has faced criticism in Japan for too readily accepting the analysis of the Chinese Communist Party, is still in contact with the China Association for Friendship, Chinese history researchers and universities, and especially the Fushun War Crimes Treatment Center. The Center, which became a museum in 1986, a national institution, houses copies of the 1000 confessions, together with thousands of other documents often provided by the bereaved families of the war criminals. It does not, however, display artwork donated by them.

The Chukiren Peace Memorial Museum works to uncover and exhibit Japanese brutality during the war and to leave lessons for the next generation. It is active in the peace movement, participating in anti-war activities, and continues to deepen mutual understanding with Chinese citizens.

Case Study 4: International Activities for Peace at the Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum

The Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum, named after its original advocate, was opened on October 1, 1995, by the citizens of Nagasaki. The aims of the museum were to inform visitors about Japan's aggression and war crimes in other countries and to encourage visitors to think about the victims' suffering. Further, the Memorial encourages visitors to work toward postwar compensation, pledging themselves to resist future war. A feature of the museum's activities has been reaching out, engaging and working alongside other museums and peace initiatives in Korea and China, to build common understanding.

The Nanjing–Nagasaki Relationship

In August 2020, the museum celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the creation of a friendship agreement with the Memorial Hall of the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre by the Japanese Invaders (Nanjing Memorial Hall).

Relationships with the Nanjing Memorial Hall, China, were first established in April 2000, when Chengshan Zhu, the director of the Nanjing Memorial Hall, visited Nagasaki, praising the Oka Masaharu Peace Museum for the "international level" of its exhibits. Almost every year, around December 13, from 2000 to 2015 survivors of the Nanjing Massacre and researchers from Nanjing held a "Gathering to Link Nagasaki and Nanjing: the Nagasaki Testimony Meeting of Survivors of the Nanjing Massacre." At the end of their harrowing testimonies, the invited witnesses stressed the need for "friendship between Japan and China and world peace." A relationship of mutual trust was built up between participants and Chinese survivors who looked to create a shared understanding of history and greater friendship between China and Japan.

In return, almost annually, around August 15, a friendship delegation traveled from Nagasaki to China. Since 2002, the Oka Masaharu Peace Museum has run an

international student project called the Japan–China Wings of Hope and Friendship program, founded by the first chair of the board of directors, Yasunori Takazane. His hope was that a younger generation would learn about the reality of the Nanjing Massacre and other Japanese acts of aggression in China and become a bridge of friendship between Japan and China.

Education projects, cross-border visits to other museums, and exchanges have been a feature of the modus operandi of the Oka Masaharu Peace Museum. Between 2006 and 2011, the Oka Masaharu Peace Museum hosted five German conscientious objectors from military duty. This ultimately led to a "Learning Journey" to Germany in 2016, one of a series of subsequent Learning Journeys for students, mainly to Korea and China.

In 2014, China designated December 13 as a national holiday, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Day. The delegation of the Japan–China Wings of Hope and Friendship to China has now moved its visit to December, to coincide with that commemoration.

It has become increasingly difficult to send Nanjing Massacre survivors to give public talks outside the Nanjing Memorial Hall due to the aging of the population. This is a difficulty experienced by all museums and institutions dependent on promoting first-hand accounts of events in the 1930s and 1940s. Given, also, that the students of the Wings of Hope and citizens for Japan–China friendship are now dispatched in December, the decision was taken to suspend the "Gathering to Link Nagasaki and Nanjing." However, in 2020, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the museum affiliation for friendship, the event was resumed, with Jianjun Zhang, the director of the Nanjing Memorial Museum, presenting the video testimonies of 15 survivors. In future commemorations, such testimonies will focus on the second, third, and fourth generations of survivors.

Friendship Agreements

During Japanese colonial rule, 1910–1945, many Koreans were taken to Japan and forced to work as laborers. As a result, many Koreans were victims of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some estimates suggest 35,000 Korean fatalities from the Hiroshima bomb alone, around half the Korean population of the city, most of whom originated from – and survivors returned to – Hapcheon, Korea.[6] Hapcheon is now home to the Atomic Bomb Welfare Hall, the Atomic Bomb Museum, and the Hapcheon Peace House.

There is a growing relationship between the Oka Masaharu Peace Museum and the Atomic Bomb Museum in Hapcheon. A delegation from the Hapcheon branch of the Korean Atomic Bomb Victims Association, led by its president, Jin Tae Sim, visited Nagasaki in November 2019, coinciding with the Pope's visit to the city. The Oka Masaharu Peace Museum is now helping to provide materials for the enhancement of the Atomic Bomb Museum in Hapcheon.

The Oka Masaharu Peace Museum has concluded a series of friendship agreements with museums in China and Korea, usually associated with special exhibitions, visits, guest lectures, and student exchanges. Partners in this process include the following: the Exhibition Hall of Evidences of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army in Harbin, China (agreement signed September 2005);

the Chinese Comfort Women Museum at Shanghai Normal University (October 2010); and the Japanese Imperialist Forced Mobilization Victims Support Foundation (February 2018), which operates the National Memorial Museum of Forced Mobilization Under Japanese Occupation in Busan, the Republic of Korea.

Conclusion

True reconciliation is not possible without the perpetrators' apologies and the payment of compensation. Given the unwillingness of the Government of Japan, in contrast to that of Germany, to address the dark phases of its history – in Japan's case, its invasion of other Asian countries – young people in East Asia risk growing up inculcated with feelings of hatred toward Japan and its people. In such a fragile environment for peace, the role of museums for peace in China, Korea, and Japan is especially important.

Efforts for peace and reconciliation between Grassroots House in Japan and the Unit 731 Exhibition Hall in China, for example, changed stereotyped images for people in both countries. The same applies to improved relations between Korean and Japanese people produced by the efforts for peace and reconciliation of Grassroots House and the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea.

There is still more that must be done. More exhibitions at museums for peace in China and Korea on the actions of Japanese anti-war activists would educate visitors about Japanese citizens' efforts against past wars. Such displays and information could contribute to changing stereotypes about all Japanese people. Chinese and Korean visitors to Grassroots House are often surprised to discover stories of Japanese anti-war activists who were tortured to death during World War II, such as Kou Makimura (1912–1938). Such biographies are little known even in Japan. Stories of such anti-war activists and people's efforts for peace and reconciliation are told at some independent Japanese museums for peace, but these tend to be ignored by the media.

Museums for peace and reconciliation at the grassroots level are crucial sites of truth-telling. They need to be more widely known and taught about as well as visited. These sites and initiatives are inspiring and encouraging to know about and further efforts to alleviate tensions and revenge and move toward creating a culture of peace in East Asia. Erasure and denial characterize school textbooks about the Asia-Pacific War in Japan, and the media in Japan largely goes along with this. Hence, museums for peace are crucial to informing people, especially the younger generations, of what is hidden and silenced in history. Visitors are introduced to a range of exhibits and testimonies that write about aspects of difficult histories that they did not know about, providing opportunities to learn the importance of studying history, thinking critically, and acting creatively for a peaceful future.

Notes

1 With permission, the authors draw heavily, sometimes verbatim and uncited, on original personal accounts generously provided by staff members of several museums and institutions in East Asia. The authors have added to and heavily edited these accounts and responsibility for the final description of the institutions rests solely with the authors

and in no way with the original contributors. Those submitting personal background material included Kiyokazu Hosokawa (a director) at Chukiren Peace Museum; Keisuke Okamura (Deputy Director) and Keizo Dehara (Deputy Director and Secretary General) at Grassroots House, Kochi; Noboru Sakiyama (Director) at the Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum; Liu Ru (Researcher) at the Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crimes Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army; Yeonghwan Kim (Chief of External Relations Team), Seungeun Kim (Chief Curator), and Kaori Nogi (Senior Researcher) at the Museum of Japanese Colonial History in Korea.

2 Hyonhee Shin, "Friction Likely as Korean Court Orders Nippon Steel to Compensate WWII Workers," *Reuters*, October 29, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-south-korea-japan-laborers/friction-likely-as-korean-court-orders-nippon-steel-to-compensate-wwii-workers-idUSKCN1N32TS

Hyun-ji Ock, "Court Orders Japan Firm to Compensate Wartime Forced Laborers," *Korea Herald*, October 30–31, 2018. https://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20181030000606 Cho Ki-weon,

"Japanese Government Tells Companies to not Compensate Korean Victims of Forced Labor," *Hankyoreh*, November 2, 2018. https://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_international/868610.html

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3 Among these are Daniel Barenblatt, *A Plague upon Humanity: The Hidden History of Japan's Biological Warfare Program* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005); Jing-Bao Nie, Arthur Kleinman, Nanyan Guo and Mark Selden, *Japan's Wartime Medical Atrocities: Comparative Inquiries in Science, History, and Ethics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010); Jeanne Guillemin, *Hidden Atrocities: Japanese Germ Warfare and American Obstruction of Justice at the Tokyo Trial* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

4 There was a moving performance at the Kitara Concert Hall, Sapporo in July 2014. Philip Seaton, "Remembering Biowarfare Unit 731 through Musical Activism: A Performance of the Choral Work The Devil's Gluttony," *Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 3 (2014): Article ID 4147.

5 In China, the war of 1931–1945 is known colloquially as the Anti-Japanese War and is otherwise often referred to as the "War of Resistance against Japan," the "Japanese War of Aggression against China" or, in writing, as the "War of Peoples Resistance Against Japanese Aggression," In academic writing, it is also described as the "Second Sino-Japanese War," distinguishing it from the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. In recent years, there has been increasing emphasis on the role of the people, and "The Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War and the World's Anti-Fascist War" has become common usage in commemorative activities of war victory held by the state.

6 Jung Min-ho, "The Forgotten Survivors of Atomic Bombs," *Korea Times*, August 7, 2018, updated April 29, 2019. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2023/08/113_253411.html

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4 The Africanized Peace Museum Movement and the Significance of Cultural Heritage

Kimberly Baker and Munuve Mutisya

Vital to the history of peace museums is the opportunity to "bring to light complicated and largely unknown or ignored peace histories."[1] Today, peace museums represent a diverse spectrum of themes and associations with peace globally. In 2020, the directory of Museums for Peace Worldwide itemized 302 peace museums and related organizations.[2] Peace museums are predominantly not associated with culture or with past traditions of peace. Africa, however, offers a counter-story to the dominant approach of Western, Japanese, South Korean, and Chinese peace museums that emphasize the impacts and dangers of war. This chapter focuses on a series of small but significant Indigenous peace museums – flourishing in Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan – that emphasize reconciliation and peacekeeping.

The African Community Peace Museum Programme (CPMP) began three decades ago with Sultan Somjee, a Satpanth Ismaili born in Kenya, working in the 1990s as a head ethnographer at the National Museums of Kenya (NMK). Somjee and his assistants were researching the African humanist philosophy of *Utu* toward mitigation and peacekeeping as an alternative approach to Western-imposed methods.[3] Their study prompted a re-discovery and revitalization of traditional African peace values and associated heritage traditions in the form of community peace museums and peace tree sites.

Each peace museum is distinctive to a specific Indigenous group and simulates their particular style of a traditional house. Inside, peace material culture is exhibited, used as a teaching collection, and utilized for ceremonial purposes. Peace trees are planted around the museum as a living environmental gallery, a reminder of peace heritage. The museums are overseen by local Elder board members who meet under the shade of the peace trees to discuss disagreements and negotiations, as is their ancient tradition. Curators collect, research, and document peacemaking materials, oral traditions, and environmental symbols such as peace trees. These trees also have medicinal and healing properties, so are closely associated with physical and mental health and peace. The community peace museums keep the oral and visual traditions of African peace wisdom alive in villages and across eastern parts of the continent. They provide a contrasting narrative to the prevalent media depictions of essentializing Africans embroiled in violence erupting between nation-states and ethnicities.

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The multicausal factors of conflict in Africa include the historical and contemporary political tensions between some ethnicities, the ongoing impact of cultural oppression and brutality during colonialism, sovereignty and residual government colonization structures, lack of economic and natural resources, disputes between Indigenous cultural traditions and religions, and climate change intensifying the scarcity of arable land, water, and food. While these factors parallel struggles in other parts of the world, the numbers and severity of disputes in Africa have continued to escalate over the past 40 years.

One significant response to these challenges is the development of Indigenous peace museums based on cultural peace heritage traditions. It is important to note, cultural diversity characterizes the African continent, with over 2,100 languages by some estimates and 3,000 different ethnic groups, which contributes to a range of peacekeeping traditions.[4] As well, people practice traditional religions specific to their ethnic groups, such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and other religions, sometimes creating syncretic beliefs and practices. The curators act as peacemakers and environmental activists to reconcile discord between human beings and prevent the destruction of the natural world. The resilient community peace museum movement raises the possibility of reviving cultural heritage to bring peace and reconciliation to communities in conflict, particularly in Africa, but can be applied elsewhere in the world.

The Path to Africanizing Peace Museums

Some historical context is necessary to understanding Sultan Somjee's determination to find a new path for museums in Africa. Somjee was a seasoned researcher with 20 years of fieldwork experience studying Indigenous material culture in East Africa. In the 1990s, the world witnessed and experienced genocides in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Particularly, East Africa manifested "a volatile decade with massacres and sporadic conflicts raging from Rwanda at the Great Lakes to Somalia on the Red Sea."[5] The massacre that shocked Somjee and many Africans was the 1994 genocide, which caused an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 Rwandan deaths in a hundred days.[6] One consequence of the genocide was the collapse of the civil structure of the government. Rebuilding the nation would take time, and alternative social justice models were considered. For example, during the colonial period and postcolonial years, traditional social justice methods of resolving conflicts declined but were reintroduced to restore civil society in Rwanda. As a result, African peace and dialogue styles of conflict resolution resurfaced.

On September 21, 2009, Rwandan President Paul Kagame[7] at the International Peace Institute in New York, described an "African solution to African problems" by blending traditional local conflict resolution with a modern punitive legal system to deliver justice for the genocide. He used the Kinyarwanda word meaning "grass," which symbolized the traditional places communities gathered to resolve disputes and create peace. Since 2005, just over 12,000 community-based Gacaca courts have tried approximately 1.2 million cases.[8]

Meanwhile, in Kenya, Somjee realized Western peace practices were unsuccessful at resolving conflicts between ethnic groups. He thought Africans should turn their gaze toward the traditional customs of their ancient and living societies in hopes of finding reconciliation for current atrocities (Somjee, pers. comm., March 15, 2015). Hence, one example that needed to be revitalized was the African humanist philosophy of *Utu*.

The African Humanist Philosophy of *Utu*

Historically, the origins of *Utu* in Africa are rooted in the Bantu people's culture.[9] *Utu* comes from the Swahili word meaning "being mtu" or simply "being human"; it stands for a set of traditional African values that connect the Supreme Being, community, Elders, ancestors, and nature.[10] The philosophy is based on respectful reciprocal relationships between these five elements.

Bantu legends propose they are the earliest inhabitants of West Africa who walked across the continent, reaching the central rainforests and then traveling to South Africa.[11] Along the journey, family groups split off, becoming sub-groups of a vast network of clans or merging with other cultures throughout wide-ranging geographical regions. The migration of people across the African continent formed diverse societies that were based on *Utu* collective consciousness, in contrast to gaining wealth and power. As the Bantu migrated, their *Utu* belief system was disseminated through a massive network of Indigenous cultures in Africa.[12]

Remarkably, before colonialization, there are no accounts of these societies pursuing the occupation and domination of other ethnic groups outside of frequent raids on neighboring communities to capture women, livestock, and grain.[13] According to Somjee, these conflicts were balanced by peacemaking and reconciliation traditions. "Reconciliation events are highly ritualistic where skills of the orators compete in the art of storytelling showing the suffering caused by the other party while making demands for compensation in accordance with local law."[14] Their government systems also included peacemaking, reconciliation, and peacekeeping mechanisms that sustained harmony within families and clans and between ethnic groups. Although colonialism repressed the *Utu* belief system for over 200 years, the philosophy survived and had great potential to restore peace in contemporary civil society.

The Transformative Role of *Utu*

In the 1990s, ethnic division was a crucial issue, and Somjee considered how the African humanist philosophy of *Utu* could be applied to settle tensions, resolve human problems, and restore dignity with the aim of bringing about social cohesion.[15] He discussed the idea of researching African Indigenous peace heritage traditions with his research assistants. As a result, he sent Buliyar Rigano of the Rendile, Sammi Emwek of the Trukana, Johnson Kasagam of the Marakwet in Kerio Valley, and Andrew Cheptum of the Marakwet of the Highland "to study these rich heritage

traditions from elders in their home villages."[16] The Elders stepped forward to participate in the study as the knowledge keepers and spiritual leaders overseeing and resolving disputes within their communities. In the field, Somjee's assistants observed and documented peacemaking dialogue processes in talking circles, ceremonies, and rituals, while collecting peace material culture.

At the same time, Somjee spent 18 months traveling between these communities, meeting with the Elders and research assistants. During this time, he encountered sporadic conflicts between ethnic groups taking place in territorial pockets. Somjee realized many people were living between two worlds – one based on ethnic identity and the other on the nation-state. Among Indigenous societies in Kenya, identity is collective, binding people by blood and ethnic loyalties to their cultural group. These ties provide "community identity, and security for their livelihood within ethnic territorial boundaries and kinship connections."[17]

Traditionally, the concept of humiliation is both communal and generational. For example, when someone from a different ethnic group kills a community member from another ethnic group, they consider this a shame for the entire community. The spilling of blood on the earth is also a disgrace for the ethnic homeland.[18] Avenging a humiliation is passed on to the next generation, usually from the father to the son. However, the peacemaking social and political apparatuses of *Utu* addressed cultural humiliation through a series of negotiations between the conflicting ethnic groups, which involved talking circles, ceremonies, rituals, and determining compensation to reach reconciliation and restore peace.

Conversely, Somjee observed how ethnic politicians often controlled Indigenous loyalties by drawing on communal and collective consciousness, especially during election times. Politicians often orchestrated and promoted violence between Indigenous groups by pitting them against one another. As a result, conflict "manifests in chaos, ethnic fighting and worst of all, the humiliation of certain ethnicities."[19] Furthermore, past injustices, such as "suppressed rage of postcolonial humiliation came to the fore,"[20] and horrendous and vicious mass violence erupted. Ultimately, the collective peace wisdom of Indigenous societies was overshadowed during the violence of cultural nationalism. During conflicts and looming modernization in villages, Somjee and the research assistants thought it was urgent that Indigenous worldviews and folk wisdom of peace be encouraged.

Their study of *Utu* and peace heritage traditions led to the research team investigating the theme of "how peace was sustained as a communal heritage."[21] At the NMK, Somjee and the research team came together for monthly meetings and training. They shared knowledge about peace heritage traditions from their fieldwork, leading to the realization that each ethnic group believed in the African humanist philosophy of *Utu*. Ultimately, they agreed that each ethnic group's customs had similarities including peace trees, animals, sacred geography sites, material culture, songs, stories, and dances. These symbolic associations of peace evoked multilayered understandings of an *Utu* holistic worldview based on reciprocity of the spiritual, human, and non-human spheres. Essentially, *Utu* is a human being's moral compass, influenced by the five elements.

The Material Culture Workshop

In 1994, the North American Mennonite Central Committee (MCC)[22] became interested in Somjee's research work in multiethnic peace narratives. They wanted to be involved and approached Somjee about collecting material culture from pastoralist communities of the Maasai, Borana, Turkana, Somali, Pokot, Samburu, Murille, Gabra, and Rendille in Kenya for a traveling exhibit in North America. He agreed to be a consultant on two conditions.

> One was that an equal number and quality of items remain in Kenya among all eight ethnic groups. The other was that I [he] be given an opportunity to train youth from the eight pastoralist groups (involved in the project) to preserve and utilize the collection for education.[23]

As a result of the MCC exhibit project, in 1995 the ethnic groups came together in a *Material Culture Forum* sponsored by the MCC at the Paa ya Paa Art Gallery in Nairobi. The workshop led to the MCC donating seed money to establish rural community peace museums across various ethnic regions in Kenya.

The ethnic groups gathered at the gallery to present their peace material culture to each other. In essence, the forum provided a communal venue for the research assistants to be learners and teachers simultaneously by presenting and comparing their material culture.

> This was the first time that they (pastoralist ethnic groups and trainee field assistants) had gotten together – they do not speak each other's languages, but they spoke through the object. They could feel through the object, as they went around touching each other's objects with such delight. Hence, they learned about each other's culture, lifestyles and pastoral experiences through sensing the material culture objects.[24]

The participants exhibited peace material culture, told stories, and sang songs. In effect, the arts became an important means to broaden their understanding of the spectrum of peace heritage traditions among the cultural groups and fostered *Utu* within the group. Overall, the Indigenous approach to facilitating the forum and the remembrance of peace wisdom created an opportunity for the Turkana and Merille to reconcile through a peacebuilding ceremony.[25] In awe, Somjee, the research assistants, NGO members, and sponsors witnessed the process in action without interfering. In effect, by taking a back seat they de-territorialized the field of power: Instead of authority figures, minority communities implemented locally meaningful peacemaking mechanisms as legitimate methods. A pivotal moment occurred when it became evident that *Utu* had the potential to resolve present-day ethnic conflict. Indeed, the success of the reconciliation ceremony contributed toward ensuring financial support from the MCC to expand work with the eight pastoralist groups.

The forum carried forward two lessons that would support developing the future community peace museum network. First, Indigenous communities could sustain the notion of *Utu* by honoring each other's Indigenous peace heritage. Second, there are spaces in these societies to maintain peaceful traditions during conflicts. These lessons led to each participant agreeing to preserve their community-based traditions embedded in diverse heritages by teaching children and youth about material culture in their villages.

Over the next four years, the pastoralists aspired to create a peace museum representing the eight pastoralist groups' cultural stories through material culture collections. As well, Somjee and the forum participants began collaborating on a book entitled *Honey and Heifer: Grasses, Milk and Water*, which sought "to give voice to each pastoralist group's approaches to peacemaking."[26] The publication is significant as the first collection of literature based on the ethnic group's peace traditions in Kenya. The compilation describes each ethnic group's stories, proverbs, prayers, material culture, and peacemaking rituals. Generally, expressing peace is embedded in Indigenous knowledge systems, which reveal the diverse ways ethnic communities understand peace, peacemaking, and reconciliation.[27] Another outcome of the forum was that the attendees began encouraging peers in their home communities to join the peace museum project. They started to participate in cultural exchanges with each other's ethnic groups. These personal experiences helped to forge inter-ethnic bonds and build trusting relations among their diverse societies.

The Challenges of Developing Africanized Peace Museums

While the "Indigenous concept of *Utu* provided an important guideline in establishing the peace museums in Kenya,"[28] this raised questions for Somjee (pers. comm., March 13, 2020): How does a village person view a museum when a museum is a European concept? Is the European model the only one? How can local village people create peace museums reflecting their African cultural heritage and peace traditions?

Generally, African culture was not displayed as part of the artifacts and objects of indigenous heritage collections. In this sense, the notion of a "museum" was a foreign concept introduced during the colonial era. As colonial museums emerged in eastern and southern African countries such as Kenya, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, they represented national "institutions dedicated to the interests of the colonial power, the national élite and highly educated foreigners, all of whom formed the bulk of the visiting public."[29] These museums mainly focused on antiquity, archaeology, natural history, ethnography, and material culture:

The majority of museums in Africa share a common heritage in their history as national institutions: They are products of the colonial era and are essentially twentieth-century creations (that were) created to house the curios of a "tribal" people and to satisfy the curiosity of the élite citizenry almost to the total exclusion of the local people who produced the objects and materials.[30]

Another critical factor in the development of museums in Africa was religion. Both Christianity and Islam attacked African cultures and challenged traditional values, rites, and belief systems.[31] Because of Indigenous people's conversion to either Christianity or Islam, objects associated with their culture were confiscated, collected, or destroyed. In some cases, museums collected their material culture but with little accompanying documentation. The assault on Indigenous societies contributed substantially to building collections in the first museums of Africa.

Early on, Somjee experienced two influences that informed his approach to developing Africanized community peace museums. The first was in 1977 when working with writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and coauthor Ngaahika Ndeenda on a play called *I will marry when I want* at *Kamirithũ* village.[32] The village peasants and factory workers were the actors, back-stage helpers, and spectators. Somjee felt the significance of the play was due to the "people's collective power of memory"; it "made (their) personal stories tangible."[33] Ngũgĩ's approach became the model for Somjee's *Kamirithũ* methodological process, based on Indigenous people's history, local knowledge, and embodied experiences.

The second influence was the concept of "the Western folk museum tradition [which] was the closest model of a community museum that ensured a 'people grounded' 'grassroots' approach" that he could model.[34] Based on this concept, "community workshops that helped the village people to voice what they envisioned a museum to be"[35] were offered (Somjee, MOA, Presentation, March 13, 2020). Between 1994 and 2001, as a result of community consultation in the form of talking circles with "Somjee, research assistants, Elders, and community members, twenty-three small village peace museums and similar initiatives were established across the country"[36] (see Table 4.1).

According to African scholar Timothy Gachanga, the peace museums simulate an "Elder ritual master's traditional hut"[37] where inside, collections of peace material culture connect to sacred geography sites where many of the museums reside. Each museum highlights the local ethnic groups' peace heritage traditions through Indigenous architecture, languages, material culture, expressive arts, and nature. They are local gathering places offering a space for people to meet in talking circles to find peaceful conflict resolution through *Utu* traditional mechanisms, using the material culture collection for spiritual ceremonies and rituals to create social cohesion. In this way, the relationship between the museum and the community is fluid. Collectively, the peace museums work together for awareness against violence and humiliation, for social justice, and preservation of dignity for the protection of *Utu*.

In October 2002, Somjee registered the peace museums under the Community Peace Museum Heritage Foundation (CPMHF) before immigrating to Canada. He met with the curators, providing advice and passing along the CPMHF Constitution, Code of Ethics, and Kamirithu Methodology. Somjee requested the MCC sponsor the project for at least three more years until CPMHF could find alternative funding. Even though he continued to make recommendations while residing in Canada, tensions and challenges between various curators and groups increased after his departure.

Table 4.1 Community Peace Museums[38]

Community Peace Museums	
Museum	*Curators and Initiators*
Abalubya Peace Museum	Cyril Khamati
Abasuha Peace Museum	Jack Wanyende Obonyo
Aembu Peace Museum	Stephen Nijiru Njeru, Emphantus, Ngungi Njeru
Agikuyu Peace Museum	Kariuki Thuku, Muthe Thuku
Akamba Peace Museum	Munuve Mutisya
Akorino Peace Museum Initiative	Leah Wangari, Timothy Gachanga
Borana Peace Museum Initiative	Shane Diba
Gabra Peace Museum Initiative	Kana Roba, Yara Kalacha
Idakbo Peace Museum – Boniface Majani	Idakbo Peace Museum – Boniface Majani
Iluana Community Peace Museum	Iluana Community Peace Museum
Kisii Peace Museum	Ruth Kemunto
Lari Peace Museum	Muthe Thuku, Pastor Kariuki, Mzee Tumbo the Mau Mau Derainee, and his grandson Waihenya Njoroge
Thuku Peace Museum	Initiators: Muthe Pastor
Luo Peace Museum Initiative	Kennedy Owuor
Munyoyaya Peace Museum Initiative	Husein Dado
Pokot Peace Museum	Jonathon Akeno, Chepotipin Jane Akeno
Rendilli Community Peace Museum	Fabiano Wambille
Samburu Peace Museum Initiative	Felix Lekurchallan, Fred Leseskali
Su Seu Massai Community Peace Museum	Francis Nikitoria ole Sakuda, Lemeiloi ole Sekuda
Somoli Peace Museum Initiative	Somoli Peace Museum Initiative
Tharaka Peace Museum Initiative	Franklin Micheni
Tugen Peace Museum	Ivan Kiprop Lagat
Turkana Peace Museum Initiative	Leusin
Yakuu Peace Museum Initiative	Abdul Bocha
Abasuha Peace Museum	Jack Wanyende Obonyo

In 2004, Timothy Gachanga became the CPMHF's Coordinator. During this time, the CPMHF began establishing international partnerships with NGOs to develop traveling national outreach exhibits and public programs: *The Great Bead Peace Tree* (2006–2008); *Journeys of Peace* (2013–2014); *Youth for Peace* (2014–2015); and *Tubonge: Women's Peace Material Culture* (2017–2018). The partnerships reinvigorated the peace museums, and the NGOs contributed much-needed funding.

The Great Bead Peace Tree (2006–2008)

The visionaries of *The Great Bead Tree of Peace* project were Munuve Mutisya, curator of the Akamba CPM, and Samuel Thomas, a member of the Lower Cayuga Band of the Iroquois Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve in Canada.[39] Their

relationship developed between 2004 and 2005, when Thomas traveled to Kenya, meeting with Munuve to research common peace traditions such as peace trees. Another commonality was that they were both bead artists.

In 2006, they were inspired to team up and develop *The Great Bead Tree of Peace* project, centered on the arts and funded by the Ford Foundation. In 2007, the project launched during the aftermath of the chaotic presidential elections, when ethnic clashes left an estimated 1,300 people killed and displaced 50,000 people. The project team including Mutisya, Thomas, Kuona Trust visual artists, CPMHF curators, and Elders who attempted to intercept a culture of violence by holding open community forums based on communal peace heritage traditions across the country. Indeed, when the team set out to bring together conflicting communities impacted by the violence to bead a peace tree, it was a "dangerous undertaking."[40] Although some communities declined to participate, remarkably the project reached over 30,000 people in 22 communities and accumulated tens of thousands of beads, representing many "people's wish to live in peace."[41] This project provided persuasive evidence that by prompting the remembrances of *Utu*, a healing process takes place in the hearts and minds of people, which leads to forgiveness and reconciliation.

On May 15, 2007, the undertaking concluded with "an unveiling of *The Great Bead Tree of Peace* at the Indigenous World Peoples Exhibit in the front hall of the United Nations Headquarters in New York."[42] The exhibit at the UN represents an international example of a co-creation peace project between the Indigenous Peoples of Kenya and the Iroquois peoples of North America.

Journeys of Peace (2013–2014)

In 2014, the CPMHF partnered with the Swedish NGO Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB). The organizations shared a vision of utilizing cultural heritage as a resource and indispensable element for promoting human rights and democracy. The project managers, Diana Walters (CHwB) and Timothy Gachanga (CPMHF), "organised a 12-month travelling exhibition on African peace cultures in Kenya"[43] called Journeys of Peace (JoP). They led the project to revitalize Indigenous tangible and intangible cultural heritage to empower and transform communities in conflict. Overall, eight community peace museums participated in JoP. The curators collaboratively designed five portable panels depicting Indigenous rituals and ceremonies, environmental symbols and objects used in peacebuilding, and material culture selection. "More than 4,000 people from various communities across Kenya viewed the exhibition."[44] The combination of images and objects prompted stories of peace during community workshops, talking circles, and peace and reconciliation ceremonies at various locations across the country.[45]

Gachanga and Walters (2015) actively evaluated the project using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods by collating participant feedback and conducting semi-structured individual and group interviews.[46] The findings proved JoP was influential in introducing African peacebuilding practices through *Utu*, material culture, and the expressive arts to a wide range of participants, including local

Indigenous communities, teachers and students, government and cultural workers, and NGOs such as World Vision.[47] The project had significant outcomes in advocating social justice and resolving conflict between the Pokot and Tugen and the Samburu and Dorobo. Furthermore, peace education involved schoolchildren and urban youth at University Mtaani in Huruma to address growing ethnic clashes by learning conflict resolution skills based on traditional peace mechanisms. CHwB and CPMHF members enthusiastically agreed that Indigenous arts and material culture create opportunities for communicating experiences, listening to others' feelings, and discussing the resolution of conflict.

The Swedish Institute externally evaluated JoP to prove that *Utu* is readily available and celebrated in villages through social performances such as songs, storytelling, dances, and material culture. Ultimately, JoP showed compelling evidence that peace museums can help connect people through the arts by creating an awareness of humanistic values in their traditions to restore pride and dignity among conflicted and often humiliated societies.

Youth for Peace (2014–2015)

The positive results from JoP led the CHwB to support another national project, Youth for Peace (Y4P).[48] The venture began in 2014 when the CPMHF and CHwB partnered in a yearlong project funded by the Creative Force Programme of the Swedish Institute. The organizations aimed to support Kenyan young people (aged 15–30) to become ambassadors of peace in rural communities by teaching them the African cultural foundations of *Utu*, aiming to provide them with peacebuilding skills to address political instability and ethnic conflict. The project focused on five high-risk geographical areas, including Samburu in the north, Akamba in the south, Yaaku in the west, Gaitu in the east, and Aembu in central Kenya. The range of partners included "educational institutions, local and regional government, local media and artists, Elders, museums and cultural institutions, political organizations dedicated to peace, civil society NGOs, faith groups, local business and local sports clubs."[49] As well, a "new partner joined the project – the rehabilitation office Kamiti Maximum Security Prison, Nairobi."[50]

The national Youth for Peace (Y4P) conference at the Contemplative Missionaries in Karen District, held on August 25 and 26, brought together youth as peace ambassadors. They showcased their cultural heritage projects, met like-minded youth, and participated in workshops and expressive art activities. The goal was to increase youth's cultural heritage knowledge as a resource, retaining traditions that sustain ethnic values in areas of war and famine. The program developed youths' appreciation of social values based on peace and communal ethics.

Tubonge: Women's Peace Material Culture (2017–2018)

In 2016–2018, the CPMHF and Fredens Hus (Freedom House) in Uppsala, Sweden, partnered with the Tubonge traveling exhibit, funded by the Swedish Institute. The project's mandate was to create an activist artists' network with CPMHF curators to bring Kenyans into a dialogue about human rights and encourage reflection and

change within civil society. The project promoted women, people with disabilities, and minorities to proactively work toward equality and peacebuilding during disputes.

Traditionally, women played a distinctive role in preventing and resolving conflicts in East African Indigenous societies. Women as mothers embody peace, as they are the ones who give life, and their part in society is to keep harmonious relationships.[51] The challenge is the rise of armed conflict in African countries and whether woman can subvert dominant violence and create a movement toward peace. The exhibit featured woman's peace material culture to rekindle female's peace culture attached to African traditions. Material culture examples, such as a traditional Pokot belt (a *leketyo*) and a Maasai apron worn as a cape (an *ol kila*), showcased Indigenous African women's role as peacemakers. Traditionally, when conflicts occurred, women would remove their *leketyo* or *ol kila* and drop it between people to stop the fighting, and the dispute would immediately stop. The objects' symbolism represents women's connection with the Supreme Being as givers of life. The exhibition promoted Indigenous women as honored and respected peace negotiators, leaders during conflicts, and decision-makers.

In August 2017, a Tubonge conference held at the National Nairobi Museum brought together women's ethnic groups, youth, post-secondary students, and shantytown community members to celebrate women's peace heritage traditions. Women across the country united to find a common path by strengthening the existing but fading peace traditions, reinstating women as peacemakers to respond to conflict and re-establish peace in Africa.

Since the establishment of CPMHF, these projects have also seen many challenges for the curators, such as negotiating with NGOs to secure funding for Indigenous conflict resolution projects, and safety and security risks due to ethnic rivalries while implementing programs.[52] Conversely, the success of the CPMHF is tied to its ability to work independently since 2003 by following Somjee's guiding documents and methodology, consequently perpetuating the consistent growth of the organization. During the past 18 years, the peace museums have collaborated with NGOs on such international partnership projects as The Great Bead Peace Tree (2006–2008); Journeys of Peace (2013–2014); Youth for Peace (2014–2015); Tubonge: Women's Peace Material Culture (2017–2018); and Promoting Peace, Culture, and Unity (2019–2020). These successes have built the CPMHF's reputation and earned the trust of new donor agencies for working on cross-border projects. Global relationships include CPMHF members elected to the International Network of Museums of Peace Executive and Advisory Boards in 2020. Additionally, researchers are interested in how the CPMHF museums reconcile ethnic tensions and conflicts, which has led to a growing body of scholarship.[53] All of this combined has raised the profile of CPMHF and introduced African peace cultural heritage to a broader audience. In particular, the most outstanding achievement of the CPMHF is that the "museums seek to own and preserve cultural knowledge, pass it from one generation to another and, in so doing, strengthen intergenerational bonds."[54] Today, the CPMHF continues to practice a "people to people" approach at 15 museums across the country to create awareness about the presence of *Utu* (see Figure 4.1).

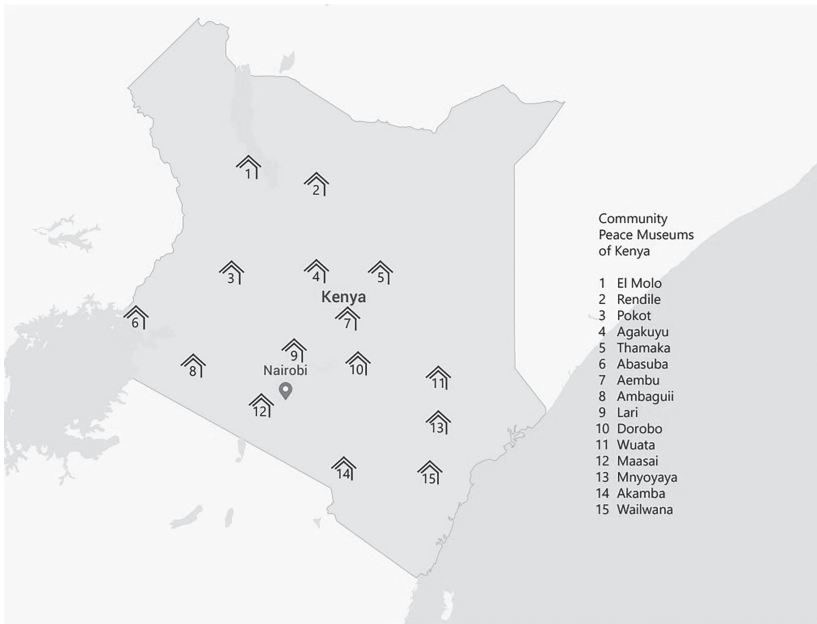

Figure 4.1 Community Peace Museums of Kenya, 2022.

Source: Map by Kimberly Baker (used with permission).

Uganda Community Museums

The CPMHF peace museum model continues to influence Africanizing peace museums, including the 2001 establishment of the Gulu Community Peace Museum in Uganda. The Ugandan community museums are independent organizations, mostly founded by individual citizens who became the directors, or by NGOs whose programs evolved to include museum work within communities. Their size and collections of artifacts vary from small-scale rented spaces to permanent museums with established teaching collections, education programs, and community initiatives. Overall, they focus on Indigenous minorities' cultural rights and open up cross-cultural dialogue, which contributes to breaking down Indigenous stereotypes and distrust between ethnic groups. They also highlight the diversity of Indigenous groups as cultural resources to promote critical national values of tolerance, respect for identity, and cultural diversity.[55] As a result, they provide an essential function in supporting Indigenous groups to engage in peace and harmony – in a country where ethnic divisiveness has potentially violent and fractious outcomes.

