ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN MUSEUM STUDIES



INTRODUCING PEACE MUSEUMS

JOYCE APSEL



Introducing Peace Museums

This volume examines peace museums, a small and important but often overlooked series of museums whose numbers have multiplied world-wide in recent decades. They relate stories and display artifacts—banners, diaries, and posters, for example, about such themes as: art and peace, antiwar histories, protest, peacekeeping and social justice and promote cultures of peace. This book introduces their different approaches from Japan, which has the largest number of sites, to Bradford, UK and Guernica, Spain. Some peace museums and centers emphasize popular peace symbols and figures, others provide alternative narratives about conscientious objection or civil disobedience, and still others are sites of persuasion, challenging the status quo about issues of war, peace, disarmament, and related issues.

Introducing Peace Museums distinguishes between different types of museums that are linked to peace in name, theme or purpose and discusses the debates which surround peace museums versus museums for peace. This book is the first of its kind to critically evaluate the exhibits and activities of this group of museums, and to consider the need for a "critical peace museum studies" which analyses their varied emphasis and content. This welcome introduction to peace museums considers the challenges and opportunities faced by these institutions now and in the future.

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Contents

	List of Plates	V111
	List of Figures	ix
	Acknowledgments	X
	Abbreviations	xii
1	Introducing Peace Museums: Peace Matters	1
2	The Peace Museum in Bradford, UK: Fostering Peace Education and Community Cohesion While	
	Preserving Peace Art and History	35
3	Kyoto Museum for World Peace: Speaking Truth	
	to Power—A University Peace Museum	67
4	Gernika Peace Museum: Creating a Culture of Peace	
	and Reconciliation	108
5	Dayton International Peace Museum:	
,	A Community Model	139
6	The Nahel Boses Center Oale and Case per la	
O	The Nobel Peace Center, Oslo, and Casa per la Pace La Filanda, Casalecchio di Reno: Individuals	
	and Movements for Peace and Pacifism	168
7	Conclusion: Peace Museums Looking Forward	192
	Selected Bibliography	200
	Index	209

Plates

- 1 Peace Palace (Vredespaleis), The Hague. Credit: Carnegie-Stichting/The Peace Palace
- War and Peace Exhibit, Visitors' Center, Peace Palace, The Hague. Credit: Carnegie-Stichting/The Peace Palace
- 3 "Remembrance Is Not Enough," banner by Thalia Campbell, 1981, the Peace Museum, Bradford
- 4 *Visible Voices: The Art of Women's Protest*, temporary exhibit at the Pop Up Art space, 2011, the Peace Museum, Bradford
- 5 Artifacts belonging to art students killed during World War II, in the Silent Museum, Kyoto Museum for World Peace
- 6 Permanent exhibit on the Asia-Pacific War, Kyoto Museum for World Peace
- 7 Living Art Project, *Plaza of Fire and Light*, Gernika Peace Museum
- 8 Picasso's *Guernica* in 3-D, permanent exhibit, Gernika Peace Museum
- 9 Children's Room, Dayton International Peace Museum
- 10 The Peace Corps Experience: 54 Years of Global Service, temporary exhibit, Dayton International Peace Museum
- 11 Nobel Field, permanent exhibit, Nobel Peace Center, Oslo
- 12 Nobel Peace Prize Laureates 2014, Nobel Peace Center, Oslo
- 13 Poster: "Eleventh National Congress of the League of Conscientious Objection," Casa per la Pace La Filanda
- 14 Poster: "Mass Occupation: Everyone to Comiso," Casa per la Pace La Filanda
- 15 "We Are Running Out of Poppies" Workshop, Emily Johns Peace Wreath, the Peace Museum, Bradford
- 16 Interactive Exhibit about Radiation Levels in Japan, Kyoto Museum for World Peace

Figures

1.1	International Museum of War and Peace at Bahnhof,	
	Lucerne, original interior c. 1903	16
1.2	International Museum of War and Peace, Peace Room in	
	new building at Musegstrasse, 1910	17
1.3	Interior of the Peace Palace, The Hague	19
2.1	Opening panel, Peace Not Prejudice exhibit,	
	the Peace Museum, Bradford	45
2.2	At the Peace Tree, the Peace Museum, Bradford	47
2.3	International peace symbol based on Gerald Holtom's	
	design for the UK CND	50
3.1	Textbook display: history textbooks about World War II from	
	Japan and other countries, Kyoto Museum for World Peace	92
3.2	Student docent teaching about structural violence and working	
	toward global equity, Kyoto Museum for World Peace	96
3.3	Professor Anzai sampling soil in the vicinity of the	
	Fukushima nuclear power plant in 2011	101
3.4	Professor Anzai and other volunteers removing surface soil	
	at a kindergarten in Fukushima City	101
4.1	Bakea Paz: opening panels of permanent exhibit,	
	Gernika Peace Museum	117
4.2	Tibetan monk at the traditional tree of Guernica,	
	Gernika Peace Museum	118
4.3	Artifacts and documents on the bombing of Guernica,	
	permanent exhibit, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation	123
4.4	Memorial to victims of the 1937 bombing of Guernica.	
	Gernika Peace Museum Foundation	127
5.1	Children learning about Peace, PeaceMobile, Dayton	
	International Peace Museum	140
5.2	"What does a more peaceful world look like?" Dayton	
	International Peace Museum	163

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Abbreviations

CDMPI Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista

Internazionale (International Pacifist Documentation Center)

CND Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

CO conscientious objector

DIPM Dayton International Peace Museum

ETA Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Country and Freedom)

ICSC International Coalition of Sites of Conscience INMP International Network of Museums for Peace

NGO nongovernmental organization SDF Self-Defense Forces (Japan)

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

WRI War Resisters' International

1 Introducing Peace Museums

Peace Matters

This volume introduces peace museums as a distinct group of museums whose content and activities focus on cultures and histories of peace, and include antiwar and antiviolence messages. Peace museums are the repositories of the material culture of peace, including art, banners, and petitions, as well as of antiwar and social justice movements fostering nonviolence, disarmament, and conflict resolution. Hence, they bring to light complicated and largely unknown or ignored peace histories. Such histories appear in various forms, spaces, and times, and peace museums have a significant role to play as recorders and exhibitors of peace cultures and narratives.

Peace museums come in different shapes and sizes, but all share a purpose: promoting understanding peace as an ongoing, significant part of human history. While exhibits may be taken up with the suffering and destruction of war, peace museums in this book are more than such classic antiwar sites; they display peace cultures and movements, including artistic work, nonviolent actions, and reconciliation ceremonies. In a number of respects, the range and types of exhibits mirror what one finds in history museums: living history formats, artifacts on display, interactive media, traveling exhibits, and so on.

Clearly, war and military museums predominate in every country in the world and often are supported through government funds. Local, state, and national history museums rely on various sources of government funding, or on a mixture of public and private support, and, therefore, enjoy some stability and continuity (although we are all aware that cultural institutions are among the first to be cut back during times of fiscal austerity). In contrast, peace museums are generally private and face an ongoing struggle to keep afloat fiscally. After all, peace is political, and peace museums challenge popular and government "just-war" narratives.

Interestingly, while museum literature and museum degree programs have multiplied since the 1980s, relatively little has been written or studied about peace museums. In fact, the very existence of peace museums as a distinct category of museum is largely overlooked. Perhaps even more surprisingly, this is also the case with regard to writings within peace studies, with a few notable exceptions: conference materials and edited volumes by

2 Introducing Peace Museums

the International Network of Museums for Peace, entries in several editions of peace encyclopedias, and a small number of peace historians, educators, and activists, particularly in Japan, which is the site of the majority of peace museums worldwide. Why is this? In part, peace studies have been subsumed within programs that focus on conflict, violence, war, security, genocide, and development studies. For example, a number of peace studies programs are now part of peace and conflict studies, international relations, or security studies divisions, in which the emphasis is on studying human violence and destructiveness. Furthermore, peace museums have been overlooked in the enormous growth in both number and size of atrocity and war sites, memorials, and museums. Museums that focus on tolerance, human rights and civil rights, humanitarianism, and other peace-related subjects rarely identify themselves as peace museums.

Different "categories" of museums overlap; and museums as institutions, and even more frequently through new exhibits, may shift direction and emphasis. This is sometimes to meet audience interests and other times in response to funding, political pressures, and the evolving expertise and interest of curators and directors. This volume describes a group of museums that specifically *identify* as peace museums. They are distinguished not only by their continuing to display the human cost of war and other violence but also by their desire to promote cultures of peace through art, dialogue, protest, reconciliation, and other means.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PEACE AND WAR IN MUSEUMS

Historian Jay Winter argues in *Museums and the Representation of War* that war belongs in "museum[s] because they have a semi-sacred aura. They are the repositories of the stories we tell ourselves about who we are and how we have come to be who and where we are." Hence, war museums "were intended to be tributes to the men and women who endured the tests of war. They have little room for recording the history of anti-war movements, and in their presentation of weapons and battlefield scenes, they do tend to sanitize war." Certainly military, war, armaments, and many national museums worldwide display war-related weapons of all types and sizes (from spears to tanks to bombs), military uniforms, medals, and replications of battle scenes, and they narrate stories about "necessary" and "just" wars. Exhibits describing "great patriotic wars," "framing the military-nation," and depicting national heroism often contribute to public fascination with violence and the thrill of war.

It may seem contradictory that peace museums, too, exhibit war. However, there is a stark contrast between peace museums and war museums in their approach to the war narrative. A starting assumption of peace museums is not to exhibit war and its weaponry in a positive and simple light, but rather to illuminate the complexities of war by including the short- and long-term

causes, what considerations went into the decision to go to war, and the after-effects of the conflict. Indeed, many peace museums are spaces that counter the romantic depiction of war by conveying "the neglected realities of daily life in wartime, such as diet, clothing, housing, and work routines," and "hardships suffered by ordinary people and soldiers under the constant threat of war." Ather than sanitize and cordon off the effects of violence during conflicts, peace museums emphasize the ongoing damage—physical, psychological, environmental, and so on—that continues to have an impact on people's lives long after the official end of hostilities.

A number of sites include antiwar art created in response to violence and conflicts: Gova's famous etchings The Disasters of War (French occupation of Spain); Kathe Kollowitz's prints (World War I and the loss of her son); Picasso's Guernica (the aerial bombing in 1937); and Toshi and Iri Maruki's Hiroshima Panels (the atomic bombings of 1945). These are among the best-known examples of a much larger series of works, from paintings to photographs (what Susan Sontag described in Regarding the Pain of Others), that depict the terrible toll of war and violence. And early peace museums, such as Ernst Friedrich's Anti-Kriegs-Museum in Berlin in 1925, exhibited photographs and other images of World War I focused on documenting the horrors of war. Friedrich had published Krieg dem Krieg! (War against War) a year earlier, composed of graphic images of the brutality of the battlefield framed with a series of ironic titles (a technique also used in Gova's Disasters of War). A socialist and pacifist, Friedrich was imprisoned in a mental institution for resisting military service in 1914. The Nazis looted the museum and Friedrich fled the country in the 1930s. Interestingly, in 1981 his grandson Tommy Spree opened a new antiwar museum in Berlin, in part as testimony to his grandfather's work. This genre of "waging war on war" through depicting the human costs of conflicts continues as a theme in a number of peace museums.

Unlike war museums, peace museums provide space for the stories of antiwar movements and individual conscientious objectors or protestors, and make available materials (works of art, song lyrics, photographs, pamphlets, banners, and so on) that invite visitors to learn about past and present antiwar and peace movements and themes.

Just as definitions of peace vary widely, so, too, do definitions of peace museums. In fact, a significant number of the museums around the world that include the word *peace* in their name valorize war, sacrifice, and glory, and subscribe to popular and national war narratives. There are a range of ways peace-titled museums and memorials address issues of war, memory, and identity. For example, the Caen-Normandy Mémorial Centre for History and Peace has a large, permanent exhibit on World War II and its battles, and depicts the terrible human toll of modern warfare. Although this very popular and widely visited museum has kept the word *peace* in its name and has a section on Nobel Peace Prize recipients, its early plans of including a large space for images and information about peace and human

4 Introducing Peace Museums

rights issues largely have been put aside. Some peace-titled or self-described peace museums and memorials depict destruction and atrocity; and they serve to memorialize events that have been overlooked or are not widely known about. For example, in 2011, the No Gun Ri Peace Memorial (and Park) was opened in Korea to memorialize the civilian victims of the massacre that took place there during the Korean War. Part of its goal is to send a strong warning to prevent future wars and, as South Korean Minister of Security and Public Administration Jeong Jong-Seop stated, to "become a mecca for peace and human rights." Other sites are dedicated to remembering the victims and recording the ongoing toll on survivor communities; some sites include reconciliation, while others do not. And there are museums that display such graphic images of damages to bodies and repeated descriptions about the national background and character of the perpetrators that they reinforce visitors' feelings of victimization, promote stereotypes against perpetrator peoples, and encourage attitudes of hatred and revenge.

MUSEUMS FOR PEACE

At their fifth international conference—Peace Museums: A Contribution to Remembrance, Reconciliation, Art and Peace—held in Guernica, Spain, in 2005, members of the International Network of Peace Museums changed the name of their organization to the International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP).5 This reflected an initiative to strengthen the organization by broadening membership to sites and projects for which peace was a part but not necessarily the primary theme. The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) is a large network with more than 190 members in fifty-three countries; the coalition includes emerging memory initiatives and historic sites that "promote civic action" and use "the lessons of history to take action on challenges to democracy and human rights today."6 Thus, both the INMP and the ICSC serve as networks for the broad category of museums for peace. Most members 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). Narratives of specific events and memorialization often play a key role through programs commemorating anniversaries, and so on. In general, the emphasis is on negative peace; that is, on learning lessons from narrating past histories about conflicts, slavery, famine, political terror and torture, disappearances, incarceration, and other crimes. A chief characteristic of museums for peace is displaying histories of war and atrocity, usually at the site where these events took place. What distinguishes such memorials, history and atrocity museums, and sites of suffering (also sometimes described as sites of trauma) is that exhibits and education programs link to peace-related themes of civic education and of recognition, reconciliation, repair, and learning from the

past to prevent recurrence. How to effectively teach about such "difficult histories" to young people and other visitors remains a challenge, and the politics of learning from atrocity shapes how peace and violence topics are presented in spaces and sites.

Politics plays a significant role in how history is constructed and represented, and all museums are situated in specific political and historical contexts that sometimes are acknowledged, but oftentimes are at least partially hidden. Some museums and sites for peace serve as ongoing centers of resistance to state denial of past crimes, and their staff and volunteers may, for example, work to find the bodies of the disappeared and the missing or seek reparations for victims and their families. Others focus on past atrocities and victimization and do not go so far as to engage in questioning current state policies. In many Western countries, museums for peace subscribe to a liberal agenda of promoting peace and democracy. In some instances, the underpinnings are in keeping with a moral education of tolerance and inclusion that has been carefully crafted with regard to who and what fits; these museums are often supported by state as well as private funding. In Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire, for example, Wendy Brown analyzes the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and critiques what she describes as the constraining nature of a liberal "politics of tolerance": through its selection of exhibits, the center determines which subjects visitors will be allowed to view as examples of intolerance and which they will not.⁷ In general, such liberal museums for peace are part of the status quo and see their role as educational and as memory keepers; they use terms like rights, tolerance, racism, victims, and persecution to situate their exhibits and activities within the acceptable language and narratives of democratic states' discourse on fostering moral/values education and citizenship. Accordingly, for the most part they do not challenge the official narrative and emphasize past violations without challenging current government policies.

Both types of museums for peace—those that challenge state narratives and those that are more mainstream—may explicitly link to peace-related themes as one aspect of their goals, but more often they do so implicitly. They incorporate aspects of classic antiwar exhibits (the horrors of violence), the parties responsible, and lessons learned from studying and remembering specific events of destruction and atrocity. However, peace is not the major or obvious theme of their exhibits. Emphasis is on providing testimony and acknowledging the victims and the loss to their family and society.

Such museums, or *centers* (the term preferred by several sites), serve to record and remember past events and mold public memory. The twentieth century has been characterized as a century of conflicts and genocide, including wars, bombings, crimes against humanity, and other atrocities. There has been a virtual industry of memorialization and museums about all forms of violence—World War I and World War II, the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, other aerial bombings and damages to civilian

populations, a series of wartime atrocities, the Cold War and its aftermath, and terrorism. Museums on the history of slavery and apartheid, on the toll of colonization, decolonization, and racism, and on the struggles to overturn these gross human rights violations continue to be built. Museums and memorials about the gulags, forced famines, and other events have been established throughout Russia and Eastern Europe in the post-communist era. Hence, sites of suffering and atrocity8 have multiplied worldwide, memorializing the disappeared and tortured in Argentina and throughout Central and Latin America, and those killed during genocides in Cambodia and Rwanda, among many other sites. The largest numbers of museums/ centers are on the Shoah, or the Holocaust. Another category includes sites and museums of late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century conflicts, terror, and violence (domestic as well as international). Some museums are state funded; others rely on private donations or on a combination of public and private support. Therefore, such museums and sites are largely part of the mainstream discourse and education about coming to terms with violence and its aftermath, "to connect past to present, memory to action," and largely supplement rather than challenge official state narratives.

Museums that promote cultural and national heritage and social histories, with exhibits on folkways, immigration, discrimination, assimilation, and other experiences, constitute another category of museums for peace. There are a collection of issue-based museums such as those dedicated to civil rights, human rights, and humanitarianism whose number and popularity have grown from the 1980s on. While only a handful identify as peace centers or museums (particularly those identified with Martin Luther King Ir. and Mahatma Gandhi, for example), their exhibits encompass a range of peace-related topics. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Museum in Geneva was renovated in 2013, twenty-five years after its foundation, and has a new permanent exhibit called the Humanitarian Adventure. And a range of newer sites have been established, such as the more radical Humanity House (2010) in The Hague, where "you can see, hear and experience what it is like to have to survive a conflict or disaster." In 2014, the National Center for Civil and Human Rights in Atlanta, Georgia, and the Canadian Human Rights Museum in Winnipeg, Manitoba, opened with the support of private and public funding. Plans for each took over a decade and were interrupted by controversies over what issues and groups were to be part of their permanent exhibitions. For example, the National Center for Civil and Human Rights combines exhibits about Martin Luther King Ir., including nonviolent protests and the U.S. civil rights movement, with links to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and group rights, including LGBT, children, and other groups. In many countries, the terms human rights and humanitarianism have become more mainstream (whatever the actual content of the exhibits) than the term peace museum. However, such museums take up a series of peace-related themes, such as the protection of civilians and their rights, and international humanitarian law, rescue, and aid. They attest to the fluidity and overlap of categories, in particular between museums for peace and peace museums.

The group of museums included in this volume are members of INMP, and some are also affiliated with the ICSC, and this reflects how such peace museums take up themes represented in the broader category of museums for peace. These peace museums often share similar philosophical approaches with liberal museums that promote democracy and civic engagement. They generally include a more critical history and antiwar narrative with alternative stories and images about resistance to war through protest, nonviolence, and other methods. Such narratives provide a discourse that counters the prevailing heroic tropes of patriotism and national sacrifice associated with participation in past and current conflicts. And one tie that binds all of these spaces together as a distinct group of peace museums is that their content and activities display histories and images that promote cultures of peace.

WHAT ARE CULTURES OF PEACE?

There are a range of approaches to understanding the meanings of peace and the different ways peace museums foster cultures of peace worldwide. It is helpful to look at the description by peace studies scholar and sociologist Elise Boulding (1920–2010) in *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*, in which she characterizes "peace as process" and "peacebuilding as adventure, exploration and willingness to venture into the unknown." Pacifism, in contrast to the popular misrepresentation of passivity, is derived from the Latin terms *pace* and *facere*, literally, to make peace, emphasizing engagement and activism. According to Boulding,

Put in the simplest possible terms, a peace culture is a culture that promotes peaceable diversity. Such a culture includes lifeways, patterns of belief, values, behavior and accompanying institutional arrangements that promote mutual caring and well-being as well as an equality that includes appreciation of difference, stewardship, and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all living beings. It offers mutual security for humankind in all its diversity through a profound sense of species identity as well as kinship with the living earth. There is no need for violence. In other words, peaceableness is an action concept, involving a constant shaping and reshaping of understandings, situations, and behaviors in a constantly changing lifeworld, to sustain well-being for all.¹¹

Central to the concept of cultures of peace is education, and, in particular, the notion of education rooted in *educare*, to "lead out," which focuses on learning as an interactive process.

Part of this education is how one presents and teaches about our past violent acts and our present-day violence. Peace historian David Cortwright

discusses both negative peace, in concepts such as originating and structural violence, as well as positive peace, which "means transcending the conditions that limit human potential and assuring opportunities for self-realization." ¹²

For visitors—students, teachers, and the general public—peace museums generally offer engagement with a range of positive as well as negative peace themes. They are the places where critical pedagogy has the potential to both stimulate the mind and promote social change toward "a just, progressive, creative and democratic society." Such critical pedagogy introduces alternative stories and images that challenge widely taught histories and popular views about the justification for wars and the inevitability of violence against people and their environment. Peace museums also feature exhibits that explore positive models of interaction—from cooperation and nonviolence to reconciliation and civic engagement projects.

The link between inner and outer peace is another aspect of cultures of peace, connecting to issues of spirituality and tranquility. Interconnectedness, diversity, and engagement are integral to defining such cultures, and the peace museums that are the focus of this volume aim to promote such clusters of peace activities. Worldwide, there are peace bells, bridges, cities, gardens, monuments, parks, poles, and trains. Since 2005, for example, the number of peace trails has multiplied, and visitors to these trails are given access to maps or apps that allow them to trace local places and events linked to peace figures and histories. Peace museum staff, volunteers, and members provide expertise and support for a range of local and international peace projects. The following represent a few examples of peace projects from 2012 to 2013.

- The Tehran Peace Museum's *Peace Postcard* exhibition featured a collection of two hundred peace-themed postcards from people—mostly children—living in twenty different countries worldwide.
- The Peace Museum Bridge at Remagen published the book Brücken bauen: Botschaften für den Frieden (Building Bridges: Messages for Peace), a compilation of over fifty peacemakers who have worked to bring people from different countries together for cooperation and peace; these individuals construct bridges between former opposing or conflicting sides.
- Samarkand's International Museum of Peace and Solidarity in Uzbekistan began in the 1980s and stemmed from a grass-roots project sponsored by a local Esperanto club during perestroika. Activities and exhibits include collecting "peace autographs" from around the world and serving as a meeting place working to promote peace, solidarity, and friendship, locally and globally.
- The centenary of the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, on August 28, 2013, consisted of a cluster of activities ranging from exhibits and symposia on peace philanthropy, on activist and pacifist author Bertha von Suttner, and on peace history to a Peace One Day concert.

- In Kenya, *Journeys of Peace*, a project on indigenous peacemaking institutions and peace and reconciliation symbols, traveled to six different regions to provide more visibility about peace traditions; at some sites elders taught the younger generations how reconciliation tools were used in the past.
- Worldwide, children and adults participated in various peace projects throughout the year, from traveling exhibits on peace-related themes to annual events such as the Global Art Project for Peace, the UN Art for Peace Contest, and the Dayton Peace Museum 5K Run.¹⁴

Another avenue to approach the challenges of understanding how to construct a culture of peace is through the series of norms and ethical guidelines developed through international charters, conventions, and declarations. The International Bill of Human Rights, that is, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) all contain articles that speak to cultures of peace. These include emphasis on human dignity for all people; condemnation of the incitement to war or advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred and any type of discrimination, hostility, or violence; and the right to education, to name just a few. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Seville Statement on Violence by a group of scientists to counter arguments about innate human aggressiveness, and the UN Decade of Peace Education (1995–2005) represent three examples of the many initiatives to strengthen norms and programs over the last decades.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, founded in 1948) has taken a leadership role in emphasizing education, culture, and peace in its programs. Federico Mayor, as directorgeneral of UNESCO in the 1990s, described a culture of peace as one endeavoring to do the following:

- promote the apprenticeship and practice of a culture of peace, both in the formal and non-formal education process and in all the activities of daily life;
- build and strengthen democracy as a key to a just and peaceful negotiated settlement of conflicts;
- strive towards a form of human development which, with the participation of the entire population, values the social capabilities and the human potential of all members of society;
- give pride of place to cultural contact, exchanges and creativity, at national and international levels, as a means of encouraging recognition of respect for others and the ways in which they differ; and
- strengthen international co-operation to remove the socio-economic causes of armed conflicts and wars, thereby permitting the building of a better world for human kind as a whole.¹⁵

Another focus is cities of peace, developed through UNESCO and strengthened by local officials. Most notably, in 1982 the Mayors for Peace project was established, in which the mayors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki played a crucial role emphasizing solidarity between cities and total abolition of nuclear weapons; and thousands of cities in countries around the world became members. And there were citizen initiatives such as that headed by Fred Arment, who played an important role in the early years of the Dayton International Peace Museum and who later established International Cities of Peace. 16 Museums discussed in this book are located in peace cities and played a significant role in the cities' designation as such. Peace cities may partake in a number of peace initiatives, such as cooperation between citizens and officials of twinned cities like that between Guernica, Spain, and Pforzheim, Germany. Such peace cities may be locations where a peace treaty or agreement was negotiated and signed (Dayton, Oslo) or which were damaged or destroyed by war, from aerial bombing to occupation, and now work toward peace and reconciliation (Guernica). They may be cities that are centers of international conferences, legal structures, and organizations working toward peace and justice (The Hague); centers of peace research (Bradford, Oslo); sites of antinuclear, social justice, and peace movements (Bologna, Bradford, and Kyoto) and cities where important prizes for peace are awarded (Oslo, Dayton). Peace cities promote tourism through international exchanges, and activities range from local literacy and citizenship volunteer projects to art and essay contests.

Other UNESCO initiatives such as state peace building and the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World (2001–10) met with mixed results in the face of political and budgetary issues at the United Nations (UN) and in various countries, and a number of programs have been taken up by civil society groups. ¹⁷ In communities around the world, peace museums serve as a bridge connecting the efforts of such groups as UNESCO, other UN agencies, intergovernmental organizations, as well as local governments, educators, and civil society groups (including nongovernmental organizations) as they work to create and implement programs supporting the broad goals of a culture of peace.

SITUATING PEACE MUSEUMS

Peace museums are centers that foster an understanding of and provide an education about a culture of peace. They are spaces that display the human costs of war without feeding into national rivalries or essentialist depictions of the "evil" national character of enemies on the battlefield or occupiers during a period of colonization. Instead, these centers partake of a universal ethic that appeals to the positive side of human nature. Through exhibits or activities such as dialogues and meditations, some peace museums encourage peace as a path to self-realization and inner personal growth. Their

humanist philosophy encourages exploring ideas and examples of resistance to violence and toward recognition, reconciliation, and prevention of future conflicts. In constructing exhibits and accompanying narratives, such peace museums, like other museums, provide their own interpretations of history, influenced by where and how they are situated—their specific histories, identities, staff, resources, sponsors, as well as other factors. 18 Themes of art, protest, and peace are frequently on display. Hence, peace museums are, for example, spaces where the effects of war are balanced with images of reconciliation ceremonies between former adversaries or of post-conflict repair projects. Tools for peacemaking are showcased, including dialogues, cooperation projects, international arbitration, peace treaties, and other methods to settle disputes without violence. Another emphasis is a more balanced depiction of those who suffered during conflicts through recording and recognition of past historic wrongs. This is in keeping with an attempt to include images and histories that fill in the silences about wartime decision making and conduct, and to counter denials in official national histories that exclude the role of the state and of certain perpetrators, accomplices, or citizens from responsibility.

One way that peace museums may be strengthened is through building on the existence of a popular peace culture. Such sites and centers can provide more in-depth information about the complicated histories of individuals, movements, and symbols associated with peace. For example, there is the omnipresent peace symbol on clothing and accessories and popular music such as John Lennon's songs "Give Peace a Chance" and "Imagine." There are images of doves, including the well-known series of Picasso drawings, and rainbows of hope. There are also images of iconic peace heroes and heroines, and depictions of human resistance to injustice and oppression. Some individuals, such as Nobel Peace Prize awardees, become models from whom visitors can learn about past and present peacemaking, and about issues from climate change to disarmament to child labor. A number of museums focus on well-known individuals associated with peace and nonviolent movements; for example, in India there are several sites devoted to Mahatma Gandhi, and in the United States there are centers devoted to Martin Luther King Jr. or that tell about the lives of Rosa Parks and other figures active in the civil rights movement. Other sites are inspired by Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu and the struggles against apartheid in South Africa, by the social work of Jane Addams in Hull House, and by the fight against poverty carried out by Mother Teresa in India. And, more generally, images of and history lessons about these figures also appear in exhibits in various museums for peace as well as in history and children's museums.

Peace museums highlighting local peacemakers and activists range from Kyoto, Japan, to Dayton, Ohio. They link with well-known institutions such as the UN, humanitarian agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international tribunals, and other transitional justice structures to introduce human rights themes (and human wrongs) related to peace and justice issues.

There are sites associated with peacemakers and their lives. One example is the Uppsala Peace Museum in Sweden (established in 2005), which is where Dag Hammarskjöld, UN secretary-general from 1953 to 1961, lived during his early years. The Uppsala Peace Museum emphasizes exhibits on Hammarskjöld's life and efforts in peace diplomacy, and links to a range of educational projects and temporary exhibits on racism, tolerance, peace, and other related subjects. And, of course, there are the images of destruction and war and their human toll, from the iconic mushroom cloud to the flashing on the television screen of the faces and names of U.S. military killed in combat in Afghanistan and Iraq from 2001 to 2015. At the same time, through Al Jazeera and other media, the disastrous toll on civilians of bombings and drone strikes throughout the Middle East, Pakistan, and elsewhere repeatedly is on view. Hence, side by side, both a pessimism and suspicion about peace coexist with popular symbols of peace and weariness with war and destruction.

EARLY PEACE MUSEUMS

Peace museums are characterized both by what they foster: peace cultures, and by what they oppose: war and other types of violence. Beliefs, philosophies, and images of peaceful societies appear in writings and art across cultures from ancient to contemporary times, along with rites and rituals for inner peace and peacekeeping between peoples and states. Peace historians concur that peace museums formed in the early twentieth century in Europe were primarily antiwar sites exhibiting the human costs of war through artifacts, including weapons and uniforms, and through photographs, drawings, and letters (a notable exception is the Peace Palace in The Hague, 1913). Antiwar museums displayed the human and material costs of war and dangers in new weaponry to promote peace and warn against future conflicts.

The International Museum of War and Peace (Internationale Kriegs und Friedensmuseum) in Lucerne, Switzerland, opened on June 7, 1902, is often described as the first modern peace museum. It was clearly an antiwar site displaying the history and technology of warfare. Its purpose was to demonstrate to the public, as well as to political and military elites, the futility of spending on armaments, and to emphasize the increasing dangers and destructiveness of new weapons in future wars. The museum was the brainchild of Polish-born entrepreneur Jan Bloch (sometimes referred to as Jean de Bloch, 1836–1902), who died in Warsaw shortly before its opening. Bloch was a successful industrialist who spoke a number of languages, traveled widely, and helped develop railroads throughout the Russian Empire.

Bloch was part of a group of internationalists and antiwar advocates whose members included pacifists, international arbitration lawyers, philanthropists, writers, and ordinary citizens. The group supported projects such

as peace and pacifist societies, congresses, conferences, and an international peace bureau. In reaction to a series of costly wars in the second half of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century (such as the Russo-Turkish War, Franco-Prussian War, and Boer War), new initiatives and institutions were set up for international arbitration, disarmament, and humanitarian concerns, including the founding of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent and the establishment of the Geneva Convention. The Hague Conference on Private International Law convened by international jurist Tobias Asser, along with the work of the International Peace Bureau, Inter-Parliamentary Union, and other groups, attempted to resolve a series of international disputes and put an end to what they viewed as the terrible scourge of war. Peace philanthropists supported a range of projects, some of which continue today. Examples include Edwin Ginn (1838–1914) of Boston, founder and supporter of the World Peace Foundation; Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), who established a peace endowment, libraries, and "temples of peace"; and Alfred Nobel (1833-96), a Swedish scientist whose fortune endowed five prizes to be awarded annually, including one designated to go to "champions of peace." Jean Bloch was part of these international circles, and he campaigned to deter what he believed was the certainty of longer-lasting and more lethal future wars. Bloch warned that future warfare was "suicidal," given new types of weaponry: smokeless explosives, more accurate rifles, and other technical and military developments.

Bloch, described as the "father of the modern civilian study of warfare,"20 hired a group of military experts and carried out an innovative ten-year research project about war and warfare; it covered sociological and psychological as well as economic and technical aspects and developments. The study resulted in the six-volume work The War of the Future in Its Technical, Economic and Political Relations (originally published in Russian in 1898, and later translated into German, French, and other languages). The War of the Future covered a range of war-related subjects such as how various governments and industries would be negatively impacted during future conflicts. In the preface to the sixth volume, appearing in English in 1899 under the title Is War Now Impossible?, Bloch emphasizes "that war will finally become impracticable is apparent. The question is more apposite—when will the recognition of this inevitable truth be spread among European governments and peoples? When the impossibility of resorting to war for the decision of international quarrels is apparent to all, other means will be devised."21

The study investigated the new types of weapons being developed and increasing military costs, and it anticipated that future wars would harness these destructive new capacities, resulting in greater numbers of people killed. While not every aspect of Bloch's analysis was correct, the prognosis of increased death and destruction proved all too accurate with the outbreak of four bloody years of war in 1914, an increase in civilian deaths, and the introduction of new methods of injuring and killing people. Bloch pointed

out that if governments "persist in squandering the resources of their people in order to prepare for a war which has already become impossible without suicide, they will only be preparing the triumph of the socialist revolution."²²

Bloch, who was nominated for the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901, was committed to educating the public as well as heads of state and other leaders about the dangers of war. He published a series of articles in Polish that were translated into Russian about the economic and other consequences of war, and gave interviews about his findings to journalists in St. Petersburg, London, and elsewhere in order to get his findings about the dangers of future wars out to a wide audience.

In an interview with pacifist journalist William T. Stead, Bloch reiterates a central theme of his campaign against war and military spending: "Believe me, the more the ultimate political and social consequences of the modern war are calmly contemplated, the more clearly will it be evident that if war is possible it is only possible, as I said before, at the price of suicide." When asked by Stead what the consequences would be if war became "impossible," Bloch responds:

The nations would no longer go on wasting £250,000,000 sterling every year in preparing to wage a war which can only be waged at the price of suicide, that is to say, which cannot be waged at all, for no nation willingly commits suicide. Then we may hope for some active effort to be made in the direction of ameliorating the condition of the people. The funds liberated from the war-chest of the world could work marvels if it were utilized in the education of the people. At present, as you will see from the tables which I have compiled in my book, the proportion of money spent on education compared with that spent on war is very small.²⁴

Bloch had audiences with Czar Nicholas II and military officials; he relates that The War of the Future was referred by the "Emperor of Russia at my request to the Minister of War, with a request that it should be subjected to examination by a council of experts."25 Hence, the study was taken up as a subject of discussion in government and military circles. According to some accounts, the report was a factor in Czar Nicholas II of Russia's sending out a call to governments whose representatives were accredited to the Imperial Court to meet, which resulted in the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899.26 Bloch delivered four public lectures, arranged with the help of pacifist Bertha von Suttner, author of the novel Die Waffen nieder! (Lay Down Your Arms!) and an activist in international peace circles. Many conference delegates attended Bloch's presentations, at which he used charts and illustrations based on his research to trace the development of firearms and "calculated that if in the Franco-Prussian War the present-day guns had been used, the losses would have been at least four times as great."²⁷ In describing the difficulties of mobilizing millions in armies, to critiquing the effectiveness and cost of naval fleets, Bloch quoted a statement by General Haeseler: "If the improvement of firearms continues, there will not be enough survivors to bury the dead."²⁸

Bloch amassed considerable assets as an entrepreneur and financed a series of projects to spread his antiwar message about the disastrous nature of future wars to a larger audience. One such project was an extensive public display for the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris. After his plans for the display were considerably downsized, he decided to establish a permanent exhibit with its own independent site. The result was the opening of the International Museum of War and Peace (Internationale Kriegs und Friedensmuseum) in Lucerne, Switzerland, in June 1902. Bloch negotiated an agreement with the Swiss authorities to house the collection of weapons and other artifacts initially at the former Shooting Festival Hall at Bahnhof, a beautiful lakeside setting centrally located near the railroad station.²⁹ As Bloch told a U.S. reporter at the Grand Hotel in Lucerne, where he was working out the details for the plan of the museum, its collection, and management, "This museum will preach international peace to the people" and "will attract international tourists and include souvenirs such as postcards and photos."30 In fact, an estimated sixty thousand people visited the site annually in its early years. In Bloch's own words, "War itself was testifying against war. Its history bore in it the seeds of its own necessary demise, at least if humanity was to survive."31

The structure was a temporary one; some sections were in sheds with unpaved floors, but there was also large space inside and out to display artifacts. The 1903 Catalogue lists more than 4,400 items primarily about weapons, operations, strategies, and other military history related to various wars. There is a much smaller section on peace-related themes including: the findings of the Hague Conference for International Arbitration, the Geneva Convention of 1864, portraits of prominent individuals interested in peace, and paintings of a country scene of peace and another of war.³² Interestingly, there were items about what today we would call humanitarian work, such as models of appliances for the wounded and the work of the Red Cross, its ambulances, and how it improvised transportation to reach soldiers in the mountains. A contemporary review describes the vast range of arms on display composed of "specimens of every weapon employed by man since he first took to slaving his brother with flint arrow-heads."33 The collection includes such items as fifteenth-century brass canon, Swiss pikes, suits of armor from the Middle Ages, rockets used in 1870, and the latest types of Maxim guns with "targets showing the effect of bullets and shells fired at various ranges."34

In addition to a series of large paintings of various battle scenes, the museum housed collections of battlefield models and included rooms devoted to war tactics and strategies, tracing techniques employed by Alexander and Caesar to strategies used by the British in South Africa in 1899–1902 during what is referred to as the Boer War. A series of rooms

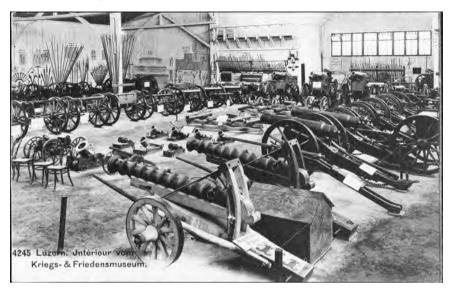


Figure 1.1 The International Museum of War and Peace at Bahnhof, Lucerne, original interior with canon, howitzers, and mortars, c. 1903. Credit: Lucern Archives.

were about specific wars, such as the Thirty Years' War, the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1877/78, and so on. One exhibit included "human and animal relics of the battlefields, in the shape of skulls and skeletons," to display various types of injuries caused by bullets at different ranges. Another exhibit traced the history of naval warfare with diagrams of naval budgets in Europe and the United States. There was a lecture hall, and plans for a library on war and peace subjects. On display outside, on the sides and back of the building, were "some of the mechanisms of war on a full scale," such as "different types of trenches—open, covered in, and protected from assault by those terrible wire networks which the late M. de Bloch loved to insist upon as one of the strongest weapons of modern defense." "37"

The museum's opening was attended by a series of well-known figures in peace circles, including early Nobel Peace Prize awardees Élie Ducommun, Frédéric Passy, and Bertha von Suttner. Bloch's wife and other family members attended, and his son, Henri de Bloch, welcomed visitors and explained his father's purpose in creating the museum; a statue of Bloch was unveiled in his honor. A number of distinguished guests from international peace circles spoke, including Frédéric Passy, who gave the opening address, and articles appeared about the museum in the international press. The International Museum of War and Peace attracted up to sixty thousand visitors annually in its early years (in comparison, the population of Lucerne was only thirty thousand). The museum's presence was a factor in the selection of Lucerne as the site for the Fourteenth International Peace



Figure 1.2 International Museum of War and Peace, Peace Room in new building at Museggstrasse, 1910. Credit: Lucern Archives.

Congress in 1905, and that gathering was used as an occasion to raise much-needed funds for a permanent site. In 1910, the new building was completed at Museggstrasse, and the collection was moved there. And, as at the earlier site, there was a room devoted to peace and international law, with paintings, information on peace gatherings, documents about international agreements, and other artifacts. Along the walls were photos of writers and international peace figures Frédéric Passy, Bertha von Suttner, and others.

But, despite the museum's initial popularity, the antiwar site's dedication to the study of war as a way to end it held tragic irony. During World War I, attendance diminished at the same time that many of Bloch's dire predictions about the catastrophic nature of war proved true. Shortly after the war, the International Museum of War and Peace closed.

THE HAGUE PEACE PALACE (VREDESPALEIS), 1913, "A TEMPLE OF PEACE"

Dulce bellum inexpertis. (War is sweet to those who never experienced it.)³⁸

The second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by intense rivalry between European empires and states, with mounting costs of expanding naval fleets and weaponry. Military and naval budgets accelerated, and drained resources, and conflicts were increasingly costly. Hence, when Czar Nicholas II of Russia, whose empire was long part of this rivalry, issued an invitation to hold an international gathering to discuss "the maintenance of general peace, and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations,"³⁹ there was great suspicion about his motives. Despite their misgivings, in 1899, approximately one hundred delegates from twenty-six countries gathered in ten plenary sessions. The sessions constituted the first Hague Peace Conference, which was hosted by Queen Wilhelmina (1880–1962) of the Netherlands. While there was no successful agreement to reduce armaments, a concrete result was the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to mediate conflicts between nations. At the second conference, in 1907, which was attended by more than twice the number of delegates, there was a call for establishing a permanent site for the court and to have countries from around the world contribute gifts and donations to such a site.

The elaborate building and extensive grounds of the Peace Palace were opened in The Hague in 1913 as a "temple of peace" and international justice. The size and grandeur of the "palace" reflect the fact that it was an elite undertaking, supported by several European monarchs and through gifts donated by various states. The original structure, gardens, and peace library were financed by Andrew Carnegie, and the Carnegie Foundation is responsible for its management. 40 Carnegie's complicated history and reputation—from relentless entrepreneur to philanthropist—reflected his success as a capitalist and in the U.S. steel industry, along with his commitment to distributing his wealth for the betterment of mankind. From his essay "The Gospel of Wealth" (1889) to the oft-quoted remark of intending "to stop accumulating and begin the infinitely more serious and difficult task of wise distribution," Carnegie was among a group of U.S. philanthropists who used their fortunes to establish a series of cultural and educational institutions for the public good. Andrew Carnegie donated over \$25 million from 1904 to 1919 to a range of funds and trusts for peace. The most well known was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1910), whose purpose continues to follow his stated goal: "to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon civilization."41 Carnegie also provided funding for a range of educational and cultural projects, including the Heroes Fund, the establishment of thousands of libraries, as well as providing organs for music to congregations in the United States and Europe. And he supported the construction of three large structures for peace and international justice: the Pan American Building, the Central American Court of Justice, and "the third temple of Peace, and Carnegie's favorite, was the Peace Palace at The Hague."42

The Peace Palace was the most costly of the three buildings and took the most time to complete. After an international architectural competition, the

traditional design by French architect Louis-Marie Cordonnier was chosen for the Peace Palace, and it took six controversy-filled years to negotiate, revise the original plans, and build the structure. The extensive gardens, which were also downsized, were created by well-known London designer T. H. Mawson. Visitors today are often initially surprised by the size and grandeur of the structure and gardens dedicated to peace.

The interior furnishings and adornments—stained-glass windows, paintings, decorated ceilings, and floor mosaics—were donated by countries that participated in the peace conferences. These included objets d'art from Russia, silk tapestries from Japan, and an Isfahan rug from Iran. The Roman goddess Lady Justice holding her scales decorates one ceiling, and there are themes such as "Peace through Justice" and the "Spectre of War" displayed in artworks throughout the interior. The lavish interior includes busts of figures from international peace and law circles as well as a series of statues and paintings on biblical, war, and peace themes. The large vestibule with arched vaults includes an inlaid floor mosaic of Italian marble inscribed in Latin: *Sol Justitiae Illustra Nos (May the Sun of Justice Enlighten Us)*. The large, marble central staircase was modeled after the design of the much larger one at the Paris Opera, with two lamps made of Bohemian crystal (from the Hague Municipality) and a marble statue called *Peace through Justice* (a gift of the United States in 1924) surrounded by stained-glass windows.



Figure 1.3 The central marble staircase and interior furnishings at the Peace Palace in The Hague. Credit: Carnegie-Stichting/The Peace Palace.

Over the years, countries and organizations have continued to contribute gifts and to donate statues and busts of figures such as Henry Dunant, Mahatma Gandhi, and Albert Schweitzer, among others; during the 2013 centenary commemorative events, a bust of Bertha von Suttner was unveiled.

In the face of the outbreak of World War I, this "temple of peace" and international justice, in many respects the culmination of a series of initiatives to foster peace and justice over previous decades, became the object of caricatures and cartoons, as did other peace initiatives at the time. On the one hand, as peace historian Nigel Young has pointed out, "The irony of World War I's outbreak shortly after the completion of the palace suggests the limitations of that episode. Like the Palais des Nations in Geneva (constructed as the home for the League of Nations in the 1930s), it stands as a monument to one of the frustrated phases of liberal internationalism."43 However, over the last century, the Peace Palace has also served as an important working and educational site, and the cornerstone of The Hague as a tourist attraction as a peace city. It has continued to be the location of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, now the oldest intergovernmental organization for dispute resolution; it is the site of the International Court of Justice of the United Nations; and it is also a meeting place for world leaders and for international legal conferences. Hence, "What looks like a museum, lavishly devoted to the theme of peace, is in reality the housing of living institutions engaged in the area of international law."44

The building's interior continues to be a repository of peace-related art, furnishings, and artifacts, and it contains the original peace library. In 2006, a new building, housing the world-renowned international law and peace library and Academy of International Law, was opened on the palace grounds.