A Brief Political History of Uganda

A brief overview of Uganda's political history will give more insight into the role of these peace museums. The different types of conflict across the regions of Uganda are in part an outcome of the colonial period, when Indigenous peoples

lost large portions of traditional territories from the redrawing of geographical boundaries, implementation of taxes, and colonial-centric and religious education. In 1893, the Imperial British East Africa Company turned over the territory rights and administration, mainly consisting of the Kingdom of Burganda, to the British Empire, which held power from 1894 to 1962.[56] During the Protectorate of Uganda, the country became divided between two peoples: the Nilotic in the north and the Bantu in the south. Under British rule, much of the security force was recruited from the north, resulting in the north's military dominance over the south. The Acholi cultural group comprised the majority of military soldiers of the British colonial Kings African Rifles (KAR), and in WWII, many were deployed to Southeast Asia. In the central north, people experienced a 20-year "politically engineered civil war,"[57] whereas the Rwenzori and Karamoja regions encountered ethnic clashes because of limited resources and cattle rustling among local cultures.[58]

The Uganda Protectorate gained independence from British occupation on October 9, 1962, becoming a republic but maintaining its membership in the Commonwealth of Nations. From 1962 to 1986, there were eight government changes, four of them by military force. According to Nsibambi, Uganda's politics often follow ethnocultural and regional lines, much like in other African countries, largely due to the legacy of colonialism.[59] In Uganda, ethnic dominance was in place until Yoweri Museveni entered the capital city, Kampala, on January 26, 1986. He dissolved the then Military Council, replacing it with a National Resistance Council (NRC) and becoming sworn in as President under a no-party rule.

Since independence, Uganda has suffered from politically driven ethnic violence, mired in armed conflicts and gross human rights violations. Since 1986, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony, an Acholi from Gulu,[60] has fought the Ugandan government, terrorizing the Acholi community through looting, raping, and abductions of children and adults, forcing them into militia training that forced them to kill their own people.[61] During the war, hundreds of innocent people were massacred, and more than one million people were displaced. Neighboring ethnic groups became skeptical and hostile to the Acholi people because they associated *all* Acholi people with being enemies of the state for supporting the LRA.

In September 1995, a new constitution was proclaimed, the first presidential election was held in May 1996, and the election to the legislature took place 1 month later in June. Many Ugandan citizens shifted their focus from "daily survival needs to self-actualization, promoting cultural identity and expression, and going beyond the focus on mainstream human rights to cultural rights."[62] This change partly explains the reasons for the proliferation of both government and community museums across the country. However, community museums are fewer in northern and eastern Uganda's conflict-prone regions, where displacement and people's immediate survival needs are at the forefront, contributing to the eroding of cultural values.

Highlighting Indigenous Heritage in Ugandan Museums

Indeed, the history of Uganda is "deemed 'contentious' or 'difficult,' largely due to ethnic, political and religious groups exercising power and claiming sole legitimacy by denying other Indigenous groups their cultural heritage and historical perspectives."[63] Conversely, community museums aim to encourage an appreciation of a diversity of cultures.

The inspiration for the development of the Ugandan community museums came about in 2001 when three Acholi community members led by Mama Ester and Lam from Uganda attended a peace museums conference organized by the CPM in Kenya.[64] They met Somjee, who introduced them to the concept of a community museum. A second visit to Kenya – headed by the Paramount Chief of Acholi, *Rwot* David Onen Acana, and a team of four chiefs and five Elders – facilitated learning more about the work of the CPM. When the delegation returned home, they embarked on a series of "talking circles," a concept they borrowed from the CPM, resulting in the Cross-Cultural Foundation of Uganda (CCFU) adopting the community museum model. The CCFU promoted the concept of community museums, which over the years spread to 30 institutions throughout the country.[65]

With the support of CCFU, these community museums united under the umbrella of the Uganda Community Museums Association (UCOMA), founded in 2011, and registered as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with the National NGO Board. The mission of UCOMA is to bring together all member community museums to enhance their professionalism and protect their interests, so communities in Uganda value and promote Indigenous cultures. The proliferation of community museums marked a new direction of moving away from the national Uganda Museum and the Moroto, Soroti, and Kabale regional museums to more grassroots initiatives. UCOMA promoted and articulated Indigenous groups' identity as a "collective voice including the Baganda, Banyanore, Madi, Alur, Acholi, Karamojong, Basoga, Banyoro, Ethur and Batooro peoples."[66]

The significance of this position is that Indigenous groups are instrumental in highlighting politically repressed cultures or ones whose historical narratives the government had aimed to erase. These groups contribute toward preserving cultural heritage, creating awareness, and promoting inter-ethnic solidarity. Many of these community museums are now spaces safeguarding cultural heritage by presenting local Indigenous history and traditions through material culture.

Yet, even with the significant growth of community museums across Uganda due to warfare, there are fewer in the northern and eastern conflict-prone areas. Conflict causes people's displacement and puts their immediate survival needs at the forefront, ultimately contributing to the eroding of cultural values. In that sense, community museums in warring areas make a significant contribution not only to retain cultural heritage but to build upon Indigenous peace heritage tradition to resolve contemporary conflicts. This next section focuses on the efforts of peace museums in the conflicted northern region of Acholi traditional territory: the Gulu Community Peace Museum and the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture.

Gulu Community Peace Museum

One museum closely aligned with Kenyan CPM methods is the Gulu Community Peace Museum in Gulu town, in the Acholi ethnic region of northern Uganda. Its creator and curator, Francis Odongyoo, secured funds from the Ford Foundation to establish the museum, and the Elders gave blessings to initiate the construction of the building. Odongyoo became interested in researching Acholi's "traditional knowledge of peacebuilding because the Western ways that we had been using had failed our people."[67] Thus, Acholi history, culture, and peace heritage traditions with a human rights focus form the basis of the museum.

Odongyoo learned the Acholi peoples began migrating around 1,000 CE from what is known today as South Sudan to Northern Uganda.[68] In the late seventeenth century, a new sociopolitical order developed, mainly characterized by the formation of chiefdoms headed by a *Rwodi* (ruler). The chiefs traditionally came from one clan, and each chiefdom included several villages made up of different patrilineal clans. By the mid-nineteenth century, approximately 60 small-scale chiefdoms existed in eastern Acholiland (Webster, 2013). During the mid-nineteenth century, Arabic-speaking traders called them "Shooli," which transformed into "Acholi."

According to Latigo, the Acholi people's social-political system is rooted in their spiritual beliefs, peace philosophy, and traditions, emphasizing harmony and stability in Acholiland. Appointed Acholi chiefs formed a council of clan Elders to mediate disputes and conflicts between the clans.[69] They were essentially governing civil and criminal cases like a Supreme Court, based on spirituality and cosmology to maintain peace at all times. The system values peace over justice and has retributive and restorative outcomes. For example, as Ondongyoo observes, the "Acholi use storytelling as a tool for peacebuilding since time immemorial."[70] In talking circles, "storytelling is a method of peace remembrance, retelling stories of peace during the mediation process draws on lessons, thoughts and feelings of people's past experiences."[71] Among the Acholi, storytelling is about real-life events, used as a peacebuilding tool embodying linguistic elements to express feelings. The words from a person, the tonal nuances, and gestures evoke a connection with other people. During the storytelling process, the conflicting parties, which may be individuals, communities, clans, or ethnic groups, "actively listen, observe, and feel peace or absence from the story if they do not take appropriate actions."[72]

Odongyoo aims to contribute toward peace and reconciliation through intercultural dialogue by utilizing traditional Acholi mechanisms of conflict resolution. He says, "The Gulu CPM is slowly bringing peace to Acholiland and helping us to reclaim our dignity and identity."[73] One way the museum ensures the preservation of Acholi cultural roots for future generations is through the museum display room with its extensive collection of material culture, such as ritual spears (*tong*) and calabashes (*awal*) used for peacemaking. In the garden, a group of peace trees such as *olwedo* and *oput* as well as sacred grass (*oywec dyang*) represent blessings and reconciliation. The collections are accessible to local people, students, researchers, and tourists.

Museum education is essential in teaching children and youth to understand and appreciate cultural heritage, ultimately drawing on peace heritage traditions as examples to resolve conflict and improve the future. The museum connects to children and youth not only through visits but through heritage clubs at schools. Traditional talking circles and dancing support and re-integrate a "lost generation back into the communities as is the Acholi custom to bring peace" with their ancestors.[74]

Museum of Acholi Art and Culture

The Museum of Acholi Art and Culture (MAAC) opened its first location on Independence Day, October 9, 2011, in a rented room in the center of Kitgum town.[75] The founder and curator, Peter Oloya, is of Acholi cultural descent. Born in 1979, he is a victim of the long-waging war in the northern region of Uganda.[76] Oloya's love of art and culture and his desire to preserve Acholi culture informed his vision for the MAAC: "inspiring future generations, uniting the Acholi culturally, addressing social issues and contributing to peace."[77] Although he has no training in museum education, Oloya's experience as an artist and participation in art exhibitions have shaped his thinking on managing the museum. He envisioned spaces for making, exhibiting, and selling art created by contemporary artists. However, increasing rents prompted the museum to move three times before securing a permanent location on land between Gulu and Kitgum.

On May 11, 2013, the groundbreaking ceremony of the new MAAC building took place.[78] The architecture of the building and the Western art gallery presentation style by which he has chosen to showcase Indigenous Acholi artifacts are a departure from the other peace museums in Kenya and Uganda. The construction of the building occurred in stages as Oloya procured funds to build exhibition rooms and offices. The museum entrance has two rooms on each side of the entranceway: office space on the right and museum exhibition space on the left. Artifacts such as pots, calabashes, and food production tools are positioned against white walls and on white wooden pedestals. A series of photographs is displayed as part of the narrative of the museum to demonstrate the process from war to peace in the region. The exhibit and photographs emphasize the important role art plays in the peace process. The MAAC provides interpreters to guide visitors through the exhibit, but there is no hands-on engagement with objects, contrary to many other CPMHF and CCFU independent museums.

Although the MAAC started as a private enterprise, Oloya insists that the museum is "owned" communally with the community (Hans, 2018a). Through his relationships, he shares ownership with stakeholders, including teachers and heritage clubs, youth heritage preservation competitions, Elders and chiefs, and other Acholi cultural resource people. Similar to other directors and curators of the community peace museums, Oloya works outside the museum to provide funding by holding exhibitions and selling his art in Kampala – once again demonstrating the dedication of community peace museum founders.

Community Peace Museum Partnerships between Kenya and Uganda

In East Africa, ethnic diversity can cause social and political conflicts, but at the same time offer a rich resource of peace heritage traditions to draw from in managing differences. Collectively, Kenya and Uganda have over 80 Indigenous groups. Another commonality between both countries is youth (below 30 years of age), constituting over 70% of the national population.[79] Young people have had few opportunities to learn about cultural diversity as a source of social cohesion. In 2011, the CCFU generated an initiative to address young people's growing disconnect with their cultural roots by developing a national painting and essay writing competition based on various cultural heritage themes across a network of 150 cultural heritage clubs in secondary schools. These clubs play an essential role in employing young people in creative ways to explore their cultural heritage.

In 2019, the CCFU extended the cultural heritage clubs project with the CPMHF, and they began collaborating on a peace education project: *Promoting Peace, Culture and Unity: Young Ugandans and Kenyans demonstrating the value of social cohesion*. The intention was to promote and nurture an appreciation for cultural knowledge that contributes toward social cohesion, as well as mentoring youth to be the peace leaders of tomorrow. A total of 462 young people participated and submitted their illustrations of peace rituals, ceremonies, material culture, and animals for the competition. In a 2019 booklet called *Promoting, Culture, Peace and Unity*, 13 winning entries were published. The booklet includes a drawing and essay by Tecla Kalekye (a student at Kisumu Girls' High School, Kisumu County, Kenya), which depicts the peace animal totem *kocha* (tortoise). The *Utu* concept of a peace totem in an African Indigenous context refers to the ability of a spirit being, sacred object, biological species, or animal to have a reciprocal relationship with human beings and the spiritual world. A totem may be adopted by an Indigenous group, clan, or family as a symbol of their ancestry. As Tecla explained in her essay about the *kocha*, totem animals can be symbolic of peace (see Figure 4.2).

> A kocha is a tortoise among the Munyoyaya of Tana river. A kocha does no harm. The creator did not give the kocha any claws to scratch or poison to kill. Like the tortoise, human beings are not born with weapons in their hands or poison in their bite. A kocha has a hard shell yet it does not fight. When attacked, it will withdraw its head back into the hard shell and wait for calm to return. The kocha is an example of a peace animal that's highly respected among the Munyoyaya. It promotes peace and unity because it shows how human beings should live without violence. Since the Munyoyaya are a pacifist ethnic group, they use the kocha as a symbol of nonviolence. Other neighbouring ethnic groups like the Wailwana and Waata of the Tana river belt also use the same animal as totem to promote nonviolence amongst the community.[80]

This example illustrates how the project offered young people an opportunity to learn about their cultural heritage and understand how many Indigenous groups

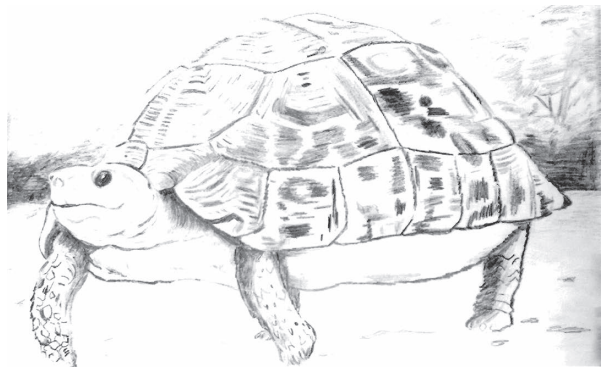

Figure 4.2 Tecla Kalekye, *Kocha Tortoise*, 2019.

Source: Drawing by By Tecla Kalekye, [https://www.cpmhf.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/image-9.png]. Used with permission.

have in common peace traditions to manage and resolve conflicts. "[T]hese age-old mechanisms, including negotiation, reconciliation and mediation, are meant to foster unity and peaceful co-existence among people belonging to diverse cultural communities."[81] The CCFU and CPMHF peace museums project cultivated collaboration across national borders with school Cultural Heritage and Peace Clubs: supporting young people's awareness of humanistic values drawn from multiple Indigenous cultural heritages and ultimately breaking down stereotypes between Indigenous groups.

Though the community peace museums in Uganda contribute to preserving Indigenous cultures and remembrances of numerous peace traditions, these organizations face multiple challenges. For example, they depend on donations to survive. As well, despite the good intentions of the directors and curators, there is a need for capacity building in museum management – including business planning, marketing, and finances; and sustaining exhibitions, research, collections, and digitization of objects. Fortunately, with support from the CCFU and UCOMA, the community museums are developing museum best practices. Overall, they are contributing to the challenge posed by eroding cultural heritages by engaging Elders, children, youth, and community members to revitalize traditions that support peace and harmony. These Africanized peace museums continue to grow and offer insight into Indigenous peace heritage traditions.

Community Museums of Peace of the African Child Solider, South Sudan

Another significant example of the African peace museum model is the Community Museum of Peace of the African Child Solider (CPMACS) in South Sudan. The CPMACS is based on African humanistic values and associated peace traditions to encourage a peaceful civil society across diverse ethnic groups.

In 2014, Lomudak Okech, a former child soldier from South Sudan now living in Canada – met Sultan Somjee, who told him about the CPMHF peace museum's work in conflict zones in Kenya.[82] They discussed how the Acholi people in Northern Uganda and South Sudan have been at war for 30 years, causing the breakdown of civil society and conflict between traditional clans, families, and individuals. This state of affairs is mostly due to Sudan being in a constant state of war since 1953. Overall, the causes of the civil war included ethnic tensions, religious ideology, management of oil resources, and government influences on the economy, politics, and ethnic social relations.[83] During the last 20 years of warfare, rebels abducted children from homes and schools, forcing them to serve in guerilla armies. They became known as the "child soldiers."

According to the UN, a consequence of these civil wars is that South Sudan has one of the highest rates of child soldiers in the world: an estimated 19,000 children.[84] Since fighting erupted in 2013, the UN children's agency has facilitated the release of more than 3,200 child soldiers from both government and opposition forces.[85] Children who leave armed groups often struggle to adjust. They are often haunted by their pasts, unable to talk about their experiences for fear of being stigmatized, and have difficulty controlling their anger. As the country emerged from a 5-year civil war (1983–2005) that killed almost 400,000 people and displaced millions, some worry fighting could re-ignite if former child soldiers are not reintegrated into society.[86]

According to William Deng Deng, chair of South Sudan's national disarmament demobilization and reintegration commission, "Without more support, the consequence is that the children will move toward the barracks where there's social connection, food and something to do," and will inevitably "loot and raid, and it will begin to create insecurity."[87] Many are accused of spilling relatives' blood, which is a strong taboo in African culture, so they are often not accepted back into their home communities. Challenges continue for the child soldiers who are now adults with families of their own, but who have no education or skills due to their lost childhood.

The Making of the Community Museum of Peace of the African Child Soldier

To address these challenges, Somjee and Okech began gathering former child soldiers from South Sudan who arrived as refugees in Canada to share their stories about being child soldiers. Somjee introduced the group to the idea of the CPMHF peace museums of Kenya. He talked about how these museums use traditional African democratic methods to resolve current disputes such as ethnic fighting between societies as well as tensions within communities and between families. Based on the CPMHF peace museums' success in resolving ongoing ethnic tensions, Somjee, Okech, and the former child soldiers believed building a community peace museum in South Sudan was a hopeful possibility for "a space to remember other stories of former Child Soldiers and their families."[88] The museum would bring people together to share traditional African peace practices to nurture

children and bring peace and healing to former child soldiers in a safe environment. The museum concept stimulated their vision statement:

> The Community Museum of Peace of the African Child Soldier will be a facility for viewing exhibitions and performances that nurture remembrances of South Sudan's multiple peace traditions. The displays will provide spaces for families living in war torn societies to converse and reflect on abducted children. Together the families will work through participatory healing processes by learning to support each other. The intention is to initiate cross regional family bonds based on awareness of shared heritage of indigenous peace building and desires to put an end to abductions of children.[89]

In 2014, Okech traveled to the town of Magwi in Eastern Equatoria in South Sudan. He met with Elders and former child soldiers to discuss the reintegration of abducted children into village life and society through "African ways of healing through talking circles, rituals and the arts."[90] The challenge would be to build a peace museum against the backdrop of continual violence in South Sudan. They formed the Community Museum of Peace of the African Child Soldier (CPMACS), which aims to support former child soldiers' reintegration into village life. Elders are the board members, and they guide former child soldiers, family, and community members toward peace, healing, and reconciliation through African traditional methods. Afterward, the former child soldiers are encouraged to become board members. Together, they actively participate in realizing CPMACS five interrelated objectives:

- Tell stories of the Child Soldiers and their families to recall and document reconciliation and peacebuilding practices in regional traditions and collective community memories
- Provide open avenues for willing families across ethnicities that hold similar humanistic and family values to cultivate goodwill
- Present an exhibition of Child Soldier's narratives of peacebuilding, both visually and orally
- Connect the museum with the Diaspora of South Sudan and the neighboring countries that share ethnicities along common borders
- Break the generational walls of fear, suspicion, and hate among children and youth.[91]

CPMACS board and community members collaboratively built the peace museum. The architecture represents a traditional Acholi village house, which provides a flexible multipurpose space where activities such as talking circles, storytelling, art workshops, training, and traveling exhibitions can take place (see Figure 4.3). Like most African peace museums, they develop in stages as funds are raised. Currently, the museum is in the process of collecting material culture, including child soldiers' clothing, utility objects from the forest camps, family

Figure 4.3 Community Museum of Peace of the African Child Soldier, 2021.
Source: Photograph by Lomudak Okech. Used with permission.

photographs, and their current writings, poems, songs, and artwork. The museum emphasizes three themes:

- Origins of the South Sudanese people through migrations
- Development of the Indigenous traditions for sustaining peace, order, and beauty
- Understanding how the national identity is constructed through culminating many cultural identities

These themes prompt people's discussion about the current challenges of long wars and the breakdown of families. They draw on collective community memories of Indigenous peace heritage traditions to provide hope for the people affected by violence. Indigenous humanist social values are a belief system that uplifts the dignity of South Sudanese cultures from decades of cultural humiliation. The first step is revitalizing traditional peace rituals and ceremonies.

Mato Oput Ceremony

One traditional peacemaking method is a reconciliation ritual called *Mato Oput* (drinking the roots of the oput tree). Among the Acholi, this ceremony is done

when persons who have committed crimes, hurt individuals, or gone against traditional customs "undergo a body-centred sacrament to be accepted back into the physical and spiritual life of the village."[92] *Mato Oput* is a key mechanism for reintegration and peacebuilding, which translates into cleansing the body of impurities to remove the bad spirit.

According to Okech[93] and Somjee,[94] the Elders enact the ceremony, beginning with holding the person's arms behind their backs, with their heads forcibly held low into submission to drink a foul-smelling and bitter-tasting mixture, like an animal, to teach them humility. Their bodily reactions are metaphors for their previous abuses. For example, a mouth that has spoken foul language is filled with the bitter liquid that is so repulsive it can cause a person to vomit, which is considered a cleansing of their internal body. Simultaneously, Elders reprimand and speak words of tribal wisdom in the ears of those who previously did not listen to their guidance. The Elders accept the person's body transformation as being connected to the ancestors, and the community witnesses the ceremony. The Acholi view the person's transformation and reintegration into village life as a collective responsibility. Their commitment to reorientate and re-socialize the person is a cosmic collective act of duty and compassion.

While customary prescriptions within the Acholi value systems suggest solutions to contemporary challenges, discussion with cultural leaders indicated that it is difficult today for people to volunteer to meet the needs and welfare of child soldiers. Traditional practices such as *Mato Oput* can ensure a smoother return and reintegration of formerly abducted young persons and other people in Acholi society. Among the Elders, such practices are critical for peaceful resettlement. These practices promote social harmony, and within them, rehabilitation, resettlement, and reintegration occur to ensure a transition of the formerly abducted children and young people from rebel captivity to the community. However, it is essential to note that Acholi society has undergone a societal change in modern times, and not all people within the community fully subscribe to these time-honored cultural rituals and practices. Some people prefer Christian and Western psychiatric/psychological approaches to address personal psycho-emotional and reintegration issues. The *Mato Oput* example demonstrates an Indigenous peace museum method that shows a willingness to adapt museum practice to incorporate Indigenous social practices, which can potentially heal, reconcile, and strengthen relations between the human and non-human world.

Moreover, the CPMACS exemplifies an alternative grassroots approach to remembering the lives of abducted children who died in civil wars, those who escaped captivity, and others released from forest camps. The peace museum is an important gathering space for former child soldiers to share their experiences and how this trauma has affected them, their families, and community life. These critical stories are told through a participatory community approach that includes Indigenous material culture, artmaking, social performances, songs, storytelling, and healing rituals like *Mato Oput*. Combined, they start the healing process, ultimately leading to forgiveness and reconciliation. From this example, it is evident that peace museums can mend the minds and hearts of diverse individuals and groups in conflict through sensitization and generating goodwill.

Conclusion

The cornerstone of the Africanized peace museum movement is respect for life: not just human life, but all forms, human and non-human. The most indelible legacy of the African community peace museums, and those who have developed and participated at various sites and projects, is the revitalization of the African humanist philosophy of *Utu* and Indigenous peace heritage traditions. The holistic framework that *Utu* encompasses provides a path for peacemaking, reconciliation, and healing. Collectively, the African peace museums promote social cohesion through employing Indigenous worldviews of the African humanist philosophy of *Utu* by such means as

- **Talking Circles** for conflict reconciliation between individuals, community members, and ethnic groups.
- **Preserving Elders' Knowledge** by establishing Elder Boards who teach *Utu* values and peace heritage traditions to curators, children, youth, and community members.
- **Researching and Collecting Peace Material Culture** for the purpose of teaching and preserving peace traditions through memory, language, and the expressive arts.
- **Teaching Expressive Arts through** drama, songs, dances, and artmaking, which connects people through participatory art methods to encourage reconciliation, healing, and peace.
- **Protecting and Preserving Sacred Geography Sites** by maintaining biodiversity of peace trees and biological heritage.
- **Revitalizing Indigenous Languages** at risk by teaching students and youth language skills through stories, proverbs, songs, and riddles.
- **Establishing Primary and Secondary School Peace Clubs** to facilitate *Utu* and peace education programs that teach children and youth Indigenous peace heritage traditions through language, material culture, expressive arts, and biological heritage.
- **Developing Traveling Exhibitions and Programs** to strengthen inter-cultural relationships, maintain bonds between CPMHF curators, encourage reciprocal international partnerships that offer unique learning experiences for cultural workers, and establish partnerships for NGO funding to support local and national projects.

While facing many challenges, the Africanized peace heritage movement has also created opportunities for engagement with peacemaking on a community level. Notable examples include the following:

- creating awareness about the presence of cultural peace heritage traditions as an alternative to Western peacemaking practices
- collaborating with rural civil society by providing grassroots approaches through "people to people" talking circles for conflict reconciliation among ethnic groups in dispute

- facilitating cultural peace education programs that disseminate humanistic values to students, youth, and community members
- protecting sacred sites, the biodiversity of peace trees, and biological heritage and encouraging peace with the environment (Mother Earth) to sustain their existence for future generations
- maintaining their organization's autonomy from national government heritage bodies to ensure "bottom-up" management structures, retain museum collections, and ensure the freedom to express exhibit themes that may challenge national historical narratives
- encouraging reciprocal partnerships to offer unique learning experiences for international cultural workers and establish funding for local and national projects.

In a world where violence is pervasive, the greatest legacy of African peace museums is reviving the cultural memories and wisdom of peace and sustaining these rich traditions through education, collective creativity, and discussion to reduce conflict and enhance relationships. A key to making connections across cultural communities is to develop a greater international understanding of Indigenous approaches to conflict resolution through peace heritage and education. Recognition of Indigenized museums potentially provides routes to help decolonize and reshape the foundations of museology on a global scale.

Notes

1 Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 1.
2 Kazuyo Yamane and Ikuro Anzai, eds., *Museums for Peace Worldwide* (London: Lulu Press, 2020).
3 Sultan Somjee, "Remembrance of Reconciliation and Historical Truth in Cultural Spaces: Twenty Years of Community Peace Museums in Kenya," (Paper presented at the 8th International Conference of Museums for Peace, No Gun Ri, South Korea, April 2014), 271–88.
4 Eric Wamalwa and Stephen Oluoch, "Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance: Can Endangered Indigenous Languages of Kenya be Electronically Preserved?" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 7 (2013): 258.
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5 Gandhi and Peace in the Museums of the World

Elisabetta Colagrossi

> The present directs the past like the conductor of an orchestra leads his players. It needs these and those sounds, not others. . . . In the present, only the part that is recalled reverberates to illuminate it or to dim it.
>
> (I. Svevo, *La morte*)

Introductory Reflections

With these words Gandhi, in October 1939, warned his supporters:

> One warning I should like to issue to my admirers. Some would like to erect my statues in public places, some others would have portraits, yet others would proclaim my birthday as a public holiday. . . . Avoidance of such opportunity is a real service to the country and me. Statues, photographs and the like have no place today. The only praise I would like and treasure is promotion of the activities to which my life is dedicated.[1]

These recommendations were completely disregarded. For example, the anniversary of the Mahatma's birth is celebrated as a public holiday (Gandhi Jayanti), as well as declared by the United Nations, since 2007, as "International Day for Nonviolence," and his image is visible everywhere, all around the world. It is impossible to count the statues and images that portray him, as a political leader, a saint, a champion of nonviolence, or an ambassador of some brand – from food, clothing, technology, and other industries – depicted on posters, t-shirts, magnets, toys, all kinds of objects, to the point of becoming the most successful brand that India has ever produced.[2] The image of Gandhi has been so iconized, musealized, exploited, simplified, trivialized, and distorted that it is legitimate to wonder what happened to his real message and the complexity of his figure.

The characteristic of trivialization is an objectifying representation, which does not refer to anything except the simplified and objectified message that is intended to convey. Of course, by its nature, the icon, whether in marble or pictorial form, is all the more profound the more it knows how to document life itself, its deep mystery, placing itself against any reduction of life to an object, to something that

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can be trivialized and manipulated for commercial purposes. Indeed, this range and different uses reflect how representations of Gandhi in museums sometimes are true and profound, other times used for propaganda – a range of ideological and political purposes.

Particular emphasis has always been placed on the figure of Gandhi as a symbol of peace, a concept that encompasses many aspects of his vision. The idea of peace that Gandhi symbolically embodies has made him a very present and represented subject in museums for peace. But, from the start, it is necessary to point out that Gandhi was not a systematic thinker, and he considered his doctrine to be an "open" thought, always in evolution. His philosophy of peace has many influences, including Jain, Buddhist, Hindu, Christian sources, the teachings of Jesus, Socrates, Tolstoy, Ruskin, and Thoreau, and all this is inextricably linked to the political struggle for national independence from the British colonial empire.

The Gandhian position is much more complex than generic pacifism. It presents various aporias, and several open problems. For example, and contrary to popular depiction, Gandhian pacifism did not have an absolute prohibition on killing, since in some cases refraining from killing was considered by Gandhi a form of *hiṃsā* (violence) or a lack of compassion.[3] The imperative at the heart of this ethics, as Giuliano Pontara emphasizes, is rather: "Act in such a way that your action leads to the greatest possible reduction of long-term violence and in all its forms."[4]

Furthermore, Gandhian peace is not only a rejection of war, passive nonviolence, but it is an active force, which, in order to be realized through *satya* (Truth) and *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence), acts on two levels, spiritual and political. This includes a transformative dialogue between individuals and nations, the renunciation by the great powers of imperialist designs, nuclear disarmament, and the ideal of the *Sarvodaya* – that is a type of economy that has as its objective not the accumulation of personal wealth but the well-being of all and practicing voluntary poverty. It is interesting to analyze whether these aspects are valued within the various museums around the world in which the Mahatma is depicted, and to what extent.[5]

Gandhi in Museums: Overview and Selection Outside India

My analysis stems from a selection made necessary by the impossibility of dealing with all museums depicting Gandhi. I therefore privileged the institutes that I have had the opportunity to contact or visit directly.

The museum is a material support of cultural memory, which cannot be kept alive by itself; it is not capable of self-determination, but is based, as Aleida Assmann underlines in her influential studies on the subject, on certain policies of memory or oblivion.[6] Gandhi's memory was not kept alive automatically, but, like any memory, it was shaped, modified, and sometimes even distorted over time. There are therefore many different memories of Gandhi that require recognition and which reflect certain concepts of peace. In this sense, individual museums in this chapter are placed within their specific cultural contexts and goals.

The "Wise Peace Hero." Vienna Peace Museum

Believing, like much of the Western tradition, in the universality and exportability of Gandhi's message, the Vienna Peace Museum, founded in 2014, describes him as "our wise Peace Hero." His name even appears in the museum's mission description:

> Peace Museum Vienna attempts to conduct peace education through the lives of its Peace Heroes. These heroes include historic as well as contemporary figures, who spent their lives either promoting peace through their profession, such as the sociologist Johan Galtung, or practiced nonviolence as their main strategy for a peaceful life, such as Mahatma Gandhi.[7]

The museum is located in Blutgasse, one of the oldest streets in Vienna. It hosts regular exhibitions, offers a space that serves as a meeting point for discussions on peace, an exhibition hall, a center for the presentation of films and documentaries, and a library. There is a space for the World Peace Kitchen, a culinary laboratory, where visitors from different countries gather to prepare food together from their countries of origin such as Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan, to stimulate conversation and share cultural diversity.

A distinctive and impactful exhibit is "Windows for Peace," an open-air public exhibit available 24 hours a day, with no admission fee. Visitors can stroll from street to street, window to window, learning about the life and impact of the museum's "heroes of peace." Windows for Peace shares images, quotes, and biographies of many international peace heroes and encourages people to be inspired by the windows and support the cause: to "help change the world into a better, more peaceful place, one window at a time." There was the Gandhi window, in 2014; the idea was to inspire visitors who looked at these windows, who read the quotes, the biography of the Mahatma, to then ask themselves "What can I do for peace?"

The "Missing Winner." Oslo Nobel Peace Prize

Gandhi was nominated five times for the Nobel Peace Prize, but he never received it.[8] This omission was taken seriously by the Nobel Peace Center, in Oslo, which opened in 2005. The museum designs exhibits each year in honor of the Nobel Peace Prize winners, as well as having information about all the past peace prize recipients. "Eye on Gandhi" was the exhibit created for the "missing winner,"[9] and it was on view from September 21, 2012, to February 17, 2013.[10] The exhibition set out to explain the reasons why Gandhi was not the winner of the prestigious prize, alongside exhibiting the Mahatma's nominations from the Nobel Committee's archive for the first time.

The Norwegian committee never commented on the reasons why Gandhi did not receive the award, nor was the documentation available on this. He was nominated among the shortlist of 13 eligible candidates for the first time in 1937 and a number of times afterward. There were a series of factors such as critiques of the extent of

Gandhi's pacifism and political pressure and concern about awarding a pacifist the Prize during World War II and alienating the British and other Allies. Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, and that year no Nobel Prize was awarded, whether he would have been the recipient remains open to speculation.

The documentation is embellished by pictures from the gallery of French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson, one of the last people to have seen Gandhi alive, an hour before his killing. His photographs of this tragic moment, and how it was experienced by India, are famous all over the world.

United States: Gandhi in the International Peace Museum, Dayton

In museums and memorials in the United States, forms of patriotic narration generally predominate, apologetic to homeland history. These tend to censor, for example, the reasons that led America to engage militarily in a series of conflicts, what is known as American exceptionalism, and that America dropped two atomic bombs toward the end of the Second World War.[11]

An apologetic reconstruction of homeland history benefits from a lack of historical conscience, and a desire to make certain narratives fall into oblivion and not to address those politically more controversial aspects of peace.[12] On this, Gandhi had already expressed himself in 1947, before his own India embraced the nuclear option:

> Unless there is a complete transformation in our economy and our style of life, peace will elude us, however hard we may strive for it. Europe and America want peace and yet they use their intellectual, technical and scientific resources for production of nuclear weapons. Therefore, while they express the wish that peace should reign in the world, they are busy inventing ways to disturb the peace and to destroy the world. It does not occur to them to seek ways to restore peace and stop the possibility of wars.[13]

Compared to the many military and war museums, there are relatively few peace museums/centers in the United States. The Dayton International Peace Museum (now called the International Peace Museum), Ohio, sometimes described as the only "brick and mortar" peace museum in the United States, was founded in 2004 by Christine and Ralph Dull (Christine, a teacher, had the initial idea), J. Frederick Arment, and Lisa Wolters. The goal that characterizes the museum is to "inspire people to work for greater peace and compassion through education and collaboration."[14]

Since its opening, the museum has honored the Mahatma's nonviolent legacy through numerous performances, exhibitions, workshops, and other initiatives, recognizing him as a key figure of peace. The temporary exhibition "Life and Ideals of Mohandas Gandhi," and the panel "Gandhian Ideals for Today," where the curators of the museum took Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy seriously had great resonance.[15] The International Peace Museum currently hosts a "Gandhi Photo Collection & Lifestory Exhibit" where visitors can admire a series of rare Gandhi photos,

accompanied by explanatory captions.[16] The photos exhibited concern for a number of key stages of this "complex peacemaker," always inspired by his principles. In order to ignite students' interest in peace, Gandhi's exhibition is now displayed in the classroom of the museum. Here students can use a screen that shows four video biographies of Gandhi, which can be selected according to their age and ability.

Among the other initiatives the museum has organized is a series of four "Conversations with Gandhi": "Can violence ever be justified?" Gandhi versus Marx; "Can the anger be true?" Gandhi versus Freud; "Is the power of love realistic?" Gandhi against Reinhold Niebuhr; "Was Gandhi always a Gandhian?" Mohandas against the Mahatma.

Gandhi's message of peace has also been challenged and questioned to reflect on contemporary issues. For example, in a recent (April, 2022) communication, Professor Jacob Bauer asked, "Nonviolence and the Ukraine: What Would Gandhi Do?"[17]

Experiments with Truth: International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum

The figure of Gandhi was the subject of attention at different times in the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum, located in Geneva. The museum is built mainly of glass and wood materials; the latter, as a living and timeless element, has the function of making visitors feel more engaged and connected with the eternal elements of the values exhibited.

In its exhibitions, one central question of the museum is as follows: How does humanitarian action affect us all, here and now? The mission of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum is, as stated in the programmatic manifesto, to

> promote understanding of the history, current events and challenges of humanitarian aid by a wide audience in Switzerland and throughout the world, by encouraging contemporary artistic creation and developing innovative content with public and private partners from very different backgrounds and cultures.[18]

Alongside its permanent exhibitions, the museum provides several temporary exhibitions each year, including, from April 15, 2015, to January 3, 2016, an exhibition dedicated to Gandhi entitled "Experiments with Truth: Gandhi and Images of Nonviolence."[19]

Josef Helfenstein, the then director of the Menil Collection Museum in Houston, and the Indian artist Amar Kanwar, collaborated to produce this exhibition. According to Helfenstein and Menil, "nonviolence immediately calls to mind a face, a smile, an easily recognizable figure: Mahatma Gandhi." They wondered what was the most effective method to represent his philosophy of nonviolence. The story of his life exemplifies nonviolence, and in fact, the title of the exhibition is inspired by Gandhi's autobiography –*The Story of my Experiments with the Truth* – in which he described himself as a "humble seeker of the Truth."[20]

The Truth so often invoked by Gandhi, in Sanskrit *satya*, is the ontological principle of all Reality, and has a broader and more holistic meaning than our concept of truth: It includes all together what exists, what is good, what is true, God.[21] For

Gandhi, the instrument with which the Truth is reached can only be *ahiṃsā*, which we translate as nonviolence, a term coined by Gandhi himself,[22] to indicate a universal ethical principle, which pervades all existence: "Truth is at the very root of all our aims and vows and the plant of truth will not grow and fructify if you do not water its roots with *ahiṃsā*."[23]

Gandhi's entire life was an experiment in nonviolence, and in this exhibition, this path was displayed through about 130 works, including paintings, drawings, photographs, prints, sculptures, books, political documents, and films from artists from all over the world.[24] Gandhi's nonviolent message is explored in its complex facets, and particular space is given to his ideal of religious inclusivism.