Busloads of visitors daily view the exterior of the Peace Palace from outside its huge, cast-iron gates, adorned with bronze reliefs depicting female figures of Friendship and Peace, Justice and Harmony. Groups of tourists can often be seen taking photos of the huge structure of the palace or sitting on the colorful benches covered with peace symbols such as dove mosaics, reading about and viewing the world peace flame and watching the demonstrators who often use the site as a place of protest for various causes. Touring the inside of the building is restricted, but visitors can make reservations (well in advance) for weekend visits or special occasions like the Hague Museum Week.

In order to make the Peace Palace's history more accessible to the public and in honor of its centenary, in 2013 a modern separate Visitors Center near the main entrance was opened. The center introduces visitors to the Peace Palace and its history, to the work of international courts for arbitration and justice, and to a range of figures and movements in peace and justice history linked with The Hague and the peace conferences there. Dulce bellum inexpertis (War is sweet to those who never experience it): These are the words that greet visitors at the top of the first panel on War

and Peace, a phrase popularized by the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam in the opening to his sixteenth-century treatise titled *Against War*. An audiovisual exhibit emphasizes: "While as little as 100 years ago, death in battlefield was viewed as noteworthy and the glories of war emphasized, new developments from the telegraph to photography brought the immediacy and 'raw realities,' such as the image of a human body lying in a battle trench at the bottom to the screen to a broad public."

The Visitors Center's permanent exhibit consists of an educational film about war, including a short clip from the 1913 opening of the Peace Palace with images of the arrival of Bertha von Suttner, Andrew Carnegie, and others. Also, part of the permanent exhibit is a series of panels focusing on the following topics: War and Peace, Peace Conferences, Andrew Carnegie, Building the Peace Palace (including images from its interior), the International Court of Justice, the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Importance of International Law, the Library and Academy, and The Hague as a City of Peace and Justice. The panels also present a number of artifacts: a chart of the expenditures on armaments in 1910 by ten of the world's nations, a reproduction of the \$1.5 million check signed by Carnegie to finance the Peace Palace, and images of the building under construction and of its interior.

Visitors are invited to view the exhibits at the center for free; audio devices, available in nine languages, provide narrations linked to the panels. There is also a small selection of books and souvenirs for purchase. A brochure for self-guided tours links the Peace Palace with philosopher Immanuel Kant's essay "Perpetual Peace" (1795) and thoughts on building a world of just peace. The official history and positive overview (which does not evaluate the complicated politics of peace initiatives, courts, etc.) introduces thousands of tourists who visit annually from around the world to a peace history that is not generally known. This ranges from narrations on how the Peace Palace grew out of ideas about the "embodiment of an idea of world peace" to photos of the chambers of the international courts for arbitration and justice at work today.

SITUATING PEACE MUSEUMS: THEMES, EXHIBITS, AND APPROACHES TO PEACE EDUCATION

In many respects, Bloch's pioneering work of putting together a team to study the multifaceted aspects of war, producing six volumes on the subject as evidence of the need to end spending on armaments and the military, and planning for a permanent site to exhibit weapons and warfare anticipated ongoing debates about what constitutes peace and war studies and how to design a museum aimed to educate about preventing war and promoting peace.

This book describes a series of peace museums whose content goes beyond classic antiwar themes of exhibiting the weapons and the human and material destructiveness of war. Taking a cue from the lyrics of the African American gospel song "Down by the Riverside" that "I ain't gonna study war no more," these peace museums do not rely solely on exhibits about war and atrocity but explore alternatives such as how to "lay down my sword and shield" and how "I'm going to talk to the Prince of Peace." Their exhibits include movements of social transformation and resistance to war and to structural and other violence; individuals working for peace and social justice; legal and international initiatives for disarmament, cooperation, and prevention; handiwork and artistic representations; and nonviolent alternatives and peaceful visions. Such museums often include peace stories and artifacts such as banners used in protests, conscientious objectors' diaries, and reconciliation ceremonies between former enemies. Such peace museums/centers write in histories about war and peace that may be denied, minimized, or distorted by official accounts and in public memory.

There are a small number of such peace museums worldwide in which stories and themes of peace images or histories predominate or enjoy significant representation. In the small existent literature, there is no agreed-upon definition or criterion for what makes up a peace museum, and often the terms *peace museum* and *museum for peace* are used interchangeably. Some centers, projects, and memorials are listed under the "museum" category, and a number of war and atrocity sites are included. Hence, numbers and criteria vary widely from the sixty-one listed in the 1988 UN publication *Peace Museums Worldwide* to the more than two hundred included in Kazuyo Yamane's compilation two decades later, *Museums for Peace Worldwide*.⁴⁶

This volume aims toward encouraging critical peace museum studies,⁴⁷ analyzing issues of content and purpose: What are the distinguishing features of peace museums? How do they differ from memorials and atrocity sites and from the broader category of museums for peace? Where is there overlap? What challenges do such peace museums face to gain audiences and to maintain financial viability? How do late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century developments such as the environmental movement contribute to possibilities for new directions in peace exhibits? Overall, the goal is to begin this conversation by highlighting a series of peace museums and contributing to a more critical, self-reflective analysis of their content, narratives, and goals now and in the future.

The museums discussed in this volume foster peace education though exhibits and workshops about peace histories and art, movements and peacemakers. Their efforts at education may include presenting artifacts about local and global movements of social transformation, such as the antinuclear movements of the 1970s or early twenty-first-century protests against global warming, as well as putting forth artistic and other initiatives that foster cooperation and creative peacemaking. Such museums may uncover largely unknown histories of pacifism or resistance to war and movements toward

implementing social justice, human rights, and inclusion. Some serve as sites to link with diverse economic and cultural populations in their communities, from antiterrorism programs in Bradford to immigration issues in Guernica to antinuclear strategies in Kyoto. There may be exhibits displaying the toll of war, aerial bombardment, and different types of violence; that is, antiwar and structural violence themes. However, these peace museums, unlike most sites of war commemoration and atrocity sites, do not focus primarily on victimization. They are not part of the predominant paradigm of focusing almost exclusively on suffering and memory. Patriotic and just-war vocabularies are omitted, and possibilities for reconciliation and forgiveness are taken up as themes.

Peace museums generally challenge the simplification and rhetoric of just-war narratives where the rationale is that the ends always justify the means. They counter the pervasiveness of national claims that particular acts of violence were necessary to end conflicts or meet threats to security. As such, they provide alternative stories to the necessity of violence and war and point to different choices people have made, including conscientious objection, boycotts, protest marches, and arbitration.

Another approach is to write back into history events and groups that have been silenced or written out and to face historic responsibility, or at the very least discuss the complicated motives for how war was decided upon and the effects of the various methods of destruction used, such as indiscriminate civilian bombing. For example, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace displays exhibits about atrocities carried out by the Japanese during the Asian Pacific War, along with the fire bombings of Japanese cities and the dropping of two atomic bombs. The Kyoto exhibits acknowledge the suffering of different victims and challenge government policy on support for a series of U.S.-led wars in Asia and the Middle East. The Gernika Peace Museum traces the role of Franco and his supporters, including the role of the Italians and Germans in the bombings of Guernica, as well as the over half a century of lies about who was responsible for the bombings of civilians during the Spanish Civil War. The Madrid government has still not issued an apology to the people of Guernica. Finally, for almost a decade the Dayton International Peace Museum included a room about disarmament with information and images on the impact and terrible aftereffects of using atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and material about current nuclear arsenals. These subjects are largely ignored or downplayed in U.S. textbooks, exhibits, and official narratives. On the rare occasions when there is an attempt to open up discussion in a large public venue such as the 1995 Smithsonian Enola Gay exhibit—veterans' groups and others bring pressure to keep alive the official nationalist narrative about U.S. actions during World War II, including the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as necessary to end the war.⁴⁸

However, like all museums, and all writings of historical events, peace museums construct their own narratives about events, and often these narratives are created as counter-narratives to the prevailing representations about war and violence and their inevitability.

Peace museums have an interdisciplinary education approach to fostering concepts of positive peace. They offer hands-on activities and a series of workshops for children and other students (art projects, cooperative games, various in-depth history sessions, children's camps, etc.), sponsor community-member activities (training of docents, recording oral histories, group trips, adult education), and arrange traveling exhibits; these museums attempt to *create clusters of peace activities*. The goals are to create a dynamic, interactive, and forward-looking experience for visitors. In a number of cases, they serve as a cultural center for community members and, sometimes, as a place for self-reflection and spiritual growth.

A number of peace museums in this book share a critical pedagogy that challenges patriotic glorifications of wars, and push their visitors toward deeper understanding and questioning of the methods and extent of violence in conflicts. For example, the collection of the Peace Museum in Bradford highlights paintings, diaries, and other artifacts about conscientious objectors during World Wars I and II and emphasizes peace protests and peacemaking. Bradford's collection and programs contrast with that of, for example, the significantly larger Imperial War Museum in London and its branches, whose collections are described as covering "all aspects of 20th and 21st century conflict involving Britain, the Commonwealth and other former empire countries" and which was "created to record the toil and sacrifice of every individual affected by war."49 On the one hand, this national institution has created some temporary exhibits on antiwar themes from war photography to women war artists, has a collection of oral histories of conscientious objectors, and has hosted peace-related conferences. Staff members have attended INMP conferences, including the first meeting held in Bradford in 1992. The Imperial War Museum in London underwent major renovations in preparation for the centenary of World War I and expects over a million visitors to view its installation of Regeneration and the First World War. But the Imperial War Museum remains a national museum, where "inclusion" focuses on soldiers and civilians from throughout the British Empire and their contributions to a series of wars. In contrast, the Bradford museum's "inclusion" stresses bringing together individuals from different backgrounds to create community cohesion as an alternative to address local and global conflict and terrorism.

Peace educator and researcher Thomas Flores describes the trends and challenges that peace museums face in approaching peace education:

- 1. Going beyond the retelling of historical events and seeking *deeper emotional* and *intellectual connection* with the visitor;
- 2. Have *meaningful impact* on a person's sense of citizenship, value for life, freedom, respect, tolerance and human rights;

- 3. Strive toward a *high retention level* of knowledge by making subject matter "come alive," making past experience "relatable" and appeal to a sense of morality to action against wrongdoing;
- 4. *Balance* in showing horrors, realities and consequences of war and violence, with messages of life, hope, humanity and justice;
- 5. Begin with *emotional knowledge* to open the door to be more receptive to intellectual knowledge (but do not overpower or create extreme unpleasant emotional experiences so as to block receptivity to intellectual).⁵⁰

Hence, peace museums seek to provide a more nuanced, critical evaluation of wars, conflicts, and their effects, as well as educating about the possibilities for ending violence and looking toward peacekeeping, reconciliation, and other peace initiatives. While some peace museums have government funding either annually or on an individual project basis, most peace museums in this volume depend on private donations and grants. Many of the museums challenge visitors (and the governments of the states where they are located) to think beyond the pervasive view of conflict as inevitable and of wars as just, through introducing visitors to alternative peace histories, images, and projects. In contrast to the significance of the popular red poppy (a symbol of blood and sacrifice in war), worn by many during the days and weeks leading up to days of remembrance, peace museums encapsulate the symbolism of the white poppy, fostering a culture of peace. The white poppy represents solidarity with ending war, but also acknowledgment that memorializing is not enough and that there's an ongoing need to work together to prevent future violence.

PEACE MUSEUMS AND THE CHANGING ROLES OF MUSEUMS

A number of peace museums have been influenced by the significant changes over the last decades in the role, content, and meanings of museums. Gradually, some museums are transitioning away from their reputation as elite facilities and are headed toward becoming more dynamic, accessible centers for learning and experience. "While the early public museum was rooted in a faith in 'object lessons,' today many museums prioritize visitor experience over artefacts," writes Michelle Henning in *Museums, Media and Cultural History.* 51 And in *Museums and Education*, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill describes the emergence of these "post-museums" in the twenty-first century:

One of the key dimensions of the post-museum is a more sophisticated understanding of the complex relationships between culture, communication, learning and identity that will support a new approach to museum audiences; a second basic element is the promotion of a more egalitarian and just society; and linked to these is an acceptance that culture works to represent, reproduce and constitute self-identities and that this entails a sense of social and ethical responsibility.⁵²

How to translate such lofty goals into meaningful realities for museums visitors is no small challenge.

Some museums are being built and others are undergoing modifications, cognizant that their audiences are part of such societal and cultural shifts. The effects of globalization range from bringing in new audiences such as immigrant groups to building awareness of economic and ecological changes and the pervasiveness of digital technologies. The extent to which museums adapt to such changes and view themselves as affecting peoples' lives and are responsive to local communities and histories varies widely. "The growing influence of rights discourse can be seen in international museum rhetoric, policy, and practice, particularly since the 1990s and in the emergence of a growing number of museums whose primary purposes and rationales are concerned with the promotion of equal rights and the promulgation of humanitarian values." Such museums can function as "sites of persuasion" that may be enlisted "to build public and political support for equity, fairness and justice."

The rethinking and, for some, radicalization of the museum encompasses new relationships and responsibilities between museums and their expanded audiences. Communication is an integral element. For example, the extensive use of technology and the decision to use the term center rather than museum reflects how Oslo's Nobel Peace Center strives to fulfill the idea of a site that brings people together through a range of exhibits and technologies as well as community events on peace-related themes. Peace museums described in this volume, from Guernica to Kyoto to Dayton, are pioneers as they aim to link with a broad audience and address issues of peace and social justice in "safe alternative spaces." In contrast, for most museums, "The notion of a museum being active in seeking to fulfill a social justice agenda remains a radical one."55 For all sizes and types of museums, "working towards social justice is a long term commitment; it requires determination and bloody-mindedness. It needs to be driven by passion, by a belief that everyone deserves equal access to what we do in museums and not just because government (or anyone else) tells us that this is what we should do, but because it's the right thing to do."56

A PEACE MUSEUM SAMPLER

This book describes a group of museums that reflect a sample of key images, themes, and activities distinct to peace museums. Their narratives tell local, national, and international stories linked to both antiwar and positive peace themes. The author has visited each of these museums (a number of them

several times) and has had the opportunity to speak with founders, directors, educators, as well as various staff members, volunteers, and visitors.

Chapter 2 of *Introducing Peace Museums* focuses on the Peace Museum at Bradford, the only peace museum in the UK, begun in 1992. It combines a four-room temporary site with a peace education and outreach model. The museum's collection has more than two thousand posters, leaflets, and other artifacts covering a range of antiwar and antinuclear movements. There are materials from conscientious objectors during World Wars I and II, a series of peace quilts from the Cold War, and banners such as Thalia Campbell's "Remembrance Banner" from the Greenham Common protests against missiles at the site. The large number of immigrant families who live in Bradford and the existence of a peace studies program at Bradford University all have contributed to the work of the Peace Museum's projects.

In response to violence such as communal tensions turning into riots in Bradford—and throughout the UK during the 2011 riots—the museum has carried out a series of tolerance and multicultural projects as well as continuing its antiwar, nonviolence, and peace displays. Innovative programming and exhibits have contributed to this small museum's impact not only on students and members of the Bradford community but also on a wider UK audience. For example, the Peace Museum at Bradford cooperated with the nearby Royal Armouries, Leeds (which receives hundreds of thousands of visitors annually), to create an exhibit titled A Farewell to Arms? Objects from both museums were collected to represent such issues as arms conversion, conscientious objection to bearing arms, disarmament campaigns, and how countries exist without armies (Japan's Article 9 exemption in its Constitution). At the Peace Museum, a new exhibit opened in March 2012 with sections that range from local history alongside international movements for peace and justice, to themes on conscientious objection, antinuclear movements, and peace and children (for example, the story of Sadako and her peace cranes). Emphasis is on peace education outreach that ranges from holding music and essay contests and working with local schools on diversity; to the 2012 Olympics in London; to the centenary "celebrations" of World War I, reflecting the links between schools, community, and museum.

Chapter 3 examines the Kyoto Museum for World Peace and how it developed out of post-World War II popular pacifism with the growth of a series of antiwar, antinuclear, and peace exhibits and museums. Japan continues to have more peace museums by far than any other country in the world. Founded in 1992, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace is a rare example of a peace museum located at and supported by a private institution of higher education: Ritsumeikan University. The displays include a range of artifacts from Japanese civilian and military history during the Asian Pacific War (1931–45). The exhibits attempt to provide a balanced view of events with a complex narrative: from the university's encouraging students to replace their pens with guns, to the population's supporting the

28

war effort, to a few examples of Japanese resistance to war and colonialism. They depict the effectiveness of wartime propaganda and the hardships of life for civilians in Japan, and show the human suffering and damages caused by the U.S. aerial bombing of over one hundred cities and dropping of two atomic bombs. The permanent exhibit includes descriptions of Japanese soldiers committing atrocities during World War II. It maintains a progressive orientation to peace and disarmament and is committed to countering the denial of Japanese atrocities carried out in Korea, China, and elsewhere. The permanent exhibit also includes a section critical of more contemporary conflicts (Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq, for example) and a section on how visitors can join local and global challenges for social and economic justice and environmental sustainability.

The museum has been the site of photography, art, and other temporary exhibits and contests on peace-related subjects and of Japanese and international conferences on subjects such as Japanese curriculum in history textbooks, nuclear energy issues, and meetings of the Japanese Peace Museums Association and the INMP. This large museum serves as an education and research center and speaks truth to power on a number of issues. Exhibits and lectures promote disarmament and the recognition of Japanese wartime atrocities, and reconciliation with Asian countries over historic and territorial disputes. The museum also promotes positive peace, engaging visitors with interactive displays to teach them about structural violence and what role they can play in working to address environmental and other challenges. Temporary exhibits about the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster expose the dangers of nuclear power plants and ongoing damage to citizens and property in the area.

The Gernika Peace Museum (1998) in Gernika-Lumo in the Basque region of Spain is the focus of Chapter 4, and this museum describes itself "not as primarily a narrator of war stories" but as a site for positive peace and reconciliation. The museum educates about the constructive history of peace and reconciliation as well as exhibiting the destruction caused by the 1937 bombing of Guernica, the Spanish Civil War, the Franco years, and the Basque conflict. This perspective of balancing images and histories of peace with those of conflict and violence contrasts with the prevalence of museums and sites worldwide which focus primarily on atrocity, suffering, and memory. The Gernika Peace Museum explores the multifaceted aspects of peace, including the depiction of peace in art, living peace in everyday life—that is, positive peace—and nonviolence. Art and peace are important themes, and there is a three-dimensional reproduction of Picasso's famous painting Guernica and its history. There is a display about the destruction caused by the 1937 bombing, the propaganda war that followed, and documentation of the responsibility of the Franco-backed forces with German and Italian military assistance. Through its permanent and traveling exhibits, children's programming, and community outreach, the Gernika Peace Museum connects local and global issues and balances

history and memory with tools and images to promote peacekeeping and visions of peace. The museum's unique framing of Paz/Bakea/Peace and local, regional, and international perspectives is integral to the permanent exhibit's contents and images.

The Gernika Peace Museum developed as a Basque regional initiative in the post-Franco era in the midst of increasing violence between the Spanish government and the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, a Basque extremist, separatist organization). The majority of visitors (many student groups, particularly from nearby French schools) visit to learn more about the bombing of Guernica and because of Picasso's famous painting *Guernica*. This painting is linked to a larger framework of peace history and human rights, specifically the Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A film and exhibit include photos of a ceremony between survivors of the Guernica bombing and citizens of Pforzheim, Germany (twinning cities), depicting a ceremony and discussing the painful process of recognition and reconciliation.

In 2004, the small Dayton International Peace Museum (DIPM) was established in Dayton, Ohio; for its first decade it was run by an all-volunteer staff who created exhibits on a range of peace themes. One intention of its founders was to advance peace education, especially for children and young people, as well as to foster moral and civic education. The museum is located in a three-story house and provides a series of changing exhibits; some are curated by the museum's own members and others are traveling exhibits. A trailer painted with doves and other peace images—called the PeaceMobile—was used for many years to carry out educational outreach to schools, churches, and other venues. Its permanent exhibits include a children's room and a peace library that's open to the public. Earlier exhibits featuring people from Ohio working for peace, such as Christian pacifist Ted Studebaker during the Vietnam War, and the history of the Dayton Peace Accords, have been incorporated into a new Peace Heroes exhibit. For a number of years, there was an antinuclear display on the damages of atomic weapons, a topic largely downplayed or missing in U.S. museums and school textbooks.

The DIPM has become a center for a variety of community peace activities: annual peace runs, art contests, guest lectures, peace award presentations, and exhibit launch gatherings. The peace museum is part of a cluster of peace-related projects such as the Dayton Peace Prize and the Cities of Peace project; and through the museum's exhibits and activities, it brings together students and community members throughout the area. Since April 2014, DIPM has employed a full-time director whose background in music and popular culture continues the museum's increased orientation toward embracing a popular brand of peace that downplays political aspects and highlights peace heroes, music, and art.

Chapter 6 presents two contrasting examples of peace centers. The first is a large peace museum—the Oslo Nobel Peace Center, opened as a joint

venture of the Norwegian government, the Oslo municipality, and industry sponsors. The second is the Casa per la Pace La Filanda: a small center outside Bologna, Italy, that was founded by Vittorio Pallotti and houses almost five thousand peace posters—the largest collection of its kind in the world.

The Oslo Nobel Peace Center's permanent exhibit is focused on the lives and history of Nobel Peace Prize winners. The center has state-of-the-art technology that includes digital screens with fiber-optic lights that change in response to visitors' movements. Each year before the awarding of the annual peace prize, the center puts together an exhibit about that year's laureate(s). The center includes a full-time staff of curators, educators, and publicity staff. The Oslo Nobel Peace Center also has gallery space where a series of temporary exhibits on topics from free speech to immigration engage visitors with war and peace as well as human rights and humanitarianism themes. Located at the harbor in Oslo, the Peace Center is a popular visitor attraction and also has become a site for public events and antiwar and other demonstrations. Its educational workshops are attended primarily by Norwegian students and introduce them to peace language and history linked to the Nobel Peace Prize awardees and their work, as well as to temporary exhibits.

In contrast, Casa per la Pace serves as a community center and creates temporary exhibits of peace posters from its collection of almost five thousand posters gathered primarily from Italy and Europe, but also from points around the world. The posters and temporary exhibits curated from the collection include themes on disarmament, Italian peace thinkers, civil defense without weapons, nonviolence, conscientious objection, and civil service as an alternative to military service; many document the political activities of peace and social justice movements and parties. Casa per la Pace, La Filanda promotes a global culture of peace through its poster collection and Peace Documentation Center, along with traveling exhibits and books, lectures, films, sale of fair trade goods, and a solidarity clothing exchange. In different ways and on contrasting scales, these two centers emphasize different aspects of peace history.

Finally, the conclusion of *Introducing Peace Museums* will pull together some main themes about peace museums and comment on prospects and challenges looking forward.

TAKING TIME OUT TO VISIT PEACE MUSEUMS

This book's primary goals are to introduce the concept of a peace museum as a distinct type of museum and to provide a series of examples to a broad audience. Whether readers are historians, teachers deciding on a destination for a field trip with students, solo tourists, or parents with a family, this work points the way "off the beaten path" to a sample of museums that reclaim the art, experiences, and alternative peace histories largely ignored in most

public and private museums. It directs the way to sites that provide visitors with a greater understanding about the world they live in and about popular peace figures, symbols, and issues that will continue to be important in their lives. These include the nuclear disarmament peace symbol on clothing and jewelry, nonviolent protests for social and economic justice, and growing movements surrounding environmental protection and sustainability. In this book, readers can find out about spaces in which to rethink popular narratives about war, view creative representations of art and peace, consider alternative histories of peacemaking, and contemplate the deleterious effects of violence on people's lives. Peace museums play a vital role as repositories of peace history and its artifacts, and this book invites readers to visit these sites and learn about, envision, and support their work toward a more just, less conflict-filled world.

NOTES

- 1. Jay Winter, "Museums and the Representation of War," in *Does War Belong* in *Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*, ed. Wolfgang Muchitsch (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 24.
- 2. Ibid., 26.
- 3. These terms are based on chapter headings in Wolfgang Muchitsch, ed., *Does War Belong in Museums?* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013)
- Gregory Mason and Paul Joseph, "Moving Beyond Accusation and Self Pity," Peace Review 14, no. 4 (2002): 465.
- For information on the International Network of Museums for Peace, see http:// www.inmp.org.
- International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, "Institutional Members" handout, 2014, 1.
- 7. Wendy Brown, Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- 8. See Paul Williams, Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities (Oxford: Berg, 2007).
- 9. See, for example, the Sites of Conscience Web site, http://www.siteofconscience.org/members.
- 10. Museum-Humanity House Web site, accessed January 27, 2014, http://humanity house.org/en/to-see-to-do/museum/.
- 11. Elise Boulding, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 1.
- 12. David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7. Cortright discusses peace philosopher Johan Galtung's concept of structural violence, the Brazilian priest Leonardo Boff's term *originating violence*, along with other theories.
- 13. Joe L. Kincheloe, *Critical Pedagogy Primer* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 21.
- 14. For information on peace activities worldwide, with emphasis on museum-related activities, see the *International Network of Museums for Peace Newsletters* at www.inmp.org. See *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, 4 vols., ed. Nigel Young (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), particularly these entries: "Museums for Peace" by Clive Barrett, "Peace Monuments" by

- Edward W. Lollis, and "Peace Parks" by Antonia Young. See also Edward W. Lollis, *Monumental Beauty: Peace Monuments and Museums around the World* (New York: Peace Partners International, 2013).
- 15. Janusz Symonides and Kishore Singh, "Constructing a Culture of Peace: Challenges and Perspectives: An Introductory Note," in *From a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace*, ed. Janusz Symonides and Kishore Singh. Peace and Conflict Issues Series. (UNESCO Publishing, 1996), 11.
- 16. See www.internationalcitiesofpeace.org.
- 17. See David Adams, "Culture of Peace," in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia* of Peace, ed. Nigel Young, vol. 1, 521–25.
- 18. For further discussion of the construction of historic narratives in peace museums, see Makito Yurita, "Metahistory and Memory: Making/Remaking the Knowledge of Hiroshima's Atomic Bombing" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2008). See also Roy Tamashiro and Ellen Furnari, "Museums for Peace: In Search of Identity, Voice and Role in the Global Age," in *The Eighth International Network of Museums for Peace* (Seoul: No Gun Ri International Peace Foundation, 2014), 317–28.
- 19. The faces, names, ages, and ranks, of U.S. service members killed in combat in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq shown on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) channel has indeed provided a valuable public service in bringing home the human toll of those wars for U.S. citizens. However, the toll on Afghan and Iraqi civilians has been largely ignored or downplayed; this follows a long-standing policy of ignoring civilian deaths caused by U.S. policies and war strategies, such as civilian bombing. See John Tirman, *The Deaths of Others: The Fate of Civilians in America's Wars* (New York; Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 20. Philip Towle, "Jean de Bloch," in *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young, vol. 1, 192. In this brief biography, Towle emphasizes Bloch as "fascinated by the process of globalization" and study of war; he does not mention Bloch's role in creating an exhibit and planning a peace museum. In contrast, see Peter van den Dungen, "Preventing Catastrophe: The World's First Peace Museum," *Ritsumeiken Journal of International Studies* 18, no. 3 (March 2006): 23–36, which discusses Bloch's pioneering role in educating against war through exhibits and plans for the International Museum of War and Peace.
- "Bloch's Preface to His Own Book (1898)," reprinted in *The Future of War*, ed. Gwyn Prins and Hylke Tromp (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000), 57.
- 22. William T. Stead, "Conversations with M. Bloch" (1899) in *The Future of War*, 50.
- 23. Ibid., 43.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Ibid., 22.
- 26. "The Czar's Rescript," in *The Peace Palace*, Residence for Justice, Domicile of Learning, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (The Hague: Carnegie Foundation, 1988), 11.
- 27. Descriptions of Bloch's lectures are taken from Bertha von Suttner's *Memoirs*, quoted in Arthur Eyffinger, "The Stars of Eternal Truth and Right," Bertha von Suttner's Campaigning for Peace, Social Justice and Womanhood (The Netherlands: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2013), 179–80.
- 28. Ibid., 180.
- 29. An article published by W. G. Fitzgerald in *The World Today: A Monthly View of Human Progress* (1905) titled "The 'Horrors of War' Museum at Lucerne" (pages 894–97) describes reporter Fitzgerald's earlier visit and interview with Bloch as he was busy preparing the collection of artifacts for the museum, surrounded by staff to assist him. According to the article, Bloch provided \$20,000

for expenses and donated his entire collection, setting up an arrangement for Lucerne to have responsibility for the collection.

- 30. Ibid.
- 31. Jan Bloch quotation from Peter van den Dungen, "Preventing Catastrophe," 29.
- 32. The Catalogue for the International Museum of Peace and War at Lucerne (Lucerne: Associated Printing Office, 1903). While the English translation of the catalog is titled Peace and War, the French translation is War and Peace, and that is the official museum name. For a reporter's review that describes the museum's emphasis on war-related themes and artifacts see: Josiah W. Leeds, "The Bloch Museum at Lucerne," The Advocate of Peace 65 (1903).
- 33. http://www.digitalhistoryproject.com/2012/06/jean-de-bloch-museum. The review "Jean De Bloch Museum of Peace and War at Lucerne" originally appeared in the *American Review of Reviews*, August 1902.
- 34. Ibid.
- 35. Ibid.
- 36. Ibid.
- 37. Ibid.
- 38. While the quote is widely attributed to Erasmus of Rotterdam, it originated in the writing of the ancient poet Pindar.
- 39. "The Imperial Rescript" May 1898, reproduced in *The Future of War*, ed. Prins and Tromp, 59.
- 40. Gerard Kerkvliet, *The Peace Palace: A Living Institution of International Law* (The Hague: Carnegie Foundation, 2004), 48.
- 41. http://www.carnegieendowment.org/about/?fa=centennial.org.
- 42. Eyffinger, The Peace Palace, 47.
- 43. Nigel Young, "From Protest to Cultural Creativity: Peace Movements Identified and Revisited." In *Peace and Conflict Studies: A Reader*, ed. Charles P. Weber and Jorgen Johansen (London: Routledge, 2012), 143.
- 44. Kerkvliet, The Peace Palace, 5.
- 45. http://www.negrospirituals.com/news-song/study_war_no_more.htm.
- 46. Compare the United Nations publication *Peace Museums Worldwide* (Geneva: United Nations Publications on Peace, 1998) with Kazuyo Yamane, *Museums for Peace Worldwide* (Kyoto: Organizing Committee of the 6th International Conference of Museums for Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, 2008).
- 47. Joyce Apsel, "New Directions in Educating for Peace: Developing Critical Peace Museum Studies," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, ed. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 118–33.
- 48. See, for example, "The Enola Gay Controversy: History, Memory and the Politics of Presentation," in *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, ed. Michael J. Hogan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 200–32; *Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflict in the Nuclear Age*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997).
- 49. See www.iwm.org, under "Collections and Research." An example of how broad and contradictory the criteria for peace museums are is demonstrated by the Imperial War Museum London's being listed in both the UN volume *Peace Museums Worldwide* and Kazuyo Yamane's *Museums for Peace Worldwide*.
- 50. Thomas Flores, "Trends and Challenges of Museums for Peace and the USIP Public Education Center" (working paper, U.S. Institute for Peace Public Education Center Working Group, Washington, D.C., 2009), 6.
- 51. Michelle Henning, *Museums*, *Media and Cultural History* (Berkshire, UK: Open University Press, 2006), 2.

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- 52. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance (London: Routledge, 2007), 1.
- 53. Richard Sandell, "Museums and the Human Rights Frame," in *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, ed. Richard Sandell and Eithne Nightingale (London: Routledge, 2012), 197.
- 54. Ibid.
- 55. David Fleming, "Museums for Social Justice: Managing Organizational Change," *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, 72.
- 56. Ibid., 82.

2 The Peace Museum in Bradford, UK

Fostering Peace Education and Community Cohesion While Preserving Peace Art and History

We are running out of red poppies.

—Emily Johns, Peace wreath, 1995 to protest sanctions against Iraq

A peace museum is like a candle. It creates light; it shows a way through the half-light existing in our societies; it shows a different way, the way of peace; it expresses the deepest longing of the human being; its power lies in its simplicity.

—Gerald Drewett, Give Peace a Chance Trust, 1992

Engage Inspire Educate Act

-Motto of the Peace Museum in Bradford

This chapter introduces the Peace Museum in Bradford, UK, which "explores the history and the often untold stories of peace, peacemakers, social reform and peace movements." Its motto "Engage Inspire Educate Act" speaks to the museum's focus on promoting peace literacy through permanent and traveling exhibits, teacher training, and educational outreach to students from diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds in Bradford, Leeds, and other parts of Yorkshire. The Peace Museum traces the rich history and culture of local peace stories and activism, such as conscientious objectors and antinuclear and nonviolent protests. The museum also fosters links through working on national curriculum projects such as the London Olympics and World War I Centenary and internationally with other museums and peace networks. Students, teachers, and community members learn about peace history, conflict resolution, conscientious objection, and a broad series of inclusion-education values (tolerance, nonviolence, citizenship, and antiterrorism) through exhibits and workshops conducted in classrooms and community sites as well as at the museum.

A distinctive feature is that the Peace Museum in Bradford has collected a range of peace-related items, including banners, posters, quilts, paintings, and other artifacts; many are from disarmament and other nonviolent movements. For example, artistic representations range from images on pamphlets, posters, cards with Gerald Holtom's nuclear disarmament symbol (an image that has been adopted as a universal symbol of peace and

nonviolent protest), to a collection of banners and quilts created by Mothers for Peace, Thalia Campbell, and other activists used in peace exchanges and antinuclear and peace protests.

"Think global, act local" is how peace historian and board chair Clive Barrett described the Peace Museum in Bradford's philosophy in 2013. He notes how the museum supports this philosophy by

building up a national/international collection and [by] tell[ing]/exhibit [ing] international stories of peace campaigning and peacemaking, whilst also being rooted in a local context, promoting peace in the broadest sense in the place where we are set. Hence, on the one hand an anti-nuclear banner collection, and on the other focus on local schools' education on what in the UK is known as "community cohesion," building up relationships across economic and ethnic community divides.²

BACKGROUND OF THE PEACE MUSEUM IN BRADFORD

If you asked people in the United Kingdom about Bradford, many would probably refer to the "Bradford disturbances," as they are described locally, of 1995 (in the Manningham inner-city area) and 2001, recalling images of violence, looting, and communal disarray. But, in fact, Bradford is also home to the only peace museum in the United Kingdom, "dedicated to the collection, conservation, and interpretation of material relating to the history and development of peace, nonviolence and conflict resolution. Through exhibits and learning activities, the Peace Museum aims to build a 'culture of peace' in the here and now."³

Bradford is located in West Yorkshire, about two hundred miles from London, and it's a multicultural city with a long history of immigrants and diverse populations living together and both learning and prospering from this diversity but also at times facing tensions and challenges that come with a series of diverse economic and communal problems. "Ethnic diversity is not new: the history of Bradford since the onset of the Industrial Revolution has been marked by the continuous movement of people into and out of the city." The main migrations were Irish and European in the nineteenth century, and Central and Eastern European following World War II. The largest number of immigrants from the 1950s on are from former British colonies, including the West Indies and South Asia, particularly Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan; and there are Hindu, Jain, Muslim, and Sikh communities.

The Peace Museum has worked to create an active education program to link with local communities:

Because of its history of immigration, Bradford is a multicultural city, with people from many different parts of the world living here—particularly from the Asian sub-continent, Eastern Europe, Africa and

the Caribbean. The peace movement by and large is a white middle class movement, and we feel it is important to engage people from different cultural backgrounds in the work and development of the museum—to make them feel included and to gather and represent *their* experiences as well as those of the dominant culture.⁶

The Peace Museum evolved from a number of different groups and resources coming together in the early 1990s. There was the backing of a committed group of six Quakers who formed the charitable trust Give Peace a Chance. Another factor was the establishment of an interdisciplinary, independent School of Peace Studies at Bradford University in 1973 that became a center for people from around the world coming for undergraduate and graduate peace studies.⁷ The Commonweal Collection (for the common good) of more than eleven thousand books, pamphlets, and other materials on nonviolent approaches to social change, including the entire collected works of Gandhi, became housed at the University of Bradford J. B. Priestley Library in 1975.⁸ There was also support from a range of local peace activists, particularly those involved in British antiwar and antinuclear protests.

The original focus was on exploring the history of local antiwar and antinuclear activism, and on tracing the roots of a disparate group of earlier Bradford reformers who worked on projects to improve education, working conditions, health, and so forth. This earlier group included some well-known figures such as J. B. Priestley, a writer and public intellectual who came from Bradford and was a founding member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and artist David Hockney, who, as a young man, was a pacifist and antinuclear activist. However, the museum's activities have broadened, now addressing contemporary concerns of students and residents. Riots in Bradford in 1995 and 2001 and the London suicide bombings of July 7, 2005, carried out by young Muslim men from nearby Leeds and Dewsbury, which killed fifty-two people and injured seven hundred others, challenged the Peace Museum to address issues of coexistence, radicalization, and terror through a series of program initiatives. The museum has established links and tailored programs to connect people belonging to religious and community groups from diverse backgrounds who live in Bradford and the surrounding areas. It also has developed workshops and exhibits to link with national events such as the 2012 London Olympics and World War I Centenary events. The museum continues to create traveling exhibits as well as educational projects with local community groups, schools, and museums, and in 2012 the museum installed a new permanent exhibit at its present rented space in downtown Bradford.

There are more than six thousand items, many of which reflect the rich local and national history of peace and pacifism in the museum's unique collection. What is in the collection? The museum Web site lists the following: badges, bags, banners, baskets, booklets, books, conscientious objectors, drawings, greetings cards, jewelry, kites, leaflets, letters, linocuts, lithographs,

newspapers, oral history, painting, photographs, plates, postcards, peace banners, posters (more than two thousand), quilts, and pamphlets, among other items, and it continues to encourage donations of items about peace.9 This collection reflects the centrality of images and symbols of peace as "at the very heart of our museum," collecting poetry, quotations, photographs, paintings, sculpture, and other art from different religious and philosophical viewpoints "in text, calligraphy, and illustration." Trustees, volunteers, and staff have been committed to preventing this largely unknown UK peace history from disappearing. Through soliciting donations and collecting items from participants in peace movements locally, nationally, and internationally, staff members and volunteers have catalogued and preserved a range of items that are available to teachers for educational projects, as well as to researchers and to museums and other institutions for temporary loans. Another way to view the museum's collection and work is thematically. "We divided up our approach into nine categories: Images and symbols of peace; Nonviolence; Pacifism and war resistance; Peace movements; Disarmament; Diplomacy, International law and international organizations; Conflict resolution and prevention; Human rights; Ecology and Peace."11

The idea for a peace museum in Bradford emerged out of a series of discussions by peace activists and educators initiated by a group of local Quakers, with Gerald Drewett suggesting the creation of a peace museum. After six years of discussion with the Charity Commission, this group of Quakers set up the Give Peace a Chance Trust in 1986. As pacifists, they were concerned that, by paying taxes, they were contributing to Britain's military budgets. Since the trust was set up as an educational organization with charitable status, it is exempt from taxation, and one can "donate one's taxed income without contributing to military expenditure. The Trust's purpose is to tell the general public about the history and current activities of the peace movement and to establish a Museum for Peace in Britain."

Gerald Drewett, secretary of the Give Peace a Chance Trust, pointed out the irony surrounding the use of the word peace. Peace, both then and now, is an intensely political word, and the UK Charity Commission has ruled that charities are not permitted to engage in political activities if they want to keep their charitable status. Hence, the Give Peace a Chance Trust came up with the idea of keeping its charitable status by dealing with "political activities," that is peace and its history, from an educational perspective. This was in keeping with an earlier Quaker Peace Trust set up in 1972 that funded the first Peace Studies chair at Bradford University and continues to support Peace Studies faculty and students up to the present.¹³ Since education is itself political, the approach to political activities through education has a catch-22 nature. One early project was a traveling exhibit on the work of Mothers for Peace, an initiative linking mothers across borders through shared projects such as peace quilts and, in particular, seeking to create contacts between women in Britain and, later, the United States with those in the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Eventually, a number of quilts created from this and other peace projects became part of the museum's permanent collection, and they are on display in both permanent and traveling exhibits. Peace historian Nigel Young pointed to the example of a large, beautiful quilt displayed in the lecture hall during the first meeting of peace museums held at Bradford University. Members of the local peace group in Grassington had put together the quilt using hand-embroidered squares received from around the world, exemplifying the existence of international links. "I think that quilt says quite a lot about what a peace museum should be. It draws together creativity from individuals and it makes something timeless—it carries on through imagination, and it empowers!" ¹⁴

In 1992, representatives from thirty-two museums in the UK (including from the Imperial War Museum), Switzerland, Germany, the United States (from the former Peace Museum in Chicago), and Japan as well as individuals interested in peace-related research and activities gathered at Bradford University for a meeting on Museums for Peace sponsored by the Give Peace a Chance Trust and the Bradford University Peace Studies Program. The International Peace Museum Network Newsletter (1993-2003)¹⁵ was one concrete accomplishment of this meeting. The newsletter was initially edited by Bradford Peace Studies student Shireen Shah, whose MA thesis was on the vision of a UK peace museum: "A National Museum for Peace: A Proposal." Bradford University peace historian Peter van den Dungen served as editor of the newsletter for many years, and he has continued to play a leadership role serving as coordinator of what became the INMP. Since 2011, the newsletter has been published by the INMP secretariat at The Hague, and it continues to serve as a worldwide clearinghouse for information about activities and opportunities such as traveling exhibits, workshops, and so on.

Six discussion groups were formed at the Bradford meeting around these questions: What should be the scope for a museum for peace? Where should the museum be located? What is the time frame and scale? What type of museum support group is needed? What post-conference planning group should be established? How can peace be presented through the medium of a museum?

This initial working group for a British Museum for Peace came up with the following statement of intent that served as a guide:

• Aims: To encourage the growth of peaceful co-existence and work to decrease the occasions of violent conflict. To develop a better understanding of the causes of violent conflict. To promote knowledge and practice of nonviolence and conflict resolution. To develop and disseminate the language and imagery of peace. To explore the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations in bringing about the transition to a peaceful planet. To emphasize the role of the individual in this transition. To collect a body of knowledge which will aid these aims.

- Objectives: To define, in principle, and make known the relationships between physical and other forms of violence and the future of the human race. To change the ways in which conflict is viewed and resolved. To encourage the growth of concepts of wholeness and peace in individual lives and personal relationships. To identify areas where positive peaceful change has taken place and suggest others where this might beneficially happen. To engender a sense of personal responsibility for the common good of humankind and of the planet. To compare and make known the costs of resorting to violence with the potential cost of nonviolent options to the resolution of violent conflict.
- Method: To create a centre which will embody a museum, its resources and research facilities. To offer a comprehensive learning and advisory service including the organization of lectures and the publication of educational materials about peace.¹⁶

In 1994, the Bradford Metropolitan District Council provided space where, through donations of posters, films, drawings, painting, and other items, a group of supporters began a collection of peace artifacts. Carol Rank, who served as project officer of the Peace Museum in its early years, wrote "We have been operating as a 'museum without walls' creating exhibitions that go out to galleries, schools, libraries and other venues."17 The Peace Museum, in cooperation with the Commonweal Peace Library at Bradford University and the local Interfaith Education Center, coordinated a yearlong project gathering "peace stories" from people of different ages and cultural backgrounds. The project resulted in publication of Such a Journey: Peace Stories, Poems and Stories from Bradford People, with community members sharing their experiences from World War II to the Partition of India, from the expulsion of Asian people from Uganda to personal stories of "love and loss; friendship and struggle."18 An exhibit based on the book toured Bradford schools in 1997. Shireen Shah, in an article titled "Museum without Walls," emphasizes the importance of such stories:

We want our visitors to be moved, to be affected by what they see, hear and experience in our peace museums. We want to inspire them with a message: that even just one voice, mine, can make itself be heard. The lives of peace pioneers give testimony to this. Stories hold great power with us. They grab at our imagination and if people are stirred they are more likely to respond with questions why? Or how? Empathy opens the possibility for changes to be effected.¹⁹

Finding a permanent home, donors, and staff (a balance of volunteers, part-time workers, and occasional full-time employees) has proven to be a serious challenge for the existence of the Peace Museum. From 2008 to 2012, Julie Obermeyer, who holds an MA in museum studies, served as curator and manager; she worked on a series of projects ranging from

creating exhibits and oral histories to inspiring students to work for peace through the "Campaign! Make an Impact" UK initiative. And from 2012 to 2014, Diane Hadwen, a local educator, took on the role as manager and educator. As a charity, the museum is governed by a board of twelve trustees. Discussions and negotiations on finding a permanent site for the museum and its collection continue up to the time of writing. A number of peace historians and activists such as Peter van den Dungen, Paul Rogers, and Carol Rank, who taught at Bradford University, have served as trustees. Clive Barrett, a peace historian and ordained minister who has written a book on World War I conscientious objectors titled Subversive Peacemakers, is a longtime supporter and current chief trustee. From the beginning, there was significant support for a site at the University of Bradford with links to its Peace Studies Program. However, since what was once a separate Peace Studies division has been reduced in size by the university and now exists as one of seven units in the School of Social and International Studies (2012), whether a permanent site at the university remains a viable alternative is open to question. Another proposal was for a large peace museum at Leeds Metropolitan University (now the Leeds Beckett University); trustees spent years working on this possibility, but in the end the project did not materialize, in part due to budget cuts. In 1994, the Peace Museum operated from a temporary site in the city of Bradford through a five-year grant from the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Foundation, and then it moved to its present site in downtown Bradford: a rented space on the top floor of a Victorian-style commercial building (there's no elevator, and visitors have to walk up sixty steps to reach it).