To illustrate Gandhi's spirituality, the curators present different religious artistic views that each refer to aspects of Gandhian religiosity, such as tolerance, asceticism, compassion, and inclusion. For example, the painting of Vishvarupa, which is the universal form of Krishna, recalls the Gandhian conception of a religion that expands to become universal and host all the names of God:

> O God, in Your body
> I behold the gods and all the [various] kinds of beings. . .
> Everywhere, I behold You [who are] of endless form,
> [with] many arms, bellies, mouths, [and] eyes.
> I see in You no end,
> No middle, and also no beginning,
> All-Lord, All-Form![25]

The Byzantine icon of Saint Onofrio recalls Gandhi's angular physique and his asceticism – a set of practices that include self-control of the senses, renunciation, self-sacrifice, and self-realization – which constitutes an essential part of his philosophy of peace.[26]

Rembrandt's paintings "The Preaching of Christ" and "Christ Healing the Sick," as well as the anonymous sculpture of St. Martin and the beggar, refer to the compassion preached by Gandhi. Also, there is the image of the Green Tara, considered in Buddhism the bodhisattva of universal compassion. In fact, Gandhi incorporates the concepts of *karman*, *saṃsāra*, and *mokṣa* from the Hindu tradition but, partly departing from Hinduism, he often used a language very close to that of Mahayana Buddhism.[27] In line with this Buddhist current, Gandhi argued that there could be no peace, individual liberation, without the liberation of all living beings.

Peace through Posters in Italy: International Peace Poster Documentation Center

In Italy, there are posters with themes and images of Gandhi, together with archival material (books, magazines, various documents, videos, and photos) housed within the pacifist poster collection of the Casa per la Pace "La Filanda" in Casalecchio di Reno (Bologna). The collection is managed by the Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, CDMPI.[28]

Vittorio Pallotti, a peace activist and co-founder of the CDMPI (1993), began collecting posters in the 1980s. The collection has grown to almost 7,000 posters; selections have been displayed in over 300 exhibitions in various locations in Italy and Europe and also, through collaboration with other initiatives, in other parts of the world. A wide range of activities and initiatives for peace revolve around the posters, such as thematic exhibitions, educational courses, and workshops in schools.

The CDMPI philosophy about the figure of Gandhi emphasizes two aspects: reflecting on the human cost of violence in the world, and above all the need to promote cultures of peace. This corresponds to the double face of Gandhian *ahiṃsā*. Just as peace is not only the absence of war, *ahiṃsā* also has a concretely active face: "without a direct active expression of it, nonviolence to my mind is meaningless," said Gandhi.[29]

The posters are divided into sections, based on different topics, including marches for peace, women and peace, religions and peace, art and peace, disarmament, ecopacifism, anti-racism, and many others.[30] Monthly, since 2017, the newsletter of the municipality of Casalecchio has included an illustration of a poster, accompanied by comments and related articles to guide readers.[31] The posters for CDMPI are a strong instrument of peace education, an effective means of communication, reaching people directly. Like all essential symbolic messages, the images have significant communicative effectiveness because they are immediate, and give a sense of urgency to the message of nonviolence and peace. As Vittorio Pallotti expressed in a 2016 interview:

> The urgent message of nonviolence today is primarily addressed to the United Nations and to the powerful men of the earth. Its main content must be aimed at the prevention of war. Prevention that, if not implemented, can lead, even in a short time, to a conflict on a global scale with the probable use of nuclear weapons.[32]

With similar words, the Mahatma communicated the same urgency:

> If the recognized leaders of mankind who have control over the engines of destruction were wholly to renounce their use, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained. This is clearly impossible without the Great Powers of the earth renouncing their imperialistic design.[33]

Gandhi in Iran: Tehran Peace Museum

The Tehran Peace Museum, open to the public since 2011, is funded by the municipality of Tehran and the SCWVS (Society for Chemical Weapons Victims Support, Iran). The aim of the founders is to "promote a culture of peace through raising awareness about the devastating consequences of war with focus on health and environmental impacts of chemical weapons."[34]

Documents, war artifacts, and testimonies are exhibited on conflicts in general and especially on the devastating consequences of chemical weapons in the context of the two world wars and the Iran–Iraq war (1980–88). These focus attention on how much the Iranian people have suffered and the human cost of war.

The exhibition is balanced by a series of activities such as workshops and initiatives aimed at raising awareness on the issues of peace, tolerance, and disarmament. A number of volunteer guides are men wounded in the Iran–Iraq war by chemical weapons. Seminars, study groups, and oral history projects highlight the experiences and testimonies of veterans and war victims who are still suffering the consequences of those attacks. Significantly, the museum closes with a caption describing the story of Gandhi's life and nonviolence, and a poster with the famous motto attributed to the Mahatma: "Be the change you want to see in the world."

Museums in the Indian Cultural Context

In Indian museums, representations of Gandhi are more markedly celebratory in tone than in other countries. However, these are not only memorials and places of celebration, but places that aim to actively spread the message. A further difference from the museums already examined is that in India there are numerous museums that place marked emphasis on the concept of peace as an inner state, in keeping with Indian tradition. The etymological Latin root of the English term "peace," that is *pax/paciscor*, refers to the idea of a pact that binds two contractors, in terms of their external interactions; the corresponding Indian term, *śāntī*, from the Sanskrit root *śam*, alludes to an interior state of rest, pacification, absence of passions, quietism, calmness, suppression of one's own negative emotions.[35]

From Inner Peace to World Peace. Vishva Niketan Peace Museum

One of the most interesting locations is the Vishva Niketan Center, which houses a peace museum and was built in 1999 by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. This museum is located in Moratuwa, Sri Lanka, but shares the underlying principles and philosophy of Indian museums. The environment in which the center is located makes us understand its vision: Every aesthetic aspect is carefully studied to promote the care of the mind. The goal of the center is in fact based on the belief that:

> enduring peace can only be attained when individuals achieve inner peace – cessation of conflict within themselves. In creating an atmosphere of tranquility and serenity close to nature, it aims to awaken people to their inner spirituality so that they may return to the world beyond to create constructive change.[36]

The principle that moves the curators of the museum is that taking care of one's inner peace is the first step to be able to contribute to peace in the world: It starts

from the care for the peace of the individual, and it will reach the family, society and finally the whole universe. "Outward peace is useless without inner peace,"[37] Gandhi similarly stated on several occasions, arguing that "nonviolence is as much as a means of achieving 'oneness with the other' as the fruit of the inner unity already achieved."[38]

In addition to promoting study activities, thanks to the presence of a library of peace that houses 4,000 volumes, there are a series of initiatives such as days of meditation, and spiritual retreats. Other programs are open to all people who feel stressed, who cannot manage their emotions, and who need to restore their inner balance. Finally, specific programs are designed for certain categories of people such as future mothers, prisoners, abused children, and children who have problems with the law.

The Training for Gandhian Peace: Gandhi Memorial Museum

Another museum that gives space to the Gandhian idea of peace achieved through spiritual practice, is the Gandhi Memorial Museum in Madurai.[39] In 1921, in Madurai during his struggle to boycott foreign clothes (emphasizing that under British rule cotton grown in India was then sent to the UK, made into clothing, and then shipped back to India to sell), Gandhi decided to adopt traditional Indian clothing. This simple white cloth, made by hand in India, became associated with Gandhi: Photos were taken at the spinning wheel and in traditional attire. This became part of his identity worldwide heightened after Winston Churchill's dismissive reference to Gandhi as a half-naked "fakir."

The museum, inaugurated in 1959, was built and organized by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. His declared mission is to "propagate the Gandhian message of Truth and Nonviolence and give specific training with upgrading skills for relevant individuals, groups and communities,"[40] in the conviction, reaffirmed by the words of the Mahatma, that "*Ahiṃsā* is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practice it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence."[41]

Peace is therefore a value that cannot be simply learned, it requires training and active programs that involve the individual in the entirety of peace. Inside the museum we find, divided into sections, photos, paintings, sculptures, manuscripts, original articles, and relics, including in particular a blood-stained cloth worn by Gandhi the day he was assassinated. There are also special exhibitions, celebrations, study activities, summer camps, as well as practices aimed at caring for one's interior life, such as *yoga*, *prānāyāma*, meditation, and holistic health training courses to promote a healthy nonviolent lifestyle.

Active Ahiṃsā. Gandhi Research Foundation Museum

Another noteworthy museum is located within the Gandhi Research Foundation (GRF), at Gandhi Teerth, Jalgaon. This international center promotes the philosophy of nonviolence and peace through Gandhi on various levels, in the

full belief that the Gandhian message is universal and also exportable to other cultures.

> Bhagwan Mahavir, Buddha, Jesus Christ all have propagated nonviolence or *ahiṃsā*. However, it was only for the purpose of improvement of an individual's conduct. Gandhiji was the first living legend who used nonviolence for a larger purpose,

These words were said by the founder of the center, Shri Bhavarlal Jain on the occasion of the inauguration of the GRF in 2012. The mission of the center is, therefore, to "strive to help establish a world founded on Truth, *Ahiṃsā*, Peaceful Co-existence, Conservation and Love for Labour – values cherished and practiced by Gandhiji."[42]

The museum is housed in a beautiful structure built with sustainable material from Jodhpur and harmonizes well with the vast surrounding garden. Inside, Gandhi's teachings, with particular attention to the most significant phases of his life, are represented in 30 sections through digital installations that include interactive touch screens, bioscopes, 3D maps, murals, animations, videos, and audio. For those wishing to deepen their understanding of peace themes, near the museum there is a large library that houses about 9,000 books, collections, archives, and videos, and there are a series of educational and research programs, with particular attention to younger generations. In fact, various educational and research activities are inspired by the museum. These include courses on nonviolence and peace, competitions, and events promoted every month by Prof. Gita Dharampal, Dr. D John Chelladurai, and Ashwin Zala.

In my opinion, one of the most noteworthy, unusual aspects of the GRF is the degree to which it enhances the active side of the Gandhian concept of *ahiṃsā*. Nonviolence in Gandhi occurs in two states. One state we can define, according to the words of Gandhi himself, as "negative," namely

> Nonviolence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely only by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity.[43]

Ahimsā in Gandhi's philosophy is not however to be understood only as a passive nonviolence, that is to say as an abstention from causing harm physically or psychically to any living being. Consequently, for the Mahatma peace is not simply a particular example of nonviolence, the absence of pain, the absence of abuse, the absence of war, a passive avoidance of violence, but it includes the active sense of *ahimsā*,[44] that is to say "*Ahiṃsā* is not merely a negative state of harmlessness, but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer."[45] Gandhi viewed simple abstention from violence negatively: Nonviolence requires a constructive program.[46] In this sense, the GRF also promotes rural development projects that

aim to transform villages into autonomous and productive communities in line with Gandhian guidelines.

An Immersive Experience of Peace: Mahatma Gandhi Digital Museums

A very engaging experience is offered by the Mahatma Gandhi Digital Museums (MGDM), a series of museums which are located in India, Australia, and South Africa, and which organize traveling installations around the world.[47] The first permanent digital museum on Peace Truth Ahimsa opened in 2012 in Hyderabad and is located in the place where part of the Mahatma's ashes were scattered. According to Birad Rajaram Yajnik,[48] photographer, writer, and curator of these museums, "the desperate need of the hour is not to turn everyone into a Gandhian, but to find the next Gandhi. The world needs multiple Gandhis. The future of the world depends on it."[49] It is then a question of understanding how to amplify the Gandhian message as much as possible. Most striking, in Hyderabad's museum, is the "Ahimsa Wall," an interactive wall over 23 meters long, which represents the message of nonviolence through over 400 images of Gandhi (See Figure 5.1).

The basic idea of these museums is that the best language to make Gandhi's message of peace understood is the language of technology, through a series of modern digital installations, including interactive screens, videos, and audio through which Gandhi can be seen and heard directly. The visitor has a participatory experience, with quizzes, infotainment, and even collaborative and culinary art practices.

There are numerous traveling installations and activities promoted by the Gandhi Digital Museums, and it is not possible to mention them all.[50] Among the most relevant installations, I want to highlight the "King-Gandhi Wall" (2013), promoted at Howard University, Washington, DC. This large interactive wall hosts

Figure 5.1 Students engaging on the Mahatma Gandhi Interactive wall at Bapughat, Gandhi Digital Museum, Hyderabad, India.

Source: Photograph by Birad Yajnik. Used with permission.

two of the greatest pacifist minds, who are often remembered together in the same space: Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.

A similar juxtaposition project was also made in Abu Dhabi, when in 2019, coinciding with the Year of Tolerance in the United Arab Emirates and the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Mahatma, the Gandhi Digital Museums in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and of Knowledge Development organized the Zayed-Gandhi digital museum at the Manarat Al Saadiyat headquarters. The aim of the museum curators was to celebrate these two important figures by emphasizing their commonalities, in particular their insistence on the power of peace and the changes they have inspired.[51]

It is also worth mentioning the Ahimsa Harley event (2012), held in Hyderabad, where the curator of the museums placed a real Harley Davidson motorcycle at the center with the inscription: "Peace, Truth and Ahimsa," involving 900 students from ten different countries. In this display, the Harley Davidson becomes a symbol to convey the Gandhian revolution, transcending boundaries of all kinds. Students were asked to sign the Ahimsa Harley to symbolize their promise of future action in line with Gandhian ideals of peace (See Figure 5.2).

Another unusual idea was the creation of a "mobile" museum shop, the Mahatma Gandhi Digital Museum Store. This bus offers interested people a wide range of Gandhi-inspired merchandising. The purported goal is to convey the museum's

Figure 5.2 A collaborative art installation on a Harley Davidson motorcycle; 900 students sign their name and comments on the Mahatma at Harvard Model United Nations India, Hyderabad, 2012.

Source: Photograph by Birad Yajnik. Used with permission.

values and to try to involve as many people as possible, and the profits made from the shop go directly to the museum.

The Mahatma's Power. Dandi Kutir Museum

One of the largest museums dedicated to the figure of Gandhi is located in Gandhinagar, about 25 km from the Ahmedabad ashram, Dandi Kutir (See Figure 5.3). The word "dandi" is the name of the town where the salt march sometimes called "Dandi March" ended. The particular architecture of this museum is striking: It takes the form of a mound of salt, symbolically referring to the famous Gandhi salt march of 1930 to protest against the British monopoly of this product. The museum was built and is managed by the State government of Gujarat; it was inaugurated in 2015 by the current prime minister of India, Narendra Modi.[52] On the one hand, there is popular and government support for Gandhi's opposition to British rule and support and leadership for Indian independence. On the other hand, the history of Indian sectarianism and of the nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) presently in power under Modi's leadership supports Hindu nationalism and other policies very much at odds with Gandhi's universalist, nonviolent beliefs. The museum "represents Gandhi's powerful idea of people across lines of class, gender, age, and community asserting their common right to salt itself: a symbol to inspire a pluralistic society to march toward independence – Purna Swaraj."[53] The curators of the Dandi Kutir state they want to highlight the leadership qualities of the "Father of

Figure 5.3 The Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi, and the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Shinzo Abe visit Dandi Kutir, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, on September 14, 2017.[54]

Source: Publicity photo by The Prime Minister's Office, Government of India.

the Nation," who was able to realize the idea of pacification between people who have a common goal, *purna swaraj*, complete independence.

The museum traces the story of Gandhi's life, from the beginnings of his campaigns in South Africa to his activity in India, independence, and up to his murder. Modern digital installations include 4D virtual reality, 3D holography, floors and digital walls, laser, video and audio shows that accompany the entire duration of the visit. Through the use of this advanced immersive technology, Gandhi's transformation is traced. There are a series of statues, and he is depicted from being a shy ordinary lawyer to becoming one of the strongest representations of nonviolence. Gandhi is represented as a victim of English racism, lying on the ground with his personal belongings scattered after being thrown off a train, to becoming the Mahatma who led Indian independence by liberating an entire people.

Conclusions

To conclude, I will also briefly mention those who reject the image of Gandhi as a symbol of peace.

In June 2010, a bronze sculpture of Gandhi was placed at the entrance of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg, as a donation from the Indian government. The presence of this monument has sparked protests and petitions. This includes suggestions that the museum removes the statue because, as we read in the words of one protester:

> Gandhi was a racist who considered blacks as sub-human, often calling them kaffirs (a pejorative term for black people), uncivilised, and believed whites should be the predominant race in South Africa. . . . Even though the West lauds him for nonviolence, in actuality he used it as a weapon against Colonialism only. We petition the Canadian Museum for Human Rights to replace the Statue of MK Gandhi with an indigenous or black hero from this land.[55]

Not infrequently, during the Black Lives Matter demonstrations, the authorities were forced to cover and protect many monuments around the world, including some that portrayed the figure of the Mahatma. In various locations, especially in America and England, some statues of Gandhi were demolished, damaged, and smeared with words such as "racist" and "rapist." This was the case, for example, of statues placed outside the Indian embassy in Washington, DC and in Parliament Square in London.

Some of Gandhi's youthful remarks toward South Africans were certainly close to racism, but labeling Gandhi as a racist is a short-sighted view that amounts to obscuring the historicity of his thinking. There is an evolution of the concept of nonviolence that becomes increasingly clear in his biography and the innumerable writings of the Indian leader. Also, Gandhi recognized several times that he had committed Himalayan errors, corrected his theses on race, to the point of becoming a source of inspiration for famous African and African American leaders and

activists.[56] "I am a staunch believer in absolute equality between man and man," Gandhi tirelessly reiterates.[57] "I believe in absolute oneness of God and therefore also of humanity. What though we have many bodies? We have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source."[58]

Gandhi's presence in museums dedicated to peace worldwide is a colorful mosaic. It gives audiences access to witnessing aspects of the universality of the Gandhian message. As such, this reflects a communion between East and West. This effect is enough, in my opinion, to give a positive judgment to this presence in spreading the Mahatma's message of peace and nonviolence throughout the world. In fact, while recognizing that in museum choices we sometimes witness the exploitation and trivialization of Gandhi, for commercial as well as political purposes, the image of Gandhi in museums has the capacity to restore, in the best cases, if not the entirety and complexity of the historical figure and his message, at least a part of it, with an invitation to explore its meaning more deeply. The figure of Gandhi is of such depth and so multifaceted that it cannot be enclosed in a single image or document that reflects but one perspective: the one that the institution wants to illuminate. After all, what happens in museums is what happens in historical research, when we are confronted with something that cannot be understood in its fullness; we therefore refer back to the variety and plurality of viewpoints that Gandhi always defended on the cultural and religious levels.

Notes

1 M. K. Gandhi, "Notes," in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book) (New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, 1999) [Henceforth indicated with the abbreviation *CWMG*. *Harijan*, October 7, 1939, vol. 76, 375].
2 On the debate around the use of Gandhi's figure in the field of advertising, cf. W. Mazzarella, "Branding the Mahatma: The Untimely Provocation of Gandhian Publicity," *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 1 (2010): 1–26.
3 Gandhi takes sides in favor of euthanasia, and therefore, in extreme cases, envisages killing as a nonviolent solution, cf. A. Vigilante, ed., *La prova del fuoco: nonviolenza e vita animale* (Foggia: Edizione del Rosone, 2007.)
4 G. Pontara, "Introduzione," in M. K. Gandhi, *Teoria e pratica della non violenza*, trans. by F. Grillenzoni and S. Calamandrei (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), XXIX. Cf. also A. Naess, "A Systematization of Gandhian Ethics of Conflict Resolution," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 2 (1958): 142.
5 On the presence of Gandhi in museums for peace see J. Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).
6 "While the mechanism of individual remembrance takes place as a whole spontaneously and according to the general laws of psychology, at a collective and institutional level this process is driven by a precise policy of remembrance, or, more precisely, by a precise policy of oblivion. There is no cultural memory capable of self-determination: it must necessarily be based on mediators and targeted policies." (A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: C. H. Beck, 1999), 15).
7 "What is our mission?," *Peace Museum Vienna, Newsletter*, no. 7 (2019), Accessed October 20, 2022. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5d544e5c5a1edf0001f4f99d/t/5f5a45efea712a26f70ba4e1/1599751666158/July+2019+Newsletter.pdf
8 There has been much speculation about the reasons, in the words of the Nobel Peace Prize chronicler Tony Gray, for this "curious omission." Was Gandhi deprived of the

Prize due to pressure from the British government? Did the Norwegians fear repercussions on politics in the British colonies? Or maybe it was just a matter of Eurocentrism? Since the Norwegian committee never commented on the issue, these speculations were not based on concrete documentary evidence (cf. T. Weber, "Gandhi and the Nobel Peace Prize," *South Asia* 12, no. 1 (1989): 29–47).

9 Ø. Tønnesson, *Mahatma Gandhi, the Missing Laureate* (1999); "Mahatma Gandhi, the Missing Laureate," NobelPrize.org; Ø. Tønnesson, "Why No Gandhi?," in *How? Thoughts about Peace*, ed. Ø. Stenersen (Oslo: Nobel Peace Center, 2005), 29–35.

10 "Eye on Gandhi," Accessed October 17, 2022. https://the.me/gandhi-and-henri-cartier-bresson-hcb/

11 For further reading, see J. Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums*, 141ff. and the Facebook page of the museum, which lists all the initiatives, Accessed November 26, 2022, www.facebook.com/DaytonInternationalPeaceMuseum/

12 For an analysis of the continuous interweaving between memory and oblivion, cf. A. Assmann, *Formen des Vergessens* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016).

13 M. K. Gandhi, "A Talk," in *CWMG*, vol. 97. In *Dilhiman Gandhiji – II*, December 5, 1947, 472–3.

14 "Our Mission," Accessed October 20, 2022. https://peace.museum/pages/about-the-museum

15 For a detailed description of these initiatives, see J. Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums*, 52–3.

16 https://peace.museum/pages/gandhi-photo-collection, Accessed October 20, 2022.

17 The lecture is available online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=cWw_k3pL_f0, Accessed November 26, 2022.

18 "The Museum Project," Accessed October 20, 2022, www.redcrossmuseum.ch/en/the-museum/project/

19 www.redcrossmuseum.ch/en/expo-temporaire/experiments-with-truth/, Accessed October 20, 2022.

20 The autobiography was translated into English from the Gujarati version (1927): *Gandhi's Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, trans. M. Desai (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1940).

21 "The word *Satya* (Truth) is derived from *Sat*, which means 'being'. Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why *Sat* or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God." (M. K. Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1991), 1).

22 "Nonviolence is a term I had to coin in order to bring out the root meaning of *ahiṃsā*" (M. K. Gandhi, "Interview to American Negro Delegation," *Harijan*, March 14, 1936. In *CWMG,* vol. 68, 235).

23 M. K. Gandhi, "Speech at Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad," *Harijan*, March 29, 1936. In *CWMG*, vol. 68, 230.

24 Among the most famous contemporary artists, there are Marlene Dumas, Dan Flavin, Amar Kanwar, Kimsooja, Yves Klein, Robert Rauschenberg, and Ai Weiwei. The works are collected and explained in the book *Experiments with Truth: Gandhi and Images of Nonviolence*, eds. J. Helfenstein and J. N. Newland (Houston: Menil Collection, 2014).

25 G. Feuerstein and B. Feuerstein, eds., *The Bhagavad-Gītā: A New Translation* (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, 2011), XI, 15–16, 225.

26 To learn more about Gandhian asceticism, see V. R. Howard, *Gandhi's Ascetic Activism: Renunciation and Social Action* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

27 Gandhi's first approach to Buddhism was due to his early discovery of the book by E. Arnold, *The Light of Asia* (London: Trübner and Co, 1879).

28 www.cdmpi.it/larchivio-dei-manifesti/galleria/introduttivo-sez-g/, Accessed October 20, 2022. Since 2002 the CDMPI has been a member of the International Network of Peace Museums (INMP).

29 M. K. Gandhi, "Interview to American Negro Delegation," *Harijan*, March 14, 1936. In *CWMG*, vol. 68, 235.

30 A selection of these posters, in 14 sections, is found in the volume by V. Pallotti, F. Pugliese, eds., *Manifesti raccontano . . . le molte vie per chiudere con la guerra*, pref. Peter van den Dungen and Joyce Apsel (Trento: Grafiche Futura, 2014).
31 After the editions released in 2019 and 2021, the book that collects this material was released in 2022: F. Manzini and V. Pallotti, *Un manifesto al mese 2017–2022. Storie vissute di pace e nonviolenza* (Tricase: Youcanprint, 2022). The book opens with a poster of Gandhi, focusing on his legs, emphasizing the act of peaceful marching as social activism. The famous salt march led by Gandhi in 1930, was a demonstration against the British government's tax on salt. It was widely covered in the media and inspired a series of other nonviolent marches, many of which are not widely recorded in history. This poster publicized the annual nonviolent Perugia-Assisi march of 2000. The first Perugia-Assisi march took place in 1961 on the initiative of the Italian philosopher Aldo Capitini in order to testify in favor of peace and the solidarity of peoples.
32 www.margutte.com/?p=14033, Accessed October 20, 2022.
33 M. K. Gandhi, *All Men are Brothers. Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi as Told in his Own Words*, ed. K. Kripalani (Lausanne: UNESCO, 1969), 122–3.
34 "About us," Accessed October 20, 2022, www.tehranpeacemuseum.org/index.php/en/about-us-en-menu/about-us-me.html. To learn more, see E. Lewis and S. Khateri, "From Clouds of Chemical Warfare to Blue Skies of Peace: the Tehran Peace Museum, Iran," *Journal of Peace Education* 12, no. 3 (2015): 263–76.
35 To explore the Indian concept of peace in more detail, cf. R. Salomon, "Ancient India: Peace within and War without," in *War and Peace in the Ancient World*, ed. K. A. Raaflaub (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 53–65; D. Bhawuk, "India and the Culture of Peace: Beyond Ethnic, Religious, and Other Conflicts," in *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict. International Perspectives*, eds. D. Landis and R. D. Albert (New York: Springer Verlag, 2012), 137–74; A. S. King, "Hinduism: The Culture of Peace and the Ethics of War," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Peace*, eds. J. Mitchell, S. R. Millar, F. Po and M. Percy (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2022), 197–215.
36 "Introduction," Accessed October 20, 2022, www.vishvaniketan.org/introduction/
37 M. K. Gandhi, "A Thought for the Day" (Sevagram), February 10, 1946. In *CWMG*, vol. 90, 242.
38 A. Bose, "A Gandhian Perspective on Peace," *Journal of Peace Research* 18, no. 2 (1981): 161.
39 www.gandhimmm.org, Accessed October 20, 2022. There are many Gandhi Memorial Museums in India, in sight of which Gandhi Smarak Nidhi had allocated 10 million rupees, in different locations: New Delhi, Barrackpore, Patna, Wardha, Ahmedabad, Mumbai, Madurai.
40 "Mission," Accessed October 20, 2022. http://gandhimmm.org/about-us/
41 M. K. Gandhi, "Question Box," *Harijan*, March 24, 1946. In *CWMG*, vol. 90, 64.
42 "Statement of Purpose," Accessed October 20, 2022, www.gandhifoundation.net/statement-of-purpose.htm
43 M. K. Gandhi, "Meaning of Nonviolence." *Harijan*, July 20, 1935. In *CWMG*, vol. 67, 263.
44 Cf. The observations of K. C. Chacko, *Metaphysical Implications of Gandhian Thought* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1986): 79ff. Gandhi speaks explicitly on several occasions of the "negative" and "positive" forms of *ahiṃsā*. See, for example, M. K. Gandhi, "On Ahimsa: Reply to Lala Lajpat Rai," *The Modern Review* 15 (1916), 251–4.
45 M. K. Gandhi, "Religious Authority for Non-Co-Operation," *Young India*, August 25, 1920. In *CWMG*, vol. 21, 199.
46 M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme. Its Meaning and Place* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1945).
47 http://mahatmagandhidigitalmuseums.com/, Accessed October 20, 2022.
48 The books by Birad Rajaram Yajnik, *Peace, Truth, Ahimsa: a Photobiography of Mahatma Gandhi* (Hyderabad: Visual Quest Books, 2010); *Mahatma Gandhi – Imaging*

Peace, Truth and Ahimsa (Hyderabad: Visual Quest Books, 2010) are linked to the works of the digital museums.

49 www.peacetruthahimsa.com/, Accessed October 20, 2022.

50 For an overview of the activities carried out by the MGDMs, I refer to the booklet of Birad Rajaram Yajnik, ed., *Mahatma Gandhi, 11 Years, 101 Events* (Hyderabad: Visual Quest India, 2020–2021).

51 "These great men, through their vision and leadership impacted the lives of billions, driven by the sheer love for their own people. Mahatma Gandhi believed in the power of peace, truth and nonviolence and Sheikh Zayed was a proponent of peace, tolerance and cultural diversity" (B. R. Yajnik [ed.], *Mahatma Gandhi*: 56).

52 The use of Gandhi's image by different political stakeholders is ongoing. For example, see M. Chatterjee, "The BJP: Political Mobilization for Hindutva," *South Asia Bulletin* XIV, no. 1 (1994): 14–23), which celebrates the Mahatma appropriating certain aspects of his figure for party benefit. The BJP understands the power of Gandhi's image, values him as a symbol of a unified Indian national movement, and uses his image to promote some important activities, such as those involving cleaning or sustainable development. Yet Gandhi's call for nonviolence and civil disobedience is censured. All these aspects are reflected in the Dandi Kutir Museum.

53 "About Dandi Kutir," Accessed December 15, 2022, www.dandi-kutir.com/about-dandi-kutir/

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55 "Replace the Gandhi Statue at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights," Accessed October 20, 2022, www.change.org/p/canadian-museum-for-human-rights-replace-the-gandhi-statue-at-the-canadian-museum-for-human-rights

56 J. Hodder, "Casting a Black Gandhi: Martin Luther King Jr., American Pacifists and the Global Dynamics of Race," *Journal of American Studies* (2019): 1–27.

57 M. K. Gandhi, "An Appeal to the Nation," *Young India*, July 17, 1924. In *CWMG*, vol. 28, 310.

58 M. K. Gandhi, "All about the Fast," *Young India*, September 25, 1924. In *CWMG*, vol. 29, 209–10.

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6 How Museums for Peace Depict the Technology of War and Opposition to It

Clive Barrett

Introduction

How do museums for peace depict and interpret the history, consequences and opposition to the weaponization of science and technology? This chapter shows how museums for peace are potential agents for exhibiting and promoting the achievements of civil society and mass movements in opposing the military misuse of scientific and technological knowledge.

Advances in science and technology have not only improved the quality of human life but also made warfare increasingly lethal and destructive. In the twentieth century, global war caused around 20 million deaths in World War I (1914–1918), a figure matched by the Soviet Union alone in the worldwide total of around 50 million fatalities in World War II (1939–1945).[1] Namio Egami, an ethnologist, has argued:

> Since the Stone Age, the most advanced science and technology of each era has been mobilized as a means of combat. The trouble is that each time the means of destruction became more powerful – stone tools, metal tools, gunpowder – the era in which the technology dominated became shorter and shorter.[2]

Warfare has always been brutal, but the qualitative and quantitative misery of combat and the degree of dehumanization may be made more brutal when advances in science and technology are mobilized. Egami's comment raises the question of how long humanity, now in possession of nuclear weapons, will survive.

This chapter considers a range of weapon technologies, including nuclear weapons. It outlines histories of their development and the roles – and attempts at self-justification – of scientists and engineers involved in developing the means of warfare. It explores how those technologies have been depicted, analyzed, and critiqued in museums for peace, in the context of the museums' mission to promote and cultivate a culture of peace. The chapter is based on an original paper by Ikuro Anzai, a distinguished nuclear scientist and Honorary Director of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace.[3]

Technologies of war have their own histories. We briefly consider the development of (1) explosives, (2) aircraft, (3) poison gas (chemical weapons), (4)

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bacteriological weapons (biological weapons), and (5) atomic and hydrogen bombs (nuclear weapons). Having outlined the terrain and related issues, we consider how museums for peace around the world engage with aspects of each technology, its development and use – and its victims.

Military Technology and Scientists as Subject Matter for Museums for Peace

Explosives

The distinguishing feature of "low explosives" (LE) is a burning speed lower than the velocity of sound. In contrast, the burning speed of "high explosives" (HE) exceeds the sound barrier, creating a shock wave.

Subdivisions of low explosives would be nitrate-based "black powder" and "smokeless gunpowder," the active components of which are largely nitrate esters. Black powder, possibly invented in China in the sixth- or seventh-century CE, is the most ancient form of low explosive. From the mid-fourteenth century, it was used as gunpowder, probably from the Battle of Crécy, 1346 (at which the dominant weapon was actually the longbow) after which knights in armor gave way to soldiers with firearms.[4] Peaceful industrial uses of explosive blasting were extensively developed, especially in mining, an early example of which was at the Slovakian mine, Banská Štiavnica, in 1627. Explosives can have both civilian and military use; the technology may be the same, but ethical arguments surrounding its use will differ.

Some developments had unanticipated outcomes. Brown gunpowder invented for rifle and cannon ammunition in the nineteenth century often produced large quantities of smoke which interfered with visibility and signaling. The development of smokeless gunpowders was based on the 1845 discovery of nitrocellulose by the Swiss scientist Christian Schönbein, who applied a mixture of sulfuric and nitric acids to cotton. A French chemist, Paul Vieille, stabilized and marketed nitrocellulose in 1886, describing it as B-gunpowder, *poudre blanche*. Only two years later, Alfred Nobel treated a mixture of nitroglycerin and nitrocellulose with nitrogen, which he kneaded and molded to create the smokeless gunpowder "ballistite." The following year, "cordite" was invented by Frederick Abel and James Dewar. With smokeless gunpowders being increasingly used in late nineteenth-century warfare, colorful and conspicuous military uniforms gave way to camouflaged combat fatigues.

The death of his younger brother, Emil, in an explosion at the family factory in Stockholm, reinforced Nobel's determination to stabilize explosives, making them resistant to minor shocks and chemical decomposition. He developed "dynamite," inserting a detonator of fuse-lit black gunpowder into porous diatomaceous earth smeared with otherwise highly sensitive nitroglycerin. The small blast from the detonator caused a larger explosion of the nitroglycerin mixture.[5]

Nobel subsequently produced a stable gel, "gelatin," by mixing nitroglycerin with explosive low-nitration cotton pellets. The explosive power, like Nobel's wealth, was

much increased. There were civil uses in mining and construction, but also military uses. From the 1880s, US submarines and cruisers used a dynamite cannon, firing bullets of dynamite. Military usage continues, not least in anti-personnel mines and cluster bombs.

There is a longstanding myth that, after his elder brother Ludvig died in France in April 1888, Alfred Nobel read an obituary that confused the siblings. An unidentified newspaper apparently reported that "The Merchant of Death is Dead" (*Le marchand de la mort est mort*) and that "the man who made his fortune by discovering how to kill more people than ever before in the shortest possible time died yesterday."[6] According to the story, Nobel, shocked by his negative public reputation, determined to take control of his legacy by instituting Nobel Prizes recognizing scientific expertise for the benefit of humankind. More accurately, credit for Nobel's decision should be with Bertha von Suttner, the Austrian pacifist author of *Die Waffen nieder! (Lay Down Your Arms!)*, 1889. They first met in 1876, and over a 20-year friendship, Nobel was influenced by her arguments on the inhumanity of war. He told her:

> Perhaps my factories will put an end to war sooner than your congresses: on the day that two army corps can mutually annihilate each other in a second, all civilized nations will surely recoil with horror and disband their troops.[7]

Nonetheless, he ultimately added a Peace Prize to his legacy. This began in 1901, five years after his death. Von Suttner was the first female recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905.

Several museums for peace have depicted the development of explosives technology and narratives of Alfred Nobel. The **Nobel Peace Center**, Oslo, which opened in 2005, is an education center for peace that tells of Nobel's scientific and industrial life. It provides access to the stories of peace laureates, with insights into the thinking of recent Peace Prize recipients.[8]

The **Norwegian Nobel Institute**, with a library housing over 200,000 volumes on Nobel, peace and the laureates, is the setting for the annual announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize. The high standing of the Institute for many years was due to its late librarian, Anne Kjelling, a peace historian committed to museums for peace.[9]

Around the world, there have been countless other exhibitions about Alfred Nobel and Nobel peace laureates. A gallery dedicated to peace prize recipients was opened at **Mémorial de Caen**, France, in 1991.[10] Among the most substantive temporary displays was a 2006 exhibition, *A Century of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates (1901–2005): From Peace Movements to the United Nations*, at the **Palais des Nations, Geneva**.

Given that Nobel's will established the prize for progress in "the abolition or reduction in standing armies," a feature lost in recent awards, there is a need for more critical treatment of the prize in museums for peace than simply venerating peace heroes. Among the more critical exhibitions was a traveling display produced by **The Peace Museum, Bradford**, asking such awkward questions as "Why Kissinger?," "Why not Gandhi?," "Why so many males?"

A **Bertha von Suttner Institute** and documentation center in The Hague documents her life and work. Many of her papers are held at the UN Library, Geneva. It was there that a substantive 1993 exhibition was held on *Bertha von Suttner and Other Women in Pursuit of Peace*.[11] Her life, achievements, and debate with Nobel were featured in *A Life in Peace* exhibition panels created in 2005 by the Austrian Embassy in Tokyo, displayed again in Hiroshima in 2006, and then in 2011–2012, with added rare memorabilia, at the **Kyoto Museum for World Peace** and **Peace Aichi Museum**.[12] She continues to feature widely in displays in museums for peace around the world.

Directly addressing issues of explosives, the **Cambodia Landmine Museum and Relief Center** exist for the purposes of education on the dangers of landmines. The founder, Aki Ra, was conscripted into the Khmer Rouge Army as a child soldier and conceived the Museum as a place of healing for bodies, hearts, and minds. An exhibition consists of a set of landmines, placed in a pavilion within a small pond. Other exhibitions describe the continuing work of de-mining today.[13]

Aircraft

The first manned flight of an airplane, essentially an upholstered wooden frame, was made by the American *Wright Flyer* on December 17, 1903. Military uses of the technology were obvious. A small US biplane, the Curtiss Golden Flyer, proved capable of taking off from a cruiser (*USS Birmingham*) in 1910 and landing on a cruiser (*USS Pennsylvania*) the following year. The US Navy soon made the development of aircraft carriers a priority.[14]

In World War I, a German Zeppelin airship bombed the British mainland, but such vessels were large and hard to protect. Airplanes, initially used for reconnaissance purposes, soon became means of attack. The Fokker E. III, a German monoplane first flown in 1915, was equipped with a machine gun synchronized to fire through the propeller. When the Gotha G. IV bombed London, it proved that airplane bombing made civilian centers vulnerable to air attack.