To ensure independence and security of its artifacts, the museum's collection has been separately incorporated as the Peace Museum Trust and Company. Because of limited gallery space, and to foster peace literacy outreach, a series of exhibits have been created (sometimes curated by the museum staff and volunteers and at other times with various partners). For example, Peacemakers of the 1930s was an exhibit located in South Square Gallery in the summer of 1997; it also traveled to neighboring venues.

ENGAGE INSPIRE EDUCATE ACT: MUSEUM GOALS

The symbol of the Peace Museum in Bradford is a dove carrying a branch. Its brochure, Web site, and new permanent exhibit (2012) state how its collections serve to create exhibitions, education, and outreach "aimed at dealing with local, national and international issues of cohesion, inclusion, peace, non-violence and responses to conflict."20 The fact that the history of peace is often an "untold story" means that the museum is dedicated to telling this story through the voices of the many people "who have wanted peace and who have worked to bring an end to conflict and bring about cohesion."21 These stories range from those of conscientious objectors during World

War I, to those who campaigned against nuclear war, to those who camped at Greenham Common, as well as twenty-first century stories of conflict and peace. Visitors are encouraged to consider the past and present and think about how this history may "educate, inspire, innovate, commemorate and transform attitudes and behaviours." ²²

What are the overall goals of the museum? In many respects, they continue the ideas articulated in 1992 in the Statement of Intent issued at the University of Bradford meeting about peace museums. The aims of the Peace Museum in Bradford include the following.

- To develop, manage, and conserve a collection based on local, national, and international peace history and initiatives, to ensure its long-term preservation and benefit to all.
- To support and deliver education and lifelong learning opportunities for all to help people to engage with issue of diversity, cohesion, inclusion, and conflict resolution.
- To develop temporary and permanent exhibitions based on personal and group narratives which engage public interest.
- To make use of emerging and new technologies to allow exploration and engagement with the collection.
- To provide a high-quality visitor experience for actual and virtual visitors to the museum.
- To undertake collections research and to aid external researchers to use our collection in order to increase knowledge of both our collection and the story of peace movements.
- To work in partnership with other cultural and educational organizations locally, nationally, and internationally.²³

Before entering the main gallery, the visitor is introduced to the museum with a series of panels in the hallway of images and text titled: A Vision Shared: Art from the History of the Peace Movement.

These panels came out of a temporary exhibit put together in 1997 with staff of the Peace Museum and the Royal Armouries Museum in nearby Leeds; this is a multilayered introduction for the visitor to a range of symbols and representations of peace history and movements. The section on *Visual Art and Peace* states that art supports the cause of peace in two ways:

- 1. anti-war art does not glorify war or any victory "won" by it, but responds and shocks by showing the human horrors of war; and
- 2. the vision of peace is often shown by universal symbols that are signs of hope.

A Century of Peace Art explains that painters and poets used their creative works to depict the terrible battlefield slaughter of 1914–18. And by the 1930s, many people were active in peacemaking and were shown as such

in contemporary portraits. The use of the atomic bomb in 1945 led to the antinuclear movement with its distinctive logo and produced a diverse peace movement in the 1980s with a variety of art full of imagery. Since the end of the Cold War in 1989, the world has come full circle. Gulf War painters, like the artists of 1914–18, depict the destructiveness of war; other artists continue the slow but rewarding work of creating a culture of peace.

On the panels are photos, illustrations, and texts against a purple background on peace history themes, both local and global. For example, *The Influence of Gandhi* discusses the concept of nonviolence and how Mahatma Gandhi made a connection between the fulfillment of the individual, self-reliance of the community, and independence for the nation. This interdependent approach is as relevant to us today as it was to peace activists in the 1930s. Beside images of Gandhi and his movement, there are portraits of other peacemakers and corresponding texts, including that of Peggy Smith (1895–1976), who was a lifelong campaigner in England for rights.

The Context for Peacemaking Today panel includes a poster, "People Need Water Not Weapons," and images from the end of the Cold War. Another panel titled *Pacifism* includes a description of pacifists as those who oppose all war as a matter of conscience for religious, humanitarian, or political reasons. During World War I, pacifists organized themselves for mutual support, establishing organizations such as the No-Conscription Fellowship and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The sacrifice of conscientious objectors—imprisoned, tortured, and a few even sentenced to death—has inspired pacifists in later generations. War Resisters' International (WRI) united pacifists from different countries after World War I. In Britain, a main pacifist organization was the Peace Pledge Union, founded by Canon Dick Sheppard. In 1934, he asked men to sign a pledge that they would refuse to fight if conscripted. If enough men agreed, he reasoned that no government could raise an army, war could never be a national policy, and peaceful solutions would have to be sought to world problems. Over 130,000 people signed Sheppard's pledge. Images on the *Pacifism* panel include an illustration of the famous broken-rifle logo of WRI and an illustration of Sheppard protesting against war.

As one leaves the exhibit in the hallway and enters the museum space, there is a small gift shop and greeting desk. There are several books on peace-related themes and education as well as copies of the paper edition of the *Bradford Peace Trail*, an excellent history and guide to peace-related sites, along with a 2013 Bradford Routes to Peace Heritage Trail that includes a pocket guide and app that can be downloaded for free.²⁴ Among the souvenirs for sale are single, white poppies, each with a green center containing the word *peace* in white letters. The white poppy for peace is in contrast to the red poppy, the latter of which has been widely adopted as a symbol of remembrance for those who sacrificed their lives in World War I and afterward. The white poppy was adopted by the UK Co-operative Women's Guild in 1933 to honor their sons, husbands, fathers, and friends

who died. Often the red poppy was used not only to commemorate those who died but to foster patriotism and militarism in support of another war. The white poppy, however, symbolizes both remembrance and commitment to working toward peace.

THE PEACE MUSEUM IN BRADFORD: NEW EXHIBIT IN 2012

In March 2012, a new permanent exhibit opened that pulls together pieces from earlier traveling exhibits, the museum's archives and collections, and current classroom educational themes. In his remarks at the public event opening the new exhibit, head trustee Clive Barrett spoke about the ongoing relevance of the museum, pointing out that just the evening before, five British soldiers were killed in Afghanistan. Students from local schools served as youth peace ambassadors and explained the history and significance of the panels and artifacts to visitors.

The new exhibit is appropriate for visitors of different ages and backgrounds. There is a digitized interactive component, and visitors are supplied with iPods in order to access additional information links on selected themes. Teachers and youth leaders are provided with information packets, and the four rooms of the museum have enough space for a class tour and workshop. Written beneath panels around the gallery as conversation starters for school groups are key questions such as: Who are we? What story will you tell? Part of the exhibit is linked to the school curriculum for specific grades. Teachers and children are particularly drawn to displays about Sadako, the twelve-year-old Japanese girl who died from leukemia from the aftereffects of the radiation poisoning from the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. New panels and peace education workshops are created on an ongoing basis. Examples include a project about the London 2012 Olympics, a project focusing on conscientious objection, artifacts from the museum collection, and other peace-related themes from the UK World War I Centenary.

Under the theme *Peace Not Prejudice* visitors are introduced to Bradford's history and claims of being a city of peace. Photos of local group activities "explore both the challenges faced by and the achievements of the many people who have made this place their home." The overview presents the Bradford Metropolitan District Council as one with a long history of welcoming people from around the world, and points out positive aspects of diversity:

Many people have heard about the "riots," community tensions and segregation in Bradford. *Peace Not Prejudice* provides photos and commentary about what people in Bradford have achieved by working together. It tells the inspiring stories of people who have brought about

peaceful change, affecting others' lives for the better locally, nationally and globally. These stories can inspire people to do the same today and have an impact on our future.²⁵

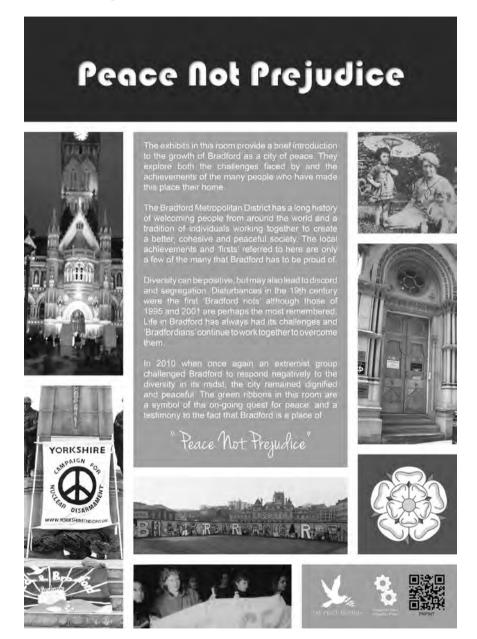


Figure 2.1 Opening panel of Peace Not Prejudice exhibit, the Peace Museum, Bradford. Credit: The Peace Museum, Bradford.

For example, there is a photo of a group of women of different faiths who came together during the 1995 disturbances on Oak Lane in Bradford. The image shows the banner they put together with the word *peace* written on a white sheet in both English and Urdu; carrying lit candles, they began to walk up Oak Lane toward Manningham Mills as an act of solidarity and nonviolence. Members of the crowd who began jeering at them to "get back to the kitchen" slowly began to disperse as the women continued to walk together.²⁶

The history of cooperation and tensions between different communities and economic classes is also depicted: "Discord and segregation disturbances in the 19th century were the first 'Bradford riots' although those of 1995 and 2001 are perhaps the most remembered. Life in Bradford has always had its challenges and 'Bradfordians' continue to work together to overcome them."27 In contrast, meetings between the Interfaith Council and Peace Museum members working to promote conflict resolution through communal dialogue were among the factors contributing to Bradford's not being part of the nationwide urban violence in the summer 2011. Hence, in contrast to Bradford's reputation as a site of disturbances, the benefits of community peace building are seen in how the city was able to resist attempts by the far-right extremist English Defence League to spark community violence: "The city remained dignified and peaceful." There are images of children and adults from diverse backgrounds working together on art and community projects. Bradford has also been a place of refuge for asylum seekers and other refugees. The green ribbons in this room are a symbol of the ongoing quest for peace, and a testimony to the fact that Bradford is a place of "peace not prejudice."28

In a section on the side of the room, there is a peace tree with a series of green ribbons to symbolize an ongoing commitment to work against violence, and visitors are encouraged to add their own ribbon and peace wish.

The Bradford Room includes a mixture of photos, banners, and other artifacts that trace the local history of individuals and movements working for peace and social justice. Bradford was transformed during the Industrial Revolution from a quiet country town to, by the mid-nineteenth century, a city with a population of more than one hundred thousand and 129 textile mills; it became known as the "worsted textile capital of the world." With mechanization, the working and living conditions of factory workers deteriorated. In Bradford, a series of nineteenth-century "social pioneers" were involved in various progressive causes, such as factory reforms, improvements to education and physical well-being for children, etc. A photo of a plaque commemorates the Manningham Mills strike (December 1890-April 1891), out of which emerged the founding of the Bradford Labour Union, which in turn led three years later to the national Independent Labour Party (ILP), with its motto "There is no weal save commonweal." The text that accompanies a photo of a statue of Richard Oastler describes his work to end "Yorkshire slavery"; that is, child labor taking place in the mills and



Figure 2.2 At the Peace Tree: after hanging a green ribbon for peace on the Peace Tree in the museum gallery, students research peace history, including by using a tablet linked to the Bradford Peace Trail app at the Peace Museum in Bradford. Credit: The Peace Museum, Bradford.

factories of northern UK. After imprisonment and opposition by mill owners and other prominent individuals, the work of Oastler and other activists resulted in the passage in 1848 of the Ten Hours Act, which limited the number of hours women and children were permitted to work.

A sampling of other figures includes Margaret McMillan (1860–1931), who, as a member of the ILP, campaigned to improve children's rights; through her efforts, Bradford became the first UK city to provide school meals and school swimming baths. Another activist was Miriam Lord (1885–1968), the first head of the Lilycroft Nursery School near Manningham Mills in 1921, and visitors from around the world visited Lilycroft to "see the principles of the new Nursery Movement in practice." Miriam Lord also wrote articles publicizing the benefits of what today is described as early childhood education. She observed how such education has the potential to "prepare our children" for the responsibilities of "a civilized society" and "may eventually lead them to the ways of peace."30

In sections titled Raise Your Banners and Riotous Living, a range of antiwar and antinuclear campaigns in West Yorkshire are traced. Visitors will find a placard from the Bradford Women's Humanity League protest

48

and campaign against World War I; in 1917 an estimated three thousand women marched through Bradford streets calling for an end to war and a negotiated peace. There is a large, metal, lollipop-shaped artifact (one of a series that protesters carried) with a peace symbol in the middle from an antinuclear march stretching from London to the weapons research center in Aldermaston. There are also photos and posters of protest walks and demonstrations against wars in Iraq; the Raise Your Banners festival of political songs; and the 2011 Occupy Bradford, a small group of peaceful protestors camping in Centenary Square advocating for social justice and opposing government cuts and misuse of power and wealth by multinational corporations, banks, and others.

ANTINUCLEAR CAMPAIGNING AND PROTEST

Bradford's Peace Museum has been significantly shaped by the UK antiwar and, particularly, antinuclear movement during its various stages from the late 1950s on. The exhibition includes artifacts and photos of protests of the Yorkshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the series of marches to Aldermaston, the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, and others. There is reference to the public intellectual J. B. Priestley (1894–1984), who was brought up in Bradford, and his experience in the trenches of World War I, which had a great impact on him; but peace issues did not play a central role in his life and writing until the 1950s. 31 His articles and speeches criticized the wasting of funds on the arms race, funds that should have been going to projects for human welfare and on the health risks of nuclear testing. Priestley's 1957 article in the New Statesman "Britain and the Nuclear Bombs" was widely reprinted and became a subject of public debate on nuclear issues. Priestley participated in a series of London meetings of the National Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which was one of the founding organizations of the mass movement CND. For almost three years he served as vice president and continued to be concerned about nuclear issues.³² Hence, the exhibit includes material about well-known figures in the antinuclear movement, such as Priestley, alongside the stories of the many ordinary citizens who protested against war and to ban the bomb.

The exhibit continues to trace antinuclear history following the short détente period between the United States and Soviet Union and a new phase in the Cold War emerging with the Soviets deploying missiles in Eastern Europe and NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) installing cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. In response, there was a resurgence of the antinuclear movement in the early 1980s that was international and opposed military and intelligence installations, including missiles in Greenham Common in the UK, in Cosimo, Italy, and in other places. Bradford, with "a lively grassroots nuclear disarmament group," found itself

"particularly well placed to make a contribution," from the Peace Studies Program at the university (from which an Alternative Defence Commission emerged that produced reports and studies such as *Defence without the Bomb*) to protests at sites such as the U.S. intelligence and communications base at Menwith Hill and missile installations at Greenham Common. There were also busloads of activists traveling to national demonstrations in London and elsewhere.³³ Bob Cryer (1934–94), who served as MP for South Bradford, was an early member of CND in the 1960s, as was his wife, Ann, and Bob became a founding member of the Parliamentary Labour Party CND, as well as a vociferous, committed advocate for peace and disarmament for four decades.

The museum is rooted in this history, and, as a result, art and peace are central themes of its collections. A number of significant artworks from the antinuclear movement are in the Peace Museum archive as well as in the Commonweal Collection in the J. B. Priestley Library at Bradford University. Works from the permanent collection—peace banners, posters, paintings, drawings—are on display in the museum gallery and on the museum's Web site.³⁴

The museum staff use the artifacts from peace artists and antinuclear activists to shape programs and exhibits. For example, internationally known artist David Hockney (1937-) was born in Bradford and began his training at the Bradford School of Art. He was a conscientious objector who worked at a hospital in Bradford for a year as an alternative to entering the military, and continued to support initiatives and exhibits of artists for peace and nuclear disarmament. The museum collection contains a series of photos with posters created by David Hockney and of his own participation in demonstrations. In the permanent exhibit, there is a black-and-white original drawing by his father, Kenneth Hockney (1904–78) with the wording "6 August 1945 Japan One Atom Bomb." Kenneth Hockney was a member of the Methodist Peace Fellowship and a lifelong peace activist in Bradford who "was constantly bombarding the CND Committee with offers, ideas, suggestions and producing ever more banners large and small, messages to be carried for the public on the pavement. There Is No Defense Against Nuclear Weapons,' 'One Bomb on Bradford and That's the End,' and so forth. Mr. H. showed photographs from Vietnam (shocking ones) . . . "35

In December 2012, a Christmas postcard designed by David Hockney was on display as part of a public event organized by students of Peace Studies at Bradford University, along with a talk by Labour MP Llew Smith (who in 2012 published a book on the theme: *Glad Tidings of Struggle and Strife: A History of Protest Christmas Cards*). The event highlighted how Christmas cards from the nineteenth century to the present have been used as tools for peace and provided visitors an opportunity to create their own cards.³⁶

Another important link between peace and art are the drawings by Gerald Holtom (1914–85) of what began in the UK as the nuclear disarmament symbol. The museum collection has copies of the original



Figure 2.3 International peace symbol based on Gerald Holtom's design for the UK CND. Source: Wikimedia, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Peace_sign.svg.

peace symbol drawings; the originals are in the Commonweal Collection at the University of Bradford. The image then spread to become the international symbol of peace.

During preparations by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War for a four-day march from London to Aldermaston to protest nuclear weapons in 1958, Gerald Holtom, a designer and antinuclear supporter, wanted the march to "have a symbol associated with it that would leave in the public mind a visual image signifying nuclear disarmament."37 One of the march organizers, Michael Randle, recalls that when Gerald Holtom showed up with the design, it was met with "some skepticism," and a short time after the first leaflets appeared with the symbol "a veteran peace campaigner complained to Michael that he and the others must have been out of their minds for adopting it—it would never catch on!"38

In a letter to peace historian and organizer Hugh Brock, Holtom recalls:

I drew myself: the representative of an individual in despair, with hands palm out stretched outwards and downwards in the manner of Gova's peasant before the firing squad. I formalized the drawing into a line and put a circle round it. It was ridiculous at first and such a puny thing \dots ³⁹

Another interpretation of the symbol was as a composite of the letters Nand D (as semaphore signals) for nuclear disarmament. Holtom was not happy with the symbol because it did not convey the necessary "positive and creative action, unilateral action" to "combat the nuclear threat." While he was painting slogans on banners for the upcoming march, he had a "revolution of thought":

If one turned the symbol upside down it could represent the tree of life, the tree on which Christ had been crucified and which, for Christians, was a symbol of hope and resurrection. Furthermore that inverted image of a figure with palms outstretched upward and outwards also represent the semaphore signal for U—for unilateral!⁴⁰

Banners like those that gave way to Holtom's revolution of thought, as well as more than two thousand peace posters from marches, strikes, and other actions for peace and social justice, are a significant feature of the Bradford museum's collection. A small number of these banners and posters are displayed in the permanent exhibit. These items appeal to visitors of all ages; many are colorful, and figuring out their meaning and hearing about their creators provides a powerful tribute to the history of peace movements.

In January 2011, the exhibit *Visible Voices: The Art of Women's Protest*, curated by Julie Obermeyer of the Peace Museum, was displayed at the Pop Up Art Space in Bradford. Hanging from the ceilings and covering the walls were more than thirty banners and other art of protest created by women during the past one hundred years. "Women's protest art has uniquely encouraged, rallied and dared us to both imagine and work towards building a more peaceful world." ⁴¹

A number of people have generously loaned or donated banners; in particular, Thalia Campbell has provided more than fifty banners, many of which she made and many of which were used in antinuclear protests from the 1980s on. For example, there is "Greenham March Banner," 1981, created by Campbell and Lucy Higgs. This green banner includes a series of peace symbols and maps the route from Cardiff to Greenham Airbase in Berkshire, UK that the Women's Action for Disarmament took in August 1981. The 120-mile walk included and was planned by Ann Pettit and Karmen Cutler to protest the UK government's decision to allow the United States to base ninety-six cruise missiles at Greenham Common. Upon arrival on September 5, four women chained themselves to the gates, and the first Greenham Common Peace Camp was set up. Despite injunctions and arrests, the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp continued for twelve and a half years, as a site of nonviolent direct action against nuclear armaments; it became "the most visible and globally recognized manifestation of the women's peace movement of the 1980s."42

Another banner, "Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp," 1981–82, was later taken to protests in Germany and Sweden. When the protestors were refused their demand to debate a representative of the government about the proposed siting of U.S. cruise missiles at Greenham, they chained themselves to the fence (a piece of the fence is one of the items in the museum's collection). The women's peace camp at Greenham continued and became a symbol of resistance to the military industrial complex; in fact, between 1984 and 1987, fences at forty-two bases in Europe were cut as acts of civil disobedience.⁴³

One of Thalia Campbell's most well-known works is the "Remembrance Banner," 1981; the banner hangs in the permanent exhibit and was carried from the Cenotaph war memorial in Whitehall to Trafalgar Square in London and back on Remembrance Sunday, 1981. The banner has a black background with a gold inscription: REMEMBRANCE IS NOT ENOUGH. Across the top are five poppies (red, purple, red, red, red), and across at the bottom

are six more (white, pink, green, red, purple, white); three of the flowers have a peace symbol in the center. Visitors to the museum may use an iPad to listen to a portion of the interview conducted with Thalia Campbell. She was asked why she began making peace banners in the early 1980s when she was involved with the protests. Campbell responds that the women in Greenham Common were being vilified:

People did think we were dirty slags, lesbians, bad mothers and all this kind of stuff, like they vilified the suffragettes in the early days, but the vilification was so untrue. I thought we had to counter it, so that's why I started making my banners really, to sort of use beauty and humour to put our point across. . . . I had a teacher colleague who used to come to Greenham and she had a job and she used to talk in the staff room about Greenham and she used to be really laughed at so she took ten of my banners into the staff room, put them up around the staff room and everybody was absolutely struck dumb and she never got teased again after she put the beautiful banners up around the staff room. So that's why I made all the banners really and to tell the story, you know. The first one I made was the "Map on the March," and the next one I made was "Women's Struggle Won the Vote Use It for Disarmament" . . . and I used to go up and put them on the fence and gradually this became a great big display on the fence.

Throughout the gallery there are also artworks by children and community members, a number of which reflect multicultural themes (images of different religious symbols and customs, for example) and are linked to images from antinuclear history, in particular Holtom's iconic peace image. There is also an old chest of drawers painted white that contains a range of small ceramics with antiwar and peace images made by local schoolchildren. Students using art to convey representations of peace have been an important part of the museum's activities.

REMEMBRANCE AND PEACE

In a section of the permanent exhibit called *Remembrance* visitors are asked to think about whether remembrance is enough. After millions of soldiers died during World War I, a movement grew to commemorate them. Visitors are asked: "Is it enough to remember those who died or could we do more? How can we help prevent so many deaths in future wars?" Continuing the theme of Thalia Campbell's "Remembrance Is Not Enough" banner is the large red and white "We Are Running Out of Poppies" wreath created by Emily Johns in 1995 to protest British support of sanctions against Iraq. The wreath was placed at the Cenotaph war memorial in Whitehall during protests and is now on display at the Bradford Peace Museum.

THE TRADITION OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

One emphasis of the museum's exhibit and permanent collection is the subject of conscientious objectors (COs); that is, individuals who refused to participate in the military on moral grounds of opposition to war. The background and history of conscientious objection is explored through a series of artifacts, from chains used on jailed COs, to a watercolor on the birthday of a CO at Dartmoor Convict Prison in 1918, to photos and insignia worn by COs who worked in alternative service such as ambulance driving.

A painting by Arthur Wilson Gay (1901–58) called *The Conchie* (1931) depicts two soldiers, with one holding a gun, and a young CO holding a book while staring out of a window at the larger world just as he is about to be taken to prison for his beliefs. This piece recalls the UK's introduction of conscription during World War I, which required that all young men join the military; sixteen thousand individuals claimed exemption from military service. There were a range of reasons, including religious and moral beliefs, political convictions (the war was a quarrel among upper-class interests), and personal convictions (life was too sacred to be sacrificed).

The British government established a procedure for men to apply for CO status at a court trial. Few individuals were granted full exemption by the tribunal; many were willing to join the war effort in noncombatant roles such as ambulance work. However, about six thousand were put in prison for refusing to help the war effort in any way. The majority were employed by the government to grow food, but fifteen hundred refused to compromise their beliefs in any way and totally refused to be part of the war effort. Twenty-four men died because of the treatment they received in prison. The COs who were imprisoned were not released until 1919 and were not granted the right to vote until 1929.

The Peace Museum archives contain many items, including pamphlets, diaries, other artifacts from COs, and an oral history; those interested in learning more about the history and philosophy of COs in the UK and elsewhere can use the museum's resources to trace the moral and philosophical background of pacifist dissent. It is noteworthy that the United Nations Commission on Human Rights did not recognize the right to conscientious objection until 1987. There remain today many places where conscientious objection to participating in war is not acknowledged and COs are imprisoned. For more information on this topic visit the Peace Pledge Union CO Project Web site;⁴⁴ to find out about issues COs face today, visit the WRI Web site. 45

A SPACE FOR PEACE WITHIN THE PREDOMINANT CULTURE OF WAR: COOPERATION WITH THE LEEDS ARMOURY MUSEUM AND OTHER SITES

To what extent do or should peace museums and peace educators cooperate with war museums, national museums, and other museums whose philosophy

or purpose is in many or all aspects counter to promoting peace? This dilemma is an ongoing issue between peace activists and educators. For example, the Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA) listsery debated whether as an organization or as individuals they should support the new building and programs of the U.S. Institute for Peace (USIP). USIP is a government institution funded by Congress and located in Washington, D.C.; it is uncritical of U.S. foreign policy such as the early twenty-first-century wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It emphasizes peacekeeping and conflict resolution, particularly in post-conflict societies, and it sponsors a range of "peacerelated" research and education projects. PISA participants had mixed opinions on what their relationship with USIP should be; some argued that USIP can be an important point of engagement and can highlight peace concerns in post-conflict societies; others were very critical of the type of peacekeeping that USIP sponsors and of its uncritical attitude toward "just wars," "just humanitarian intervention," and U.S. foreign policy in general. Interestingly, several years later, when USIP's funding was about to be cut and there was a call to lobby Congress to continue the institution, a number of PISA members wrote in support of the continued funding of USIP.

In countries around the world, the number of war and military museums (and the number of their annual visitors) dwarfs the few centers and museums for peace. Public and private museums emphasize war, the military, weapons, and related themes, and defend and glorify war; many are subsidized by the government. For example, the Imperial War Museum in London and its branches recorded more than two million visitors and eight million Web site hits in the 2010-11 Annual Government Report;⁴⁶ that number multiplied after the renovations and series of exhibits and events for the World War I Centenary. In contrast, Bradford's museum is small in size and, despite its significant archival collection, it faces ongoing difficulties with maintaining permanent and large enough space as well as with financial resources. Hence, it has created a number of joint projects with community groups as well as considered proposals to work on exhibits with a number of war, military, and other museums. And it has tried to balance the importance of being true to its commitment to peace, and independence as a peace center, with willingness to work in partnership with national museums with access to a much larger audience and resources. As trustee Clive Barrett writes, "The question arises as to whether or not it is possible to engage with these museums, and to work with them in a way that presents an alternative version of reality, that can leave visitors to military museums asking, 'Does it have to be like that?'"47

In some cases, the museum trustees voted to decline cooperation when they felt their materials would promote war and weapons. For example, the UK nuclear power industry's museum emphasizes what it describes as the accomplishments of nuclear energy, including development of nuclear armaments. It requested items from the museum in Bradford about opposition movements to nuclear weapons, but they "would have been displayed as part of an exhibition that said, in effect, 'despite opposition from an ignorant minority, nuclear power has been a great success.' The Peace Museum was not prepared to let its collection be used in that way and refused to lend items for that purpose."48

In contrast, there have been a series of cooperative projects between the Peace Museum and a range of military and war museums. The Yorkshire Air Museum⁴⁹ is the largest independent air museum in the UK and the site of the Allied Air Forces Memorial located in Elvington, about forty miles from Bradford. It was the only base used in World War II by the French heavy bomber squadrons. The visitor enters a museum that includes fifteen exhibitions, a range of military vehicles, and fifty historic aircraft, a number of which are still in working order. Hundreds of thousands of visitors, primarily from the UK but also from France, as well as many school groups, visit annually. The director of this independent air museum contacted the Peace Museum; he had included a copy of Picasso's Guernica among the exhibitions that focus on the bomber aircraft and heroism of the pilots and crew conducting aerial bombardment during World War II, and realized that more was needed about the human costs of modern warfare.⁵⁰

The staff from both museums worked closely with each other; and eventually they agreed to display in its entirety for five months a traveling exhibition that had been donated to the Peace Museum, created by Nihon Hidankyo of the Confederation of the Effects of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers in Tokyo. The exhibit, called *The A Bomb and Humanity*, includes prose, poetry (in Japanese with English translations), and graphic photographs and drawings of the human suffering and devastation from the first atomic bomb strike in Hiroshima. An estimated forty thousand visitors had the opportunity to see The A Bomb and Humanity and consider the terrible human cost and consequences of aerial bombing. Hence, amid the display of aircraft and other weaponry, there was an antinuclear and antiwar message. This gave visitors an opportunity to think about war in a different way: "War is not entertainment and visiting a museum of warplanes is not simply about having fun with boys' toys. These machines and their crews have caused terrible destruction and their successors today continue to destroy thousands of lives."51

Cooperation between Bradford's Peace Museum and the Royal Armouries, a national military museum, resulted in several projects. The Royal Armouries is a government-funded museum located in nearby Leeds with a large collection of arms and armaments. The national collection has a display of items in the Tower of London, and the Leeds site contains a much larger display of the huge "national trove" of military-related items, including displays of all types of weaponry from early to modern times. Hundreds of thousands of people visit the Royal Armouries annually.⁵² While proposals for a peace museum in Bradford were under way for a decade, the government funding, building, and opening of a large museum of war and armaments reflects the

56

ongoing reality that national museums about the military and war predominate in the UK and worldwide.

The first project was 2007's temporary exhibit A Vision Shared: Art from the History of the Peace Movement, which included from the Peace Museum such artifacts as banners and other artworks on public display for the first time, as well as objects borrowed from the collection of the London Imperial War Museum. This exhibit was subsequently on display in the hallways of the Peace Museum in Bradford (see a more detailed description earlier in this chapter). While the funding and professional expertise of the Armouries' staff proved beneficial to the creation and production of the panels, the challenge of a small museum and its concerns at times ran counter to "the very different styles and management structures of a huge, national government institution." 53

The Peace Museum also worked with the Royal Armouries, Leeds, to create an exhibit titled *Peace: A Farewell to Arms?*, and the Peace Museum had editorial control over the content. While this peace gallery is a small part of a huge museum displaying arms and armor, it introduces an alternative perspective and remains a permanent part of the museum's exhibits. *Farewell to Arms?* is described on the Royal Armouries' Web site as focusing on the "idea of CONVERSION—from war to peace, from weapons and armour to useful tools or symbolic images. The display explores the positive changes that have been—and are still being—made by individuals, groups, and whole nations that choose to replace conflict with peace." Objects are from both museums' collections, and arms conversion is displayed through showing how rifles (several from Mozambique) are used as materials for sculpture, art, and an "AK47 chair." Other themes include conscientious objection to bearing arms, disarmament campaigns, and a copy of Article 9 of Japan's Constitution, which prohibits formation of a standing army.

Another link between the Peace Museum and the Royal Armouries exists in the Royal Armouries' resource pack for teachers; in the section on *Talking Textiles* there are photos of peace drawings by students and a peace quilt from the Peace Museum collections with a link for further investigating the museum and its resources. Students are encouraged to explore the different composition of banners and posters and to pick out the symbols in the banners and research their meaning; for example, What are CND and Greenham Common?

The possibilities of expanding the Peace Museum's presence and initiating future cooperative projects remain open to factors ranging from leadership to funding. But for now, the presence of this exhibit on peace and conversion of arms to peaceful uses in the center of a national, government-funded museum of arms and armor is a significant initiative and provides much greater exposure of the work of the Peace Museum, as well as an opportunity to invite more visitors to Bradford, where they can learn firsthand about the museum's work and archival collection.

Another project of the museum is to create an oral history archive of local peacemakers "through the stories of a wide cross-section of peacemakers engaged at all levels and in all stages of life."55 As is emphasized throughout this book, peace history is to a great extent unknown and hidden, and identifying and documenting the lives and activities of peacemakers is an essential way to make available histories of peace that would otherwise be lost. In the UK, there are some oral histories under peace-related topics of particular historic events such as conscientious objection or Greenham Common in the Imperial War Museum London or the British Library, but the Bradford project aims to record both the activities of well-known artists and activists for peace and the stories of everyday people and their recollections. Further, several interviews are being used to enhance exhibitions and for education and research. As Julie Obermeyer, who conducted interviews with Thalia Campbell and conscientious objector Ron Mallone, points out, these interviews can be used to add to new and existing exhibits and to "make the stories of peacemakers come alive for generations to come."

EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH: TRAVELING EXHIBITS AND EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

From the outset, the Peace Museum in Bradford has created a series of traveling exhibits to get its peace message out; some are in partnership with other museums, galleries, or civic organizations. These exhibits are available for free, and many include educational material for primary and secondary school use (the content and images of a number of exhibits are available at bradfordpeacemuseumexhibits.org). Exhibit themes include:

Women Peacemakers: Past and Present Champions of Peace (about a series of Nobel Peace Prize winners) A Vision Shared (includes a range of activist and artistic representations) Such a Journey (history of individuals, immigrant groups, and peace activism in Bradford) Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Three traveling exhibits were launched in 2009–10, including an illustrated *Peace Timeline from 700 BC to 2100 AD* and *Leeds Peace History*, created in partnership with the Leeds Together for Peace Network. A more controversial exhibit is *A Nonviolent Response to Terrorism?*, which is used as an educational platform for public discussion of terrorism-related issues, including why people turn to terrorism, and is relevant to what is happening in the world today. Professor Paul Rogers of the Peace Studies Department at Bradford University spoke at the exhibition launch.

Peace and Conflict in Yorkshire

Throughout its history, the Peace Museum in Bradford has partnered with various small and large galleries and museums in creating installations and carrying out educational workshops and informational sessions. There have also been a series of workshops tailored to themes connected to the museum's collection (nonviolence, antinuclear history, art, and peace); primary and secondary curriculum (social studies, literature, etc.); and current events (multiculturalism, terrorism and counterterrorism, 2012 London Olympics). The following are a sample of workshops.

Art and Peace Workshops: After viewing the exhibits and/or seeing some of the museum's artifacts (banners, drawings, etc.), students from kindergarten onwards are asked to create their own images of peace using different materials; they have produced drawings, place mats, badges, different-colored poppies, and other items. There are also Family Days and special occasions, such as International Peace Day. Art has been a central part of the museum's educational initiatives from the beginning, and examples are displayed in the permanent exhibit.

Campaign! Make an Impact: This initiative for citizenship education was led by the British Library in partnership with the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, with funding from the UK government. The three-step model encouraged local museums and schools to work together to help students learn about historical campaigns, look at the creative techniques used, and then choose a topic and run their own campaign. In 2010, the Bradford Peace Museum, under the direction of Julie Obermeyer, ran a project with a local secondary school class (thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds) that traced the history of antinuclear campaigning.

First, teachers gave background about the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and Cold War policies and conflicts. Students saw items from the museum collection such as original footage from the first antinuclear march to Aldermaston in 1958, peace banners from protests and peace camps, and props used in the CND (in which the current Yorkshire CND Campaign officer took the lead). Then students chose to run a campaign through creating short films and selected topics they were interested in to research: prostitution, knife crime, animal cruelty, drug abuse, and child abuse.⁵⁷ Feedback from students included comments about how they learned that nuclear weapons are called "atomic bombs" and that these weapons "have killed more people than they thought." Students also stated that they enjoyed making posters and the film and liked running a campaign since "they are capable of doing it themselves" and liked "having the chance to say what [they] think."⁵⁸

Kokeshi Stand Up, Speak Out, Make a Difference!: This exhibit was an outgrowth of community partnerships (Education Bradford) and government funding that came out of the Prevent Strategy initiative (a UK response to the 7/7 London bombings). The Kokeshi (the name for a traditional Japanese doll that symbolizes friendship) exhibit was held in 2010 (more than two thousand students visited), then again in 2011 in the Yorkshire

Craft Centre's large gallery, with a classroom nearby. 59 The Bradford Peace Museum contributed materials from its collection to the exhibition, including packets for teacher education and links to themes about bullying, racism, street violence, weapons, and international conflict. Several panels from the Kokeshi exhibit were on view, along with further information accessed through the use of iPads available to visitors at the museum gallery.

The exhibit connects an individual's story, that of Sadako Sasaki (1942–55), who died from leukemia as a result of radiation poisoning caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Books, monuments, paper cranes, small dolls, and so on are all associated with Sadako's life and death; but less well known is the fact that, following her death, her friends founded a club, Kokeshi-no-kai, the Little Doll Association, to heighten awareness of the children who were victims of the atomic bomb and to "convince people that war should never happen again." The school club raised funds in memory of all the children who "suffered and died as a result of the atom bomb." Eventually, the small group turned into a nationwide movement, motivating children and young people to take action; the group raised funds to erect the Children's Peace Monument in Hiroshima Peace Park in 1958, which has a statue of Sadako, whose arms are outstretched as she holds a paper crane. Thus, the story attempts to balance the tragic effects of the use of nuclear bombs with how a group of children created a "proactive campaign" to "stand up, speak out and make a difference." 60

After learning about the history of Hiroshima, Sadako, and her friends' stories, and of the antinuclear movement, students are asked: "So now it is your turn. What matters to you? How will you speak out against hatred and for what is right? What action will you take? What story will you tell that might change the world?"61 Students were able to "own" the exhibit and discuss such issues as:

Sadako's rights then—Whose rights now?

My rights—Who has rights? What rights matter most to me?

Group activity—bidding for rights—Which right would you "pay" the most to keep?

If you rebuilt society, what human rights would you protect by law? What would your "constitution" say about war and nuclear weapons?⁶²

Another way students connected to these questions was through the peer-education element integral to the Kokeshi exhibit; each class that visited the exhibit and viewed the film afterward had other students as guides and peer educators. Student ambassadors helped train and guide other students. "The confidence and self-esteem which grew in the most unlikely students in the group of peer educators was one of the lasting achievements of the exhibition."63 There was also an outdoor celebration in Bradford's main Centenary Square that included children's artwork as the final Kokeshi 2010 event. In "Sadako or Al Oaeda? A Peace Museum

Approach to Counter Terrorism," Clive Barrett emphasizes that such educational programs are at the heart of the museum's work to "build a culture of peace, strengthening community resilience, bringing freedom from fear, and empowering young people from the most vulnerable background to 'Stand Up, Speak Out, and Make a Difference.'"64

NEW DIRECTIONS: TEACHER AND STUDENT WORKSHOPS ON COMMUNITY COHESION, CHOICES THEN AND NOW, 2014 WORLD WAR I CENTENARY, AND RELATED THEMES

Diane Hadwen, a local educator who in the past directed a successful Anne Frank exhibit using the Young Ambassadors model, played a leadership role in the *Kokeshi* project; along with Ben Chalcraft, she created a teachers' guide. In 2012, Diane Hadwen was appointed by the trustees to serve as head of the museum and manager of education and learning. She has introduced new education initiatives and workshops at the museum gallery, in schools, and at Culture Fusion, a new youth center in downtown Bradford. I visited a workshop conducted by Diane Hadwen at Culture Fusion; students with different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds and from two different schools came together for a day of meetings and workshops. The workshop was "Sport, Courage, Peace and Friendship," and its goal of was to link interest in the 2012 London Olympics to sports in general with tolerance and moral education themes.⁶⁵

Students saw photos about the history of the Olympics and Nazi racial ideology. They were asked to discuss sports figures they admired, and to describe what they saw as important characteristics in those individuals. The students came up with such terms as *friendship*, *excellence*, *respect*, *courage*, *determination*, *equality*, and *inspiration*. They were told about the 1933 Olympics in Nazi Germany, and about the friendship that developed between African American athlete Jesse Owens and German runner Luz Long. Diane Hadwen led a discussion on the ideas surrounding equality: What does equality mean? Discuss the notions of same and different. What does the statement "If you have rights, then you also have responsibility" mean to you? The students worked together using iPods to respond to the discussion questions and share ideas. After having lunch as a group, they continued the workshop into the afternoon.

Student workshops off site, such as the one just described featuring the London Olympics, as well as class visits to the museum have increased since 2012; new programs have been developed, including a number that are directly linked to UK curriculum standards. Building on the valuable, historic peace trail maps of Bradford and Leeds, which were developed for a more adult audience, a new, local peace trail was created in 2013 with the cooperation of local students. Children describe specific sites and narrate local peace histories.⁶⁶ The Bradford Peace Museum continues to work on

teacher-training projects about citizenship, choices, and anti-terrorism, as well as through a series of learning networks to enrich classroom education on peace-related projects.⁶⁷

The Peace Museum partnered with local groups including the Bradford Council in designing a curriculum for the UK World War I centenary commemoration. Diane Hadwen along with Ben Chalcraft created a teaching resource of almost 100 pages, "Choices: Then and Now." Some funding for workshops in local schools was provided through national funds. The workshops explored what choices people made during wartime, including that of conscientious objection. Students were introduced to a more complicated view of life during wartime, and the toll on individuals and their communities. Students visiting the museum study artifacts from its collection; for example, the painting The Conchie, banners carried by antiwar protestors in Bradford, and items helpful in discussing daily life in wartime. Room 1 in the Peace Museum will be converted into a World War I Choices Gallery curated, in part, by local schoolchildren. Museum manager Diane Hadwen explains how she approaches the World War I education workshops: "There are two elements to Choices: WWI and now. It is about resilience, the choices people had then and the choices they have now.... We look at where people got their information from then, and where they get it from today."68

THE PEACE MUSEUM IN BRADFORD: LOOKING FORWARD

From creating traveling, temporary, and permanent exhibits to conducting education workshops, the Bradford Peace Museum continues to have a positive impact on people in Bradford and nearby communities. For example, the Peace Museum newsletter (Winter 2013/Spring 2014) describes a series of new, temporary exhibits: *Margaret Glover: Images of Peace Exhibition*, which will feature the paintings of local Quaker artist Margaret Glover; *Sierra Leone: Building Peace after War*, a collaboration with the Peace Museum, Sierra Leone, and the University of Leeds, that will trace how children were affected by the civil war and highlighting reconciliation, education, and peace work efforts in its aftermath.

In honor of UK Holocaust Memorial Day, the museum used the theme "Journeys" to work with members of BIASAN (Bradford Immigration Asylum Support and Advice Network) to create shoe boxes representing individual journeys. The shoe boxes were displayed for a month in the Bradford Room, alongside a Kindertransport suitcase and other artifacts. Also on display are three new sculptures called *Prisoner of Conscience*. They were created by Malcolm Brocklesby, a nephew of Bert Brocklesby, who was one of the "Richmond 16"—a group of World War I COs imprisoned at nearby Richmond Castle.⁶⁹

The Peace Museum has increasingly found its voice as one linking past and present peace histories and challenges. Student and teacher programs speak to Bradford's diverse cultural and socioeconomic communities through inclusion education working with different segments of the population. In fact, ongoing violence and discrimination in the UK, throughout Europe, and worldwide make the exhibits and workshops addressing alternatives to violence and social justice issues of continuing importance. The Bradford Peace Museum's remarkable collection of artifacts from COs and other peace activists and artists is one of its hallmarks; and the museum shares these resources with schools, museums, and other institutions. From the oral histories of pacifists, artists, and others to a range of workshops, the museum sponsors new initiatives and works with a series of public and private partners to educate children and young people about nonviolence and peace; it plans to continue partnering with local and national groups to conduct workshops during the four-year World War I Centenary commemoration.

Technology has become an important part of the museum, from extensive cataloguing of its collection, with images and historical explanation of badges, to leaflets available to the public online and integrating apps and other technology in its permanent exhibit, student workshops, and the Routes to Peace Heritage Trails project. There is a regular Object of the Week featured on the Web site, with the objects selected from the museum's wide-ranging collection. Past featured objects include all-atomic comics, produced in the late 1970s as a swipe at supporters of nuclear power, peace T-shirts, and a ceramic plate commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of WRI, with a history of the organization and the broken rifle adopted as its symbol in the 1930s.

There continues to be a committed group of local peace activists who support the museum. But the search for financial resources and a permanent home for the peace museum in Bradford and its collection continues. A number of the original supporters and trustees have retired or died, and engaging a committed new generation to volunteer the time and resources to help govern and support the museum is a continuing challenge. While the museum has had a series of interns, including a good number from the University of Bradford's Peace Studies program, there are limited resources for paid staff; this results in turnover of personnel. The challenge of securing matching funding for grants or stable funding remains ongoing. In some respects, one might argue that the lack of a permanent site has forced staff and volunteers to be creative and to reach out to other groups and spaces for collaborative projects. But trying to find permanent space and funding has also taken much time away from peace projects, and leaves the museum and its collection uncertain about its future.