By World War II, battles on land and sea were determined by air superiority. The attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 8, 1941, launching the Pacific War, was carried out by aircraft launched from six Japanese aircraft carriers. Captured islands later became strategic US bases for B-29 bombers, leading to the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The airplane became the most threatening and effective tool in military combat, with strategic bombing causing a high percentage of World War II casualties. US bombing of Japanese cities from 1942 to 1945, excluding the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, claimed an estimated 300,000 lives. The devastating bombing of Germany was relentlessly carried out by American B-17s in the daytime and British Lancaster bombers at night. 25,000 people died during the indiscriminate bombing of Dresden, February 13–15, 1945.[15] The massive US air raid on Tokyo on March 10, 1945, killed over 100,000 people in a single night.

A recent scientific development in air warfare has been the use of drones. The civilian harm monitoring group, Airwars, estimates that in 100,000 drone strikes

since 9/11, the United States killed between 22,000 and 48,000 civilians.[16] New military drones have been used extensively by both sides in Ukraine, since 2022.

Several museums for peace exist at sites of air bombing of civilians. They appeal to the value of peace through calling to mind the inhumanity of war. Their exhibitions are often made more vivid by the personal testimonies of local witnesses. What makes these museums "for peace" is the priority given to reconciliation, and their refusal to incite hatred against the attackers and their descendants. Museums for peace are expected to be places where former enemies can work together to prevent such tragedies from happening again. For Japanese museums, especially, that requires, though often it is not acknowledged, admission of the wider context of Japanese aggression prior to becoming victims of bombing themselves.

The city of Gernika-Lumo, in the Basque Country of Northern Spain, was destroyed by bombing on April 26, 1937, conducted by the German Condor Legion and Italian Aviation on behalf of the Nationalists. The sense of horror was captured in Pablo Picasso's, "Guernica." The **Gernika Peace Museum**, established in 1998, tells the story of the bombing of Gernika – suppressed under Franco – but also encourages its visitors to address the legacy of the bombing, and to ask how peace, reconciliation, and human rights can be promoted today. Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, the museum's director, has described it as "a space which helps us to believe in peace, invites us to seek out peace, observe peace and confront it. It is a theme museum conveying a culture of peace."[17]

The scale of destruction and loss of life in Tokyo on March 10, 1945, has already been noted. The **Center for Tokyo Air-raids and War Damage**, an independent museum for peace, was founded in 2002 by Katsumoto Saotome to remember the devastation and terrible human toll promoting education about the air bombing of civilians. It operates in a difficult climate, where the devastation of Tokyo is underplayed in society, and where Japanese peace museums have sometimes been compelled to remove exhibitions on Japan's own bombing of Chinese cities.[18] Also in Tokyo, commemorating the same air raid is the **Sumida Folk and Culture Museum**. Since 2003, it has solicited and exhibited paintings by air raid survivors.[19]

In Dresden's twin city, Coventry, UK, the site of a German-bombed former cathedral – where the altar displays the prayer, "Father, forgive" – includes a sculpture of a couple embracing across a barbed-wire fence, an embrace which overcomes boundaries of horror. The first cast of "Reconciliation" by Josefina de Vasconcellos, is in Bradford where, originally known as "Reunion," it was installed in 1977 to commemorate the work of the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University (see Figure 6.1). Other casts may be seen at sites of reconciliation around the world, including one site adjacent to the **Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum**.

It is not necessary to be at a historic bombing site in order to consider issues around the indiscriminate bombing of civilians from the air.[20] In 2021, The Peace Museum, Bradford, UK, launched a substantive online exhibition, *Bombs Away!*, to address the histories both of air bombing and of those who have campaigned against it. The exhibition covers the (failed) Air Disarmament Conference of 1933 and a public campaign in Britain against the "obliteration bombing" of German cities in World War II. The novelist Vera Brittain linked a tolerance of air bombing

Figure 6.1 *Reconciliation* by Josefina de Vasconcellos. Shown here in Belfast, the original is at the University of Bradford; copies are at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and other sites of conscience.

Source: Photograph by Clive Barrett. Used with permission.

with the atomic destruction of Japanese cities, saying that once air bombing had become socially acceptable, the bombing of Hiroshima "lay in the logic of history." The same would apply to remote drone bombing today.

The Peace Museum, Bradford has also worked in collaboration with military museums on weaponry exhibitions. The Yorkshire Air Museum planned a 2008 exhibition on the perspective of the air-crew bombing Hiroshima; an adjacent set of hibakusha art panels provided by The Peace Museum showed that the view was somewhat different from the ground.[21] Similarly, the Royal Armouries, Leeds, houses Britain's national collection of arms and armor; but weapons generate contrasting emotions depending from which end they are viewed. In one corner of the Royal Armouries' War Gallery is a space developed in partnership with The Peace Museum. Entitled *Farewell to Arms*, it includes anti-landmine clothing thought to have been worn by Princess Diana, a replica of Joseph Rotblat's Nobel medal, and an artistic chair sculpted out of weapons previously exchanged for farming utensils during a weapons amnesty following the civil war in Mozambique.[22] This object is a rare example of museums engaging with the important concept of the conversion of armaments to peaceful use.

Poison Gas (Chemical Weapons)

Chemical weapons – toxic chemicals such as poisonous gas – are used to deliberately harm human beings, other animals, and plants. One of the first instances of their use was in the fifth century BCE, at the siege of Plataea in the Peloponnese War, when the Spartan army burnt sulfur outside the town wall, attacking the defenders with the acrid stench of sulfur dioxide.[23]

1915 was a bad year for chemical weapons use. At the end of January, German forces attacked Russian troops at Bolimow with the poison gas xylyl bromide, abandoning the attack when the gas blew back into their own lines. In April, Germany used up to 300 tons of chlorine gas against French troops on the Ypres front. British attempts to use chlorine against German forces at Loos in September caused more British than German casualties as that gas too drifted backward. In December, Germany started using phosgene gas, and a variant, diphosgene.

As gas masks became widely available to protect the lungs, chemical weapons were introduced which attacked human skin. Sulfur mustard, known as "mustard gas," formed a blistering mist of fine droplets. Nicknamed "Iperit," after its first use at Ypres in July 1917, it was much feared, highly permeable, and difficult to protect against.

A 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawed the use of chemical weapons but stopped short of controlling their development, manufacture, or possession. Japan, for example, whose Army Technical Review Department began research into chemical weapons in 1914, signed but did not ratify the Geneva Protocol. The Japanese Army set up a secret factory on Ōkunoshima Island, Hiroshima Prefecture, to manufacture poison gas, deleting the island's existence from some official maps. The Japanese army used chemical weapons on over 2,000 occasions, mainly in China, during 1937–1945. In 1988, a **Poison Gas Museum** was opened in Ōkunoshima. It complements Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum as visitors to both museums would see Japan as both a victim and an aggressor.[24]

Deficiencies in the 1925 Protocol were addressed in the 1997 Chemical Weapons Convention, in which developing, manufacturing, and possessing chemical weapons were banned, but the threat remains. Given the destructive nature of other weapons systems discussed in the chapter, perhaps *every* means of violent conduct that has inhumane consequences should be banned by international treaty.

The "Father of chemical weapons" was a German physical chemist, Fritz Haber. A Lutheran convert from Judaism (a move which enabled him to conduct university research), he was originally renowned for his Haber–Bosch process for synthesizing ammonia from nitrogen in the air, benefiting fertilizer production and agriculture. However, despite the opposition of his first wife, Clara Immerwahr, he promoted the use of chlorine and other poisonous gases during World War I. Clara's protest led to her suicide in 1915.

After the war, Haber's promotion of poison gas was disregarded by a Nobel committee who regarded his early research as worthy of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. The 1912 prize had gone to Victor Grignard, who later worked on poison gas for the French. When the nuclear scientist Otto Hahn stated that the use of poison

gas was explicitly banned by Article 23 of the 1899 Hague Convention – "It is especially prohibited: to employ poison or poisoned arms" – Haber made the irrelevant argument that France had used it first and repeated the excuse which Nobel himself had realized was inadequate, that the deterrent factor of terrible weapons might somehow save lives.[25]

Haber resigned his post in April 1933, once the Nazis came to power. His discoveries could not be unlearned, however, and his patriotic good intentions proved disastrous. A poison gas he invented, Zyklon B, based on the release of hydrogen cyanide, a blood agent which can be absorbed into the blood with lethal effect, was the Nazi weapon of choice, alongside carbon monoxide, in a program of genocide against Jewish people and other targeted groups. The gas was discharged in specially constructed chambers in a continuous industrial fashion. At Birkenau, alone, Zyklon B killed over one million people.

The ambiguities of Fritz Haber are explored in the Tel Aviv Museum of the Jewish People, which contains some of his chemical equipment.[26] The consequences of the gas chambers are explored in various museums in Poland and Germany, including **Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum**.[27]

Museums have also engaged with later uses of chemical weapons. Ikuro Anzai, now Honorary Director of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace, worked to promote a close relationship with the **War Remnants Museum**, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, where there was a significant exhibition of the US use of dioxin and other chemical weapons as defoliants to reduce the Viet Cong's forest cover.[28] The War Remnants Museum organized annual festivals for the child victims of Agent Orange, in which hundreds of handicapped children participate, with music performances, puppetry, and circus. The Museum raised awareness of the continuing needs of the children, acting as a bridge between victims of chemical weapons and the rest of society.[29] The museum also contains a landmine exhibition.

Founded in 2011, **Tehran Peace Museum** highlights the experiences of the Iranian victims of Iraqi chemical weapons used during the Iran–Iraq War of 1980–88.[30] Under Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi army regularly used chemical weapons both against its own Kurdish population and against Iran. Around 20,000 chemical bombs were dropped, affecting over 100,000 Iranian people. The Museum has built up a strong oral history collection of recordings of survivors of chemical weapons. One of the museum's major objectives is to raise public awareness by sharing the first-hand horrors of chemical warfare through contact with the survivors themselves. This is achieved by involving survivors not only in the management of the museum but also in enabling survivors to act as guides and educators for visitors.[31] One display describes the use of Agent Orange by US forces in Vietnam.

Bacteriological Weapons (Biological Weapons)

Dozens of viruses, fungi, rickettsia, toxins, and bacteria are used in biological weapons. As with chemical weapons, their use – but not research or possession – was prohibited in the Geneva Protocol of 1925.[32]

Since ancient Greece, there have been a variety of uses of organisms in war. Toxic plants have been thrown into water sources, dangerous animals such as scorpions and bees have been bombed, plague-dead sick people have been dropped, and smallpox-contaminated blankets have been used. The United States has mass-produced and weaponized anthrax, Q fever, brucellosis, botulism, hare rabies, and equine encephalitis viruses. A 1952 investigation by scientists from the UK and the former Soviet Union concluded that the United States conducted germ warfare in the Korean War.[33] Realizing that the continued development of offensive biological weapons could cause the United States more harm than good, President Nixon halted research in 1969.

Biological and chemical weapons – "the poor man's nuclear weapons" – have been the weapons of choice for some terrorist groups. In Tokyo, in 1993, the Aum Shinrikyō cult sprayed anthrax, causing panic but no casualties (The same group carried out a subway attack using the toxic chemical sarin on March 20, 1995.[34]) There were several deaths from pulmonary anthrax after terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001. Although relatively easy to produce, biological weapons are dependent on external conditions and hard to control. Whatever the origin of COVID-19, its rapid spread is a reminder of how biological weapons could inflict indiscriminate global damage.

One of the most distressing episodes in the history of biological weapons deployment involved Unit 731, a Japanese Army research institute in Manchuria, known as the "Ishii Unit," after its principal commander, Army Surgeon General Shiro Ishii. After touring Europe and the United States in 1928–1930, Ishii returned to Japan claiming that other countries were researching biological weapons. He argued for the development of bacteriological weapons, believing they would be cost-effective for Japan, which did not have the resources of the West. Unit 731 housed the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Kwantung Army. Officially, research was into sanitation and water supply, to prevent outbreaks of infectious diseases within the army, but the Unit also researched and developed biological weapons to be used in germ warfare against the Soviet Union and China.

Ostensibly for suppressing the incidence of gastrointestinal infections on the front line, Ishii was awarded the Order of the Golden Kite and the Army Medal for Technical Merit. An award following the Battles of Khalkhin Gol, 1939, was recognition of his use of bacteriological weapons. Under Ishii's leadership, Unit 731 engaged in the Maruta ("log") project, in which gruesome experiments were carried out on 3,000 living prisoners of war (disparagingly referred to as "logs") in former Manchuria. The total extent of the horror of Unit 731 is hard to quantify – some have speculated 30,000–100,000 deaths, leading to the use of such descriptions as "The Forgotten Asian Auschwitz."[35] How could the researchers justify their actions? A dispassionate intellectual curiosity, a discriminatory view of ethnicity, with a nationalist sense of superiority, together with allegiance to the Japanese Army's system of absolute obedience in which dissent was not tolerated were all contributing factors.

At the end of the war, the General Staff of the Imperial Japanese Army were rapidly dispatched to Manchuria to instruct Ishii and others to destroy all evidence of biological weapons research. Unit 731 and other units of the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department were hastily withdrawn to mainland Japan, with only a minority of troops remaining to become prisoners of war; some were prosecuted at the Khabarovsk War Crime Trials of 1949.

Despite accusations of war crimes at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo) in 1946, Ishii avoided trial and accountability. Due to a secret agreement with Supreme Commander Douglas MacArthur and Major General Charles Willoughby of GHQ, both Emperor Showa and those involved in germ warfare were exonerated in exchange for handing over Unit 731 research materials to the United States.[36] Such an agreement raises serious questions about the post-war US motives in exonerating the war crimes of Unit 731 and concealing information about their experiments.

Some of those involved with Unit 731 later regretted their actions. Returning to the Department of Serology at the University of Tokyo, one medic, Sueo Akimoto, said his guilt never left him, and that what Unit 731 did could not be justified simply by claiming that war "authorized killing."

The **Chukiren Peace Memorial** in Kawagoe City in Saitama Prefecture, Japan, documents the confessions of over 200 Japanese veterans, not least those associated with Unit 731. It was from such first-hand accounts that Matsumara Takao of Chukiren Peace Memorial could report,

> The plague-infected flea (PX) was an invention of Unit 731 and in the period between 1940 and 42, the PX was actually dropped from the Japanese aircraft upon Ningbo and Quzhu in Zhejiang Province, in October 1940 and upon Changde in Hunan Province in November 1941. In 1942 during "the Zhegan Operation," PX, cholera, typhus, anthrax and dysentery were scattered on the ground.[37]

In 2010, Meiji University in Tokyo opened the **Former Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace**.[38] The Museum is based in the research facility of what was once the Japanese Army's Number Nine Research Laboratory, which conducted clandestine military research including biological weapons development.

The historical site of Unit 731's atrocities in Harbin, China, is marked by the **Exhibition Hall of Evidence of Crime Committed by Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army**.[39] A major exhibition entitled *Human Atrocities* considers Japanese bacterial warfare, human experimentation, and the development of bacterial weapons.

Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Nuclear Weapons)

It was a mere 40 years from Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, revealing the limits of Newtonian physics, to the use of an atomic bomb in warfare. Einstein, born

an Ashkenazi Jew in Germany, came to prominence in 1905 with four publications on the photoelectric effect, Brownian motion, special relativity, and mass-energy equivalence. Leaving Germany when the Nazis came to power, he became a professor at Princeton University and, in 1935, a permanent resident of the United States.

Experiments in the 1930s attempted to use neutrons, discovered by James Chadwick in Cambridge in 1932, to irradiate various nuclei. Could uranium, with the highest natural atomic number, 92, be transformed by irradiation into a new, heavier element with atomic number 93? Lise Meitner of Austria, with Germans Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassmann, discovered in 1938 that irradiating uranium with neutrons led to a nuclear fission reaction, associated with some mass being converted into energy, as predicted by Einstein.

Leo Szilárd, of Hungarian Jewish descent, had studied with Einstein before fleeing the Nazis to settle in the United States. He further researched nuclear fission and, aware of the destructive potential of nuclear energy, attempted with his colleagues (unsuccessfully at first) to warn the US government of the dangers of Nazi Germany developing nuclear weapons, especially if it could acquire Belgian-mined uranium from the Congo.[40]

With Einstein's support, a letter was handed to the US President on August 2, 1939, arguing that the US Government should match Germany in nuclear energy research. In conversation with Nobel Prize winner, Linus Pauling (Chemistry, 1954; Peace, 1963 – for his advocacy of a test ban treaty), Einstein later admitted, "I made one great mistake in my life, when I signed the letter to President Roosevelt recommending that atom bombs be made." The Manhattan Project, requiring vast investment and collaboration of leading scientists and engineers, began in 1942, leading to Uranium and Plutonium bombs being dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively, three years later.

Not every qualified scientist was prepared to participate. Lise Meitner, who had escaped to Sweden, refused to be part of the British mission at Los Alamos saying, "I will have nothing to do with a bomb!"[41] Einstein did not personally participate in the Manhattan Project, denied clearance because of his previous anti-war stance. His shocked response to the atomic bombings was to recognize the parallels between Nobel, an inventor of explosives who longed for peace, and his own peers: "[T]he physicists who participated in forging the most formidable and dangerous weapon of all times are harassed by an equal feeling of responsibility, not to say guilt." He said they tried to justify their research as preventing the Nazis from getting the bomb first, and that the Americans and British would promote peace and liberty. But even before the end of 1945, that looked to be a vain hope: "The war is won, but the peace is not."[42] Einstein later visited Hideki Yukawa, a Japanese Nobel laureate in physics, tearfully apologizing for the lives destroyed by atomic bombs.

Szilárd did participate in the Manhattan Project, only later on appreciating the disastrous potential of the research and arguing that the power of the bomb should be demonstrated through testing, not military use against a city. In the spring of 1945, he tried to organize a scientists' petition to the US government, calling for

Japan to be given an opportunity to surrender. The text of the petition looked beyond 1945 to the prospect of future atomic war:

> a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale. . . . The added material strength which this lead [in the field of atomic power] gives to the United States brings with it the obligation of restraint.[43]

Were the bombs militarily necessary? Anzai notes that,

> By the summer of 1945, Japan's military and people were exhausted due to the prolonged war and the critical shortage of resources, and there is a very strong possibility that the Pacific War would have ended in Japan's defeat even without the use of nuclear weapons.[44]

Factors behind the American decision to employ atomic weapons were complex, but doubtless some were aware that a demonstration of the power of the new weapons would give the United States an advantage in a postwar world order. Many participating scientists and engineers would also have been tempted to see the outcome of their research, not least the comparison between uranium and plutonium bombs. Some may have regarded non-white, Japanese people as expendable in such an experiment.

The inhumanness of nuclear weapons cannot be grasped without facing the reality of the damage that occurred under those rising mushroom clouds. By the end of 1945, around 140,000 people had died in Hiroshima and 74,000 in Nagasaki. The deaths kept coming, even in peacetime. Many *hibakusha* (A-bomb survivors) died of cancer and other after-effects. Throughout the remainder of their lives, surviving *hibakusha*, who were physical reminders of a defeated nation, faced social prejudice and ostracism.

By 1949, the Soviet Union produced a plutonium bomb and a deadly arms race was in progress. The United States and the Soviet Union pursued the development of hydrogen bombs, with one thousand times the power of atomic bombs, and the UK, France, and China all developed their own atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Thoughtful scientists could see this process was unsustainable. Only one week before his death, in April 1955, Einstein joined with the philosopher Bertrand Russell in calling for an end to nuclear weapons. By July, their declaration had also been signed by nine Nobel laureates, the scientific elite of the day: Max Born, Perry Bridgman, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Leopold Infeld, Hermann Muller (known for his research into the genetic effects of radiation), Linus Pauling, Cecil Powell (who often stood in for Russell in later meetings), Joseph Rotblat, and Hideki Yukawa.[45] Their appeal showed a level of conscience far higher than most of the researchers previously mentioned. Recognizing the inevitability of the use of H-bombs in any

future world war, together with the likely global consequences for the whole of humanity, they declared as follows:

> All, equally, are in peril. . . . We have to learn to think in a new way. . . . Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war? . . . We appeal, as human beings, to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death.[46]

Publication of this manifesto led directly to a July 1957 Conference on Science and World Affairs, held in Pugwash, a small village in Nova Scotia, Canada. The movement continues as the Pugwash Conference.

One signatory, later President of Pugwash, was Joseph Rotblat. Born into a Jewish family in Warsaw, with an education that embraced universities in Warsaw, Liverpool, and London, he became deputy director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics at the Polish Free University, in 1937. Fearing a German bomb, he was initially part of the Manhattan Project, withdrawing when it became clear that Germany was in no position to further pursue its own atomic weapons – a rare example of a scientist rejecting, on conscientious grounds, a chance to contribute to the development of weapons of mass destruction. Post-war, he concentrated on the study of radiology and took British citizenship.

When, in 1954, a Japanese tuna fishing boat, the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru ("Lucky Dragon")*, was exposed to radioactive fallout, Rotblat worked on data gathered by an assistant professor at Osaka Medical College, Yasushi Nishiwaki, to show that many fish had radioactive contamination from a US hydrogen bomb test at the Bikini Atolls. (The 15-megaton detonation yield was five times the total force of all shells, bombs, and bullets in World War II.) The discovery galvanized the anti-nuclear movement. The **Daigo Fukuryu Maru (Lucky Dragon) Exhibition Hall** in Tokyo educates museum visitors about the dangers of nuclear weapons through reference to the damage to the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru*.[47]

In 1958, peace activists sailed the *Golden Rule* and the *Phoenix of Hiroshima* toward or into the US nuclear test zone in the Pacific Ocean. An exhibition on these actions was developed by **Wilmington College Peace Resource Center**, Ohio.[48] The Veterans for Peace organization raised funds to restore the *Golden Rule* and renamed it in 2015, the 70th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Following a worldwide peace tour (2015-c.2019), the *Golden Rule* has been docked in Honolulu (2021).

In 1995, together with the Pugwash Conference, Rotblat was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In his acceptance lecture, he reviewed his own motivations:

> I saw science as being in harmony with humanity. I did not imagine that the second half of my life would be spent on efforts to avert a mortal danger to humanity created by science.

He quoted Solomon Zuckerman, sometime Chief Scientific Adviser to the British Government:

> When it comes to nuclear weapons . . . it is the man [sic] in the laboratory who at the start proposes that for this or that arcane reason it would be useful to improve an old or to devise a new nuclear warhead. It is he, the technician, not the commander in the field, who is at the heart of the arms race.[49]

Items of Rotblat's scientific equipment, including his slide rule, typewriter, and academic gown, are in the collection of The Peace Museum, Bradford.

Consideration of Joseph Rotblat concludes with a personal anecdote from Ikuro Anzai, who worked with him.[27] Rotblat was co-editor of a report, "The Physical and Medical Effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombs," which he presented to an international symposium in Hiroshima in 1977, on the damage and after-effects of the atomic bombing. Anzai recalls:

> After the symposium, the scientists visited Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, where Rotblat looked around the exhibits very carefully. The scientists had a schedule to visit the Radiation Effects Research Foundation (RERF) after that, and they took several taxis from the museum. On the way, a Russian scientist spoke to Rotblat by saying "Professor Rotblat, I understand that you once participated in the development project of atomic bombs." Rotblat calmly responded "Yes." Then the Russian scientist further pressed Rotblat by asking him "Then the Memorial Museum we just visited is a pavilion of your works, isn't it?" Rotblat calmly answered with sincerity "That's right. Therefore, I was almost heartbroken in front of each exhibit." The scientists in the group were deeply impressed by his sincere attitude.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is the most-visited museum for peace in the world, with (pre-COVID-19) over 1.5 million visitors a year, of whom over 400,000 are from outside Japan. As the focal point of global calls for nuclear disarmament, the Museum, together with the city and mayor of Hiroshima, "convey(s) to the world the horrors and the inhumane nature of nuclear weapons and spreads the message of 'No More Hiroshimas.'"[50]

Originally founded by the city of Nagasaki in 1955, the **Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum** opened in a new building in 1996.[51] Its exhibitions include the history of nuclear weapons development. In 1945, the United States dropped the first, atomic bomb on Hiroshima based on uranium; the second, which exploded above Nagasaki three days later, was based on plutonium. Given that the power of atomic bombs was already demonstrated in the first bomb, it is hard not to conclude that the second was, in some sense, an experiment, if one of the deadliest in human history. The museums in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki include displays about the UN's 1970 Non-Proliferation Treaty, designed to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology.

In 1995, an attempt was made by the Nagasaki city authorities to extend awareness of the wider context of the Nagasaki bomb by including exhibitions

acknowledging information on Japanese militarism in the years that preceded 1945. Right-wing nationalists took the city, Ikuro Anzai, the project director, and others to court, in an unsuccessful bid to prevent the new exhibition.[52]

Situated in Nagpur, India, the **No More Hiroshimas, No More Nagasakis Peace Museum**, was established in 1989 by the Indian Institute for Peace, Disarmament and Environmental Protection. Led by Balkrishna Kurvey, it displays images of the atomic bombings and organizes touring exhibitions to convey the horrors of war and the risks of future nuclear famine, a nuclear ozone hole, and nuclear winter. Kurvey explains that the purpose of the Museum is to educate policy makers: "India and Pakistan are now openly declared nuclear weapons adversaries, with Kashmir a smoldering potential flashpoint. . . . We are very much afraid that due to misunderstanding or some zealous military officials, nuclear war may start."[53]

What has become universally known as the peace symbol was originally drawn in 1958 in England by a campaigner, Gerald Holtom, based on the semaphore signs for N (nuclear) and D (disarmament). The original drawings are in Bradford. The symbol was first used in marches to/from London and the UK Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. A later generation of activists campaigned against the siting of US Cruise missiles in Europe. Previously, the safety of the continent was dependent on an extreme form of mutual deterrence, the theory of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD), in which belligerents would only use nuclear weapons second, in response to an attack. Cruise missiles, though, were undetectable and regarded as "first-strike" weapons, making nuclear war more probable. In the UK they were sited at Greenham Common, and in Italy at Comiso, Sicily. Women's peace camps were established at both bases, in 1981 and 1983. Anti-nuclear campaign materials from both countries are held by The Peace Museum, Bradford, and the **Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale**, near Bologna.

Attempting to control the spread of nuclear weapons technology, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970. It has had only limited success, as India, Israel, North Korea, and Pakistan (at least) subsequently developed nuclear weapons. Before Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, the threat from nuclear weapons had a lower profile in Western politics than the dangers of climate change, but it is a threat potentially far more immediate and devastating to life on earth. The UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons – a triumph for civil society, A-bomb survivors, non-nuclear weapons states, and the 2017 Nobel Prize-winning International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons – was ratified on January 22, 2021. Though it is still too early for this Treaty to impact the policy of nuclear-weapon states, it will inspire museums for peace to proclaim the potential of civil society to achieve disarmament and peace.

Ethical Questions for Museums for Peace

Science and technology have the potential to promote human and planetary welfare and well-being, yet as scientific and technological capabilities have advanced, so methods of destruction and killing have become more massive and efficient.

In some cases, scientific/technological achievements come first and are then mobilized for warfare; in other situations, new scientific and technological research from the outset is specifically directed toward the means of warfare; nuclear weapons belong to the former and tanks belong to the latter.

The scientists mentioned earlier were motivated by diverse and often contradictory factors and philosophies, including 1) patriotism (defense of one's community), 2) nationalism (devaluing the lives of the "other"), 3) financial and commercial interest (the military/industrial complex, arms transfers), 4) preservation of professional position, 5) subservience to authority, 6) intellectual curiosity and a desire to advance human knowledge (even lethal knowledge), 7) a genuine belief that the scientist could contribute to ending a war quickly, with other lives being saved, and 8) a feeling that scientific research would make killing in war somehow more humane.

Research into the means of killing may be conducted in a presumed context of ethical disengagement (which could be pejoratively described as "cold-blooded") and non-responsibility. With that mindset, the shaping of metal or the production of explosives would be regarded as a morally neutral action, wherein one denies responsibility for one's role in contributing to the genocide and planetary destruction. Such responsibility would be the end user's, alone. Science and technology can be subordinated to any value system. In time of war, all citizens are expected to contribute to the national agenda. Scientific and technological advances in weaponry and instruments of violence are justified as part of the national mission wherein exercising political domination, protecting economic interests, and defending an ideology or identity are regarded as positive values. Post-conflict, after new weaponry has done its worst, increases in scientific knowledge can be re-visited, sometimes in an attempt at justification after the event.

One example where military research has had civilian spin-offs is nuclear energy. In the context of World War II, nuclear science was largely motivated by military ambition. It could be argued that the designation "Atoms for Peace," referring to the research into nuclear energy and nuclear medicine, was an illusory euphemism which enabled military-driven nuclear research to appear more palatable. On this argument, the disasters at Three Mile Island (1979), Chernobyl (1986), and Fukushima (2011) were consequences of military research, however well concealed.

Ikuro Anzai described events at Fukushima as follows:

> a great earthquake accompanied by an extraordinarily violent tsunami attacked north-east Japan on March 11, 2011, claiming 15,000 lives. Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant No.1 of Tokyo Electric Power Company consisted of 6 nuclear reactors, and half of them fell into serious situations due to hydrogen gas explosions after the melt down of nuclear fuels in the early stage of the accident. Vast amounts of radioactive substances including rare gas, iodine 131, cesium 134 and 137 were released into the atmosphere, then carried by wind and rain, and finally came down to the ground and forests which resulted in serious radioactive contamination over an extensively wide area in Fukushima Prefecture and its peripheries.[54]

Anzai and Hidetsugu Katsuragawa, together with Tokuo Hayakawa, the Director and chief monk of the Hokyoji Temple (15km from Fukushima nuclear power plant) established **the "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Bikini, Fukushima Dengonkan" – Fukushima Museum for No Nukes** – in the temple precincts in 2021. This Dengonkan Peace Museum builds on nearly 50 years of campaigning against nuclear power by Anzai and Hayakawa.

Envisioning a Weapon-Free World

The issues raised in this chapter should receive greater consideration in museums for peace. In the past, scientists have been aware of the potential inhumane consequences of the use of the technology that they were developing. Who struggled with this and why?

As agents for communicating the dehumanization of war, museums for peace can show how, in times of war, many people, including scientists and engineers, lose the ability to make the rational decisions that they might make in peacetime. Under political, media, and social pressure, even the best scientists risk falling into the trap of pandering to the times, acquiescing to authority, losing the integrity of their research, and believing that the rightness of their cause and the increase in technology will bring about the greater good, whatever the cost in human life. It takes a wiser, more courageous scientist to challenge, question, oppose, or refrain from participating in research and technology development for weaponry and warfare. Can museums for peace become educational spaces for cultivating this critical thinking, ethical consciousness, and peace-mindedness?

In their exhibitions, museums for peace can portray the mental and ethical struggle of scientists during and after wartime, to understand better how human beings come to acquiesce in and even promote dehumanization. By considering the challenges faced by scientists, museums for peace can provide a forum for examining, and ultimately preventing violent warfare.

The first modern museum for peace, the **International Museum of War and Peace**, which opened in Lucerne in 1902, followed a concept promoted by the engineer Jan Bloch. It exhibited a collection of the most modern weaponry, machines so horrible, thought Bloch, that visitors would recoil upon seeing them and would be converted to the anti-war cause. The museum closed at the end of World War I. By that time, nobody needed to go to a museum to realize the deadly power of contemporary armaments.

But maybe Bloch had a point. Maybe he was providing a glimpse of future disarmament, one component of future peace, with weapons made redundant and no longer used in human conflict, weapons known only as museum pieces. It was a vision that inspired a seventeenth-century CE English poet, John Milton:

> No war, or battle's sound
> Was heard the world around:
> The idle spear and shield were high uphung.[55]

We long for the day when all weapons are hung up high in museums for peace.

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Section 3

The Identification and Portrayal of Violence in Museums for Peace

7 Narrating the Military Sexual Enslavement System

Museums Caught in the Crossfire

Jane Joo Hyeon Lee and Roy Tamashiro

Preface

Educated and enculturated in a nation that repressed and censored open discussion of its own Korean history, Jane Joo Hyeon Lee bears witness to her awakening to the buried "comfort women" issue. "I was not even aware of this issue until I was in college at New York University," she writes.

> *In 2015, I came across an article that not only touched upon this sensitive political issue between Korea and Japan. But it also touched upon a piece of Korean history I had no knowledge of. As I researched the topic intensively, . . . it was as if I was finding a part of my identity as an adult – a part of it had been completely left blank as if it hadn't happened in* my *version of history. I felt embarrassed of that disconnect: "How could I not even have heard of this issue, after reading Korean history books and spending years abroad learning about the history of the world?"*

As a third-generation Okinawan American immigrant, Roy Tamashiro learned that, around 1939, his father's cousin – whose name could not be uttered in the family's recollection of unbearable memories – was deceptively recruited and coerced into service for the Japanese military from Nishihara, a rural village in Okinawa. The family would never hear from her or see her again. The story was unspeakable in the family for over a half-century, until 1991.

> *In 2014, on a visit to "The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military" at The House of Sharing in Gwangju, Gyeonggi (South Korea), I noticed a map of Asia. Hundreds of push-pin markers on the map indicated the location of the comfort stations and the hometowns of the women workers. To my shock, there I saw the tiny village of Nishihara spotlighted on the map. This, to me, was a strong confirmation that my father's cousin was abducted and sexually enslaved.*

This chapter is born of the motivation to understand and reckon with the fiercely contested narratives and meanings made of the Japanese military sexual

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enslavement phenomenon. Do museums' depiction of this phenomenon help remedy the still-open wounds of historical injustices, or do they engender further traumas and violations?

> *I think museums for peace should be a place that is dedicated for people just like me: to offer a space where experiencing a cognitive dissonance is acceptable, and to offer a space to reflect upon that dissonance to learn, to accept, and to come to peace with it*.
>
> (Lee)

The authors attempt to hold perspective as "witness narrators" in the heated public discourse about the comfort women issue.

Content warning: This chapter includes descriptions and testimonies of war-related material, depictions of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and violence, and other violent imagery and ideation which some readers may find confronting or disturbing.

Introduction

Soon after World War II, *juugun ian-fu* (従軍 慰安婦), the system of sexual abuse euphemistically known as the "comfort women" phenomenon, came to light and became identified as "military sexual enslavement and enforcement" and as a massive human rights violation. An estimated 200,000 girls and women were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army.

> Though these included small numbers of Japanese, Korean women constituted the great majority. It is believed that large numbers of Chinese women were also victimized. The Japanese military also used women in Southeast Asia and the Pacific Islands, including The Philippines, Indonesia, Indochina, and Burma – then American, Dutch, French, and British colonies, respectively – which Japan occupied in the early 1940s.[1]

But it was nearly 50 years later, in the mid-1990s, when exhibits and presentations in museums for peace across East Asia were first established to raise public awareness about the issue and to campaign for redress for the survivors. In their advocacy for redress, the museums and memorials have also become a lightning rod for arguments about war responsibility, the construction of public memory, and the politics of commemoration.

In this chapter, we explore the role museums for peace have played in depicting the *juugun ian-fu* phenomena, particularly in the context of the contested narratives and "history wars"[2] fueled by historical revisionists and the Japanese right wing.

The museums' efforts to educate and raise public awareness about the injustices stand as counter-narratives that oppose the iconic, national identity narratives that defend, justify, and glorify *juugun ian-fu*. The expression *juugun ian-fu* or *ianfu*[3]

was an androcentric, masculine-interest dominated,[4] euphemism that meant "comfort women," and was an official coinage of Imperial Japan.[5] *Fu* referred to an adult female who acted voluntarily or involuntarily, and *ian* meant entertaining. *Juugun* was a reference to accompanying the military, originally referring to women who served as nurses and other non-combatants in the Japanese expeditionary forces outside Japan.[6]

Contestations about how to depict the *ianfu* system have splintered the Japanese political and academic world to pieces, writes Chizuko Ueno and Jordan Sand, "as one distorted claim invites another, until one hasn't a clue who is conservative and who is progressive."[7] For social critics, the *ianfu* phenomenon is evidence of institutional patriarchy and the domination and exploitation of women. The *ianfu* system painfully exemplifies the legacies of structural violence, systemic denial of human rights, and dehumanization of women. From that perspective, the opposition to this counter-narrative view are voices of those defending the multinational legacy of patriarchal hierarchy, denying the evidence, discrediting survivors' testimonies, and ignoring the broad consensus to the contrary among English-speaking scholars.

The Rise of Museums and Memorials Depicting Japanese Military Sexual Slavery

Since 1991, following Hak-Soon Kim's first public survivor-witness testimony in Korea, museums across East Asia and Southeast Asia have been established in support of the comfort women redress movement. Their common goals have been, in varying degrees, (a) to raise public awareness about the issue; (b) to document the injustices and brutality of the Japanese military sexual slavery system; (c) to memorialize the victims and commemorate the survivors; (d) to demand government accountability and responsibility for the atrocities; and (e) to advocate for respect, human rights, and justice, especially for women and the survivors.[8]

Table 7.1 summarizes the stated aims of the museums and memorials in depicting the *ianfu* system. The museums fulfill their aims through multimedia technologies, innovative designs, exhibition methods, and educational programs. Table 7.2 summarizes and compares the methods which museums and memorials employed to achieve their aims.

The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military

The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military at The House of Sharing in Gwangju, Gyeonggi (South Korea) identifies itself as the world's first museum that focuses on the issue of Japanese military sexual slavery. It opened in August 1998 with its aims to record the history of Japanese military sexual slavery before and during World War II, to display evidence for public record, educate the public about the subject, and cherish the memory of victims who have passed away.[9]

Table 7.1 The aims of museums and memorials in depicting the *ianfu* phenomenon

Museums and Memorials	*Explicit Aims:*				
	(a) to raise public awareness about the issue;	*(b) to document the injustices of the Japanese military sexual slavery (ianfu) system;*	*(c) to memorialize the victims and commemorate the survivors;*	*(d) to demand government accountability and responsibility for the atrocities;*	*(e) to advocate for respect, human rights, and justice, especially for women and the survivors.*
1 The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military	√	√	√	√	√
2 War & Women's Human Rights Museum	√	√	√	√	√
3 Heeum – Museum of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan	√	√	√	√	√
4 AMA Museum for Peace and Women's Human Rights	√	√	√	√	√
5 Women's Active Museum on War and Peace	√	√	√	√	√
6 Australian War Memorial	√	√	√		
7 Chinese Comfort Women Museum	√	√	√	√	√
8 "Statue of Peace"	√		√	√ (applicable to monuments in Seoul and Busan)	

The museum features multimedia testimonies given by victims and survivor-witnesses from Korea and abroad.

A replica of a room in a "comfort station" gives visitors a simulated sense of the living conditions of the enslaved women. The design of the replica room was based on the victims' recorded testimonies. Visitors can glimpse what the victims experienced. The placement of this "comfort station" exhibit in the basement is intended to evoke the sensations of fear and darkness and feelings of deep uneasiness.