It is remarkable, given the controversy surrounding the subject of peace, how much has been accomplished and the degree to which the Peace Museum in Bradford has stayed true to its original vision of educating about pacifism,

nonviolence, and peace history. It engages children and young adults from different backgrounds in workshops that promote themes of understanding, respect, and cooperation and that look at issues within the community, including those of terrorism and racism, and it promotes community cohesion. There are a series of exhibits at the museum site, Leeds Armouries, and elsewhere that use the extraordinary collection of peace items to spread the museum's peace and social justice themes. Its unique collection of art and artifacts is a hallmark of the museum's collection, and the documentation of the collection on the Peace Museum Web site makes this peace history available to a worldwide audience. There is an explosion of government funding and programs to commemorate the World War I Centenary, and emphasis is on British patriotism and sacrifice during the Great War. The exhibits and workshops at the Peace Museum in Bradford offer alternative stories about choices and experiences during wartime. They create cultures of peace through artistic and other community projects, and educate about the history of conscientious objectors and of antiwar and peace movements to connect past and present choices about war and violence. As the only peace museum in the country, the Peace Museum in Bradford is a living repository of the country's peace history; and it continues to introduce an alternative vision of fostering inclusion, nonviolence, and peace, both locally and globally.

NOTES

- 1. "A Museum for Life," the Peace Museum Web site, accessed May 14, 2014, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/about/. This chapter relies in part on firsthand observations and discussions with staff, trustees, and visitors that took place in March 2012 when the author visited the Peace Museum in Bradford and attended the opening of the new permanent exhibit.
- 2. Clive Barrett (board chair, the Peace Museum), e-mail correspondence with author, June 21, 2013.
- 3. "Purpose," the Peace Museum Web site, accessed September 18, 2010, http:// www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2010/09/18/featured/. For an interesting earlier analysis of the museum's goals and potential, see Peter van den Dungen, "The Peace Museum in Bradford and Peace Museums Worldwide," in City of Peace: Bradford's Story, ed. Carol Rank (Bradford, UK: Bradford Libraries, 1977).
- 4. J. A. Jowitt and R. B. Perks, "Destination Bradford: Bradford's Immigrant History," in City of Peace, 77.
- 5. Carol Rank, "Introduction," in *City of Peace*, 19.6. Carol Rank, "Building a Culture of Peace: Education for Peace through Peace Museums," in Exhibiting Peace: The Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Peace Museums, Osaka and Kyoto, Japan, November 6-10, 1998 (Kyoto: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, 1999), 3.
- 7. See "Peace Studies Bradford University" in Bradford Peace Trail: A Walk around Bradford: City of Peace, 2nd ed. (Bradford: Bradford District Council and the Peace Museum, 2007), 25. In 1973, the Quaker Peace Studies Trust raised £75,000 to establish a chair in Peace Studies, and the University of Bradford matched this amount. Adam Curle (1916-2006), a dynamic Peace Studies scholar, was the first appointment. The Peace Studies Programme became a

highly respected center to study peace and peace-related issues, attracting undergraduates and graduate students from around the world. Faculty members Paul Rogers and Simon Whitby trace the first forty years of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in *City of Peace: Bradford's Story*, including debates over to what extent the program should be research-oriented and/or activist. Rogers and Whitby also describe how during the Cold War conservative academics and politicians staged a series of attacks on the program for being "subversive."

- 8. "Commonweal Collection," in *Bradford Peace Trail*, 22. For a history of the collection and of its founder, pacifist David Hoggett, as well as links with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, see also Andrew Rigby, "Symbols of Peace: The Commonweal Collection," in *City of Peace*, 151–60.
- 9. For a sample view of the collection, go to http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/category/collection/.
- 10. Clive Barrett, "Images and Symbols of Peace," in *Museums for Peace: A Contribution to Remembrance*, *Reconciliation*, *Art and Peace: 5th International Museums for Peace Conference Papers* (Guernica-Lumo: Fundacion Museo de la Paz de Gernika, 2005), 72.
- 11. Ibid.
- 12. Give Peace a Chance Trust, Bringing Peace to People: Towards a Museum for Peace in the United Kingdom: Meeting of Directors and Staff of Peace and Anti-War Museums and Related Institutions Worldwide, 10–12 September 1992 (Hertford, UK: Give Peace a Chance Trust, 1993), 6.
- 13. For information on the Quaker Peace Studies Trust at Bradford University, see http://www.brad.ac.uk/ssis/peace-studies/quaker/.
- 14. Give Peace a Chance Trust, Bringing Peace to People, 26.
- 15. For copies of the newsletter, see http://inmp.net/index.php/newsletters.
- 16. Give Peace a Chance Trust, Bringing Peace to People, 31.
- 17. Carol Rank, "Building a Culture of Peace," 1.
- 18. Frances McNeil, ed., Such a Journey: Peace Stories, Poems and Memories from Bradford People (Bradford, UK: Bradford Libraries, 1997).
- 19. Shireen Shah, "Museum without Walls," in Exhibiting Peace: The Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Peace Museums, Osaka and Kyoto, Japan, November 6–10, 1998 (Kyoto: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, 1999), 75.
- 20. The Peace Museum, *The Peace Museum* (Bradford, UK: Peace Museum UK, 2012). (Brochure.)
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. The Peace Museum, "Peace Not Prejudice—Bradford City of Peace," February 27, 2012, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2012/02/27/peace-not-prejudice-bradford-city-of-peace-a-new-exhibition/. (News release.)
- 24. Bradford City for Peace and the Peace Museum, *Bradford Peace Trail* (2007) describes a walking tour tracing a select group of peace and social justice sites as well as memorials of wars and conflicts. The Routes to Peace Heritage Trail includes a larger number of sites and has a pocket guide and an app/channel that features short videos that can be activated at each site using a smartphone, iPod, or tablet. The videos were made by student peacemakers with the help of the Peace Museum staff. See http://www.museumsandheritage.com/advisor/news/item/2939.
- 25. The Peace Museum, "Peace Not Prejudice," in *Peace Not Prejudice* (Bradford Peace Museum UK, 2012). (Exhibition panel.)
- 26. Bradford City for Peace and the Peace Museum, "Oak Lane," in *Bradford Peace Trail*, 32.
- 27. The Peace Museum, "Peace Not Prejudice—Bradford City of Peace," February 27, 2012, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2012/02/27/peace-not-prejudice-bradford-city-of-peace-a-new-exhibition/. (News release.)

- 28. Ibid.
- 29. See J. A. Jowitt, "Bradford and Peace 1800-1918," in City of Peace, 31-43.
- 30. Ros Lilley, "Miriam Lode, OBE-1885-1968: Educating Children for Peace," in City of Peace, 53.
- 31. Nigel Young, "I. B. Priestley," in The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace, ed. Nigel Young (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. 2, 568–69.
- 32. Ibid. Young's article traces Priestley's complicated history as part of the UK antinuclear movement; for example, Priestley opposed the first Aldermaston march in 1958, resulting in weakening of the CND leadership at the time.
- 33. Michael Randle, "Bradford: Centre of Peace Research and Action," in City of Peace, 136-37.
- 34. http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/collection.
- 35. Alex Eaton, "Kenneth Hockney's Commitment to Peace," in City of Peace, 69-71.
- 36. The Peace Museum, "Object of the Week," November 30, 2012, http://www. peacemuseum.org.uk/2012/11/30/object-of-the-week-53/. (News release.)
- 37. Andrew Rigby, "Symbols of Peace," 152.
- 38. Ibid.
- 39. Quoted from a letter to Hugh Brock, September 29, 1973, in Rigby, "Symbols of Peace," 152. Brock was a peace historian and crucial figure in the Direct Action Committee and, from 1955-64, served as editor of Peace News. Brock took care of Holtom's original drawings; after Hugh Brock's death in 1986, his wife, Eileen, donated them to the Commonweal Collection. (Ibid.)
- 40. Rigby, "Symbols of Peace," 153-54.
- 41. The Peace Museum, "Visible Voices: The Art of Women's Protest Exhibition a Great Success," February 1, 2011, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2011/ 02/01/new-exhibition-visible-voices-the-art-of-womens-protest/. (News release.) The exhibition was curated by Julie Obermeyer. Given the size of the banners, this gallery space was a rare opportunity to exhibit so many of the banners in the Peace Museum's collection at one time for public viewing.
- 42. Sasha Roseneil, "Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp," in The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace, ed. Nigel Young, vol. 2, 286–89.
- 43. The Peace Museum, "Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp," October 24, 2009, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2009/10/24/greenham-commonwomens-peace-camp. In March 1991, the cruise missiles were finally withdrawn, and the base was closed a short time after.
- 44. http://www.coproject.org.
- 45. http//wri-irg.org.
- 46. Imperial War Museum UK, Annual Report and Account 2010-2011. See http:// official-documents.gov.uk.
- 47. Clive Barrett, "Loving Your Enemy: Working with Military Museums on Peace Education," in Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Museums for Peace, ed. Risa Ikeya (Kyoto: Organizing Committee of the Sixth International Conference of Museums for Peace, 2009), 48.
- 48. Ibid., 49.
- 49. www.yorkshireairmuseum.org.
- 50. Clive Barrett, "Loving Your Enemy," 48-9.
- 51. Ibid., 49.
- 52. www.royalarmouries.org/visit-us.
- 53. Clive Barrett, "Loving Your Enemy," 48.
- 54. www.royalarmouries.org/visit-us/leeds/leeds-galleries/war/peace-farewell-to-arms.
- 55. Julie Obermeyer, "The Campaign! Make an Impact Model in UK Museums: Inspiring Young People to Work for Peace," in Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures, eds. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 107.

- 56. "Campaign! Make an Impact!," British Library, accessed July 9, 2014, http://www.bl.uk/campaign.
- 57. Obermeyer, "The Campaign! Make an Impact Model in UK Museums," 89.
- 58. Ibid., 92.
- 59. The Peace Museum, "Kokeshi Exhibition Involved and Inspired Young People," April 1, 2010, http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2010/04/01/kokeshi-exhibition-involves-youth-as-interpreters/. (News release.)
- 60. Peace Museum, Kokeshi: Stand Up, Speak Out, Make a Difference, March-April 2011.
- 61. Ibid.
- 62. Clive Barrett, "'The Conscientious Would Not Go': Peace Museums and Human Rights," unpublished paper, 2011.
- 63. Clive Barrett, "Sadako or Al Qaeda?," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, eds. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 72–88.
- 64. Ibid., 88.
- 65. Diane Hadwen and Ben Chalcraft, *Sport, Courage, Peace and Friendship: Sport and the Olympics* (Bradford, UK: Integration and Cohesion Works, 2011). The objectives of the curriculum are very broad and are listed in the resource guide: to help children and young people become successful learners, confident individuals, and active citizens; to encourage "pupil voice" and leadership; and to raise awareness of human rights, responsibilities, peace, and conflict resolution, locally, nationally, and internationally. Other aims include creating more knowledge and understanding of the values of international sporting events; encouraging viewing sport as an opportunity to promote inclusion, integration, and cohesiveness, to prevent conflict, to reduce racism and prejudice, and to challenge stereotypes. The use of modern technologies and learning outside the classroom are also goals.
- 66. http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/2012/05/20/routes-to-peace-heritage-trail-pocket-guide/.
- 67. The Peace Museum, "Education," http://www.peacemuseum.org.uk/education.
- 68. Chris Young, "Education: Exploring Daily Life in Wartime," *Telegraph & Argus*, January 7, 2014. Diane Hadwen and Ben Chalcraft have produced *Choices: Then and Now*, a ninety-eight-page teaching resource and CD that "explores choices and consequences, during WWI and here and now in the 21st century."
- 69. See the Peace Museum, *The Peace Museum Newsletter* (Bradford, UK: The Peace Museum, Winter/Spring 2014).

3 Kyoto Museum for World Peace

Speaking Truth to Power—A University Peace Museum

See, feel, think, then take your first steps towards peace.

-Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook

We wish to live in peace. We do not wish to live with the fear of war, the pain of hunger or deprived of our human rights . . .

To look squarely at the path humanity has come down And make the most of what we learn from that history To build peace in the future—That is what we need to do That we all may become "hands that build peace"...

-Kyoto Museum for World Peace Philosophy¹

Over the last seventy years, Japan has been at the center of debates and controversies about the Asia-Pacific War (1931-45). Two outgrowths of these contested histories and war memories were the development of a culture of peace through a series of Japanese antiwar and antinuclear movements (broadly labeled peace or pacifist movements) and the founding of a group of peace museums. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace in Kyoto, Japan is part of this culture of peace; it maintains a strong antiwar, antinuclear stance and a progressive ideology emphasizing peace, democracy, and international cooperation. Situated at Ritsumeikan University, it is the first peace museum in the world built at and supported by a university. Using its extensive collection of artifacts donated by Japanese citizens, the museum traces the propaganda and the hardships of daily life during wartime. Exhibits display not only the damage to Japanese civilians and destruction caused by the aerial bombardment of Japanese cities and the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also atrocities carried out under Japanese colonialism and militarism. Lectures, films, and temporary displays, such as on the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster, also encourage visitors to become engaged citizens: "See, feel, think, then take your first steps toward peace."

BACKGROUND: SITUATING THE KYOTO MUSEUM FOR WORLD PEACE IN JAPAN'S MUSEUM LANDSCAPE—CULTURES OF PEACE AND PEACE MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

Walk into the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum or the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum² and the first thing you may notice is the crowds of schoolchildren listening to teachers or scribbling notes about the exhibits. These museums are the oldest and largest antinuclear museums in Japan, both founded in 1955, a decade after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As Japan's most visible peace museums, they are tasked with educating the world and, in particular, its young citizens about the horrors of war, "the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the realization of lasting world peace."³

In Japan, visiting museums is a popular activity, and schools integrate these visits into their curricula. In fact, student groups make up a significant percentage of visitors, and annually more than one million children tour museums with war-related exhibits. The result is that a high percentage of Japanese young people have visited museums with exhibits about war at least once during their school years. Before the visit, teachers usually receive preparatory training or materials, and students have an in-class introduction to the museum's content. Often, as part of their homework, students are required to answer questions in writing about what they have seen.

Depending on how broad the criteria are, there are an estimated fifty to sixty peace centers/museums, which vary in quality, throughout Japan.⁵ Japanese peace museums emphasize recording the history of the Fifteen-Year War in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as the damage and toll on Japanese citizens. These sites display the destruction of war as a lesson to prevent future conflicts; a number include a strong disarmament message.

However, such peace museums "are dwarfed by war museums and memorial sites; there are more than 220 museums throughout Japan whose subject matter is focused on wars that took place between 1868 and 1945." From the 1960s on, there has been a resurgence of war museums; a number have been rehabilitated, and yet others have been established, such as the series of "military museums in the bases behind barbed wire," opened by the Self-Defense Forces (SDF).

While Japan's war and peace museums often cover the same events, their interpretations differ markedly. The "rhetoric of peace" is "ubiquitous," resulting in museums representing "interpretations by groups across the political spectrum." The term *peace* (*heiwa*) is thus applied to a wide range of sites, from the progressive Osaka Peace Center to the nationalist Chiran-Town Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, one of a series of war museums that depict the heroism of the Japanese military. As historian Takashi Yoshida points out: "These museums not only earnestly applaud martyrdom, but also candidly and ingenuously praise the wars that the nation had experienced without referring to peace. In their exhibits, the Pacific War is generally portrayed as an honorable and just conflict."

Such war museums describe the invasion of Asian countries as justified because of Japan's need to find natural resources and modernize; they also teach that the Japanese military liberated Asian countries from their own backwardness and from European colonialism. The war museums ignore the devastating human toll. For example, the Japanese Imperial Navy carried out the first indiscriminate bombing attacks in the Pacific theater, in January 1932, on Shanghai civilians; the navy went on to target Nanjing, Wuhan, and Chongqing, where there were more than two hundred air raids from 1935 to 1938. The Japanese "sought to destroy the Guomindang's [Kuomingtang] center of power and demoralize the civilians who supported this regime." Hence, in a war museum such bombings are portrayed as a part of military conquest and power, and as a source of national pride.

Soldiers and loyal civilians are venerated in Japanese war museums and shrines for their willingness to sacrifice for their nation and emperor. For more than half a century, Japanese prime ministers, including the current prime minister, Shinzō Abe, and other officials have made public visits to Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, a Shinto shrine where Japanese soldiers and civilians killed in wartime service are entombed and remembered: "The Yasukuni narrative imposes a meaning on the dead, assimilating the dead as elements of sacrifice for the nation, and commemorating—indeed *deifying*—them through the religious trappings of the emperor cult." ¹¹

Official visits and public displays at Yasukuni and other war memorials and museums continually spark controversies and protests in Japan and abroad, and reflect how issues of war, religion, the emperor, and identity are intertwined and politicized. Such conflicted and contested histories and cultures of war remain an ongoing part of Japanese society. From 1945 on, as historian Mark Selden points out,

issues of war have remained alive and contentious in public memory and in the actions of the Japanese state. After the formal independence promulgated by the 1951 San Francisco Treaty, with Hirohito still on the throne, Japanese governments reaffirmed the aims of colonialism and war of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere of the 1931–45 era. They released from prison and restored the reputations of former war criminals, making possible the election of Kishi Nobusuke as Prime Minister. . . . In 1955, when the Liberal Democratic Party inaugurated its nearly forty-year grip on power, the Ministry of Education tried to force authors of textbooks to downplay or omit altogether reference to the Nanking Massacre, the comfort women, Unit 731, and military-coerced suicides of Okinawan citizens during the Battle of Okinawa. Yet these official efforts, then and since, have never gone unchallenged by the victims, by historians, or by peace activists. 12

Indeed, a range of peace museums participate in trying to shape historic memories of the war, and initially focused on providing testimonies and

evidence about the suffering of Japanese civilians, and to convey a broad peace and ban-the-bomb message. A small number of private, progressive peace museums have challenged the state more directly, critiquing Japanese militarism, government policies, and official narratives. These museums advocate for recognition, apology, and reconciliation with China, Korea, and other countries; they also lobby to maintain the peace clause in Japan's Constitution and against Japan's domestic nuclear energy policies. Campaigns by right-wing nationalists to close down such exhibits have resulted in a number of museums' modifying content or self-censorship in the face of intimidation and threats. Hence, museums as cultural phenomena take part in the contested war memories that remain so significant within Japanese society.

In distinguishing between how peace museums and war museums exhibit war and serve as sites of collective memory, Professor Toshifumi Murakami, whose research is on the sociological study of peace education, observes that "a social function of peace museums in Japan is to pass on the damages of the war experience to the next generation. The peace museums awaken the reflection of not repeating negative war, and they develop the will for a peaceful world. A function of the peace museums is to lead the visitors to oppose any war (e.g., pacifism). They foster distrust in the type of patriotism that causes war." Murakami argues that educating about the history and toll of war must continue to be a central role of Japanese peace museums, given that witnesses to World War II and the *hibakusha*, the survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are dying off. Hence, students and teachers have less direct knowledge of the history of these events, the catalysts for the very existence of peace museums in Japan.

Japan is home to more than half of the peace museums in the world—using a broad definition of antiwar sites as peace museums—more by far than in any other country. In fact, peace historian Peter van den Dungen made the observation that Japan is the only country in the world that may be said to have a peace museum movement.¹⁴ Why are there so many peace museums in Japan?

DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

Certainly the fact that Japan's earliest peace museums were established a decade after the end of World War II reflects the impact of the mobilization of the entire country for war from 1933 to 1945, the extent of propaganda, the extensive damage on the ground, and the scars—both physical and psychological—left on the Japanese people. People throughout the country had collected many items, from ration books to conscription orders to military uniforms, and were willing to donate them. Historian Yuki Tanaka describes the scale of wartime destruction: "More than 100 Japanese cities were destroyed by firebombing, and two by atomic bombing, causing one million casualties, including more than half a million deaths, the majority

being civilians, particularly women and children."¹⁵ Traveling exhibits and peace museums were part of the first attempts to document such extensive war damage.

The U.S. military occupation (1945–52) carried out by the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP) under General Douglas MacArthur had a significant impact on all aspects of Japanese life, including dismantling the Japanese military and imposing reforms in economic, political, and educational spheres. The new democratic-style government reduced (but did not eliminate) the role of the emperor, and a U.S.-style Constitution introduced a "no-war" clause, outlawed a standing army, and specified a broad range of civil rights, including female suffrage. Following seven years of censorship imposed during the occupation, public debates opened up about such topics as the Asia-Pacific War and its effects, the role of Emperor Hirohito and the military, war responsibility and the postwar military tribunals, and the impact of bombings on the Japanese people and their cities.

Temporary peace exhibits and museums were born of a "popular pacifism," a principled stand against war and violence, which emerged in postwar Japan. Historian Mari Yamamoto describes the growth of grassroots pacifism as a mixture of antiwar attitudes that grew out of weariness with war and its deprivation, and demilitarization. There was ongoing criticism by the occupation authorities of the wartime regime, including publicizing the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, also known as the Tokyo Wartime Trials (1946–48), and criminal acts carried out by the Japanese military. SCAP emphasized that democracy and peace through renouncing the military was the way forward for Japan and its economic recovery. Different constituencies such as workers, teachers, and other citizens rallied for a range of peace-related causes through trade unions, associations, and political parties.

The earliest peace museums in Japan also served as a means to record and display images of the terrible impact of aerial bombardment on people's lives, and to come to terms with Japan's military past. For example, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum traced the death and suffering inflicted on the Japanese from the use of atomic weapons. Both museums provide testimonies (through written and oral histories) about the massive death toll; the physical injuries endured by the survivors; the ongoing, debilitating health consequences; the environmental damage; and the material destruction. These museums, supported by local and state funding, came to serve as sites of commemoration. They are officially designated as cities of peace (heiwa toshi), and over time developed annual peace declarations, ceremonies, and rituals. They also helped publish information about the atomic bombings for different age groups. Visitors to their museum stores will find personal stories, manga books, eyewitness drawings and other artistic works, and scientific research, including a book series produced by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.¹⁸

The exhibitions featuring survivors' stories and artifacts of A-bomb destruction are described as aiming to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to encourage working toward peace. The exhibitions also provide a vehicle to acknowledge the human trauma suffered by the victims of aerial bombing and other destruction and the continuing physical and psychological repercussions on people's lives. Despite experiencing ostracism and discrimination within Japanese society, *hibakusha* (survivors) shared testimonies about their experiences to visitors in the peace museums in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and other sites.

As part of the development of this popular pacifism, citizens throughout Japan established a series of peace-related associations. In particular, the Bikini H-bomb test (1954) and nuclear fallout, sometimes referred to as the "third nuclear bombing of Japan," sparked a series of antinuclear petitions, including a grassroots movement by Japanese housewives fearing contamination of food, as well as mass rallies that were later linked to international ban-the-bomb movements. Activities (e.g., collecting artifacts, researching, writing, drawing, recording testimonies of survivors) of a select group of peace-oriented associations by the 1970s contributed to the later establishment of a range of permanent museums, from the Association for Preserving the Story of Air Raids and War Damages in Kochi to the Association for Preserving the Story of the Tokyo Air Raids.