Table 7.2 Methods and media employed in depicting the *ianfu* phenomenon

Museums and Memorials	*Methods and Media:*						
	(a) Poster, panel, maps, timelines, photographic exhibits	(b) Video or audio recordings of survivor narratives & testimonies	(c) Replicas / simulations of "comfort stations"	(d) Artwork (paintings, drawings, sculptures, etc.) created by survivors	(e) Publications (books, journals), video documentaries, music, or artworks.	(f) Memorial events, lectures, classes, protests, or rallies.	(g) Spaces for contem-plation and reflection
1 The Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
2 War & Women's Human Rights Museum	√	√		√	√	√	√
3 Heeum – Museum of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan	√	√			√	√	√
4 AMA Museum for Peace and Women's Human Rights	√	√		√	√	√	√
5 Women's Active Museum on War and Peace	√	√			√	√	√
6 Australian War Memorial	√				√	√	
7 Chinese Comfort Women Museum	√	√		√ (Survivor artifacts)		√	
8 "Statue of Peace"					√	√	√

Paintings, drawings, sculptures, and other artworks, which survivor-residents' at The House of Sharing created in their art therapy classes, are exhibited in the museum. Larger-than-life fingerprint paintings of *halmoni's*[10] faces dramatically express their unbearable memories and unspeakable experiences.

War & Women's Human Rights Museum

The War & Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul, South Korea was established in 2012 with a vision statement to serve as an "international platform for archiving and remembering the Japanese military sexual slavery issue and movement for resolution."[11] The museum specifically commemorates the history of Japanese

military sexual slavery and extends its presentations to other crimes of sexual violence in conflict, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (since 1996) and the War in Vietnam (1955–1974). In addition, the museum depicts the history of activism by survivors.

The exhibit on the War in Vietnam includes testimonies of Vietnamese women who Korean soldiers raped throughout the period from October 1965 to April 1975 when the South Korean military stationed troops in Vietnam. The history of anti-war activism is depicted on multiple giant-screen videos playing across the walls of the gallery.

Heeum – The Museum of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan

Heeum – The Museum of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan – is located in Daegu, South Korea. The literal translation of *heeum* is "flower blooming through hope," which echoes the museum's motto, "blooming their hopes with you." By including exhibits that depict the violence toward Congolese and Vietnamese, the museum emphasizes that sexual violence and enslavement during wartime were not isolated to the Japanese. Although "this framing of the contemporary movement aligns with international efforts to spotlight crimes of rape in war,"[12] this depiction promotes the view that Japanese sexual slavery had its cause in war and militarism, hence as war crimes. While such depictions recognize specific wartime crimes, they downplay or ignore how past and ongoing violations of women's human rights are manifest in institutionally sanctioned prostitution, sex trafficking, the sex industry, rape, and other sexual violence cultural norms that exist during both wartime and peacetime.

Located on a street that preserved what Daegu looked like when Japan was still occupying Korea and built into a renovated Japanese-style wooden building that is over 90 years old, the Museum of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan is the most prominent museum in South Korea emphasizing remembrance of this painful history. At the same time, it is working toward a peaceful society where women's rights are respected. The museum states as its goal to ensure we do not forget the history of suffering endured by the Japanese military "comfort women" victims, and to work to solve the "comfort women" issue.[13]

Building the museum began in 2010, when one of the survivors, Soon-Ak Kim, left a will with about $50,000 asking to not forget her after she was gone. Other survivors followed in her footsteps. After numerous public fundraising efforts, the museum was opened in 2015.

While Heeum displays a permanent collection, the space is also used for a series of temporary exhibits, seminars, as well as other outdoor events and shows. Some of the temporary exhibits included an exhibition on survivors of sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Army of East Timor, where a Japanese scholar was invited to speak on the subject, and a #WITH_YOU exhibition in support of the #me_too movement. In addition to hosting various exhibits focusing on the survivors' rights

and women's rights, Heeum sponsors and supports projects that promote conversations between the survivors and the public.[14]

AMA Museum for Peace and Women's Human Rights (Taiwan)

The AMA Museum is located in Taipei City, Taiwan. It was the first museum in Taiwan dedicated to the Taiwanese comfort women. The Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (TWRF), which has been a leading organization in investigating and dedicated to taking care of the comfort women while seeking justice and compensation from Japan, began preparation to establish the AMA Museum in 2004. After 12 years of effort, TWRF established the AMA Museum after a successful crowdfunding campaign in 2016. In its 3-month opening period, the museum attracted more than 10,000 visitors, including Japanese scholars and students.[15]

The first floor had a cafe, book rooms, and shops to provide job opportunities for women assisted by the foundation. The second floor offered two spaces, one provided glimpses into the lives of former Taiwanese comfort women through cultural relics and art creations; the other was used to hold forums and workshops to promote human rights education. In 2017, the museum hosted the first International Comfort Women Human Rights Film Festival. Under the theme "Women's Power," the festival featured films that told stories of comfort women during WWII and explored issues about wartime violence.[16] In 2018, it hosted a joint exhibition with the Anne Frank House to highlight the suffering of women during wartime. Despite its success, AMA Museum closed in November 2020 in the face of financial hardship compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic.[17] Following an outpouring of public support, AMA raised sufficient funds to relocate the museum to a less expensive site and reopened on November 26, 2021.[18]

Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM)

WAM, whose motto is "toward a future of peace and nonviolence," seeks to hold the Japanese government accountable for Japan's military sexual slavery system and provides a space to remember women's stories of suffering as well as the struggle to restore dignity and justice. The museum's stated goal is to create a world of peace, where no woman suffers from violence or discrimination.[19] Conceived by the late Matsui Yayori, a prominent journalist and activist for women's human rights and dignity who left her entire estate to WAM, WAM aims to preserve the records accumulated for the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery, which was held in Tokyo December 2000.

WAM's exhibitions include permanent exhibitions as well as rotating special exhibitions with topics related to the "comfort women" issues. It also has a video booth containing various audiovisual materials, such as survivor testimonies and the entire record of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal. WAM may be the only library or archive in Japan where information on the Women's International

War Crimes Tribunal and the "comfort women" trials against the Japanese Government are open to the public.

At the end of the war, numerous government documents about the *ianfu* system "were burned to ashes by the order of the army."[20] In spite of these losses, WAM's library houses an extensive collection of videos, books, journals, theses, and other material related to the military activities, records of support groups, and the NHK.

By the mid-1990s, revisionists, right-wing politicians, journalists, and intellectuals took "concrete steps to . . . erase descriptions of the 'comfort woman' from history textbooks."[21] By 2006, the depictions of the *ianfu* system had disappeared entirely from the textbooks in secondary schools. WAM may be distinctive among museums in how it spotlights systemic global efforts by the Japanese right wing and neo-nationalists to censor documented, published material and to erase public memory about the "comfort women" legacy.

Through its exhibits, WAM calls attention to the government's refusal to adopt recommendations of the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal. WAM documents campaigns which defend and justify the "comfort women" phenomenon, and which discredit WAM and other museums and memorials. The exhibits also argue that the defense of "comfort women" practices during wartime is a perpetuation of the injustices and violations into the present day.

Australian War Memorial

The Australian War Memorial located in Campbell, Australia, a suburb of the capital city of Canberra, was originally established in 1941. It was first conceived only as a commemoration of Australian involvement in World War I. But with the outbreak of the World War II, the Memorial became a space for the remembrance of all Australian involvement in the war. The depiction of Japanese military sexual enslavement is most prominent in the memorial archives, which include "reports which mention incidents of sexual violence and the enslavement of women by Japanese troops in South East Asia."[22]

One of the exhibits at The Australian War Memorial focuses on the experiences of Jan Ruff O'Herne, a survivor of the *ianfu* system in the Japanese-occupied Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia) in 1944. The exhibit featuring Ruff O'Herne includes a handkerchief embroidered with the autographs of the interned Dutch women who were enslaved in the "House of the Seven Seas" with Ruff O'Herne.[23] The handkerchief is placed alongside other artifacts from internment camps and prisoner-of-war camps of World War II.

Ruff O'Herne's oral history narrative was presented on The Australian War Memorial's website, and her memoir, *Fifty Years of Silence*, has been on display in The Australian War Memorial's Bookstore.[24] The Memorial credits Ruff O'Herne for her vocal activism since the 1990s, and for her role as a catalyst for the transnational movement for redress and justice.

Chinese Comfort Women Museum (Shanghai, China)

The first museum in China to focus on the issue of comfort women opened in 2007 as The China Comfort Women Archive, sponsored by the China Comfort Women Research Center of Shanghai Normal University. It later opened to the public as a museum on the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1937–1945).

The year 1937 marks the Japanese invasion of Shanghai, followed by a massive attack on Nanking, the newly established capital of the Republic of China.

> When the city fell on December 13, 1937, Japanese soldiers began an orgy of cruelty seldom if ever matched in world history. Tens of thousands of young men were rounded up and herded to the outer areas of the city, where they were mowed down by machine guns, used for bayonet practice, or soaked with gasoline and burned alive. By the end of the massacre an estimated 260,000 to 350,000 Chinese had been killed. Between 20,000 and 80,000 Chinese women were raped – and many soldiers went beyond rape to disembowel women, slice off their breasts, nail them alive to walls.[25]

The museum in Shanghai exhibits included photos, oral history testimonies of survivors, passports of survivors who went to Japan to file lawsuits, and the indictments from the first group of survivors from mainland China who sought compensation from Japan.[26]

Like the museums in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, the Shanghai Museum aims to raise public awareness about the history and injustices of the *ianfu* system. The government-funded museum also campaigns for an official apology and compensation from Japan on behalf of the 19 survivors (in 2016) residing on the Chinese mainland.

The Statue of Peace and Other Memorial Sculptures and Statues

Although monuments and memorial sculptures are not in the genre of museums for peace *per se, The Statue of Peace*, and other "comfort women" statues and monuments have been evocative symbols in the "comfort women redress movement."

The Statue of Peace, sometimes called the *Comfort Woman Statue* (慰安婦像, *Ianfu-zō*), was designed by Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung, depicting a girl dressed in a *chima jeogori* (a modified form of *hanbok* in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century), sitting and staring at the Embassy of Japan in Seoul. It was erected on December 14, 2011, on the 1000th Wednesday Demonstration[27] held weekly in front of the Embassy of Japan in Seoul.

After the 2015 "agreement" to resolve the comfort women issue between South Korea and Japan, Japan stated that it would not pay ¥1 billion as compensation unless the *Statue of Peace* was removed from its location at the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. South Korea formally terminated the 2015 agreement in 2018, as Japan continued to maintain that the placement of the statue is illegal.[28]

Replicas of *The Statue of Peace* and other monuments inspired by it have been built throughout South Korea and in cities around the world. The first replica of *The Statue of Peace* erected overseas was the Peace Monument of Glendale, California (USA), in July 2013.[29] According to The Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, the number of comfort women statues in South Korea has increased to 144, while another 16 have gone up overseas.[30]

In 2016, amidst opposition from Japan, the statue was put up on a sidewalk near the Japanese consulate in the port city of Busan.

In 2017, when tensions about the 2015 "agreement" between Japan and South Korea were high, *The Statue of Peace* sculptures were showing up on the seats of South Korean city buses.

> The figure [was] the same short-haired girl, with her hands clenched in her lap. Instead of bronze, the statue was painted – black hair, light skin, wearing a dress. In Seoul, the seated statue rolls around on bus No. 151 – which stops right in front of the Japanese Embassy. The girl is visible every time the bus doors open.[31]

In 2016, Toronto became the third city outside Korea, and the first Canadian city, to erect *The Statue of Peace* monument. Burnaby, neighboring the city of Vancouver (British Columbia), was originally slated to be the first to unveil the statue, but those plans were canceled in the face of pressures from the Japanese government.[32]

The first *Statue of Peace* memorial in Australia was installed in the gardens of the Exodus Foundation in suburban Sydney in August 2016.[33] A Japanese lobby group filed a racial discrimination complaint with the Human Rights Commission to remove the statue, stating that "This hurtful historical symbol is detrimental to the local community and will only result in generating offence and racial hate." The complaint did not prevail.[34]

The Korean Society of Victoria Australia erected another *Statue of Peace* memorial in front of the Korean Society of Victoria Australia in Melbourne, Australia (see Figure 7.1) on November 14, 2019. Jan Ruff O'Herne, the human rights activist whose narratives about her experiences of sexual slavery were featured in the Australian War Museum, was present at the unveiling ceremony.[35]

On October 20, 2016, The International Committee for Joint Nomination to UNESCO International Memory of the World held an unveiling ceremony of *The Statue of Peace* replicas at Shanghai Normal University in China. On the same day, The Chinese Comfort Women History Museum of the Shanghai Normal University held its opening ceremony. The museum, which was China's first comfort women theme museum, included artifacts left by survivors, documents, and other records of the Japanese military's enslavement of women.

In 2017, three bronze statues depicting Chinese and Korean "comfort women" were unveiled near Japan's Consulate in Hong Kong on the 80th anniversary of the Sino-Japanese War. But the statues were removed in August 2021 after the Hong Kong government said that they would confiscate the statues if they were not removed.[36]

Figure 7.1 *The Statue of Peace* in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, with banners denouncing the right-wing groups' defense of Japan's wartime sexual slavery (August 2022).

Source: Photograph by Jane Joo Hyeon Lee. Used with permission.

Also in 2017, San Francisco was the first major US city to install a comfort women monument, *Column of Strength*, by sculptor Steven Whyte. The monument depicts three teenage girls, one Chinese, one Korean, and one Filipina, representing the estimated 200,000 subjected to the Japanese military sexual enslavement system. Gazing up at the three girls standing atop a pedestal is a bronze figure of a *halmoni*, which bears a resemblance to the Korean human rights activist Kim Hak-Sun.

In protest to the San Francisco monument, Hirofumi Yoshimura, the mayor of Osaka, Japan terminated the sister-city relationship between the two cities of Osaka and San Francisco in 2018. While some Japanese Americans were worried that the monument gave only a one-sided account about the comfort women issue, Julie Tang, a retired judge, and co-chair of the Comfort Women Justice Coalition, refuted this claim, arguing that the memorial addresses the broader issue of women's freedom from sexual violence.[37]

Taiwan's first public monument to honor "comfort women" was erected in the city of Tainan in August 2018. The statue depicts a girl with her arms raised "to show her resistance" was erected by the Tainan Association for Comfort Women's Rights without the Taiwanese government being involved in its planning.[38]

Filipina Comfort Women was a statue unveiled on December 8, 2017, in Manila, the capital city of The Philippines. It depicted a grieving blindfolded woman to represent an estimated 1,000 Filipinas who were subjected to Japanese military sexual enslavement. Although the statue was fully paid for by the Tulay Foundation, a humanitarian NGO, and approved by the National Commission on Culture and the Arts and the city government of Manila, the Department of Foreign Affairs warned that it could affect the country's bilateral trade relations with Japan. The statue was removed on April 27, 2018, and a backlash about its removal followed. The statue was stored in the private studio of its artist, Jonas Roces, but was later reported stolen.[39]

In July 2020, Japan reacted angrily to a new monument installed at a botanic garden in the mountain town of Pyeongchangin, South Korea. The statue portrays a man, who appeared to resemble Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, kneeling, and bowing to a woman sitting on a chair. The garden owner, Kim Chang-ryeol, explained to reporters that

> The man could be Abe and also couldn't be Abe. . . . The man represents anyone in a position of responsibility who could sincerely apologize to the victims of sexual slavery, now or in the future. It could even be the girl's father. . . . That's why the statues were named "Eternal Atonement."[40]

On September 28, 2020, a new replica of *The Statue of Peace* was unveiled in Berlin's Mitte district. It is the third such monument in Germany, but the first on public land. Despite intense diplomatic pressure from Japan to remove the statue, the Mitte district mayor and district government declared that the statue would remain while the mayor and district officials searched for ways to modify the memorial to address sexual violence in broader terms.[41]

Narrative Genres

The conflicting narratives about the *ianfu* system are manifested in the public arena – in museums and memorials, in the media, in international diplomacy, in academic scholarship – as political disputes. The disputes are about war responsibility, about the defense of nationalistic identities, and about sexual violence and rape cultural norms in both wartime and peacetime. Each party claims its representation and narrative are authoritative. Instead, the narratives are expressions of the narrator's beliefs about what the *ianfu* system symbolizes or means, socially or politically.

In historical and political analyses, the comfort women phenomenon is contextualized in the Japanese colonization of Asia-Pacific nations from 1910 to 1945, and in the systemic exploitation of laborers under Japanese nationalism, imperialism, and militarism. In the academic literature and memorial and museum exhibits

worldwide, the Japanese *ianfu* system has been identified as an institution of sexual enslavement in a culture of rape. The personal ordeals reported by the survivors serve as evidence of Japan's war crimes.[42]

In peace studies, peace education, and peace psychology, the *ianfu* system exemplifies the legacy of universal, structural violence in patriarchal societies, especially against poor women who have voluntarily or involuntarily enlisted in mandatory, enforced sex labor.[43]

The battle over narratives is intrapersonal and phenomenological as well. In the struggle to understand, each individual must evaluate competing claims and narratives that demand choosing and judging which pieces of information to accept, believe, and own. The various narrative types challenge the individual to reflect on the iconic images and oral history testimonies and their implications for one's own values. The museum visitor must analyze how the competing claims interface with one's own identity, especially on how to *perform* and express (in words and behavior) one's gender-role self-expectations, identities, and self-defined responsibilities.

The warring narratives may be grouped as (1) the iconic, national identity narratives; (2) the injustice counter-narratives; and (3) the historical revisionist backlash, counter-counter narratives. A fourth narrative type, the meta-witnessing narrative, is postulated to critically observe and compare the three contested narrative forms.

The Iconic, National Identity Narratives

The iconic, national identity narratives assert that the comfort women system served in the best interest of Japan's war effort. It rationalizes that comfort stations were needed to enhance the morale of Japanese soldiers as Japan's military presence expanded across Asia from the 1930s on.

In this narrative genre, the comfort stations are viewed as instruments of national control and sponsorship emerging out of an idealized, nationally projected image depicting the Japanese male as a machine-body in constant need of maintenance and the female body as the fuel, "comfort," and sustenance for this masculine machinery.[44]

It expresses an idealized, glorified national image-identity of the heroic, patriotic Japanese warrior, a modern-day *samurai* in service to the emperor deity, entitled to rest, comfort, pleasures, and indulgences for his sacrifices and hardship. The Japanese female iconography is likewise one held in honor and high regard for her labor, service, and patriotism to support the warriors.

The *ianfu* system may be viewed as the historical extension and continuity of Japan's pre-war civilian sex industry culture, including large-scale pornography and prostitution.[45] Yet, the *ianfu* system was kept well hidden from the public.

> While every soldier knew about "comfort stations," strict measures were taken to keep them out of the media, to conceal them from the Japanese public. Publications that ran war reporters' accounts of "comfort stations" were banned and reporters who wrote such accounts were arrested and jailed. Just before Japan's defeat, military leaders ordered all regiments to destroy documents concerning "comfort stations."[46]

From the position of defending the nationalistic identity narrative, the *ianfu* system is posited as beneficial for reducing the spread of venereal diseases and minimizing incidents of rape and random sexual assaults during the war. This narrative "downplays Japan's level of guilt, suggests that most women joined the system voluntarily, and invites skepticism regarding the number of women involved and the living conditions that they faced."[47] For example, while scholars agree that between 100,000 to 200,000 women[48] were forced into sexual slavery in the Japanese military-occupied Asian colonies, the Japanese government, and Japanese historians contest these numbers, asserting that the number is closer to 20,000.[49]

The Injustice Counter-Narratives

In the injustice counter-narrative genre, the *ianfu* phenomenon is considered military sexual enslavement, a severe human rights and civil rights violation, and gender-based domination, oppression, and violence. The injustice counter-narrative frames the *ianfu* phenomenon as systemic, structural violence involving abduction, deceit, misogyny and sexual coercion, rape, and enslavement.

The systematic mass rape and sexual enslavement of women across Asia in the *ianfu* system are associated with the pattern of using violence toward women and girls as a weapon in war, a pattern increasingly recognized and documented since World War I:

> Belgian and French women were massively raped by German troops in 1914; more than 20,000 Chinese women and girls were sexually enslaved during the first month of the Japanese occupation of the city of Nanking, known today as the "Rape of Nanking"; during WWII, Russian troops raped approximately 2,000,000 German women, 900,000 of them in the greater Berlin area, as a payback for the Nazi soldiers' rape of Russian women; simultaneously, Japanese troops invented the phenomenon of "comfort women" by drafting more than 200,000 Korean women for systematic rape and sexual slavery.[50]

Typically, museums have depicted the system of sexual enslavement that the Japanese Imperial Army instituted from 1932 to 1945 across Asia and the Pacific, as part of the deliberate atrocities carried out that demand action to "extract state-level apology and reparation from the Japanese government for these crimes of enforced prostitution or 'military sexual slavery.'"[51] Some museums and activists broaden their campaign against sexual violence in war to wherever it occurs in the world, not only focusing on the Japanese example.

Other museums, notably WAM, include exhibits that go beyond showing the injustices of the *inafu* system or sexual violence in wars anywhere. They include exhibits that depict and confront right-wing efforts to erase public memory and terrorize, sabotage, and shut-down museum exhibitions about the comfort women issues. For example, it may include those who advocate and struggle against prostitution, human trafficking, pornography, and other forms of gender-based

violence, whether in wartime or peacetime, and applicable to both the past and the present.

The depictions of the "comfort women" phenomenon in memorials and museums highlight themes of institutionalized, sanctioned violence, collective social wounding, inherited collective trauma, and unreconciled injustices.

Institutionalized, sanctioned violence refers to the historical past when military sexual enslavement was practiced and includes the following decades when the Japanese government denied its involvement in the "comfort women" system and refused to take responsibility for these injustices. Furthermore, institutionalized, sanctioned violence refers broadly to the pre-war civilian sex industry culture in Japan and the worldwide historical and contemporary rape and sexual violence culture norms.

Collective social wounding refers to the traumas experienced by the victims and survivors, but also to the emotional responses of museum visitors and audiences learning about the violence and unreconciled injustices. The survivors' memories were suppressed, censored, and repressed for decades. Even when the memories were retrieved and told, they were often not believed or acknowledged. The social wounding is extended to a wider collective when museum visitors learn about the injustices, listen to the oral history narratives, and empathize with the suffering the victims and survivors endured.

Collective social wounding becomes an *inherited collective trauma* when the trauma is triggered long after the wounding event, even generations later. Inherited collective trauma may be experienced by anyone who can identify with the collective social wounding or injustice, including museum visitors or students learning about the *ianfu* issues and its history. Inherited collective trauma tends to occur in the absence of sustained social healing processes in the family or community. For example, inherited collective trauma from the *ianfu* phenomenon is widespread in modern-day South Korea, wherein "South Koreans removed from the historical tragedy feel its burdens and obligations for healing."[52]

The Historical Revisionist Backlash Narratives

Historical revisionism refers to the reinterpretation of history and involves challenging widely held views and scholarship about a historical phenomenon. On the "comfort women" issue, the historical revisionist backlash narratives reflect the Japanese government and neo-nationalists' systematic campaign to oppose and undermine efforts to raise global awareness about the history and injustices of the military sexual enslavement system.

In 2021, Harvard Law School Professor J. Mark Ramseyer published an article in the *International Review of Law and Economics*,[53] in which he argued that the *ianfu* system was a professional institution in which the women were well-paid contract workers. He wrote that the "stereotypes that brothels manipulated accounts to keep the women locked in 'debt-slavery' is simply not true"[54] and concluded that the "sex-slave" narratives promoted by organizations like Chong Dae

Hyup (CDH), the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery, are "pure fiction."[55]

Ramseyer's claims triggered a global uproar. He was accused of "serious violations of scholarly standards and methods that strike at the heart of academic integrity," including misrepresentations of Japanese sources and making inaccurate citations.[56]

> Most alarming to historians is what they say is a lack of evidence in the paper: Scholars at Harvard and other institutions have combed through Ramseyer's sources and say there is no historical evidence of the contracts he describes.[57]

The Japanese nationalists and right wing have boasted about using historical revisionism as a weapon in the "history war" to restore "national pride."[58] They have criticized, challenged, and sought to eliminate "comfort woman" memorials and shut down "comfort woman" museum exhibits abroad including in South Korea, The Philippines, Australia, Germany, Canada, and the United States.[59]

Advocates of the historical revisionist narratives deny the involvement of the Japanese government or the military in the forcible recruitment, abduction, and trafficking. In rejecting the characterization of the *ianfu* system as state-sanctioned military sexual slavery, they discredit the survivor testimonies as untrustworthy and consider the depiction of the issue as sexual slavery to be falsehoods and fabrications.[60]

The Meta-Witnessing Perspective: A Blueprint for Museums and Memorials

Meta-witnessing refers to a "view-from-above" perspective in which the observer considers the three narrative forms – including the iconic, national identity narratives, the injustice counter-narratives, and the historical revisionist backlash, counter-counter narratives – each as a meaningful point of view within a given set of religious, political, and ideological beliefs, biases, and values of those advocating a particular narrative type. This fourth narrative type, the meta-witnessing perspective, is postulated to critically observe and compare the three contested narrative forms.

The meta-witnessing perspective organizes individual and institutional efforts to remember, retrieve, and report personal and collective memories of embodied lived experiences, as well as to affirm the chronicles of recorded events. The meta-witnessing perspective affords the opportunity to observe, compare, and critically evaluate the three contested narrative genres.

Currently, museums and memorials primarily aim to educate the public about the *ianfu* phenomenon and advance the "comfort women redress movement." They do so from the perspective of the injustice counter narrative genre. While this may be effective in identifying the museum's political position on the *ianfu* issue, it is less effective in facilitating a constructive dialogue across the three narrative genre types, and across politically and ideologically entrenched assumptions about national identity and the politics of memory.

While some museums have chronicled the litigation and legislation in the movement, they have not been positioned to effectively support them, in part due to the inconsistencies of judicial decisions of government negotiations with Japan. For example, after the South Korean government's rejection of the 2015 "agreement" with Japan, the current South Korean government remains hesitant to seek a renegotiation.[61] The failure of most reparation-seeking lawsuits over decades into the present also indicates the unresolved contestation about whether the *ianfu* system should be historically, ethically, or humanly justified.

Museums must contend with sectors of public opinion (apart from the government party line and the visibly organized right-wing groups) which oppose reparations and redress and discredit the museums' presentations as falsehoods and distortions. Those who deny the existence of the *ianfu* phenomenon oppose such exhibitions in general. There have been instances in which exhibitions were shut down due to intense protests and bomb threats.[62] In effect, museums have been embroiled in the war of narratives over the *ianfu* system.

When a museum such as the Women's Active Museum exhibits a historical account of lawsuits seeking apologies or reparations for survivors, it is taking a meta-witnessing narrative perspective. The arguments and rationale given by representatives of the government's defense team are employed to reject legal responsibility for wrongdoing. The museum is presenting arguments drawn from all three narrative types: the national identity, the injustice counter narrative, and the historical revisionist backlash narrative genres.

The common practice of museums to identify the women and girls in the *ianfu* system as victims of a war crime, singularly assigning responsibility for the crime on the leaders and policies of Imperial Japan. Such a view too easily allows the injustices to be consigned to a war-torn past and to be left alone.

> [Although museums have] publicized sexual violence and atrocities committed by the Japanese military, the way in which they have framed the story of comfort women as exclusively a Japanese war crimes issue has diverted attention from the sociocultural and historical roots of women's victimization.[63]

When museum visitors experience the *ianfu* exhibits and presentations, whether in-person, online, or mediated through other published materials, they are often confronted with new knowledge and an accompanying shock and horror. During a tour of the museum, one may recognize the dissonant and difficult emotions as a transgenerational, inherited, collective trauma, because the *ianfu* issue is still an unreconciled historical injustice. A museum with a meta-witnessing perspective affords a safe, supportive space for contemplation and reflection about what it means to experience an inherited, collective trauma as one is witnessing an exhibit about a historical collective trauma. In contrast, a viewer at a typical museum that primarily exhibits the injustice counter narrative movement may sense an expectation and inappropriate pressure to endorse or join in the advocacy of the comfort women redress movement.

Museums can support the meta-witnessing process among visitors through a range of methods that are already in place. These include social media, visitor blogs, and the museum's visitor kiosks and feedback notebooks, in which museum

visitors can reflect and report about their experiences. Such methods and media also support the visitors' reflections about the meaning of the conflicting narrative genres, and about whether and how to address the still unreconciled injustices. An opportunity to participate and express feelings and concerns for the narratives is afforded to museum visitors.

By adopting a *meta-witnessing* perspective, the museums may better facilitate dialogue across the competing narrative genres, mediating the "history wars," and transforming it into a co-witnessing, co-constructive process to identify new narratives that serve as acknowledgeable "truths" about human nature, about collective identities, and about how to move society and the world toward justice and a better sense of well-being.

Notes

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8 Japanese War Memory

Ongoing Challenges of Remembering and Forgetting

Satoko Oka Norimatsu

In narrating Japan's war history, museums for peace and other purveyors of national identity and memory have been suppressing, denying, and trying to forget the undeniable truths about its war crimes, atrocities, enslavement, colonial domination, and other injustices committed by the Empire of Japan. In this chapter, I reflect on the ongoing challenges over what and how to remember Japan's war history.

On August 15, 2022, in a commemoration carried out on that exact date for seven decades,[1] the Japanese Prime Minister hosted the annual National Ceremony for the War Dead, at Nippon Budokan building, adjacent to the Imperial Palace and Yasukuni Shrine. The event takes place on the day most Japanese remember as the "end of the war day." It was at noon on August 15, 1945 that Emperor Hirohito announced on the radio to the people in Japan that he accepted the Potsdam Declaration and surrendered to the Allied Nations. For most Japanese, it was the first time that they heard the actual voice of the man whom they regarded as an untouchable, God-like figure. Hearing Hirohito's surrender speech, people bowed, and some fell to the ground, sobbing, even apologizing to the emperor for the defeat in the war.

Participants of the National Ceremony for the War Dead also bow, close their eyes and have a minute of silence at noon, and listen to the emperor's speech immediately after. Overall, this ceremony appears like a replay of what took place on August 15, 1945, symbolic of the emperor-centered Japanese war memory. Many Japanese today believe that thanks to Hirohito's "holy decision" to surrender, they were saved from further wartime devastation. This perspective, focusing on Japanese suffering and victimization, leaves out the brutality of the Generalissimo, the Supreme Commander of Imperial Japan's war that afflicted hundreds of millions of people across the Asia-Pacific.

At the National Ceremony for the War Dead, Prime Minister Kishida Fumio pointed out that: "In the last war, more than three million of our brothers and sisters lost their lives." This is another example of the mainstream Japanese understanding of Imperial Japan's war. Although experts estimate that approximately 20 million people were killed, if not more, in the Asia-Pacific War, 3.1 million deaths are recognized in the Japanese government's official ceremony to remember the war dead, meaning Japanese deaths only.[2]

At the ceremony, Emperor Naruhito stated, "while remembering the long peaceful years since the end of the war, we look back on the past and, based on deep

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remorse, we sincerely hope that the horrors of war will never be repeated." Neither Kishida nor Naruhito specifies which "war" or "wars" they are referring to by saying "the last war" or "the end of the war."

On August 14, 1945, Japan informed the Allies of their surrender. Officially, September 2, 1945, was the day when Japan signed the surrender terms, at the ceremony held onboard the USS Missouri docked at Tokyo Bay. For the vast majority of Japanese, however, the war ended on August 15, the day when their war leader Hirohito told them so.

But when did the war start? People in Japan seldom talk about the beginning of the war not only because often they may be ignorant about it, but also because talking about early conflict in the Asia-Pacific would bring up Japanese invasions and occupation. Most importantly, one would be obliged to talk about who started the war and who was responsible for the war and substantial damages, a topic that most Japanese want to avoid. The Japanese primarily want to see Japan as a victim, not an initiator or perpetrator of war.

When I give talks to Japanese audiences and ask what the "last war" meant, most people seem to think it refers to the war that started on December 8, 1941. For the most part, they believe that the Japanese started the war against the United States by attacking its navy base in Pearl Harbor, Hawai'i. They also think that the Japanese eventually lost the war against the United States after the series of US aerial bombings in Japan including the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In this recounting, Japan waged a hopeless war against the wealthier and more technologically, militarily advanced country and lost as a matter of course. This mainstream Japanese war memory excludes the other victors of the war against Japanese imperialism, including China.

In fact, Japan waged the war that started December 8 of 1941, against Western colonial powers that controlled much of Southeast Asia where Japan was seeking oil, minerals, food, and human resources in order to continue the ongoing aggressive war in China.[3] Japan also needed to sever the international supply routes that helped Chiang Kai-shek's resistance against the Japanese invasion. The mainstream narrative of the start of the war is the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, not just in Japan but even in the United States and other Western nations. But, it was one of the multiple attacks, and not even the first one. The first attack was the Japanese Army's amphibious assault on Kota Bahru, the northern coast of British Malaya in the early morning of December 8 (local time), followed by attacks on Pearl Harbor about an hour later, and then targeting Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, Guam, The Philippines, Wake Island, and Midway Island.[4]

Hence, the majority of Japanese war memory centers around the war against the United States and what the Japanese suffered from the war damages such as air raids, Hiroshima/Nagasaki, food shortages, and loss of their fathers, husbands, and sons conscripted to serve in the war. But, another interpretation for some who are more conscious of the aggressive Japanese wars uses the framework of the "15-Year War," the notion that philosopher Tsurumi Shunsuke came up with in the 1950s.[5] This refers to the period between September 18, 1931, the Japanese army's false-flag explosion of the South Manchuria Railway (called Liǔtiáohú Incident or 9.18 Incident)

that paved the way to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, and the subsequent full-scale war that erupted at the Marco Polo Bridge in Beijing on July 7, 1937, and resulted in the Japanese defeat in August 1945. Historian Yamada Akira emphasizes:

> In the end, Japan's war was the expansion of the war in China, the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact to contain it, and the opening of the war against the United States to protect the outcome of the Sino-Japanese War. Many Japanese people's perceptions of war and history converge on the war with the U.S., but we need to reconstruct our perceptions of war and history with the Japan-China War at the centre.[6]

Some historians and journalists go further, citing the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) as Imperial Japan's first full-scale war of aggression, calling the period of 1894 to 1945 a "50-Year War." The Japanese victories of the First Sino-Japanese War and the subsequent Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) led to the Japanese colonization of Korea and further imperial expansion in the continent, backed by the United Kingdom and the United States. Japan was a significant part of the eight-nation military intervention with China in the wake of the anti-imperial Boxer Rebellion (1900). Others contend that Japan's modern imperial quest started concurrently with the country's industrialization, as early as the 1870s. During the course of Japan's forceful annexation of the Kingdom of Ryukyus (now Okinawa) in that period, the first overseas military dispatch by modern Japan took place in Taiwan (1874). In the following year, Japanese warships threatened the Ganghwa Island of Korea, marking the first military confrontation of modern Japan against Korea. Journalist Maruyama Shizuo therefore called Imperial Japan's wars a "70-Year War."[7]

In order to counter history denial, exclusive nationalism, and growing militarization, the Japanese population must face over seven decades of Imperial Japan's history of colonization and aggressive wars, and the countless atrocities and human rights violations that occurred during that period. These included the colonization and assimilation of Ainu lands and peoples; colonization, assimilation, and military exploitation of the Ryukyus/Okinawa; colonial rule of Korea and suppression of dissent; the massacre of Koreans after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923; forced labor and military sex slavery ("comfort women") from Korea, Taiwan, and other colonies and occupied areas; massacres of Chinese in Malaysia/Singapore during the Japanese occupation (December 1941 to August 1945); massacre, mass execution, rape, looting, and arson in occupied areas, most notably the Nanjing Massacre (1937–1938); the massacre of 100,000 Filipino people and resistance fighters in the Battle of Manila (February 1945); biological warfare and human experimentation (Unit 731); and abuse and murder of Allied POWs and civilians in occupied areas.

This list is far from exhaustive. When I teach, speak, and write on the topics of war memory, historical justice, peace, and reconciliation in East Asia, I focus on these largely silenced events. These events happened and young people in Japan or elsewhere are entitled to this knowledge so that they can use it to build a better future in which these atrocities are not repeated. However, Japan's political situation for the last decade, especially under the far-right Abe Shinzo government, has made it particularly difficult to talk about and teach this history.[8]

A-Bomb Nationalism

One trope that reinforces Japanese war memory focusing on Japanese victimization is the "only a-bombed nation in the world," used across the broad political spectrum, from right to left. This notion is widely used not just among right-wing nationalists but among the "No More Hiroshima/No More Nagasaki" peace and anti-nuclear communities without consideration of Korean victims, who account for about 10% of all atomic bomb victims. Ichiba Junko, a researcher and supporter of Korean Hibakusha (atomic bomb survivors) argues that the expression "reflects the hidden true face of Japan who proclaims to be 'the only a-bombed nation' to the world."[9] On October 8, 2021, in his first policy speech at the parliament, new prime minister Kishida Fumio said that "As a prime minister from the a-bombed city Hiroshima, I aim for a nuclear weapons-free world. I want to be a bridge between nuclear and non-nuclear states and fulfill the obligation as the only a-bombed nation in wartime." This is the a-bomb nationalism of Japan.

In his book *"Pacifism" Without Peace*, professor Kwon HeokTae of Sungkonghoe University (South Korea) concurs with Japanese journalists and scholars' criticisms saying, "in one word, the expression 'the only a-bombed nation' was regarded as a result of ignoring or dismissing the existence of non-Japanese atomic bomb victims."[10] According to Kwon's research, the notion of the "only a-bombed nation" appeared for the first time in the Japanese Diet in the mid-1950s, and increased during the 1980s, used equally by right-wing Liberal Democratic Party, and left-wing Japan Socialist Party and Japan Communist Party. As of 2015, at least 158, more than half of the 314 "Non-nuclear Declarations" by cities, towns, and villages in Japan contained the "only-a-bombed nation" expression. Scanning newspaper articles, statements by anti-nuclear organizations, and other material, Kwon concludes that the use of the "only a-bombed nation" in Japan increased in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s, as the Cold War ended, particularly after the discovery of the DPRK's nuclear weapon program.[11] Kwon writes that the expression of the "only a-bombed nation" was "nothing but a process to restore Japanese nationals as victims into a national time and space," a reaction to the "broken framework of Japan and Japanese as bearers of peace in the wake of 'discovery' of Korean a-bomb victims."[12] In other words, as more Japanese knew about the Korean a-bomb victims (1990s), they began to further emphasize themselves as victims of the a-bombs.

At the annual Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony held on August 6, the Mayor of Hiroshima traditionally reads his Peace Declaration. In the ceremony that started in 1947, Mayor Araki Takeshi, who took office in 1975, used the expression "the only a-bombed nation" for the first time in 1978, and four more times during his office that ended in 1991. Araki's successor, Mayor Hiraoka Takashi (in office 1991–1998) consciously avoided the use of the "only a-bombed nation." Hiraoka wrote,

> the expression of "the only a-bombed nation" has a connotation that only Japanese suffered from the bombs. Since when I was journalist, I have covered stories of Korean Hibakusha for a long time and have always thought that it is wrong to use the "only a-bombed nation."[13]

Hiraoka was the only mayor who made apologies about Japan's aggressive war and colonial rule in the Peace Declarations. Mayor Akiba Tadatoshi, who succeeded Hiraoka in 1999, revived the "only a-bombed nation" in his Peace Declarations. Among the 75 Peace Declarations from 1947 to 2022, only five made reference to Korean Hibakusha. The years when the mayor used "the only a-bombed nation" and the years when the mayor made a referral to the Korean Hibakusha never overlapped.[14]

Kurihara Sadako (1913–2005), Hibakusha and poet, wrote in her poem *At the Park after the Ceremony*,

> To survivors.
> Stop making idle pleas for the relief law
> Don't let them boast about the "only a-bombed nation" with their nose in the air.
> It was not a nation that was a-bombed
> It was people of this nation, and people of other nations
> Koreans, Chinese, and others who had been brought here by force.
> Don't assume the "only a-bombed" title
> Leaving the bombed people behind
> To the dead, surrounded by the fancy wreaths
> Placed by war-criminal politicians.[15]

Perhaps most surprisingly, no mayor has ever mentioned which country dropped the atomic bomb in their Peace Declaration. As Yuki Tanaka, historian and former professor of the Hiroshima City University's Hiroshima Peace Institute, observes there is a total absence of calling for US accountability for crimes against humanity and indiscriminate mass murder of civilians. Tanaka argues that

> In other words, there is a curious phenomenon here: the emphasis on victimhood without recognizing the perpetrator. Since Japan does not hold other countries (namely, the United States) accountable for the crimes that it committed, it does not hold itself accountable for the crimes that it committed against other countries (the peoples of the Asia-Pacific) either. As Japan acquits itself from its war crimes, it acquits other countries from the crimes committed against it too. Thus, the "vicious circle of irresponsibility" is repeated. Hiroshima, however, repeats the mantra of "ultimate abolition of nuclear weapons." Every museum and monument in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park clearly reflect this crucial flaw in Hiroshima.[16]

Mayor Matsui Kazumi's Peace Declaration on August 6, 2020, commemorating the 75th anniversary, was another example of the narrative that lacked the perpetrator. In the Declaration, he said,

> When the 1918 flu pandemic attacked a century ago, it took tens of millions of lives and terrorized the world because nations fighting World War I were unable to meet the threat together. A subsequent upsurge in nationalism led to World War II and the atomic bombings.[17]

The mayor described the atomic bombing as a natural consequence of the post-WWI rise of nationalism in Europe without mentioning who started the war in the Asia-Pacific and who dropped the bomb. Matsui's tone in describing this history as if the war and its damages were a natural disaster was reminiscent of the 2016 statement that his guest Barack Obama made in Hiroshima, which started with "Death fell from the sky."[18]

Hiroshima Peace Park: Hinomaru Flag and History Cleansing

As Tanaka argued, in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, there are numerous signs that reveal the lack of critical reflection on Japan's aggressive past. From 2006 to now, I have taken part in the annual Hiroshima/Nagasaki peace study tour, a joint program of American University (Washington, DC) and Ritsumeikan University (since 2018, Meiji Gakuin University) as a translator and instructor. I cannot forget, back in 2008, when I walked through the Peace Park with a Korean colleague Kim Yeonghwan, and he pointed to the giant Rising Sun/Hinomaru Flag pole right by the Cenotaph for the A-bomb Victims and told me he was disturbed to see the symbol of Imperial Japan there.

The following year, Han Zhen, a student from China, also told me how disappointing it was that while Hiroshima claimed to be an "international peace city," it hoisted a nationalistic symbol right by the memorial. I was ashamed that until my fellow Asian colleagues pointed it out, I had not noticed the presence of the Hinomaru flag donated by a right-wing organization on Emperor Hirohito's birthday in 1963.[19] My lack of awareness might be a part of what political scientist Kang Sangjung has described as "For many Japanese people, the reality of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the fact that people visit the 'heroic gods' at Yasukuni are linked without contradiction."[20] The Hinomaru Flag and the A-bomb memorial are compatible in the eyes of many Japanese.

However, poet Kurihara Sadako, a Hibakusha herself, realized the implication of the flag. In her 1986 poem *Still, Peace Hiroshima*, she says,

> Hiroshima is a cruel city
> A Hinomaru flag swirls in the sky over the A-bomb Cenotaph in the Peace Park.
> "Why is Japanese Hinomaru red?
> It is red with my son's blood"
> Still now, the flag is for the sake of the country, for the Emperor
> It's flying, as if saying, "Die! Die!"
> There is no "Rest In Peace," under the Hinomaru Flag.
> Still, Peace, Peace
> Peace, Hiroshima.[21]

The A-bomb Dome structure is another example of Hiroshima's choice to avoid its imperial past. The Dome, which now symbolizes the tragedy of Hiroshima, was called the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall before the bombing. Built in 1915, the Dome was designed by Czech architect Jan Letzel. But, for Kwon HeokTae, in the city where "the Imperial Headquarters was established during

the first Sino-Japanese War as a base for attacking Korea and continental China," the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall "was a showcase of the Japanese Empire." As Kwon argued, with the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation in 1996, the history of the building that represented Japanese imperialism was once and for all separated from the "A-bomb Dome" that came to be regarded as a sacred symbol of Hiroshima's suffering. The history of the building "now starts on August 6, 1945, instead of 1915."[22]

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

The Hiroshima Peace Museum (Figure 8.1) is focused on the Hiroshima a-bomb experience, and aims to represent "what really happened under the mushroom cloud" and "the horrors and devastation of the atomic bomb," as the museum pamphlet states.[23] However, while the Memorial Museum stresses the victimization of Hiroshima and the Hibakusha's suffering, it shows very little, or almost nothing, about the Japanese Empire's victimization of millions of people across the Asia-Pacific and the roles that Hiroshima played in it. Le Deting, a graduate student from China told me, upon seeing the museum after its renovation in 2019, "I was touched to hear the painful stories of Hibakusha, but I am disappointed that the museum only displays Japan as a victim."

Figure 8.1 Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

Source: Photograph by Clive Barrett. Used with permission.

Gunto (Military Capital)

The key word that the museum uses to describe pre-1945 Hiroshima is *gunto*, literally, "military capital." The word carries a somewhat sophisticated image in Japanese. In fact, the English translation of the term in the museum exhibits and pamphlets is mostly "military base," closer to what Hiroshima actually was a base for military aggression against other nations. The panels in the "Hiroshima History" section state that "the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) made Hiroshima an important military base," "The Imperial Headquarters, the top of the wartime command hierarchy, moved from Tokyo to Hiroshima, as did the Meiji Emperor," and "Hiroshima's Ujina Port played an important role in the Sino-Japanese War." They are all described rather matter-of-factly, a striking contrast to the museum's empathetic and emotional tones to describe the Hibakusha's suffering.

The first Sino-Japanese War was the first full-scale aggressive war that modern Japan waged to advance control over Korea, starting with the attack and occupation of the Gyeongbokgung Palace on July 23, 1894. The Meiji Emperor relocated to Hiroshima to take direct command of the war. Mass-scale killings of civilians by Imperial Japan such as the 1937 Nanjing Massacre were already taking place along with other atrocities, such as the massacre of 30,000 to 50,000 Korean farmers in the oppression of the Donghak Peasant Movement.[24] There were also killings and rape of thousands of civilians and unarmed soldiers during the invasion of Lvshun.[25] Perpetrators included those dispatched from Hiroshima.

On October 8, 1895, Korean Empress Myeongseong was brutally assassinated, led by the Japanese resident minister Miura Goro. The unprecedented murder of a nation's empress by another nation's government representative drew international criticism. But according to Tsunoda Fusako's *Minpi Ansatsu* [Assassination of Minpi], Kikuchi Kenjo, a Japanese journalist who was sent back to Japan together with the assassins observed that "When the accused appeared at the Ujina (Hiroshima) Wharf, welcomers from all over the city lined the streets, expressing great sympathy and enthusiasm for the accused." These assassins were regarded more as heroes than criminals back in Hiroshima.[26]

Dry History on "Media Tables"

The museum lacks reference to Imperial Japan as an aggressive power throughout. The Imperial Army 5th Division, based in Hiroshima, took part in most of the Japanese aggressive wars. The following is a description about the Division at the museum:

> In 1871, Hiroshima's military history began with establishment of the first outpost of the Kyushu Garrison at Hiroshima Castle. In 1888, when the Imperial Japanese Army was reorganized, the Fifth Division was stationed in Hiroshima. A "division" is the primary strategic unit in a military organization. Units belonging to the Fifth Division engaged in modern Japan's major military campaigns: the first Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, the

> Boxer Rebellion, the First World War, the Siberian Expedition, the Manchurian Incident, the second Sino-Japanese War, and the Pacific War. In addition, as indicated by the presence of the Army Transport Division and three army depots, the city remained a critical and essential military base until the end of the Second World War.[27]

Any context or reference to the destruction that Hiroshima's army carried out against populations is absent. In fact, the Army 5th Division troops were dispatched not just for international military aggressions, but internal security measures, such as suppression of Rice Riots, a country-wide popular uprising in 1918, oppression of the 3.1 Independence Movement in Korea (under Japanese colonial rule then) in 1919,[28] and the massacre of Koreans and others in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.[29] The museum mentions the wars that involved the 5th Division, but in a detached manner, as if Japan or Hiroshima bore no responsibility for the suffering they caused, in stark contrast to the passionate "No More Hiroshima" message that fills the venue. What limited information there is about Hiroshima's roles in Japanese wars is largely hidden in "media tables" on touchscreen panels and few visitors seem to bother spending time accessing them.[30]

The Nanjing Massacre

How, for example, does a visitor find information about the Nanjing Massacre on the "media table"? It takes two clicks, one long scroll-down and then another click to get to the page on topic with the following description:

> The Japanese Army attacked Nanjing, then the capital of China. They occupied the city on December 13, 1937, and killed thousands of Chinese civilians. This event is widely referred to as the Nanjing Massacre. Estimates vary regarding the number of military and civilian victims. According to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, located in Nanjing, the number of victims exceeded 300,000. In Japan, the successful occupation of the city was reported extensively with no mention of a massacre. In Hiroshima, a lantern march on December 12 celebrated the fall of Nanjing Castle.[31]

This explanation is problematic in a number of respects, including the omission of mass rapes, looting, and arson; the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chinese POWs and unarmed soldiers, acts in violation of international law. Further, there are discrepancies between the title of this section in Japanese as "Nankin Jiken" (Nanjing Incident), which avoids the use of "Daigyakusatsu" (Massacre) and goes on to state that the event is called "either Nankin Jiken (Nanjing Incident) or Nankin Daigyakusatsu (Nanjing Massacre)." While the English version says that the Japanese Army "killed" "thousands of Chinese civilians," the Japanese version says that "many non-combatant Chinese people were killed" "in the process" of the Japanese Army's attack and occupation of Nanjing, avoiding "thousands of" and using the passive tense, blurring who killed them, in the English version. Clearly,

the exhibit downplays the gravity of the event to Japanese-speaking visitors. This fits into the increasing acquiescence to pressure and criticism from the substantial and vocal right-wing Japanese history deniers while, at the same time, wanting to hide its lack of historical honesty from international visitors.

The Korean Hibakusha

Many of the Korean A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima were from Hapcheon County, Korea, a place some refer to as the "Hiroshima of Korea," about a two-hour bus ride from Busan. Under Japanese colonial rule, many Korean farmers were deprived of their land by the "land survey project" or were impoverished by the colonial ruler's plan to increase rice production to secure food for the Japanese. Changes in the agricultural system were carried out in the interests of the Japanese spinning and silk manufacturing industries, and as a result, more and more Korean people were forced to emigrate to maintain their livelihood. Migration to Hiroshima began in the 1920s, and the number of immigrants increased rapidly from the late 1930s through geographical and kin networks, increased demand from the military industry due to the 2nd Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War, and forced mobilization.[32]

The Koreans who had already been victims of Japanese colonial rule were doubly victimized by the atomic bomb dropped by the U.S. Korean Hibakusha, even after liberation, lived with poverty, discrimination, and lack of medical care. The majority of Koreans in Hiroshima went back to Korea after the war, and those affected by the bomb suffered long-term effects, passed on to the second and third generations of Hibakusha. In Hapcheon, I met second-generation survivor Han Jeong-sun (b. 1959) at the House of Peace, a support facility for second-generation Hibakusha established by a Buddhist organization. Her mother, who survived the Hiroshima bombing, gave birth to seven children who all have health problems. Jeong-sun and one of her sisters have undergone multiple artificial joint surgeries for an incurable disease called hemorrhagic necrosis of the thigh. One of Jeong-sun's two sons was born with cerebral palsy.

Han Jeong-sun said to me, "I want to hold Japan responsible for treating Koreans like dogs, and the United States responsible for using nuclear weapons against human beings."

In 2016, Barack Obama visited Hiroshima as the first sitting US president, but not to apologize. Another person I spoke to in Hapcheon, Shim Jin-tae (b. 1943), who was exposed to the atomic bombing as a child and was the head of the Hapcheon branch of the Korean Atomic Bomb Victims Association, came to Japan with other Korean Hibakusha including Han Jeong-sun to ask President Obama to apologize in person in Hiroshima, but they were held up at Kansai Airport for three hours. Shim said regretfully, "on top of being victims of the atomic bombing under colonial rule, we were treated like criminals."[33]

This is just a glimpse of the experiences of Korean Hibakusha and their offspring, but one cannot get any information of the Korean suffering brought about by the Japanese colonial rule at the renovated Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Their exhibit of the "non-Japanese" victims states:

Away from Home

> The atomic bomb destroyed lives without regard to national or ethnic origins. Tens of thousands of Koreans, Chinese, and Taiwanese, as well as Japanese-Americans were living in Hiroshima at the time, including those who had been conscripted or recruited from these areas. Other non-Japanese people, such as students from Southeast Asia and China, German priests, Russian families, and American POWs also became victims.[34]

The atomic bomb could not have distinguished nationalities in their targets, so why unnecessarily state the obvious? The museum's stress that people were all equal victims under the mushroom cloud obscures the historicity and hence erases the Japanese war and colonial responsibilities for Koreans, Taiwanese, and Chinese.

By contrast, the National Memorial Museum of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Occupation in Busan, Korea, describes Korean Hibakusha as part of the overall damage caused by the forced mobilization in and outside of Korea under colonial rule. Their panel on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing says:

> The first atomic bomb attacks on humanity occurred at Hiroshima at 8:15 a.m. on August 6th, and on Nagasaki at 11:02 a.m. on August 9th, 1945, three days apart, and one after another. As a result, hundreds of thousands of people were killed or injured, including many Korean farmers who had had to leave their homes under Japanese colonial rule, Korean conscripts who had been mobilized to work in Japanese munitions factories, and Allied soldiers who had been taken as prisoners of war by the Japanese military. Of the approximately 50,000 Korean victims of the atomic bombing in Hiroshima and 20,000 in Nagasaki, some 40,000 died without surviving beyond 1945, and of the remaining 30,000, some 23,000 are estimated to have returned home. Koreans, who accounted for about 1/10th of the total number of A-bomb victims, accounted for 57.1% of the deaths, which was much higher than the overall death rate of 33.7%. **Japan has publicized the devastation in the two cities extensively and appealed to the whole world for peace and opposition to war. Peace and opposition to war are values for the co-prosperity of humanity. However, the meaning of these values change considerably depending on who says it.** Before pronouncing against war and for peace, Japan should show its sincere remorse for its war atrocities and take responsibility for them. (boldface emphasis by author)[35]

The warning from the Busan museum deserves attention, particularly given that the August 6 Peace Declarations by the Mayors of Hiroshima have always stressed a universal anti-nuclear message but mostly failed to address Japan's, let alone Hiroshima's war responsibilities. China too, often problematized Japan promoting itself as a victim of war.[36] It is not the case that these countries are necessarily against the

notion of nuclear disarmament and peace. They just do not accept Japan's use of the universal message as a tool to cleanse its imperial history.

Hibakusha's Narratives

For many of the surviving Hibakusha, who were children at that time, the popular narrative is that they had a happy childhood first (regardless of food scarcity), then suddenly the bomb was dropped and destroyed their lives. That is their "peace education" narrative, and at one with that represented in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum exhibit. The following are excerpts from several Hibakusha stories that I helped translate for an international anti-nuclear conference.

> In May (1945), my father returned from Malaysia and was transferred to the Hiroshima Military Headquarters, and our family moved to Hiroshima. Unlike Tokyo and the surrounding area, Hiroshima was a place of peace.
>
> Until the 9th of August, when the atomic bomb was dropped, it was summer holiday and the children were having a great time in the mountains and at the beach.
>
> I was born in Kure, about 30 km from Hiroshima, and my mother grew up in Kure. Kure was a military port and more than 2,000 people died in the air raids on the city.[37]

A Hibakusha quoted earlier talks about his father coming back from Malaysia. The Army 5th Division 11th Battalion, based in Hiroshima, was the main culprit in indiscriminately killing Chinese villagers in Malaysia. Another talks about Kure. Kure was one of the biggest Japanese Imperial Navy bases and this Hibakusha still only recalls what innocent people suffered from air raids on Kure, oblivious of what might have invited those air raids. These Hibakusha narrators were all small children at that time and they had no way of knowing what Japan and its military were doing outside of the small world they could directly observe. As elderly people in their 70s and 80s, their description of the war is typically still naïve and uninformed.

History cleansing up to the point of the atomic bombing is prevalent in popular culture. Most notably, Kono Fumiyo's manga *Kono sekai no katasumi ni* [In This Corner of the World],[38] has protagonist Suzu, a young innocent woman from Hiroshima who marries a navy man in Kure. The climax of the story has Suzu losing an arm in the US air bombing. The manga enjoyed multiple film versions and immense popularity, along with her earlier work *Yunagi no machi Sakura no kuni* [Town of Evening Calm, Country of Cherry Blossoms], a story of again an innocent young woman who suffers ailments from the Hiroshima bomb irradiation. Kono's works are now regarded as among the most representative peace and war literature of contemporary Japan, effectively replacing Hibakusha Nakazawa Keiji's monumental work *Hadashi no Gen* [Barefoot Gen], which honestly depicted Japanese aggressions against Chinese and Koreans.

Hibakusha Numata Suzuko, Confronting the Japanese Aggression

Like Nakazawa, some Hibakusha have squarely faced the Japanese war atrocities and war crimes. An outstanding example was Numata Suzuko (1923–2011). She lost her leg from the Hiroshima a-bomb, but became an international a-bomb storyteller. As she learned about the experience of Korean Hibakusha in the 1980s, she became more aware of the importance of talking about the aggression of the Japanese Empire as a backdrop of Hibakusha's suffering. Knowing that the Japanese Army unit, based near where she worked, committed atrocities in Malaysia, she joined the history educator Takashima Nobuyoshi's tour to the country in the spring of 1988. With the tour, she went to visit the survivors of a Japanese massacre of 1,474 people at Ilong Long Village in Negero Sembilan that took place on March 18, 1942.

Numata Suzuko, in a meeting with around a hundred villagers held in the nearby town of Titi, said:

> There was an 11th Infantry Regiment near the Hiroshima Posts and Telecommunications Office, where I worked during the war. At the time, I looked at the soldiers and only thought that they were cool and nimble. I never dreamed that they were doing such terrible things in this beautiful rubber garden. I didn't know anything about it. I feel guilty for not knowing. My heart hurts so much when I think how you must have suffered. I am not the one who committed the massacre, but I am deeply sorry for what the Japanese army in Hiroshima did.

The villagers in the room stood up and rushed to Numata, held her hands, and thanked her for the apology in tears. Numata had not told them that she was a Hibakusha, and when one of the villagers asked her what happened to her leg, she told her story. She concluded her talk by saying, "We must not erase history. The role of us survivors is to tell facts. Let's hold hands, be friends, and stand up together so that it (war) won't be repeated."[39]

Hiroshima Was, and Is Still a War Capital

The patterns in the memorialization of Hiroshima, its Peace Park and Peace Museum can be characterized as the "Hiroshima-centered Historical View." Failure to address Hiroshima's and Japan's aggressive past, and tendency to see Japan as a victim of war, and "the only" victim of nuclear weapons is reflected in the oversight, even by peace and anti-nuclear communities by large, of the fact that Hiroshima and surrounding areas are still a war capital of Japan, now in collaboration with the United States. The Japanese media and public's frenzy over President Obama's visit to Hiroshima lacked an apology or admission of the US wrongdoing reflects the failure to hold the United States accountable for the bombing and the blind acceptance of the United States–Japan military alliance.[40]

Hiroshima is known as an international "peace" symbol, and its peace museum drew over 1.7 million visitors a year, including over 500,000 from overseas (as of 2019: pre-pandemic).[41] The institution was among many museums in Japan and

beyond that suffered a drastic drop in the number of visitors due to the COVID-19 pandemic, but it remains one of the most visited museums in Japan. But then how many visitors to Hiroshima look beyond the Peace Park and Museum to find themselves in the middle of a massive war preparation zone?

Certainly, Barack Obama did, as he spent an hour and a half at the Iwakuni Marine Base before he set his foot in Hiroshima, spending less than 10 minutes at the museum and hugging one Hibakusha before he took off. Only a month before the president's visit to Hiroshima on May 27, 2016, yet another US military crime had put all of Okinawa into deep mourning and anger. On April 28, 2016, a 20-year-old woman was raped and murdered by a former US marine who worked at the Kadena Air Force Base. Yet, President Obama, surrounded by the 3,000 members of the US Marine Corps and Japanese Self Defense Forces and their families, cheered the contribution of the Marine Corps members in disaster aid and praised the strengthening Japan–US military alliance, did not utter a single word of acknowledgement of the incident in Okinawa.[42]

Hiroshima, which many regard as a sacred ground zero for peace, is surrounded by US Army ammunition depots, Japanese Ground Self Defense Forces bases, and the Iwakuni Base which hosts both US Marine Corps and Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces. The Iwakuni Base houses the First Marine Aircraft Wing, and in recent years, 60 USS Ronald Reagan carrier-attached aircraft have been moved, making Iwakuni the largest air base in the Far East.

There is also a Japanese Maritime Self Defense force at Kure Base, which is a home port of Kaga, the helicopter carrier with a plan to be converted into an aircraft carrier. Kure Base boasts the greatest number of submarines in all MSDF bases, which are supposed to play a central role in the submarine operation against China. Those who visit Hiroshima for a "peace tour" should stop by Kure for a "military tour." I was there in January 2020 and participated in a cruise tour for the Kure military port and was shocked to see hand-held Imperial Rising Sun flags that were available for tourists to wave at warships passing by. Within the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, one can learn none of what is going on in the outskirts of Hiroshima. There is nothing there that describes the Japan–US military buildup, steps outside what they claim to be a "peace culture city."

Nagasaki, a Massive War Preparation Zone

Kasahara Tokushi, a historian of the Nanjing Massacre, points to the fact that "The air raids on Nanking by naval aircraft, which began on August 15, 1937, were a prelude to the Battle of Nanjing, and the indiscriminate attacks on civilians could be considered the start" of the Nanjing Massacre.[43] On August 15, 1937, 20 Mitsubishi G3M bombers of the Imperial Japanese Navy left the Omura Airfield in Nagasaki, crossed the East China Sea, traveling 960 kilometers, and attacked Nanjing.[44] According to military historian Maeda Tetsuo, it was the first of such a full-scale "cross-ocean bombing mission" ever conducted in human history,[45] and was followed by the bombing of over 60 cities in China by mid-October.[46] It was very ironical that Nagasaki, eight years later, became the target of the "cross-ocean

bombing mission" conducted by the United States, which was the August 9, 1945, atomic bombing. It was like a historical boomerang. People in Nagasaki remember August 9 and their suffering from the atomic bomb, but hardly ever remember that Nagasaki was the launching point of the Japanese aggression against Nanjing, months prior to the well-known Nanjing Massacre.

Today, Sasebo is the US Navy forward base with faster access to both East and South China Seas. One of the many buildups in recent years at the base was the USS America, an amphibious assault ship and the lead ship of her class, deployed in December 2019. USS America will host about 30 F35Bs, the short takeoff/vertical landing (STOVL) variant of the stealth fighter deployed at Iwakuni, the first outside of the US mainland.

Why are Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two places associated with "peace," now two major bases, for the US war preparation against China? This is not a coincidence. Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the surrounding areas were major bases for Imperial Japan's attacks against China due to their proximities to the continent. After Japan was defeated, these bases were joined or taken over by the United States and now they are joint United States–Japan war bases. Not just against China, these two regions played crucial logistical roles in all US wars – Korean War, Vietnam War, First Gulf War, Afghanistan War, and Iraq War. Japan is situated as a convenient supply and repair base for the US attacks against the Middle East. The US "war on terror" based on the false allegations of Iraq having Weapons of Mass Destruction could not have been carried out without the presence and support of the military installations in Japan. Yet the peace and anti-war communities in Japan and much of the Western World (the US and NATO allies) are oblivious to the culpability of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and beyond, in the current time.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced how Japanese mainstream war memory is narrowly focused and victimhood centered. It revolves around a-bomb nationalism as shown in the notion of "the only a-bombed nation," constructed and reinforced by the general lack of knowledge and education about the country's aggressive past. These tendencies manifest in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, ceremonies, and monuments around Hiroshima, oblivious of the aggressive nature of the city and the surrounding areas not just in the past but in the present.

From May 19 to 21, 2023, a G7 summit was held in Hiroshima, in the midst of an ongoing war in Ukraine. Ujina Port, the venue of the G7, was a transportation hub for Japan's wars of aggression from the 1st Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) to the end of the Asia-Pacific War (1945). It was also a site of forced labor of Koreans. Masaki Mineo, a researcher of the history of forced labor in Hiroshima, expressed his frustration saying,

> Prime Minister Kishida only talks about the nuclear victimhood of Hiroshima and turns a blind eye to the aggressive history of the summit venue . . . without reflecting such history, the leaders of the West will form a united front in containing Russia and China, which may escalate to a nuclear war.[47]

These observations call for alternative peace narratives in Hiroshima. We can create an alternative museum for peace, one that squarely faces Imperial Japan's aggressive history and Hiroshima's roles in it; refrains from victim nationalism; presents Korean Hibakusha in light of colonial history; holds the United States accountable for the bombing; and points a critical eye on the United States–Japan war preparation and the military buildup of the region.

What happens in Hiroshima and surrounding areas are symbolic of what happens in the whole nation. More work is needed to explore what roles museums of peace and other vehicles of war memory and peace education can and should play, and how they can be transformed or created to address the challenges described in this article.

Notes

1 The National Memorial Ceremony for the War Dead is a government-sponsored annual event held for the first time in 1952.
2 The Japanese government's official understanding of the number of the war dead is approximately 3.1 million (2.4 million military; 0.7 million civilians). Ministry of Health, Labor, Welfare of Japan. "Senbotsusha irei jigyo no jisshi," Accessed December 20, 2022, www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/seisakunitsuite/bunya/hokabunya/senbotsusha/seido01/index.html
3 Akira Yamada, "Ajia taiheiyo senso no kaisen genin to senso sekinin [The causes of the Asia-Pacific War and war responsibility]," *Rekishi Chiri Kyoiku* [History and Geography Education], no. 933 (2021): 4–9.
4 Ryuji Sasaki, Yoichi Kibata, Nobuyoshi Takashima, Yasuhiro Fukazawa and Gen Yamazaki, Akira Yamada, *Dokyumento: Shinju wan no hi* [Document: The Day of Pearl Harbor] (Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 1991), 47–108.
5 Sankichi Yasui, "'15 nen senso' to 'Ajia taiheiyo senso' no kosho no soushutsu to sono tenkai ni tsuite [On the creation and development of the terms "15-Year War" and "Asia-Pacific War"]," *Gendai Chugoku Kenkyu*, no. 37 (2016): 84–86.
6 Akira Yamada, *Nihon no senso – Rekishi ninshiki to senso sekinin* [Japanese Wars: Historical Understanding and War Responsibility] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 2017), 82.
7 Shizuo Maruyama, *Nihon no "70 nen senso"* [Japan's 70-Year War] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1995), 20–24.
8 Muneo Narusawa, "Abe Shinzo: Japan's New Prime Minister a Far-Right Denier of History," in *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, trans. Satoko Oka Norimatsu and David McNeill, January 7, 2013. https://apjjf.org/2013/11/1/Narusawa-Muneo/3879/article.html
9 Junko Ichiba, *Hiroshima wo mochikaetta hitobito – "Kankoku no Hiroshima" wa naze umaretanoka* [People who brought back Hiroshima – how "Hiroshima of Korea" came about] (Tokyo: Gaifusha, 2000), 28.
10 HeokTae Kwon, "Hiroshima no 'heiwa' wo saiko suru – Shutai no fukugen to 'yuiitsu no hibakukoku' no ronri [Rethinking 'Peace' of Hiroshima – Recovery of the subject and the Logic of the 'only a-bombed nation']" in *Heiwa naki "Heiwashugi" – Sengo Nihon no shiso to undo* ["Pacifism" Without Peace – Thoughts and Movements in the Post-war Japan], trans. Yeonghwan Jeong (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 2016), won HeokTae, "Hiroshima no 'heiwa' wo saiko suru – Shutai no fukugen to 'Yuiitsu no hibakukoku' no ronri [Rethinking 'Peace' of Hiroshima – Recovery of the Subject and the Logic of the 'Only A-bombed Nation],'" Chapter 6, *Heiwa naki "Heiwashugi" – Sengo Nihon no shiso to undo* ["Pacifism" Without Peace – Thoughts and Movements in the Post-war Japan], Hosei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, translated by Jeong Yeonghwan, 2016, 201.
11 Kwon, "Hiroshima," 202–205.

12 Kwon, "Hiroshima," 206.
13 In response to the author's email question, August 6, 2020.
14 Satoko Oka Norimatsu, "We need an alternative peace museum in Hiroshima: Questioning Hiroshima-centred War Memory in Japan," in *The 10th International Conference of Museums for Peace*, September 16–20, 2020. https://sites.google.com/view/inmp-2020/p30-we-need-an-alternative-peace-museum-in-hiroshima-questioning-hiroshim?authuser=0
15 Sadako Kurihara, "Seremoni no owatta ato no koen de [At the Park, After the Ceremony]," in *Kurihara Sadako Zen shihen* [Kurihara Sadako's Complete Collection of Poems] (Tokyo: Doyo Bijutsusha Shuppan Hanbai, 2005), 445–56.
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9 Curating Extreme Violence at Museums for Peace

Witnessing, Requiem, Reconciliation

Roy Tamashiro

The credibility of exhibiting histories of extreme violence in *museums for peace* is questionable because such presentations and narratives often invoke more fear, turmoil, and discord which detract from a peacebuilding goal. Yet the National Memorial for Peace and Justice and the companion Legacy Museum in Montgomery, Alabama (USA), have positioned themselves as peace-and-justice-building cultural institutions. Their aim is to acknowledge, address, and heal the unreconciled legacies of racial terror and violence in the United States. They seek to engage communities and the nation in acknowledging and addressing racial divides and in healing the unresolved and ongoing terror and generational trauma of racial domination and injustice.

This chapter describes observations arising from a phenomenological, autoethnographic study of the peacebuilding work at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and The Legacy Museum. It explores what it means to exhibit extreme violence at museums for peace. How do museums curate the narratives, presentations and depictions of a history and legacy of extreme violence in the service of education and reconciliation toward the ends of cultivating peace and restoring justice?

The study draws from three kinds of sources: academic literature; individual oral histories and institutional narratives; and the immersive experience of visiting and studying the two institutions in Montgomery and other cultural-historical sites which exhibit extreme violence. The multidisciplinary approach integrates aspects from history, philosophy, geopolitics, memory studies, trauma studies, and museum studies. Through the individual oral histories and institutional narratives, the chapter highlights the subjective witnessing and meaning making, especially of those voices long overshadowed or silenced by dominant, institutionalized agendas.

The study employs autoethnography, a methodology that aims to describe and analyze personal experiences to understand sociocultural phenomena. It situates the investigator's (i.e., the author's) lived experiences, memories, mindsets, and identities within historical, cultural, and political contexts,[1] hence emphasizing subjective, phenomenological narratives, as in the oral history testimonies. I examine the content and messages at The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and reflect on their applicability to education and peacebuilding at other museums for peace. The autoethnographic method frames and filters the chapter through a lens informed by and biased *in situ* by the author's lived

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experience base, finite meaning-making processes, and other linguistic, cultural-political, and psychological constraints.

EJI's Memorial and Museum Project

The idea to build The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and The Legacy Museum was led by civil rights attorney Bryan Stevenson and the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), the legal advocacy organization Stevenson founded in 1989.[2] Stevenson and EJI are best known for their legal victories in the US Supreme Court and for successfully overturning the wrongful convictions of over 100 people on death row,[3] which Stevenson has documented in *Just Mercy*.[4]

Stevenson argued that if we want to heal racial divisions, it is imperative to educate Americans of every color and creed, starting with witnessing and truth-telling. He observed that, despite EJI's many legal victories, their work to expose and dismantle racial bias through the legal system would not, and could not, be enough. No matter how much bias has been exposed, the persistent and pervasive belief in the "narrative of racial difference" in everyday American life, continues to terrorize black people.[5]

EJI established both *The National Memorial for Peace and Justice* and *The Legacy Museum: From Enslavement to Mass Incarceration* in 2018. The National Memorial was built on six acres of land on a hillside adjacent to the State of Alabama Parole Reporting Center. Geography scholars Derek Alderman and Joshua Inwood observed this location to be "a thought-provoking spatial association given EJI's mission of penal justice."[6] Both the National Memorial for Peace and Justice and The Legacy Museum were funded through hundreds of private donations and no local, state, or federal government funding.

At the entrance to The National Memorial, the visitor encounters a quotation from Martin Luther King Jr., stretching across a wooden slat wall: *True peace is not merely the absence of tension. It is the presence of justice*. The quotation summarizes the "meaning of the memorial and the social activist and reparative justice mission of EJI."[7]

Beyond the entryway, visitors ascend the sloping hillside toward the main building of the Memorial. Large panels narrate the history of the transatlantic slave trade, the domestic slave trade, the rise of racial terror lynching after the Civil War, and their links to present-day anti-Black violence and discrimination. EJI distinguishes *racial terror lynching* from the hangings of especially non-minorities which did not include terrorizing and threatening the entire Black community.

> [They] were acts of terrorism because these murders were carried out with impunity. . . [wherein the] perpetrators were never held accountable. Indeed, some public spectacle lynchings were attended by the entire white community and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination.[8]

At the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, this history is presented with text only, with concise and direct language that avoids – or appears to be aiming

to avoid – sensationalism. There are no photographs or images of actual lynching acts at the Memorial.

A monument to the transatlantic slave trade entitled *Nkyinkyim Installation* stands opposite the panels. The multifigure, cast-concrete sculpture created by Ghanaian artist Kwame Akoto-Bamfo represents the "millions of women, men and children [who] were abducted, chained, brutalized and taken to a distant place to be enslaved."[9]

Other sculptures on the Memorial site include Dana King's *Guided by Justice*, a bronze statue to symbolize the women arrested for challenging racial segregation on Montgomery's public buses in 1955. *Raise Up* by Hank Willis Thomas is a long horizontal, free-standing concrete wall with ten bronze portraits of black men shown from the neck up with their hands raised above their heads.

Despite the representation of suffering, the sculptures command a resolve for peace, dignity, and humanity, as Bryan Stevenson narrates in a video introducing The National Memorial for Peace and Justice:

> Today, the children of stolen Africans live in the land where their forebearers were enslaved, lynched, and segregated. Still, these children feel the pain of this history. But they tell their story. They tell the story with skill, with conviction and with hope. This time there is a humanity, a determination to survive and a dignity that can't be stolen by bondage. This time there is respect. And for their children, this time there is love.[10]

The central feature of The National Memorial is an array of 805 suspended Corten steel[11] rectangular boxes, shaped like coffins. They are arranged atop the hill in the form of a large open-air temple, which defines a sense of the sacredness of these grounds (see Figure 9.1). The boxes hang from the ceiling by steel poles. There is a hanging formation block for each county in the United States where lynching took place with the names of the lynching victims and the dates of their murders engraved on the steel boxes. They are arranged to give the viewer a sense of the enormous scale of all the lynching. There are 4,400 names documented on the boxes, but it is estimated that there are thousands more unaccounted for and undocumented. "The rusted steel structures suspended from the ceiling appear to represent black bodies hanging from trees."[12] Even though there is no piped music playing at the memorial, the scene evokes Billy Holiday singing the haunting ode, *Strange Fruit* in one's mind.[13]

> Southern trees bear strange fruit
> Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
> Black bodies swinging in the Southern breeze
> Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.[14]

Outside the main entrance to the Memorial, the Peace and Justice Memorial Garden provides a contemplative space to recognize African American laborers in Montgomery. Amidst the native flowers and shrubs stands the Memory Wall of

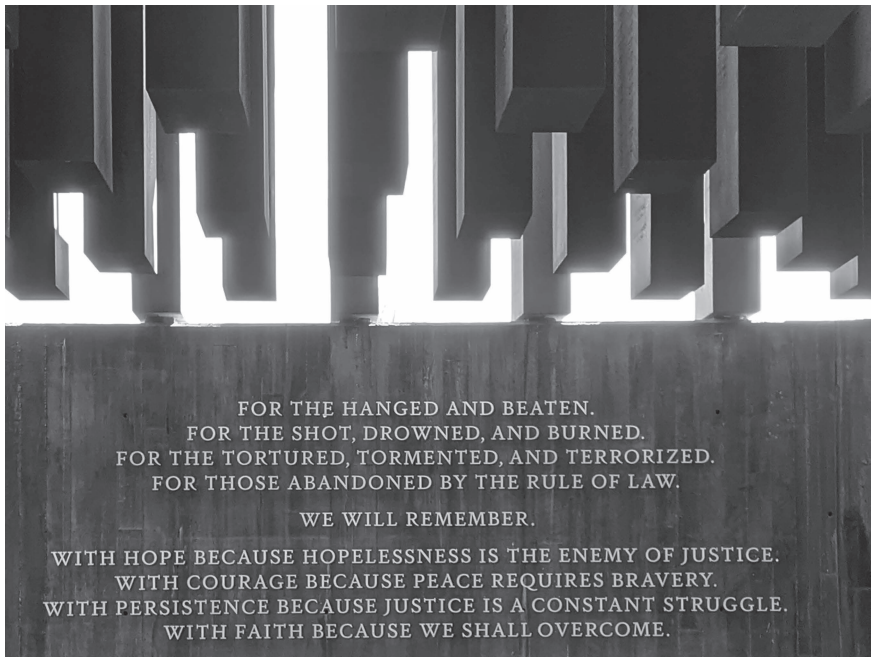

Figure 9.1 The central feature of The National Memorial for Peace and Justice is an array of 805 suspended rectangular steel boxes, shaped like coffins.

Source: Photograph by Roy Tamashiro (November 2021, used with permission).

Strength, a portion of a brick-arched wall from the Montgomery Theater which enslaved masons constructed in 1860.

Historian Hilary N. Green explains how visiting The National Memorial for Peace and Justice is a personally peace-inspiring experience:

> I've been here over 20 times and every time I'm teary and emotional, but in a good way, because in those emotions I'm able to feel and do what the memorials intend, to have an inner peace, but also way to go forward and heal on this unspoken history in a way that honors the people who were the victims of lynching.[15]

The Legacy Museum: From Enslavement to Mass Incarceration, the counterpart to The National Memorial for Peace and Justice, was redesigned, expanded, and reopened in 2021 on a site where enslaved Black people had been warehoused. It is situated 1.5 miles (2.4 km) from the Memorial in downtown Montgomery. The museum was designed to educate audiences about what Stevenson calls the "ugly parts of American history."[16] It advances the thesis that the myth of racial difference has driven the socially condoned practices from enslavement to codified racial segregation to the over-incarceration of Black people. A sign on an exposed portion

of a brick wall near the entrance to The Legacy Museum reads, "You are standing on a site where enslaved people were warehoused." The museum identifies itself as a *narrative museum*, "conceived, curated, and designed by the Equal Justice Initiative. All historical research, content creation, text writing, and narrative construction was done by EJI, except where noted."[17]

The museum's line of argument is that the brutal, dehumanizing institution of slavery in America did not end with the formal abolition of slavery in 1865. It *evolved*. The exhibit halls trace this legacy of slavery from the transatlantic slave trade through the domestic slave trade and Reconstruction. "Lynching, codified racial segregation, and over-incarceration in the 20th century are examined in depth and brought to life through film, images, and first-hand person narratives."[18]

The Reflection Space is a large gallery that invites audiences to honor the hundreds of people who worked to challenge racial injustice. The space includes music playing which was curated to complement the historical narrative told in this gallery and help the audience understand the ethos of the movement challenging racial injustice. The Reflection Space continues outdoors on the north side of the museum pavilion where a reflection garden features a granite fountain that memorializes over 2,000 people who were lynched during the Reconstruction era (1865–1877).

Does the Reflection Space inspire visitors to reflect on what role they each can play to make a difference, as the museum designers intended? In a *Tripadvisor* blog post, a visitor described how his visit to The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice, challenged him to reflect on and reckon with the nation's past:

> The Museum and Memorial didn't set out to make me feel guilty, or woke, or whatever politicians who will be on the wrong side of history want us White folks to believe today. It challenges us to know the truth, know the legacy of suffering and injustice that haunts us still. It challenges us to reflect on how that is different from the collective national narrative, and to reckon with our past. Shouldn't we all want that for ourselves and our country?[19]

Philosophy and Design Foundations

Bryan Stevenson explained that he had observed how other countries such as Rwanda, South Africa, and Germany created spaces for truth-telling in the aftermath of atrocities and genocides.[20] EJI drew several philosophical and design ideas from these examples.

In Rwanda, The Kigali Genocide Memorial (KGM) is the largest of several memorials and museums which commemorate the 1994 Rwandan genocide. It serves as the final resting place for more than 250,000 victims of The Genocide Against the Tutsi. The museum's website banner announces the Memorial's peace mission: "We Remember the Victims of The Genocide Against the Tutsi and We Teach About Peace."[21] The memorial claims to educate audiences about genocides throughout the twentieth century, but Nigel Eltringham points out that the memorial is demanding audiences to believe false narratives about the commonalties of twentieth-century genocides and to accept implausible, oversimplified comparisons

of the 1994 Rwandan genocide with the others. He depicts KGM's presentation as "genocidal propaganda," as though history is singular, absolute, and not subject to alternative interpretations and critiques.[22]

The memorial gardens were intended to be a quiet space for museum visitors to reflect on their learning experience in the Museum and to contemplate their role in preventing discrimination and mass atrocity. Although KGM presents a very positive view of post-genocide Rwanda, observers point to troubling contradictions. With KGM representing an "official" government-sponsored site, the current regime has continued to exploit the memory of the genocide "to legitimate its antidemocratic policies and advance its political agenda at the expense of the victims and survivors."[23]

Top among KGM's five primary objectives is "to provide a dignified place of burial for victims of the genocide," even though the memorialized victims at KGM exclude the large numbers of the moderate Hutu and the Twa groups who were murdered. Stevenson adopted the core idea from KGM's objective to emphasize the meaning of memorialization as requiem, a space for funerary honor and repose for those murdered by lynching.

In South Africa, The Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg documents the nation's struggle for liberation through centuries of colonialism, to more than 40 years of life under apartheid (1948–1994), to the current post-apartheid place of healing (1994–present). The Museum was established in 2001 to educate the public about twentieth-century South Africa, at the heart of which is the narrative of the rise and fall of apartheid. The Museums' School Visits Program aims to make learning about the nation's history more interactive for students and to inspire the "born-free" generation to help build a better democracy and protect human rights in South Africa.[24]

The Apartheid Museum also highlights the work of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) whose central purpose was "to promote reconciliation and forgiveness among perpetrators and victims of apartheid by the full disclosure of truth."[25] The Commission received over 7,000 amnesty applications, held more than 2,500 hearings, and granted 1,500 amnesties for atrocities committed during the apartheid years. Stevenson viewed South Africa's TRC as an innovative model for building peace and justice, and as a model that has continued to be resisted in the United States. Stevenson writes, "[W]e have failed to acknowledge the deeply entrenched views of white supremacy that characterized the reaction to civil rights activism."[26]

The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin (Germany) was constructed as a place of remembrance and commemoration for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The Memorial consists of the Field of Stelae, covered with 2,711 rectangular concrete blocks (or "stelae") arranged in a grid pattern on a sloping field, and the underground Information Centre.[27] The National Memorial for Peace and Justice adapted the design concept of the Field of Stelae from the Berlin Memorial to its own design concept of steel columns shaped like coffins suspended from above to memorialize the African Americans who were murdered by lynching.

The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice were modeled, not *in toto*, but on discrete and specific aspects of sites in Kigali, Johannesburg, and Berlin. However, EJI has developed three thematic directions for the

new memorial and museum which depart from some of the prominent museums and memorials that exhibit extreme violence and dehumanization.

First, the EJI sites emphasize witnessing and truth-telling about the unbearable injustices and atrocities. They aim to do so without also instilling or amplifying fear, shame guilt, and denial,[28] and without diminishing the positive achievements.[29] This contrasts with some museums[30] which condemn the victimizers/perpetrators and their surviving descendants; and implicitly inculcate shame and guilt on audiences for the legacy of violence they inherited (and may still carry) over many generations. This theme also contrasts some museums which emphasize only positive achievements (e.g., laws passed, integrated schools, the election of a Black President) and a rosy view of the future without mention of the difficult work ahead to address painful, unreconciled histories.

Second, the direction of remembrance at the EJI sites is toward emphasizing requiem, the act of bestowing dignity and repose to those who were murdered. Defining the direction of the memorial as a requiem, a ceremonial space offering dignity and repose, is a departure from the more common direction to generically remember the genocide, "Remember the Holocaust," or "Remember Hiroshima."

Third, for the EJI sites, reconciliation should be seen as a process to acknowledge the deeply entrenched doctrines of domination and supremacy.[31] The call for apologies, reparations, and accountability for the injustices is remarkably downplayed at the EJI sites. It is as if the importance of and demand for reparations, so prominent in many Black history narratives, has been temporarily bracketed and quieted to create a hospitable climate for community and national dialogue across racial and ideological divides to face and address this extremely difficult history.

For EJI, the sites in Kigali, Johannesburg, and Berlin were "important projects used to address difficult histories of genocide, apartheid, and horrific human rights abuses in other countries. EJI's sites are designed to promote a more hopeful commitment to racial equality and just treatment of all people."[32] Stevenson observes that similar spaces for a process of "truth-telling" followed by repair, recovery, and reconciliation are largely missing and resisted in the United States.[33] Stevenson wanted audiences to understand that lynching was not just isolated, "brutal footnotes in history." He argues that lynching reflected a belief in racial differences that reinforced segregation in the 1950s and 60s and has resulted in a pattern of unequal justice today. An important experience awaits each person who visits The Legacy Museum:

> [T]here is a journey that must be taken to create a different kind of future. It is hard to confront these painful truths, but the powerful thing is that when we have the courage to learn the truth, we open up doors that permit justice, that permit reckoning, that permit healing. This museum is dedicated to creating a society where the children of our children are no longer burdened by the legacy of slavery, no longer presumed dangerous and guilty, no longer haunted by racial inequality, no matter where they go.[34]

In this statement, Stevenson articulates both EJI's definition of, and imperative for, peace as the *courage to learn the truth that permits justice, reckoning, and healing*. At The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice, the

work of peace is to address and heal the legacies of enslavement and racial terror lynching in America.[35]

EJI's definition of peace challenges and stretches expected definitions of peace advanced by organizations such as the International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP).[36] Although both The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice are included in the INMP publication, *Museums for Peace Worldwide*,[37] their inclusion in the *genre* of museums for peace remains in question.[38] For example, should sites be included as *museums for peace* when they present histories of massacres, genocidal conflicts (including the Holocaust), or weapons of mass destruction, especially when audiences experience them as spectacle, sensationalism, or propaganda?

In EJI's definition, peacebuilding is a laborious and difficult process. Peace work is *dirty work* too. It requires the courage to learn about, acknowledge, and reckon with painful historical and present-day realities and narratives that contradict idealized national values and identities (e.g., "freedom and justice for all."). It is the process of bearing witness to and "leaning into" the pain and suffering. In turn, it is a hope that this difficult work opens the doors that permit the receptiveness to reckoning, healing, and ultimately peace. For EJI, the peace- and justice-building mission of The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice involved designing effective methodologies to educate audiences for (1) witnessing and "truth-telling" of unbearable violence, terror, and dehumanization, (2) remembrance as requiem, funerary honor, and repose, and (3) reconciliation as healing the societal dysfunction of racial privilege and domination. Table 9.1 summarizes these objectives and presentation methods

Table 9.1 Goals, objectives, and methods for peacebuilding at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and The Legacy Museum

Goals:	1 Witnessing and Truth-Seeking: To enable audiences to witness and acknowledge the "historical truths" of unspeakable violence, terror, and dehumanization.	2 Remembrance as Requiem: To emphasize remembrance as requiem, funerary honor, and repose.	3 Reconciliation as Healing Societal Dysfunction: To promote reconciliation as a cooperative, communal effort to disentangle and heal the societal dysfunction of racial privilege and domination.
Objectives:	To enable audiences to learn the history & legacy of slavery, lynching, segregation, and discrimination in the United States.	To offer solace, repose, and funerary honor to those who were murdered by lynching.	To provide spaces for reflection and contemplation. To support healing/ reconciliation projects in local communities across the United States.

Methods at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice:	Interpretive panels, exhibits, sculptures, 800+ hanging formations. Plaques describing individual circumstances that resulted in lynching.	Open-air temple structure housing the hanging steel formations. The Community Remembrance Project (exhibit).	No photographs of lynching acts exhibited on the Memorial site. Open spaces and benches across the site. The Peace and Justice Memorial Garden. Invitations for communities to "claim" their memorial markers.
Methods at The Legacy Museum:	Videos and multimedia exhibits, photographs, posters, text narratives; Historical timelines.	"Last words" and quotations from lynching victims. Video testimonials. The Community Remembrance Project (exhibit).	No photographing or recording allowed inside the Museum. The Reflection Space (gallery). The Legacy Pavilion (Fountain and memorial).

for achieving the peacebuilding goals when exhibiting racial terror violence and atrocities at the sites.

"We Witness, We Learn, We Come to Know . . ."

How can witnessing and truth-seeking about enslavement, lynching and other forms of racial terror and extreme violence inspire and cultivate peacebuilding?

In studying Holocaust survivors at Auschwitz, philosopher Giorgio Agamben observed that "human beings are human insofar as they bear witness to the inhuman,"[39] an extraordinary ontological proposition, that bearing witness to the reality of the atrocities is necessary to be fully human. In *True Mercy*, Brian Stevenson wrote,

> We are all broken by something. . . . Sometimes we're fractured by the choices we make; sometimes we're shattered by things we would never have chosen. But our brokenness is also the source of our common humanity, the basis for our shared search for comfort, meaning, and healing. Our shared vulnerability and imperfection nurtures and sustains our capacity for compassion.[40]

Both Agamben and Stevenson emphasize the value of witnessing: to acknowledge the unbearable and unthinkable which haunt us in our closeted memories, hidden traumas, and unreconciled historical pasts. It means having the courage to witness, own, and honor our brokenness – the brokenness we do not want to know about, especially in ourselves.[41] In this very witnessing and truth-seeking, the opportunity for transformative learning is opened and the healing of the divides – racial and otherwise – within oneself and with each other may commence.

Art historian Renée Ater describes the educational value of witnessing, in the face of her overwhelming, emotionally difficult experience at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice.

> [W]hen I enter the memorial space, I cannot stop the tears from flowing and my heart aching. I am overwhelmed. . . . I reach out to touch a name, tracing the laser-cut forms of the letters . . . to make tangible their presence. I lean into one of the stele seeking bodily connection. And I feel a sadness and anguish so powerful that it lashes deep into my psyche. Intellectually, I am surprised at my response. Yet, the emotional upheaval I feel is real: I am witness to what had been an unspoken and hidden holocaust of black men and women in the United States and is now made visible.[42]

This witnessing and truth-telling also carry the risk of triggering fear, denial, anger, or vengeance, hence undermining the aim to cultivate peace-mindedness. The exposure to narratives, images, videos, and exhibits of extreme violence can stir up terror, trauma, and fright thus resulting in denial, backlash, and closed-mindedness to learning what the museum designers hoped the audience would learn.

This applies to the focus on the "truth-telling" of racial terror and lynching at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice, and to the revelation of the suppressed history of the enslavement, lynching, and mass incarceration of African Americans at The Legacy Museum. Learning and thinking about these forms of extreme violence are shocking and unbelievable as they violate core beliefs and basic sensibilities. The psyche naturally resists, rejects, and denies thoughts and ideation of this unbearable and unthinkable knowledge. Such resistance and rejection mean there is less openness, more antipathy, and more refusal to acknowledge the unbearable proposition that these instances of violence were real, or that they mean something so terrible.

Psychiatrist Judith Herman explains,

> [T]he ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness. Certain violations of the social compact are too terrible to utter aloud: this is the meaning of the word *unspeakable*. Atrocities, however, refuse to be buried. Equally as powerful as the desire to deny atrocities is the conviction that denial does not work.[43]

Can museum architects and designers cultivate "the conviction that denial does not work" in designing the spaces and scripting the narratives at the museum site? Can they ensure that they are not amplifying the terror, fears and trauma-inducing knowledge that trigger the response to "banish them from consciousness?" In the context of such difficult information, can audiences bear to witness, to learn, and to come to know what is *lynching*?

Definitions of *lynching* explicitly name multiple forms of aggression, terror, and violations of bodily integrity; and severe violations of human rights and civil rights

which may be shocking and unbearable. For example, the Oklahoma Historical Society's definition concretely names the violence:

> Lynching is the killing (by hanging, burning, or torturing) of an individual or individuals, by a group of three or more persons operating outside the legal system in the belief that they have the right to serve justice or to reinforce a tradition or social custom. Motivated by anger, hatred, or outrage, mob members act spontaneously on the basis of presumed guilt, without the due process of law. Because law enforcement officials tacitly approved or could not prevent it, lynching could exist.[44]

Lynching is commonly perceived as only hangings. But lynching victims were also tortured and killed in other ways: being shot, burned alive, mutilated, branded with hot irons, thrown off a bridge, or dragged behind a car. The EJI's definition of lynching is more abstract, without mention of the specific methods of killing, but is named as terrorism designed to intimidate and strike fear in the entire Black community and to dehumanize them.

> Lynchings were violent and public acts of torture that traumatized Black people throughout the country. . . . The lynchings . . . were acts of terrorism because these murders . . . were horrific acts of violence whose perpetrators were never held accountable. Indeed, some public spectacle lynchings were attended by the entire white community and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination.[45]

Between 1882 and 1951, advocates of federal anti-lynching legislation proposed over 100 bills in Congress in an attempt to end the practice of lynching across the United States. However, with the lack of legal consensus on the meaning of the word "lynching," all attempts failed.[46] Contestation over the definition of lynching was symbolic of the power struggle between the individual Southern states and the federal government. Journalists and the media in both the North and the South fueled the divisiveness by using "condemnation of black crime to excuse lynching" as legitimate extra-legal justice.[47]

Historian Leon Litwack also identified criticisms for exhibiting or publishing lynching photographs which he argues are outweighed by the social value in presenting them.

> The need for this grisly photographic display may be disputed for catering to voyeuristic appetites and for perpetuating images of black victimization. . . . It is a necessarily painful and ugly story, as it includes some of the bleakest examples of violence and dehumanization in the history of humankind. The intention is not to depict blacks as only victims or whites as only victimizers, but the extent and quality of the violence unleashed on black men and women in the name of enforcing black deference and subordination cannot be avoided or minimized.[48]

If we (the audiences)[49] can bear witness and acknowledge the contested definitions of lynching, can we also bear to witness, to learn, and to come to know examples and specific details of lynching?

For example, can we bear to witness, to learn, and to come to know the brutal murder of 18-year-old Wes Johnson, a tenant farmer, in a cotton field in southern Alabama in 1937? Johnson was accused of assaulting a white woman, but before he could stand trial, a mob of 100 armed farmers dragged him from jail, shot him, and left him hanging from a tree.

With further research into the lynching of Wes Johnson, we witness and learn that the Wes Johnson photograph was taken by Joseph David ("Red") Brown, City Editor of the *Dothan Eagle*, who received a telephone tip that

> Negro Johnson's body could be found near the Tumbleton farm home of Rupert Bond in which the alleged attack had taken place. Editor Brown grabbed his camera and dashed off for Tumbleton. There on the brink of a sparsely wooded ravine, 50 yd. from Farmer Bond's house, he found the bullet-riddled body of Negro Johnson. Tight-lipped farmers, who seemed to be awaiting his arrival, obligingly took hold of a rope that was tightly looped around the neck, hoisted the body high over the limb of a tree so that Editor Brown could make a more vivid camera record of 1937's No. 1 lynching.[50]

We witness and we learn that lynching was an act of mob violence intended to uphold White supremacy, instill fear, and terrorize Black people. Following the abolition of slavery with the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in 1865, "Whites reacted violently to the notion that they would have to treat their former human property as equals and pay for their labor. Plantation owners attacked Black people simply for claiming their freedom."[51]

We come to know that, in the cultural divide and power struggle in the United States after slavery was legally abolished, lynching was an effective way to maintain political and racial domination. Brian Stevenson explains,

> At the end of the Civil War, Black people are supposed to get the right to vote. The only way people who were White could maintain the political control was to intimidate Black people, and lynching was especially effective because it would allow the whole community to know that we did this to this person. It was intended to send a message that if you try to vote, if you try to advocate for your rights, if you insist on fair wages. If you do anything that complicates White supremacy and White dominance and political power, we will kill you.[52]

Lynching was not just punishment for an alleged crime or a social transgression. It was used to enforce racial segregation and was "a tactic for . . . victimizing the entire African American community."[53] I witness my own reaction of shock to learn that lynching was seldom random or isolated. More often, they were public spectacles in town centers celebrated by thousands of people, evidenced by photographs of the crowds, "and its people dressed in their Sunday best, with their hats on."[54] The commercialization of lynching photographs and postcards was social

media weapons of that era (like today's *Instagrams* and memes). Like lynching itself, the postcards were intended to reinforce the doctrine of White dominion and supremacy.

While museum designers and curators may not be able to prevent the triggering responses among audiences, they may be able to address some of the emotional audience responses by understanding the effects of explicit, fear-triggering representation of lynching, and carefully curating the exhibits with this risk in mind. Museum sentries can monitor visitors' emotional responses. A visitor noted her experience at The Legacy Museum in a *TripAdvisor blog:*

> Less than halfway through . . . I was overcome with emotion. I had gotten used to a museum sentry at every turn, and while polite, they were fairly hands off. So I didn't notice her when I broke into quiet tears. "I understand," whispered the guard. "But my people owned these people," I softly cried. She offered me a tissue. I wanted to hug her, a woman of color, but figured protocol didn't allow that. So I grabbed a tissue, told her thanks and moved along.[55]

Requiem – An Act of Solace, Funerary Honor, and Repose

The directions remembrance and commemoration take are necessarily shaped by the cultural and political agendas of the museum designers, architects, and curators. Traditional ways of directing remembrance at museums for peace included honoring anti-war and nonviolent activists, resistance workers, or conscientious objectors as "heroes." The violence and suffering were often reframed toward glorification, heroism, and martyrdom. Commemoration often avoided or downplayed injustice and dehumanization. It masked, disguised, or sanitized suffering and death.[56]

EJI's approach to remembrance has been to engage the descendants of lynching and community members in ceremonial requiem and dignified funerary. Although the injustice of lynching is acknowledged and remembered, the work of remembrance is redirected with less emphasis on holding accountable those who caused the lynching to more emphasis on enabling families and communities to dignify and properly honor the humanness of the person lynched. EJI's extensive research on lynching led to their Community Remembrance Project which aimed to connect the research back to the communities. EJI collaborated with MASS (Model of Architecture Serving Society), in developing a process where soil was collected from the sites where lynching took place. "The Community Remembrance Process allows communities to confront history by becoming active participants in the commemoration of lives unjustly taken. Strongly rooted in place, the soil collection process served as a prelude to the memorial."[57]

Citizens of the community, including family members of the deceased, are invited to visit the lynching site, collect soil from the site, and then share their experiences in the community-wide memorial ceremonies. The jars of collected soil were displayed originally at the EJI office, and then at the new National Memorial for Peace and Justice and The Legacy Museum when they opened in 2018.

In January 2018, several months before the opening of the Museum and Memorial, some of Wes Johnson's descendants came to the cotton field where he was lynched to participate in the soil collection ritual. Bryan Stevenson addressed the family gathered there:

> Something happened here that was wrong. Something happened here that was unjust. And too few people have talked about it. And so, we want to acknowledge the wrong that happened to Wes Johnson. . . . The blood of Wes Johnson is in the soil. I'd like you to begin to dig the soil in remembrance of Wes Johnson.[58]

Beyond the public ritual to acknowledge the injustice of Wes Johnson's death, the soil-collecting ceremony was a method for bestowing funerary honor and dignity, which Johnson never received. The photo of him hanging from a tree limb taken by Joseph David Brown is the only known image of Johnson that remains.[59]

With the soil-collection ritual, EJI was facilitating families and communities to engage in a commemoration – a sacred ceremony that honors the memory of the deceased. Exhibiting the jars of soil at The Legacy Museum and The Memorial for Peace and Justice extends the sacred ceremony to a broader audience. The Museum and the Memorial are energized with the ambiance of requiem – as spaces for remembrance, solace, and repose.

Art historian Steven Zucker described his own sense of requiem at The National Memorial for Peace and Justice

> that idea that this memorial is offering a kind of solace, offering a kind of funerary honor that these people had never been afforded is so moving and feels to me that it has come too late, but I'm grateful that it has come at all.[60]

The 2000 book *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*[61] included hundreds of lynching photographs and postcards that James Allen had collected over 20 years. In 2000–2002, selected photos from *Without Sanctuary*, along with John Littlefield's collection, were assembled into special exhibitions at museums and galleries, including Emory University (Atlanta, Georgia), Roth Horowitz Gallery (New York), New York Historical Society, Andy Warhol Museum (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), and Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site (Atlanta).[62] Allen sensed that the public exhibition of the lynching photographs was a form of resurrection:

> For every victim that lies pasted in some racist family's photo album . . . or stored in a trunk with grandma and grandpa's Klan robe, . . . – if we can acquire and place their photos in an accurate, respectful context, identify and record them for the first time, I feel some slight awareness of what is meant by resurrection.[63]

Allen's proposition suggests that "the dead might yet be revived, returned, and brought forth into presence," explains Roger I. Simon. The public viewing of lynching photographs as resurrection empowers the act of remembrance to "rescue . . . those murdered from the oblivion of forgetting."[64]

This amplification of remembrance to revival and resurrection raises expectations and hopes that the remembering of this history of injustice and racial brutality can prevent their recurrence in the future. Other museums have echoed such hopes in the arguably overused and naive resolve that "we must always remember," "we must make sure future generations know and remember" in order that these atrocities and brutalities "will never be repeated again." "Such a use of memory has done little more than encourage a form of abjection," Simon explains, as it places, "the self at a comfortable, distinguishing distance from those rendered as malefic, malicious perpetrators of injustice, eviscerating the force of memory for rethinking how one might alter the way one lives in the present."[65]

To cast and shape remembrance toward requiem – for solace, funerary honor, and repose – fulfills necessary social healing for families of the deceased. Whether this approach to public remembrance will be effective in addressing the nation's racial divides or in cultivating peace and justice for the broader collective is yet to be realized.

Healing and Reconciliation

EJI's third and most ambitious purpose for establishing The Legacy Museum and The National Museum for Peace and Justice was to address and help heal the nation's deep-rooted, unreconciled racial divide. This aim of healing and reconciliation, as with past truth-and-reconciliation examples worldwide, is based on the hypothesis that "truthful" knowledge of the past will lead to acceptance, tolerance, and reconciliation in the future. From a review of prior TRC cases, several scholars have observed that individuals who participated in or who accepted public testimonies in the "truth-telling" of what had been unspeakable (from among opponents in the conflict) were more likely to hold reconciled racial attitudes.[66,67] These results are at the individual, micro-level, and are derived from short-term, cross-sectional interviews, and surveys. At the collective, macro-level, assessing the progress toward collective reconciliation is more complex and requires longitudinal data. With shifting societal norms and changing political climates, macro-level reconciliation is necessarily uneven and variable.

The breadth of movement toward healing the nation's racial divide is dependent on the nation's increasing consensus that the narratives of racial difference and White supremacy – "beliefs and ideas purporting natural superiority of the lighter-skinned, or 'white' human races over other racial groups"[68] – are unhealthy and unwanted falsehoods. Citizens of all colors and creeds are called to a commitment to learn the difficult and painful histories and legacies to open opportunities for acknowledgment, healing, and reconciliation.

With these working hypotheses and assumptions, EJI has designed quiet spaces for reflection and contemplation in both The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice. At the Memorial, it is notable that there are no photographs of the brutal, gut-wrenching scenes of lynching. There is a long wall where water flows over metal text that reads, "Thousands of African Americans are unknown victims of racial terror lynching whose deaths cannot be documented, many whose names will never be known. They are all honored here." Seating spaces across the water softly cascading down the wall allows for rest and contemplation.

At The Legacy Museum, there is an outdoor fountain which invites a sitting, standing, or strolling meditation or reflection around the rectangular pool enclosure.

The policies that phones must be silenced, and no photography, video, or audio recording is allowed inside The Legacy Museum enhance the sense that this is a sacred space, requiring reverence and solace for the enormous suffering represented here. For some audiences, the atmosphere of reverence and the no-photography and no-recording policy can facilitate the reconciliation process. Together, they may be able to interrupt the erecting of defensive responses (like taking snapshots).

> Without the no photography policy, I would be snapping a photo at every moment to avoid directly engaging with what I cannot bear taking in right now. The camera would help me emotionally distance myself; to shield myself from witnessing what is unbearable . . . to avert the raw feelings flaring up. Prohibited from taking photos, I found myself retreating into a racing mind, intellectualizing the experience, and numbing my emotions into an uneasy indifference.[69]

The no-photos policy would not likely interrupt defenses such as "othering,"[70] since othering often emerges from mindsets already inclined to judge others as inferior, threatening, or unworthy of respect. Othering obstructs reconciliation, as it

> involves attributing negative characteristics to people or groups that differentiate them from the perceived normative social group. . . . [It] is a way of negating another person's individual humanity and, consequently, those [who] have been othered are seen as less worthy of dignity and respect.[71]

To extend the healing and reconciliation work to communities across the nation, EJI has created a duplicate set of Corten steel monuments. These rectangular boxes are lined up in long rows on the park grounds outside the main memorial building (see Figure 9.1). The counties named on them are invited to claim and install them in their locales. "Lynchings happened locally, and Stevenson believes that the healing must also happen locally."[72] The installations give communities the opportunity to do the difficult work of witnessing and reckoning, of requiem and honoring the deceased, and of healing and reconciliation in the immediacy of their local spaces.

Reconciliation in its various stages is visible in the narratives of those who have struggled with and studied the process introspectively and interpersonally. For example, James Allen presents a testimony that comes after decades of engagement with the images in his collection. He describes his early stages of shock in coming to understand that lynching and photographing the lynching were both rituals. "The photographer was more than a perceptive spectator at lynchings," he wrote. "Positioning and lighting the corpses as if they were gamebirds shot on the wing. . . . The photographic art played as significant a role in the ritual as torture or souvenir grabbing."[73]

The foundation of a personal reconciliation is visible when Allen later comes to see himself and the people he encounters every day in the photographs:

> These photos provoke a strong sense of denial in me, and a desire to freeze my emotions. In time, I realized that my fear of the other was the fear of myself. Then these portraits, . . . become the portraits of my own family and of myself. And the faces of the living and the faces of the dead recur in me and in my daily life. . . . With each encounter, I can't help but think of these photos, and the march of time, and of the cold steel trigger in the human heart.[74]

Allen's metacognitive recognition is that with every daily encounter he thinks "of the cold steel trigger in the human heart," meaning this is both in himself as well as in others. There is redemption and reconciliation in Allen's recognition. It is non-judgmental. It is an example of what Gandhi wrote in his *Autobiography:* "To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."[75]

Personally, I have come to identify with Bryan Stevenson's acknowledgment of brokenness in himself. The brokenness in myself is the same as the mirrored brokenness I see in our social systems and other human beings. Like James Allen's recognition of himself and those he encounters every day in the lynching portraits, the names and stories of murdered persons identified on the jars of soil on exhibit from The Community Remembrance Project, are recurring and reverberating in me in my everyday life.

For example, I recognized the names William Jenkins, Robert Williams, and Elizabeth Lawrence on each of the three jars of soil as three persons in my life generations later. William Jenkins was a classmate in my high school. The Robert Williams I knew was the founder of the Black Studies department at Washington University in St. Louis. And my colleague, Elizabeth Lawrence, a history professor, has her namesake memorialized in Montgomery.

In July 1933, Elizabeth Lawrence, a mother and schoolteacher, was walking along a country road near her home when a group of young white children began taunting and throwing rocks and dirt at her. She verbally reprimanded the children. A few days later, the children's parents came to her home, shot her, and burned her house down.[76]

In EJI's take on *reconciliation*, there is no overt seeking for apologies nor are there demands for reparations or restitutions for the lynching. There is an injunction to bear witness to the legacies of slavery, lynching, and segregation, but no harsh judgment against those who are not ready to, or choose not to, take on the injunction. There is no intentional design to make the museum audience or other groups feel guilt or shame, to induce them to think, feel or do something. There is recognition that the reconciliation process is not a smooth and simple matter. Reconciliation in the community can be achieved when the desired aims of reckoning and understanding are shared by the parties in conflict. To date, there are hundreds of counties which have yet to accept EJI's invitation to claim and install

their respective memorial markers to commence the work to confront their local legacies of racial terror lynching.

Implications and Directions

This chapter has sought to understand how museums for peace and other cultural-historical sites can present histories of extreme violence in service of their peacebuilding mission. Studying the philosophy, mission, and methodologies employed in the design and curation of The Legacy Museum and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice has revealed insights, which may be applicable to other peacebuilding cultural-historical sites.

The three distinctive goals and their accompanying objectives and methods (see Table 9.1) may be viewed as EJI's pedagogy of design and curation for their museum and memorial. In choosing and developing these objectives and methods, EJI was inspired by several design concepts and methods from museums and memorials outside the United States. EJI also included implications from recent sociological and psychological studies on the dynamics of triggering terror and trauma in audiences.

The emergent objectives and methods can, nonetheless, be used to survey other museums that present the histories of extreme violence in the mission toward peacebuilding. Table 9.2 illustrates how 12 other museums and memorials have or have not employed the methods identified at the EJI's sites. EJI's objectives and methods serve as anchors for comparison. They are not and should not be considered prescriptive.

Most of the objectives and methods used by the sites listed in Table 9.2 are not fully in line with those of The Legacy Museum and The National Museum for Peace and Justice. Some sites eschew the importance of linking the local communities with the ceremonial remembrance and recognition of the murdered individuals. These sites may emphasize remembrance of the historical events and "what happened here," but requiem and funerary honor are omitted or deemphasized. Recognition, addressing, and reckoning with all parties of past conflicts are absent or downplayed in navigating the way to reconciliation (NOTE E in Table 9.2).

Several sites reframe the "extreme violence" in the context of gratitude for the victors, leaders, rescuers, first responders, as heroes, or martyrs. The darkness of suffering and death is deemphasized in favor of an enriching experience for the audience. Hope for the future is expressed without highlighting the difficult work ahead for healing the unreconciled past (NOTE G in Table 9.2).

Some have chosen directions that seem to counter the aim of healing and reconciliation as constructive and cooperative peacebuilding steps. For example, some sites emphasize remembrance of the injustice, victimization, and violation of human rights as a narrative of persuasion directed toward adversaries. Priority is to demand accountability and responsibility for the atrocities, rather than working cooperatively to heal the rooted societal dysfunction (NOTE H in Table 9.2).

At present, we do not know whether EJI's distinctive set of goals, objectives, and methods will prove effective in supporting communities and the nation to progress toward a more peaceable society. The question of which objectives and

Table 9.2 Survey of methods of curating extreme violence employed at museums for peace

	1 Witnessing and Truth-Seeking	*2 Remembrance as Requiem: Solace, Honor, and Repose*	*3 Reconciliation as Healing Societal Dysfunction*
	To enable audiences to learn the history of extreme violence or dehumanization	*To offer solace, repose, and funerary honor to the murdered*	*To provide spaces for reflection and contemplation*
• The National Memorial for Peace and Justice NOTE A	√	√	√
• The Legacy Museum NOTE A	√	√	√
• The Kigali Genocide Museum (Rwanda) NOTE B	√	NOTE C	NOTE C
• The Apartheid Museum (South Africa) NOTE B	√	NOTE D	√
• Memorial to the Murdered Jews (Germany) NOTE B	√	NOTE D	√
• In Flanders Fields Museum (Belgium)	NOTE G	NOTE E	NOTE E, G
• Greenwood Rising (USA) NOTE F	√	NOTE D	√
• National Center for Civil and Human Rights (USA)[77]	NOTE G	NOTE G	NOTE G
• Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park & Museum (Japan) NOTE F	√	NOTE E	NOTE E
• Museum of Sexual Slavery by Japanese Military at The House of Sharing (S. Korea) NOTE F	√	NOTE H	NOTE H
• Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (Japan) NOTE F	√	NOTE H	NOTE H
• The Sơn Mỹ Memorial Museum (Vietnam)[78]	√	√	√

(*Continued*)

Table 9.2 (Continued)

	1 Witnessing and Truth-Seeking	*2 Remembrance as Requiem: Solace, Honor, and Repose*	*3 Reconciliation as Healing Societal Dysfunction*
	To enable audiences to learn the history of extreme violence or dehumanization	*To offer solace, repose, and funerary honor to the murdered*	*To provide spaces for reflection and contemplation*
• Jeju 4•3 National Peace Park (S. Korea)	√	√	NOTE H
• The No Gun Ri Peace Park and Museum (S. Korea)	√	√	NOTE H

[A] Methods employed at these sites are listed in Table 9.1.
[B] Some methods at these sites were emulated in designing the EJI sites.
[C] Remembrance as requiem is afforded to the Tutsi, but not to the murdered moderate Hutu and the Twa groups. Current regimes use memory of the genocide to justify continuing antidemocratic policies.
[D] These sites use methods for collective commemoration and memorialization.
[E] These sites emphasize remembrance of the historical events and "what happened here." Requiem and funerary honor are omitted or deemphasized. Recognition and reconciliation of the past conflict are not addressed.
[F] These sites are discussed in other chapters in this volume.
[G] These sites reframe the "extreme violence" in the context of gratitude for the victors, leaders, rescuers, and first responders, as heroes, or martyrs. Suffering and death are deemphasized. The future is idealized without mention of the difficult/challenging work ahead to heal the painful, unreconciled past.
[H] These sites emphasize remembrance of the injustice, victimization, and violation of human rights. Priority is to demand government accountability and responsibility for the atrocities; healing societal dysfunction is a lower priority.

methods will move communities toward peace is an empirical one which requires observations and studies of the public beliefs, attitudes, and social-political climates in communities across the country. Moreover, EJI's pedagogy may represent a theory, a vision, or definitions of peace and peacebuilding which are arguable, questionable, or otherwise seriously contested. But this comparison of pedagogies at museums which exhibit histories of extreme violence does point toward the difficult though fruitful work ahead, in further exploration, research, and constructive dialogues across racial, philosophical, and ideological divides.

Notes

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Section 4

The Future of Museums for Peace

10 Concluding Voices

Roy Tamashiro, Clive Barrett, and Joyce Apsel

In the Preface, we welcomed readers to a conversation and journey into *Museums for peace: In search of history, memory, and change*. We acknowledged that the authors and editors had wide-ranging and diverse groundings, legacies, and ways of thinking about museums for peace, yet they shared an affinity to what could be called museums for peace *culture* and/or *movement*. To conclude this part of the conversation, each editor reflects on the chapters in this volume, on the future of museums for peace, and on being in search of history, memory, and change.

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Editor's Perspective: Roy Tamashiro

The conversation and journey into *Museums for peace: In search of history, memory, and change* are far from finished. Each chapter essay was not only an exploration into the identity and meaning of museums for peace. Each was an existential, ontological, and epistemological journey and adventure, simultaneously about the identity of museums for peace, about personal identity, and about cultural identity. They served as icebreakers and catalysts for more dialogue and debate, rather than to bring closure or resolution to the questions and uncertainties.

The chapter essays sought to connect us, citizens of this Human family and civilization, across time (past, present, and future), across places (cultures, nations, and geographies), and across identities (personalities, positionalities, and ideologies). They asked, "What have museums for peace meant in our past and present worlds?" and "What will they become and mean for the future of Humanity and the Planet?"

Inasmuch as these conversations shall continue, unfinished, for a long time, it is inspiring and gratifying to review and reflect on the treasures which the narratives in this collection have already endowed. They include a long list of insights gained, lessons learned, issues yet unresolved, criticisms to be addressed, priorities to set, and action steps to take.

1 The narratives in this collection revealed the many layers and levels of experiencing museums for peace. Each museum or institution which self-identifies in

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the genre of museums for peace has distinctive and varied definitions, explanations, and ways of depicting what "peace," "peacebuilding," and "museums for peace" mean. Throughout this volume, authors postulated redefinitions and common themes with the aim of unifying and integrating disparate descriptions and characterizations. Rather than firm, bounded, and clear-cut themes, definitions, and agendas, readers instead come away with multidimensional, nuanced, textured, and flexible concepts. For example, although museums may agree on nonviolence as a principle, they differ in their choices to exercise and practice nonviolent strategies according to their local circumstances and situations. They make conceptual differentiations and exceptions, where civil disobedience, resistance, protest, boycotts, strikes, conscientious objection to war, and rhetoric that are confrontative, critical, or challenging are construed as nonviolent by those who employ these strategies.

2 This book aspires to engage a wide, global audience in the conversation and journey *in search of history, memory, and change*. It seeks visibility and legitimacy in academia and other circles and communities beyond the museums for peace community. The essays in this collection aligned with several competing qualitative research paradigms in the human and social sciences.[1] Most essays followed the positivist and post-positivist paradigms, which emphasize empirical, objective, descriptive accounts basing their legitimacy and validity on the conclusions or agreements reached by rational inquiry and analysis. Other essays employed elements of postmodern and post-structural paradigms, such as critical theory and critical inquiry, historiography, postcolonial ontologies and epistemologies, discourse analysis, phenomenology, constructivism, and participatory inquiry to offer multidimensional and multidisciplinary ways of understanding and construing what are museums for peace, and what will they mean personally, collectively, and globally. The inclusion of multiple competing research paradigms in seeking to understand museums for peace adds more uncertainty to the conversation, but also adds to its richness and value, thereby allowing greater appreciation for ways of thinking (ontologies and epistemologies) that differ sharply from those which challenge our own assumptions, expectations, and familiar ways of thinking.

3 To welcome wider audiences to this conversation and dialogue requires an openness to hearing uncomfortably dissonant ideas as well as mindful attention to the philosophies and methodologies of those circles and communities, which may be unfamiliar in one's individual education and life experiences. For example, assessment, evaluation, and data-driven research, which are central to the social sciences, have been notably absent in the museums for peace movement. Visitor's head counts or revenues from entrance fees are insufficient for knowing whether visitors learn the history lessons intended in a museum exhibit. There are but a handful of studies that have collected museum visitors' testimonies and documented or analyzed the visitors' descriptions of their experience at the museum or the museum's emotional or life-changing

impact. The conversation *in search of history, memory, and change* would be greatly advanced when assessment, evaluation, and data-driven research become an integral part of museum operations.

4 The essays in this collection arguably reveal that it is naïve and unrealistic to conceive of museums for peace as places where exhibits and presentations will inspire and cultivate the realization of cultures of peace in the community, if not the world. Some readers and contributing authors will object to this observation since the "aim to cultivate a culture of peace" continues as a tagline and mission statement for many museums. I argue that museums for peace should not be reduced to sites of advocacy, privileging narratives pre-defined by museum or peace experts, designers, or scholars. Rather museums should be centrally engaged in considering the perennial epistemological, ontological, and curatorial question: What ways of knowledge are of most worth? The question must be free of any mandate or expectation that the answer fit a predetermined meaning of "peace," "peacebuilding," or "museums for peace." Museums should not be about transmitting someone else's conception of the world [not even Gandhi's or King's], but rather it should be an exercise in creating a personally meaningful understanding of the world. Museums should aim to support the visitor in reflecting, dialoguing, and acting to co-curate and co-create one's personal and collective identities and meanings.

5 The multiple, divergent viewpoints in this collection demonstrate the value of "holding space" to allow the witnessing of memories, lived experiences, and meanings made, especially ones that others do not want to hear about. Productive, constructive, and genuinely meaningful discussions and conversations which do not devolve into endless debate, competition, or entanglement, are only possible when empathic listening is practiced, and non-conforming expressions are respected and allowed. It was important that we (the editors) decided to allow separate spaces in this Concluding Voices Chapter for each co-editor to express an individual conclusion, rather than attempt to unify and homogenize a conclusion.

6 The need for greater transparency and articulation of biases, positionality, and assumptions held, has been repeated throughout the essays. The dilemma is that it is not possible to articulate what one is unconscious of. This dilemma applies to individual authors as well as to the mandate for museums to be transparent about their agendas and aims. While authors have attempted to describe their biases and positionalities, perceptive readers will detect many more unacknowledged assumptions and prejudices in the essays. While it may not be possible to correct this in the present published edition, the potentiality for continuing this conversation keeps the door open for the revelation of this unconscious material.

7 With respect to critiques in post-modern paradigms (especially critical theory and inquiry, the decolonizing mindsets paradigm, and the participatory inquiry paradigm), the idea of museums for peace cannot be a matter of privileging a common sense or supposedly rational definition of museums for peace (or

other concepts like peace education and peacebuilding) to be imposed on all efforts to describe and define these concepts. These concepts

> cannot contain the seeds of modern Western hegemony. Neither can it be grounded in utopian idealism. . . . It needs to involve everyone, and it needs to involve risk, humility, solidarity and transformation. It needs to remain open ended, and subject to adaptation to local circumstances, as well as holding on to inclusive and justice-oriented goals.[2]

If we seek to understand museums for peace as a phenomenon, as a culture, or as a movement, we must remain vigilant about the largely unconscious biases of yet "un-decolonized mindsets," which create and reinforce political-economic hierarchies, environment-exploiting "solutions," and oppressive gender, race, and ethnicity-based relations across the globe. The focus on peacebuilding shifts from the need to have the individual and the collective conform and fit in, to the need to provide social norms and ecological conditions that allow all beings, human and non-human, to flourish.[3]

8 The shift in perspective suggests the importance of becoming aware of one's own personal (largely unconscious) imprisonment in the colonized mindset. Our knowledge of what is "peace," what is "peacebuilding" and what are "museums for peace" must go beyond Western/Eurocentric constructions of knowledge, with its capitalistic and colonialist assumptions of superiority, manifest destiny, and idolatry of rationality and empiricism.[4] The work that is needed is to decolonize one's mindset (personally and collectively). Decolonizing the mind means learning and discovering how one excludes, ignores, or dismisses the experiences, knowledge, and perspectives of diverse peoples on the margins of economic and political power, or who represent Indigenous or other non-Western knowledge/wisdom traditions.[5] The effort to decolonize individual and collective mindsets requires openness to new voices, especially of the youth, to help see and name the deep but not-so-visible expressions and effects of the colonized mindset. Noor El-Gazairly, a student-scholar at George Washington University (USA), noticed how cultural heritages were depicted in museums for peace.[6]

> The essays in this collection, . . . as well as my own research, have spurred many questions about the ethics of museum collections and ownership. I notice that the increasing involvement of academic disciplines like archaeology, museology, and ethnology in the design and curation of museums support and defend the *cultural machinery of colonialism*. . . . [At one of the museums,] the disparities I noticed in terms of labor, in terms of education, and in terms of access were rampant and no one seemed to want to edify that within the higher ranks of the museum. I realized they did not want to, because *to fix museums would be contingent on ending museums*.[7]

9 Such a shift in perspective opens the need for museums for peace to place the Earth and its future as a top priority. The survival and continuation of the human

species and civilization require ending the relationship of exploitation and domination over nature and Planet Earth. Enlightenment rationality and the Scientific Revolution's view of nature as a machine "served to sanction and legitimize the domination of nature and, by mutual association, women and many other social classes and groups that were seen to be threatening or peripheral to reason and progress."[8] Peace and peacebuilding are dependent on the resolve and action to undo destructive patterns and restore the health and well-being of the Planet. A modest example of such an effort is the Museums for Future,[9] a global community of museum professionals and cultural workers organizing local efforts to address the contemporary environmental and climate crises. The realization of this priority is a call for museums for peace to make climate justice an integral part of their peacebuilding design pedagogy and curatorial practices.

10 Many museums for peace share the theme of "giving voice to the voiceless" to spotlight narratives of injustice and to bring attention to excluded, oppressed, silenced, or disenfranchised groups. It means allowing a "witness to the inhuman" to be heard and acknowledged. Giorgio Agamben's observation that "human beings are human insofar as they can bear witness to the inhuman"[10] reinforces the practice of sharing oral history narratives and testimonies which recall memories and lived experiences that have been unbearable, unthinkable, and unspeakable. The practice of "bearing witness" unlocks suppressed memories and closeted traumas which have engendered repetitive, fear-driven responses and, yet again, hurtful actions. Unexpressed and unreconciled personal, collective, and generational traumas have made for the walls of resistance against facing and dealing with the memories, and against considering fresh and creative ideas that would break through dysfunctional patterns. Bearing witness and allowing spaces to do so serve as social healing remedies for cyclical collective traumas. It is also important to similarly hold spaces for participants in the "museums for peace" conversations to speak their difficult-to-express or hard-to-listen-to perspectives and observations.

11 Collectively, the narratives in this volume are affirmations of museums for peace, past, present, and emerging. They affirm the multiple potential opportunities to imagine and co-imagine and to construct and co-construct present and future identities and realities for museums as well as for Humankind and the Planet. In 1947, at The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum still under construction, two years after the dropping of the atomic bomb there, Mayor Shinzo Hamai delivered Hiroshima's first Declaration of Peace, in which he announced, "From now on, we are commemorating that day [August 6] by solemnly inaugurating a festival of peace, despite the limitless sorrow in our minds."[11] Like the annual memorial service at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum, this collection of essays may be construed as a *festival of peace, despite limitless sorrow*.

It is fitting that this collection of essays coincides with the 30th anniversary (1992–2022) of the founding of the International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP), whose members have been dedicated to the movement to make museums

a significant instrument of peace and peacebuilding in this generation and beyond. With most of the contributing authors writing from their long-time association with INMP, the essays have documented some of the legacies and lessons learned from their association and collaborations with the museums and individuals across the Network. These legacies and learnings need not and should not be enshrined. May they serve instead, as inspirational touchstones for the continuing conversation *in search of history, memory, and change*, not only for museums for peace but also for voice and meaning in our lives as well.

Editor's Perspective: Clive Barrett

Vision

As someone who tries to be a reflective practitioner, sharing with my fellow trustees oversight of The Peace Museum, Bradford, my principal focus is on the subset of museums for peace that are peace museums. Peace in all its dimensions – including international law, war resistance, and reconciliation – is the principal component of those museums. Some peace museums, for example, in Gernika and Tehran (see Figure 10.1), recall events of historical violence (fascist bombing in 1937 and

Figure 10.1 Exhibitions on Henri Dunant (founder of what became the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies) and Mahatma Gandhi at Tehran Peace Museum.

Source: Photograph by Mohammad Reza Taghipour Moghdam, Executive Manager, Tehran Peace Museum. Used with permission.

Iraq's use of chemical weapons in 1988), but the interpretation of that violence and the content of the rest of the museum transform that violent basis into a springboard for peace.

It is not only, to use the oft-quoted dictum of 1960's guru Marshall McLuhan, that the medium is the message. The nature of a museum's content also shapes the nature of learning and change in the museum's visitors. There is much sense in the Gandhian proposition that peace is the way to peace. Chapter 5 in this volume indicates which museums for peace are increasing awareness of Gandhi's life and work. In museum terms, peace museums, telling the stories of peace and peacemakers, not only give their visitors the realization that human beings are capable of horrific acts and that war is always awful but, more importantly, they inspire visitors to reject war, to build bridges and to be part of a future of hope. This is why Chapter 4 in this volume is so uplifting, with its post-colonial stories of African sites and artifacts of community reconciliation. Chapter 3 indicates where museums for peace have been pioneers in cross-border reconciliation in East Asia.

The need to understand and overcome violence is not limited to the past. A challenge for many museums for peace, as agents of public education, is to consider how to address and engage with the complexities surrounding the current war in Ukraine, from Russian imperialism and courageous Russian opponents of the war, to generosity toward refugees, to the risks of escalation even to the possible use of nuclear weapons, to the vested interests of an arms industry benefiting from a long war, to those whose eyes and voices are looking for and calling for ways to save lives and to end the war. In a context of increasing polarization between and within nations, the need for alternative perspectives for peace is for the future as much as the past.

Vulnerability and Power

All museums face challenges of financial viability, with some having greater access to resources than others. Some of the most important peace collections, such as the Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, housed in a community facility in Italy, are run by small voluntary operations and merit a far more secure future than that suggests. All peace museums have had to face the challenge of the COVID-19 pandemic, with societal lockdowns, restrictions on movement, and reduced numbers of visitors. This has added to the pressures of financial viability as well as, for three key museums – at Kyoto, Dayton, and Bradford – providing an opportunity for rethinking, redesigning, and planning for the future.

Issues of future viability and vulnerability are inseparable from issues of answerability. To whom are peace museums accountable? Where does power lie? The answers are varied and sometimes complex.

Kyoto Museum of World Peace is part of Ritsumeikan University; it requires university funding for its staff and premises. Like other university buildings of the same era, the museum building was due for renovation when the pandemic struck. The renovation has gone ahead, though the upgrading of the museum, 30 years on from its inauguration in 1992, was primarily funded by the residual largesse of its

founding philanthropist, Nobuo Nakano. The previous permanent exhibition was divided between two spaces on two floors, and visitors felt that the exhibitions were separate enterprises. Most of the main ground floor exhibition concerned the history of Japanese aggression in the 15-Year War, whereas the small upper exhibition focused on peace. The redesign provides opportunities for several practical improvements. There is better storage provision. In the main exhibition, the historical timeframe extends to include the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), giving a context to twentieth-century Japanese imperialism (see Chapter 8 in this volume). For the first time, the two previously separated spaces come together on the ground floor, albeit over a slightly smaller total area. One challenge for the museum has been to seamlessly merge the section devised by historians with the section devised by peace studies scholars, which principally focuses on international peace institutions and peace heroes such as Tetsu Nakamura, medical relief worker, and founder of Peace (Japan) Medical Services with its development agency off-shoot, Peshawar-kai, who was killed in Afghanistan in 2019.[12]

Museums are not immune from the internal power struggles, gender bias, and even bullying, seen throughout their wider society. It can sometimes be a challenge for a peace museum to model in itself the values it strives to promote.

One museum that has succeeded, at least until now, in modeling democratic values is Gernika Peace Museum. Through the dynamic and inclusive leadership of Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, the Gernika Peace Museum has become a leading player in various national and international networks of memory, peace, and justice, not least the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, the International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes (ICOM ICMemo) and the INMP. The historical event at its core is the fascist bombing of Gernika, given permanent international memory through Picasso's attribution of his "Guernica" painting. Momoitio Astorkia has transformed what could be a stale memory to create a lively exploration of historical peacemakers and contemporary peace-making. Both the gallery and a successful education program make the past relevant and give visitors and students alike the resources to become active for peace today. The challenge for Gernika Peace Museum is that its trustees consist of local and regional politicians, and their appointees, who from time to time may have a narrower, more parochialized vision, limited to telling the single story of the Gernika bombing and keeping that story in the 1930s, without the future intent of being "for peace." There is pressure to draw back from those international contacts at which the Gernika Museum has excelled, and even an exhibition on the violence and aftermath of regional ETA terrorism has been withdrawn. The museum is likely to have an overhaul in the near future; it is to be hoped that it can maintain its position as the dynamic archetype for peace museums.

The International Peace Museum at Dayton, Ohio (see Figure 10.2), is the museum which has navigated the pandemic most successfully. The Director, Kevin Kelly, received the enthusiastic backing of the founders, past and current trustees, and other supporters for an ambitious relocation and relaunch of the museum. Regular group meetings explored and developed proposals and the involvement of a

Figure 10.2 The International Peace Museum, Dayton, Ohio, USA.

Source: The International Peace Museum. Used with permission.

wide range of supporters ensured broad community "ownership" for the move. Using resources from the sale of the original building (thereby accessing the founders' original investment), in quiet suburban Dayton, the museum has rented and fitted out a property in a stunning downtown location, on a pedestrianized square opposite the city's historic courthouse. The potential of the new location was evident late in 2022 when a civic event – switching on the lights of the city's Christmas tree – drew 10,000 passers-by into the square outside the museum. Skillful marketing, aimed particularly at children, attracted 1,200 of those to the peace museum building. They were handed cards with details of the museum, leading to a subsequent increase in the museum's social media activity, and the likelihood of an increase in numbers visiting future exhibitions.

The Dayton International Peace Museum invites its visitors to "Learn the past. Change the future," and to "Celebrate the actions of past and present peace activists."[13] To keep the museum fresh, exhibitions change several times a year. Early exhibitions in the new premises included rarely seen original photographs of Martin Luther King and a focus on Bahai'i culture (banned in Iran). In future, it is likely to regularly display items from a large anti-war art collection by the artist J. Kadir Cannon, which it has recently acquired.

Art and Change

The arts in general, and visual art in particular, are important media for exploring and conveying concepts of peace. From engravings on ancient metal coinage, to the paper posters at Bologna, and the fabric arpilleras of Roberta Bacic or

the protest banner collection of Bradford, whatever the "canvas," it can be used for designs that communicate peace. All peace museums use art as a means of communication.

> Art obtains a more precise form or expression when its motivation is clear. If it is motivated by peace, the purpose of art will be the creation of new meanings, narratives, representations, devices, symbolic spaces and subjectivities related to peace.
>
> (Alex Carrascosa, 2021)[14]

There has long been a close alliance between the Gernika Peace Museum and Gernika Gogoratuz, an academic peace research center operating nearby (see Figure 10.3). They are natural partners in building a culture of peace, especially as Art and Peace is one of the principal themes of Gernika Gogoratuz. The Gernika institutions have been pioneers of peace "artivism" for change. For many years, they were associated with the humanist artist, William Kelly. The relationship continues and in 2022 his peace documentary was shown in Gernika, *Can Art Stop a Bullet? William Kelly's Big Picture*.

And so to Bradford. Like the INMP, The Peace Museum emerged out of the first conference of peace museums at Bradford in 1992, organized by peace history lecturer Peter van den Dungen and the Quaker charity, Give Peace a Chance

Figure 10.3 *Plaza of Fire and Light*, an art installation by William Kelly at Gernika Peace Museum, 2005.

Source: Photograph courtesy of Gernika Peace Museum. Used with permission.

Trust, whose secretary was Gerald Drewett.[15] I attended that conference and was part of the group which subsequently founded The Peace Museum, chairing the initial Steering Committee. The first exhibitions were art-centered: *Art in the History of the Peace Movement in the 20th century*, a joint production with and at the Royal Armouries, Leeds; and a portrait exhibition of international peacemakers from the 1930s alongside contemporary Bradford peace stories, a good example of the maxim, "think global, act local." The Museum moved into city center premises in 1997, developing its own gallery while continuing to look for external opportunities, including a small permanent exhibition within The Royal Armouries. A 2018 temporary exhibition on *The Etiquette of the Arms Trade* displayed drawings made by Jill Gibbon, an artist who had infiltrated a number of arms fairs.[16]

As this book goes to press, the staff and trustees of The Peace Museum are preparing for a move to Salts Mill, Saltaire. The museum's collection is moving to a space in the mill, as a precursor to a new public gallery opening there in 2024, in time for the high level of media attention and publicity that will accompany Bradford's status as UK City of Culture in 2025. Saltaire Village, now a suburb of Bradford, is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. A wealthy nineteenth-century worsted manufacturer, Titus Salt, built a huge mill complex beside the River Aire and the Leeds-Liverpool canal. He also built an entire settlement around the mill, with distinctive workers' housing, community education facilities, a church, and recreational parkland. He wanted improved conditions for his workers, while retaining the oversight of a paternalistic employer. Today, the mill building houses an enormous arts complex, attracting 500,000 visitors a year, with several galleries majoring in the work of Bradford-born artist, David Hockney. A new, much-expanded operation at this site will enable The Peace Museum to reach many tens of thousands of visitors each year. The museum will not be preaching to the converted, informing only those people who are already committed to peace; instead, it will be engaging a general public with perhaps their first insight into peace history and peacemakers, inspiring the previously uncommitted to learn more and to become active for peace themselves.

The visual arts will play a large part in that. The oldest image in the collection of The Peace Museum is from Roman coinage depicting the goddess Pax and inscribed "Pax Aug" – reflecting both the innate human longing for peace and that today, as with Pax Augusta, it is often violence far away that sustains what can look like peace nearby. There is artwork relating to World War I conscientious objectors, and culturally transforming art from throughout the anti-nuclear era. Through partnership with the neighboring Commonweal Collection, The Peace Museum has access to Gerald Holtom's original drawings of what was originally a Nuclear Disarmament symbol, but which outside the UK has become a global peace icon. The Museum also holds anti-nuclear designs made by the young David Hockney and his father. The unique and inspirational fabric collection – mainly banners, but also some tapestries – includes a remarkable series of highly aesthetic banners by Thalia Campbell, many used by women in anti-nuclear weapons protests at

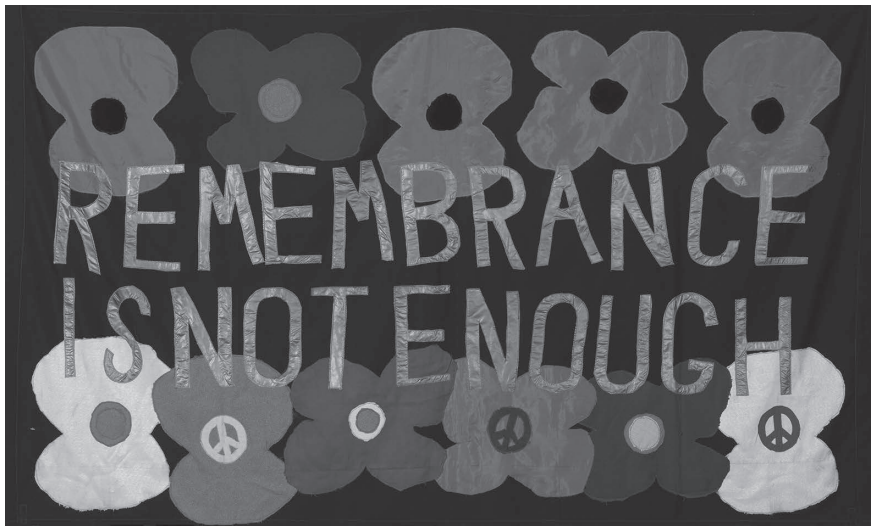

Figure 10.4 Protest banner: *Remembrance is not enough*. Thalia Campbell Designs.
Source: Courtesy of The Peace Museum, Bradford, UK.

Greenham Common in the 1980s (see Figure 10.4). Charlotte Houlahan, curator at Bradford, reports that,

> The banners range from beautiful, detailed artist designed works to home-made ones, made with whatever materials were available in a moment's notice. What is amazing about a lot of our banners is that they are not just artwork, they are a part of history, used in peaceful protests and demonstrations. They also come in various sizes from small handkerchiefs to huge patchwork banners that are longer than the museum galleries.
>
> Banners are a visual tool which enable people to tell their stories and stand up for their beliefs, they can be carried, attached to fences, or put on display. A lot of the banners in our collection let the images and designs on the banner speak for their cause.[17]

Museums for peace are often counter-cultural within their own society, keeping alive memories that the dominant culture would rather cast aside, be that of Japanese imperialism (Chapter 8), racist structural violence (Chapter 9), or sexual slavery (Chapter 7). The Peace Museum in Bradford is unusual even among peace museums in the extent to which it embraces protest. It is, though, more than a protest museum – including *inter alia* key original texts on the philosophy of international law and international peace institutions, such as first editions of Grotius, Saint Pierre, and Kant from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – but it explicitly and deliberately encourages critical and active civil society, with campaign

materials from the early nineteenth century, through World War I conscientious objectors, to the present day. The museum is careful not to be a campaigning organization itself – UK charity law prevents that – but it does tell the stories of campaigning people and is seen as supportive by organizations campaigning for peace today, including those focused on anti-war protests, anti-weapons protest, and opposition to structural violence. During the pandemic, the Peace Museum not only narrated stories from the Black Lives Matter movement but also prioritized the training of staff and trustees in diversity and equality, recognizing that museums for peace need to reflect in their own structures and internal attitudes the human rights and inclusive practices that are central to the peace they promote. These values are a vital part of the Museum's education program in schools, which continues apace even while the gallery is in transition.

Peace museums are at a time of change and transition. Depending on local circumstances, they are either resisting forces of reaction or pioneering new approaches to peace education and awareness. They hold the stories of peacemakers and peace movements and those who have resisted war and imperialism. They are beacons of hope in a fractured world. They, and the wider museums for the peace movement in which they play a key part, deserve to be more widely known, studied, and emulated. In advocating an academic discipline of critical peace museology, this volume contributes to increased awareness and understanding of how museums for peace engage in the search for history, memory, and change.

Editor's Perspective: Joyce Apsel

This volume highlights how Museums for Peace are a small, but significant, eclectic group of cultural institutions. Some represent diverse, entangled histories and cultures of the human capacity toward fostering cultures of nonviolence, peace, justice, cooperation, and reconciliation; others depict the human capacity for destructiveness and its ongoing effects. Human rights and wrongs are inextricably linked. And, ideally, museums for peace offer exhibits to a range of activities that provide a setting to explore, reflect upon and bear witness to complicated, often disturbing events and their meanings. The processes of education, from the Latin *educare*, to lead out, are central to sites and their exhibits and combine history telling and memory making. These concluding comments include sections on Museums at Risk and Museums for Peace Matter, and Critical Museums for Peace Studies.

Museums at Risk and Museums for Peace Matter

As this conclusion is being written, a sobering reminder of the ongoing, political challenges facing museums and their institutional fragility is reflected in the closing during the first week of April 2023 by the Mayor of the municipality of Miraflores, a district of Lima, Peru, of the *Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion*, (*Lugar de le Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusion Social*, known by LUM, its Spanish acronym). "It was supposed to be a museum of memories; a

Figure 10.5 *La Memoria No Olvida* (Memory Does Not Forget). Protests in front of the Municipality Building in Miraflores District of Lima, Peru, after the closing of the Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion, April 2023.[18]

Source: Photograph by Carlos Garcia Granthon, used with permission.

place of dialogue and reconciliation where Peruvians could commemorate victims of a brutal internecine conflict"[19] during the 1980s and 1990s. LUM is the only national museum in the country dedicated to these events and is under the Ministry of Culture.

The museum was inaugurated December 17, 2015, and focused on a series of internal armed conflicts that killed an estimated 70,000 people during the violence between the Peruvian state and the Maoist insurgent group, the Shining Path, as well as ongoing violence throughout the 1990s under Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian regime. Controversy about the site had been ongoing, including whether the museum should exist at all. Hence, the project was on and off again several times including the Peruvian government's initial rejection of Germany's offer of a major donation to build a memorial museum and changes in leadership, staff, and exhibits including content about who is and who is not a victim to a multivocal narrative about events.[20]

LUM reflects the challenges of representing the bloodiest violence in Peru's modern era, along with histories of economic and racial disparities, the ongoing effects of colonialism, and embedded social hierarchies within Peruvian society. The Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Report,[21] included a "call for symbolic representations for victims" including memory sites as part of the transitional justice goals of working toward democracy and justice; this recommendation has been included in a number of TRC reports in Central and South America and other parts

of the world. Peru, like most "post-conflict" societies, struggles with the aftereffects of earlier violence, and many of the structural inequities that contributed to the heightened violence in the first place continue today.

Debates about which narratives to use and how to represent these violent histories were and are ongoing: including politics and contention by different Peruvian governments and political parties, LUM organizing committee members, victims of the violence and their families, military and police who see themselves as victims of violence, and various civil society actors. An original goal was inclusion: representing the voices of "All of the victims" as part of the rationale for its existence – a "museum as mediator." Despite the consultation process with various constituencies, in the end, "the management of their perspectives, it seemed was best left to experts." This dynamic has been referred to as "inclusion and dismissal."[22]

LUM's goal is to serve as a space of memory, debate, and reconciliation, a gathering point, but it has continued to be a political lightning rod criticized by different sectors of society, governments, and political parties. In recent years, state suppression and conservative support have increased in the country. Lima's mayor, Rafael Lopez Aliaga, founder of the ultra-right National Renovation Party (NRP), a member of the Catholic conservative group Opus Dei, and a former Presidential candidate, has attacked LUM since its opening calling it "an offence to the nation" that promotes a "false narrative" about past violence.[23] Lopez Aliago and his supporters "have vehemently denied the mass killings committed by both the Peruvian military and the Maoist guerilla group Shining Path."[24] Carlos Canales, the mayor of the municipality of Miraflores, and a supporter of Lopez Aliaga and his party, closed LUM suddenly under the pretext that it violated safety standards. Immediately, protestors holding banners such as "LA MEMORIA no ovieda" and "ESTA CLAUSURA es un Censura" opposed the closing, and social media and letters of protest by Amnesty International and other groups have been sent to the government. As of this writing over 2 months later, the Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion remains closed.

This arbitrary closing highlights the crucial role cultural places including sites of atrocity, memory, conscience, and museums for peace broadly have to play in speaking truth to power. And, given the enormous political pressure and controversies, LUM's history is both a cautionary tale on the misuse of power and its long reach as well as how such sites serve an enormously important civic and educational role and are places of resistance to silence, distortion, and denial.

LUM is the most recent example of how a number of museums for peace have been censored or shut down by conservative and ultranationalist governments, parties, and protest groups. For example, in Japan the Osaka Human Rights Museum (popularly referred to as Liberty Osaka) was founded in 1985, to preserve" material related to discrimination against social outcasts" documenting the history of the *Buraku* people historically discriminated against, and various marginalized groups including Koreans, Okinawans, and women, "and promoting consciousness of human rights among the public by publicizing people's struggles against discrimination."[25] By one estimate, the Osaka Human Rights Museum had around one million visitors before its renovation in 2005, and over "351,000 were elementary, junior high school, high school and college students."[26] Museum exhibits over the years

covered a range of subjects excluded from official histories and school textbooks such as information on Japanese colonialism and wartime violence and the range of human rights violations against groups in Japan. For example, the exhibit "Room of Testimonies" included around 40 video interviews where visitors were able to see and hear the oral histories of "individuals involved in the fight against and/or who have experience with social discrimination from religious affiliation, refugee status, sexual diversity, labour conditions and physical ability."[27] A combination of criticism of the museum's content from national to local political conservative groups, followed by local elections of right-wing politicians resulted in the new Mayor Toru Hashimoto and other officials withdrawing support in 2012 (the museum was originally given rent-free use of the land owned by the municipality and following the elections that support and other funding was withdrawn; lengthy litigation with the City of Osaka for back rent also took place). City and prefecture officials, and their conservative, nationalist supporters through harassment, funding cuts, and other strategies forced the closure of the Osaka Human Rights Museum by June 1, 2020, and as of 2023, it has not reopened at a new location as hoped for.[28]

A number of small- and medium-sized museums for peace, particularly in Japan where the largest number by far exist, were founded in the post-World War II era and continued over decades largely through the work and dedication of volunteers and other staff from the community, and many experienced living during wartime. As that generation has aged and individuals are passing away, a number of museums face dilemmas of finding people to continue their work, preserve artifacts, and document histories. Some simultaneously face the challenges of funding and resistance to what has been described as "nationalist assaults on local peace museums" that include pressure to change "from a progressive to a conservative museum."[29]

Clearly, museums for peace and other sites which offer alternative narratives writing in silenced or erased past and ongoing histories continue to be vulnerable to political changes, pressure, and censor. In the last years, the viability of cultural sites has been further challenged during the Covid era by closures and loss of support from visitors, public subsidies and other income sources, and the proliferation of social media and other technology as the choice for information and viewing images. For example, Humanity House in The Hague was forced to close after 10 years in 2020. This site was a remarkable space where visitors experienced "themes around peace and conflict" through exhibits and conversations about "what it means to flee and be displaced."[30] Once museums close because of funding and/or politics or both, they rarely re-open. Hence, it is crucial to document these museums' history and activities from exhibits to education; a number of them record "forgotten histories" and it would be tragic to have those histories buried once again. Also, like other cultural institutions, museums for peace face challenges in how to develop more effective strategies to find donors and engage people as volunteer docents, archivists, and other workers.

Some museums for peace during and after the pandemic explored how to reconnect with the public including engaging with new audiences and adding more digitization and new directions from hip-hop contests to trying to become a more diverse site in terms of staff, exhibits, and audiences. And, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, for several museums for peace, this was an opportunity to renovate their

exhibits. From video workshops to inviting artists to exhibit their work, museums for peace individually or as a group such as the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace or International Network of Museums for Peace face challenges but also opportunities to re-think their potential and goals. Divisive politics, exclusive nationalism, racism, and narrow patriotism continue worldwide in democracies as well as autocracies. And, the majority of museums for peace serve as much-needed sites raising awareness about inclusivity, peace, and peacebuilding; challenging sanitized public histories; and/or depicting the human toll of discrimination and violence.

Critical Museums for Peace Studies

Museums for peace can and do make a difference in people's lives and hopefully will continue to do so. Hence, I argue in this section for a *critical museums for peace studies* that deepens theory, methodology, and its application to particular sites and museums for peace more broadly. This also opens up the potential for further dialogues with other types of cultural institutions and their audiences. Such "critical studies" exist in many areas of inquiry, part of the modern and postmodern analysis of re-viewing and re-thinking foundational and other writings, viewpoints, and praxis. Most museums for peace have produced literature, which is predominantly descriptive, non-critical, and self-promoting. This is a reaction in part to the political and marginal positions the majority of museums for peace find themselves in. Funding is often limited, and even private sites are under constraints from state laws and pressure from opposition groups and hostile governments as discussed earlier in this essay. A number of museums for peace do not support state hegemonic narratives of just wars but emphasize various peace and peace-related themes, including nonviolence, disarmament, and anti-militarization broadly. When possible, given the demands of keeping museums going, incorporating perspectives from critical museums for peace studies – including aspects from museum, memory, and trauma studies – and taking time for a more self-reflective approach has the potential to re-invigorate museums and serve as guidelines for exhibits, renovations, and establishing future museums for peace.

Following are a series of ideas about critical museums for peace studies.

1 The *continuum of peace* and *quality peace*. At the center of deconstructing museums for peace is exploring more deeply the layers and different ways peace and peacefulness are represented visually and in descriptions. Classic approaches are of positive and negative peace and that peace is more than the absence of war. One critical approach is moving away from either/or models and binaries (war or peace) and introducing more complicated themes such as the "continuum of peace" emphasizing ongoing processes, and how violence and its repercussions continue after the cessation of overt hostilities. "Peace quality" examines what the quality of the society is during negotiations and armistice and when the heightened violence subsides. Are the structural inequities or other factors that led to heightened violence still there?[31]
2 *Emancipatory peacebuilding*: There is a growing literature in peace and conflict studies and other fields about the limitations of what is described as the

neo-liberal peacebuilding project and how it is in crisis.[32] Criticisms include advocating for liberal market democracies which do not take account of the needs and capacities of local populations. "Emancipatory peacebuilding" argues for a broadening of the process rather than a narrow top-down state-building allowing more agency to local people, and more room, for traditional decision and peace-making processes. Hence, emancipatory peacebuilding offers a more critical approach and suggestions for new analysis giving more agency to people living in the affected parts of the world.

3 *Expanding cultures of peace* links to a range of issues. How can museums for peace broaden their purview as they work to create cultures of peace? One approach is to introduce critical analysis of themes from nonviolent revolutions to linking with human rights and humanitarian issues and environmentalism. Another is outreach through the exchange of exhibits, artifacts, and meetings with different types of museums.

4 *Exhibiting violence and asking whose stories/lives count*? Incorporating perspectives from museum, memory, and trauma studies and taking time for a more self-reflective, analytic approach has the potential to help re-think exhibits and serve as guidelines for renovations and establishing future museums for peace. A number of museums for peace were initiated/and or supported by individuals, groups, and some by governments who wanted to memorialize particular events, a number of them traumatic, that they lived through. As sites of history and memorialization, they provide a space for remembering, of resistance to forgetting, and denial. But, over time, the story and exhibits became almost sacralized, memorialized as the truth – recollections, testimonies, narratives of what occurred. Part of more critical museums for peace is to document but also re-examine how and the way such stories developed and artifacts were collected. For example, close to 80 years after the end of World War II, what cultural and political factors influenced whose stories were told and whose were not? How to make space – physical, emotional, intellectual for new histories, artifacts and perspectives? This is a difficult process, but long overdue at a number of sites.

5 *Re-thinking education and goals*. Education is central to museums for peace and designing more participatory pedagogy is crucial in teaching about violent histories and issues of social justice, development, peaceableness, and related subjects. The stated goals of museums for peace are often utopian. Many sites claim they are educating to prevent such violent events from ever happening again; this prevention trope "never again" is widespread in general among memorial, atrocity, and other sites as well. Critical museums for peace studies offer an opportunity to re-evaluate such claims in the face of the recurrence of violence. Passing on the history to the next generations is also a theme. But which and whose history is being passed on needs to be evaluated and adding additional voices and acknowledging biases where needed.

Finally, new content and methods in exhibits have the potential to engage visitors such as humanitarian projects to working toward a greener world. These projects are in keeping with broader trends of museums as centers of social activism

and reflect the possibility and hope to make an individual's life, the community, and the world a better, less violent and more peaceable place, step by step.

***

The book has been and will continue to serve as a catalyst for further reflection and dialogue. May the reflections – the critical and creative inquiry from readers and other audiences – continue to enrich and propel the conversation and journey into *Museums for peace: In search of history, memory, and change*.

Notes

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18 The phrases "Memory does not forget" and "Memory must not be forgotten" have appeared in Spanish as well as indigenous languages written on banners and signs across Latin American countries and in Spain in the aftermath of the Franco dictatorship to record and remember the crimes – killings, torture, sexual violence and disappearances among others – carried out against individuals and groups under a series of authoritarian governments and by extremist groups. The growth of memorials and memory museums has been one way to remember and record these violent histories often in the face of ongoing state denial. The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, a worldwide network of sites and organizations includes a significant number of memorials, museums, and other initiatives in Latin America, and is "dedicated to transforming places that preserve the past into spaces that promote civic action," International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, Accessed May 15, 2023, www.sitesofconscience.org
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20 For a detailed history and analysis of the museum, including the use of the framework of memory, see Joseph P. Feldman, *Memories before the State: Postwar Peru and the Place of Memory, Tolerance and Social Inclusion* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2021).
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Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* indicate a figure or table on the corresponding page.