Most peace museums in Japan are citizens' initiatives, privately funded or funded by a combination of citizen and local government support, and are small to medium in size. In fact, many are referred to in Japanese as "display houses," "memorial houses," or "resource centers." These alternative sites have been established to allow greater independence and to avoid the requirements and control stipulated for *hakubutsukan* (museums) under the Japanese Museum Law Regulations. Hence, through citizens' initiatives, including volunteering time and donating funds, a number of centers/museums circumvented the government regulations and opened new sites, bringing their own war mementos or other artifacts and resources to the centers.

The peace centers and museums created by individuals and citizens' groups brought together survivor testimonies, mapping of bombings, documentation of material destruction, medical damage, and, later on, environmental and other effects. In addition, various artistic representations of atrocities were displayed at sites of commemoration. The most famous was the Maruki Gallery in Saitama Prefecture (also known as the Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels), which was established in 1967 by artists Iri Maruki (1901–95) and Toshi Maruki (1912–2000) to house the fifteen folding panels (with each panel 5.9 feet in height and 23.6 feet in width) known as the *Hiroshima Panels*. This series was begun in the aftermath of the devastation the artists had witnessed in Hiroshima, and their work depicted the terrible effects of the use of atomic weapons. The panels include *Ghosts*, *Fire*, *Water*, *Boys and Girls*, *Atomic Desert*, *Mother and Child*, and *Nagasaki*. The first panels (which include commentary about

each panel on view by Toshi Maruki) were exhibited throughout Japan and, by some estimates, were viewed by more than a million people, with enormous impact. The following is the opening text for the panel *Ghosts*:

It was a procession of ghosts
In an instant all clothing burned off
Hands, faces, and breasts swelled
The purple blisters on their skin
Were soon burst and peeled off
Hanging down like pieces of rags 22

The Marukis' paintings expanded to display other war atrocities, including an eight-part series on the Battle of Okinawa, and, in fact, their gallery was one of the earliest to include depictions of atrocities for which the Japanese themselves were responsible. The artists continued to produce paintings on the brutal effects of nuclear war, the bombings' effects on Japanese citizens, and other atrocities, including in the 1970s: *Deaths of American Prisoners of War, Crows* (about discrimination against Korean survivors of the bomb), *The Rape of Nanking*, and *Auschwitz*. The Maruki Gallery catalog lists sixty joint works of Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki, concluding in 1990 with works titled *Nuclear Power Plant* and *Chernobyl*. Panels from the collection, which were exhibited in China, Korea, and other countries around the world, have been viewed by millions of people.²³

Another initiative was the Fifth Lucky Dragon Exhibition House (1976), established in a Tokyo park by the municipality with cooperation of citizens to protest against the hydrogen bomb test that the United States carried out in 1954 in the Marshall Islands and to convey a strong antinuclear message. The exhibition includes a replica of the Japanese fishing boat *Lucky Dragon*, which had been outside the official danger zone during the test. The crew saw the flash from the detonation, and the boat was soon covered with shi no hai, the ashes of death, and the crew began experiencing physical symptoms from the fallout. After two weeks, the boat returned to Japan; within six months one crew member had died from radiation poisoning. The tuna the crew had caught was tested and discovered to be highly irradiated. Widespread fear about the level of food contamination prompted Tokyo housewives to collect signatures for a petition to end U.S. nuclear tests in the Pacific. An estimated thirty million Japanese signed antinuclear petitions for the first Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly in 1978. The Fifth Lucky Dragon Exhibition House was part of what became a worldwide antinuclear movement; in Japan, this resulted in encouraging more antinuclear and peace education, from temporary exhibits to museums.

In the 1970s, the Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum situated in the Okinawa Peace Memorial Park was established through citizen initiatives. The museum was originally composed of exhibits on the history of Okinawa and World War II. Today large sections remain about the Battle

of Okinawa, civilian suffering and damage, including that by the Japanese military, forced suicides, and methods of resistance, such as hiding in caves. There are exhibits about postwar U.S. military bases on Okinawa and public opposition to them. A Children's Exhibit was added "to nurture peace loving generations for the future"; this room includes videos of eighteen children from around the world who speak about language, life, and customs in their countries. The remaining spaces in the museum focus on global themes ranging from environmental pollution to bullying, and a number of hands-on games from different countries are available for visitors to use.²⁴

GROWTH OF PEACE MUSEUMS IN JAPAN FROM THE 1980S ON

Peace and democracy initiatives in Japan were initially supported by SCAP and the postwar government. A reverse course in the Cold War environment prioritized U.S.–Japanese security arrangements and combined with a backlash in Japan against leftist parties and organizations and toward more conservative governments. Thus, projects associated with popular pacifism found themselves at odds with government policy and with the increasingly vocal nationalist, conservative supporters.

The growth of new peace museums and the renovation of earlier ones focused on exhibiting the damage of war suffered by Japanese—what is sometimes referred to as developing a "victim consciousness"—and putting forth a broad antiwar message. But a select group also began to display the terrible effects on non-Japanese populations. Another trend in the 1980s was to look critically at Japanese society and its social, economic, and environmental problems. Thus, exhibits at the Osaka Human Rights Museum (1985) took on a range of issues, from discrimination within Japan to health and environment problems, and Grassroots House Peace Museum (1989) was an education center concerned with the environment and other peace-related issues.

Grassroots House (also called the Kochi Grassroots House), like a number of other peace museums, including the larger Kyoto Museum for World Peace (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter), became the center for a cluster of peace activities and a community center of peace literacy. Grassroots House was founded by Shigeo Nishimori, a biology teacher, on the island of Shikoku located in Kochi Prefecture in southwestern Japan. The work over the decades of director Masahiro Okamura, peace educator Kazuyo Yamane, and local community members includes doing school outreach, organizing exhibits on Kochi's involvement in World War II, and initiating antinuclear, environmental, and peace art projects. For example, Grassroots House partnered with the Association of War Survivors so that during visits students could hear about the survivors' war experiences firsthand. While Grassroots House is small in size, its impact on the community is much larger. Beside

its peace literacy activities, it has served as a center for initiatives such as a community peace festival and has promoted antinuclear protests and demonstrations against wars in Iraq.

A number of peace museums began to acknowledge the darker chapters of Japan's military history and, as part of their peace education initiatives, to demonstrate a commitment to facing "historical truth" about Japan's military past. Over the course of the country's colonial expansion and military campaigns. Iapanese authorities and soldiers carried out aerial bombings and engaged in wartime crimes (rape, slave labor, and torture and killing of prisoners of war) against the Burmese, Chinese, Korean, Philippine, Vietnamese, and other populations. Some associations took on these themes of Japanese wartime atrocities and established exhibits and small museums, such as the Association for Protesting the Human Rights of Koreans in Nagasaki, the Association for Examining Sexual Violence by the Japanese Military in Shanxi Province, the Association for Revealing Truth about the Kishu Mine, and the Association for Supporting the Lawsuits Filed by the Chinese "Comfort Women." Grassroots House, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace (1992), and the Osaka International Peace Center (originally Peace Osaka, 1991)—which documents the United States' dropping of incendiary and conventional bombs and mines and the effects of over fifty air raids on Osaka—were among a small group of progressive museums to acknowledge Japanese wartime crimes and their victims.

This "next generation" of peace museums also included the Kawasaki Peace Museum, the Peace Museum of Saitama, and the Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum.²⁶ As these museums put forth a more critical view of the Japanese military, some well-established sites also took up these themes. For example, following renovations in 1994 of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and in 1996 of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, new panels were added that acknowledged Japanese wartime atrocities.²⁷

At times during this period, exhibits of wartime atrocities carried out by the Iapanese resulted in protests and became a cause célèbre. In 1996, three hundred members of right-wing organizations protested at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, demanding the removal of the installation *The Japan*– China War and the Pacific War and calling for the resignation of Mayor Ito Kazunaga.²⁸ This followed the 1990 attempted assassination of Motoshima Hitoshi, the outspoken mayor of Nagasaki, after his comments that Emperor Hirohito had much responsibility for the war, that Hirohito's refusal to surrender when Japan's defeat was a foregone conclusion contributed to the loss of hundreds of thousands of Japanese lives. Others opposed the new emphasis on Japanese crimes during war because they "felt that attention to American atomic atrocities was being canceled out by the focus on Japanese atrocities," and they demanded that the section be closed.²⁹ In the end, taking into consideration that there were "many of the city's residents who wanted a wide spectrum of perspectives to be acknowledged," the museum replaced some photos and footage "with less controversial substitutes." 30

Despite the critical strides made by some peace museums, other communities and their leaders finally established the type of peace museums they wanted by the early twenty-first century. In Tokyo, for example, the March 9, 1945 U.S. air raid was a firestorm that killed approximately one hundred thousand residents in one day; it "was a prelude to the incendiary bombing of sixtythree additional cities and towns prior to the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki five months later."31 The National Association for Recording Air-Raids and War Damage published the experiences of approximately eight hundred people in the two-volume Journal of Tokyo Air-Raids and War Damage (1973). Community members began collecting items, gathering documentation, and recording testimonies; and temporary exhibits were put on display in the city. But after years of work by researchers and unsuccessful negotiations with the Tokyo municipality over a permanent location, a group of Tokyoites decided to take matters in their own hands. Katsumoto Saotome, a leading figure and the author of more than 150 works, many on peace-related themes, became the museum's director. He explained that by creating an independent center rather than one with the authorities, citizens could have greater "freedom of speech" with less pressure about the content of exhibits. And, over four thousand citizens agreed with this decision by donating \$1.1 million.³² The Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage was finally established in 2002, and an additional building was added five years later.

Displays incorporating photographs and artifacts at this center portray the history of the Tokyo air raids: the terrible damage and the human toll, civilians taking shelter, fighting fires, receiving medical aid, cremating victims, and burying the dead. Visitors to the museum, including student groups, hear lectures and listen to survivors' experiences. Maps about Japanese air raids on Chinese cities and about other sites bombed in Japan, Spain, and elsewhere are on view. Peace historian Kazuvo Yamane describes the space, called "Thinking about War and Peace," as an eclectic collection put together by the center's director, Katsumoto Saotome, from his writings and items collected from sites around the world, where "visitors can sit and think about war and peace. There are also materials from the Gernika Peace Museum and a museum in Chongqing, a display which highlights solidarity with these museums for peace."33 According to Saotome, there is a "firm determination to never allow the repetition of such tragic events and a refusal of civilians to have sacrificed in vain, it is the Center's earnest desire to pass knowledge on to future generations and stimulate the interaction of peace-loving individuals."34

CONTROVERSIES AND CHALLENGES ON THE JAPANESE AND LARGER ASIAN MUSEUM LANDSCAPE

Museums reflect the tug of war, politics, and debates surrounding Japanese history and memory. For example, should the massacre and rapes in Nanjing, slave labor, or issues of reconciliation between Japan, China, and Korea be represented, and if so, how?

Memory wars in Asia still revolve around Japan. Among the recent political skirmishes between Japan and China/South Korea over how to commemorate Japan's past wrongs and atone for physical as well as psychological wounds it caused in Asia, the so-called *kyokasho mondai* (history textbook controversies) have continuously shown that difficult pasts will not disappear easily.³⁵

Teaching history is a central part of the Japanese curriculum, and the Ministry of Education controls the approval of textbooks. Controversies over content reflect disputes between progressives and conservatives/revisionists in coming to terms with Japan's military past. And in order to "heal the emotional wounds of the Asia-Pacific War" and promote reconciliation, historian Takashi Yoshida emphasizes the important roles of "teachers, activists, historians, students," and others. Hoshioka Kazuko, previously an elementary school teacher and curator for the Sakai City Peace and Human Rights Museum, opened her own small Textbook Museum in 1997. Following years of collecting textbooks published in Japan and elsewhere, particularly in Asia, she created a site that features around five thousand texts, including those produced in Japanese colonies, after the public museum caved in to revisionist protests and "removed all artifacts that underscored or suggested Japan's war crimes." Hospital Papanese colonies are the public museum caved in to revisionist protests and "removed all artifacts that underscored or suggested Japan's war crimes." Hospital Papanese colonies are the public museum caved in to revisionist protests and "removed all artifacts that underscored or suggested Japan's war crimes."

Japanese wartime aggression and atrocities are also reflected in the exhibits in a number of state-sponsored museums in China and South Korea that emphasize the guilt and barbarity of the Japanese perpetrators. For example, the Nanjing Massacre Museum (also called the Memorial Museum of the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by the Invading Japanese Military) was founded in 1985 and has over the years been renovated and expanded to include an exhibition hall, an excavated site of victims' remains, and a peace park situated on eighteen acres of land; since its opening, it has received millions of visitors. The graphic depictions and emphasis on the barbaric nature of Japanese actions, from rape to torture, result in an overall strengthening of anti-Japanese and Chinese nationalist sentiment among visitors. In From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace, Takashi Yoshida observes that often in China and South Korea, museums "seem more intent on perpetuating a notion of 'innocent-us' and 'savage-them'—and thereby inciting a divisive brand of patriotism (i.e., nationalism)—than on exposing the pervasive horrors of war and promoting peace."38

While Japan continues to be criticized, for example by the media in China, South Korea, and other countries, for its government's failure to apologize or make amends for the atrocities carried out during the Asia-Pacific War, the public debates over these issues and the work of some peace activists and peace museums reveal a different, more complicated story.³⁹ While a minority, peace activists and some peace museums are involved with supporting issues of state reparations to victims as well as reconciliation. This extends to ongoing power struggles about war-related controversies that also play out in the larger geopolitical tensions between China and Japan,

from economics to territorial disputes. The 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster and government cover-up have once again made antinuclear themes of particular relevance; and through exhibits and lectures on the dangers of radiation, such sites can serve as information and community centers. The remainder of this chapter examines Kyoto Museum for World Peace, an example of an institution with a progressive perspective that has taken up these controversial topics through its exhibits, peace literacy and antinuclear campaigns, and other activities.

KYOTO MUSEUM FOR WORLD PEACE: A UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COMMITTED TO PEACE LITERACY

The Kyoto Museum for World Peace, established in 1992, is located in the ancient capital of Japan (794–1868). Kyoto is the center of a rich heritage of Japanese art, religion, and history that includes sixteen hundred Buddhist temples, four hundred Shinto shrines, and more than forty private and government-supported institutions of higher education. The museum is on the Kinugasa Campus of Ritsumeikan University, near a number of historic sites such as the temples of Kinkaku-ji and Ryōan-ji. The school was founded in 1900 as an evening law school open to working people, and its name was changed to Ritsumeikan Private University in 1913.

The name Ritsumeikan comes from a passage in the Jinxin chapter of the *Discourses of Mencius* and means "a place to establish one's destiny through cultivating one's mind." The ideals of the university are set down in its charter (2006), and the following is an excerpt from its mission statement:

Ritsumeikan's founding ideals are "freedom and innovation" and reflecting upon its wartime experience, it committed itself to a core educational philosophy of "peace and democracy" after World War II.

Ritsumeikan, as a Japanese institution located in the Asia-Pacific region, is committed to sincerely reflecting upon history and to building an institution where many cultures coexist in the spirit of international mutual understanding.

Ritsumeikan will strive to strengthen links with society and promote its institutional development by fully utilizing the characteristics of a private academic institution, the participation of its faculty, staff and students, and the support of alumni and parents, while respecting the principles of autonomy, democracy, transparency, non-violence and justice.

The charter also emphasizes using "individual talents in order to nurture just and ethical global citizens" and pledges to promote peace, democracy, and sustainable development in Japan and throughout the world.⁴²

Ritsumeikan's educational commitment to promote peace and democracy and to look at its own role during Japanese wars makes it a particularly appropriate site for a peace museum. The housing of the peace museum at a private university provides greater independence and academic freedom than public educational institutions that depend primarily on the state for research and other types of funding.

It is noteworthy, and may be surprising for readers to learn, that Kyoto Museum for World Peace is the first peace museum in the world housed in a building that was designed and built on a university campus for the explicit purpose of exhibiting peace as well as antiwar and antinuclear themes.⁴³ Why are there so few independent peace museums at universities? Peace history and peace museums are political and controversial; in addition, they challenge hegemonic national narratives and representations. As such, establishing a peace museum at a university may result in the university's losing its government funding and/or the support of alumni or others. In contrast, from the 1980s on, the number of museums and resource centers in colleges and universities that depict war or atrocity—especially World War II, and the Holocaust in particular—and national independence/resistance movements has multiplied. Because their depiction of history generally fits into each country's popular narrative about war—including just wars, heroism, resistance, and victimization—such museums and centers are viewed as keepers of memory and do not threaten national narratives. This is part of the politics and economics of education worldwide, from funding research/ study centers to endowed chairs and programs.

An advantage of being located at an institution of higher education is the opportunity for cooperation between the museum staff and the students and faculty of various disciplines. The museum provides a living laboratory for students to work as docents and in other volunteer positions and to attend the museum-sponsored lectures, special exhibits, films, and conferences. The Graduate School of International Studies, Program for Capacity Development for Global Cooperation, offers courses in English such as Introduction to Peace Studies, Development Strategies and Peace, and Peace-Building and Preventive Strategy. In the Global Citizenship and Peace course, student assignments have included designing a mini-exhibition on peace for the Kyoto Museum for World Peace.⁴⁴

FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF THE KYOTO MUSEUM FOR WORLD PEACE

The museum's founding message states:

The twentieth century saw two world wars, in which tens of millions of lives were lost. Nonetheless, conflicts have not stopped, and many lives are still in danger today. Moreover, humanity is plagued by hunger,

poverty, human rights violations and environmental disasters. We need to eliminate not only the causes of conflict, but also all barriers to human development so that we can build a peaceful society in which human potential can blossom. As a university, Ritsumeikan felt that it had a social responsibility to promote the development of a peaceful society, and therefore established the Kyoto Museum for World Peace to foster the understanding necessary to build a peaceful world.⁴⁵

The themes of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace at Ritsumeikan University thus take up many of the public controversies surrounding the history of Japan's role and responsibility during the Fifteen-Year War (1931–45). According to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook and other literature, members of the university "reflected upon its past course of action," including supporting the Japanese military and encouraging its students "to exchange pens for guns." This contrasts with so many universities worldwide that sweep their actions during wartime under the rug. "Peace and Democracy" were adopted as twin philosophical principles "serving as the foundation for its education and research programs." 46 The museum's antinuclear and disarmament themes range from the aftereffects of radiation from atomic bombs to the dangers of nuclear energy most recently the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster. Clearly, the antiwar and antiviolence message is central. In addition, a section of the museum focuses on reconciliation and peace, and how individuals and groups can work and are working toward social justice, a subject rarely addressed in peace or other types of Japanese museums.

A goal of Kyoto Peace Museum is to provide a critical examination of Japan's militaristic past while also portraying the suffering of the Japanese during wartime. After renovations in 2005, the museum expanded to include exhibits on recent conflicts around the world as well as an exhibit called *Building Peace* that emphasizes structural injustice and the nurturing of human potential. There are examples about what ordinary people can do to promote peace, with a section on *Kyotoites Working for Peace*. Finally, while the museum is focused on Japanese history and memory, its exhibits also cover wars in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and elsewhere, and criticize the development of technologies of destruction. Significant space is given to artistic, historic, and philosophic ideas about war and peace, with focus on the Asia-Pacific region and ways for ordinary citizens to envision and realize peace on a personal, national, and international level.

The content and activities sponsored by the Kyoto Museum for World Peace are in keeping with the larger, ongoing debates within Japanese society about such issues as Japan's military history and how to teach about and remember the Asia-Pacific War, as well as Japanese foreign policy and its relationship with the United States and its Asian neighbors. In 1993, a year after its founding, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace mounted a series of large wall panels describing the role of doctors in wartime

Germany and Japan. One panel of German and Japanese experts discussed such issues as medical experiments on human subjects and wartime studies of chemical and biological agents in Germany and Japan. Other special exhibits took on controversial subjects such as the debate over content in history textbooks, paintings and belongings by Dutch prisoners of war, the lives of children under Japanese rule in Korea and Southeast Asia, and a series of borrowed traveling exhibits.

The museum portrays a social history of the difficult conditions of daily life during war, the support and contributions of most Japanese to the war effort, antiwar efforts in Japan and local resistance to Japanese occupations, and the suffering from aerial bombardment and the atomic bombings. Through tracing the multifaceted aspects of war and providing complicated narratives, the museum attempts to help foster more informed, engaged global citizens. As Takashi Yoshida notes in his volume on war and peace museums in Asia, "The curators of the Kyoto Museum consider it imperative to address more than one class of victim—indeed, to include as many victims of war and other forms of structural violence as possible—in order to cultivate a commitment to peace among its visitors."

KYOTO PEACE MUSEUM SUPPORTERS AND LEADERSHIP

Individuals can and do make a difference, and this is reflected in how many peace museums were founded or whose leadership was carried out by only one individual or by a small group of people. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace was an outgrowth of a series of antinuclear and antiwar citizens' initiatives throughout Japan. Beginning in 1981, War Exhibitions for Peace were on public display in Kyoto and in other cities each summer, and they were visited by tens of thousands of individuals. One local antiwar activist, Dr. Nobuo Nakano (1910–2010), provided financial support for the Kyoto exhibits, and he worked with other citizens promoting peace and democracy initiatives. Dr. Nakano made financial contributions to the citizens' peace movement, and his \$5 million donation was crucial in moving the plans for the Kyoto Museum for World Peace forward. His involvement in the peace movement grew out of what he viewed as the inhumanity of war during his World War II military service in Burma.⁴⁸ He later explored the sufferings of war in his paintings, and in 1994 a collection of his work was exhibited at the Kyoto Museum for World Peace; Nakano Auditorium, a space within the museum, is named in his honor. Several other philanthropists have contributed financially to museum projects, university faculty cooperate on various peace-related projects, and citizens and students continue to play an important role as volunteer docents and support staff.

Dr. Ikuro Anzai (1944–), now director emeritus, is another pivotal figure in the Kyoto Museum for World Peace; he served as museum director from 1992 to 2010. During his tenure he obtained administrative and financial

support for a series of special exhibits and projects. His biography reflects the reality that the personal is political, and that democracies often feel threatened and try to suppress individuals who challenge the status quo. In particular, his criticism of nuclear power development in Japan made him the subject of "unconstitutional suppression of freedom," and he points out that "such suppression is significant and endangers Japanese society." 49 He was an early outspoken critic of the political and economic ties between the Iapanese and U.S. governments and their respective nuclear industries. Dr. Anzai was one of the first students to graduate from the Department of Nuclear Engineering at the University of Tokyo in 1964; his thesis was on investigating preventive measures against severe nuclear accidents, although there were no nuclear power plants in Japan at the time. 50 In the following years, he became increasingly involved with organizations such as the Japan Scientists Association, which was established to develop science based on principles of independence, democracy, and harmony. He traveled to communities throughout Japan, lecturing and speaking with other scientists to learn more "about nuclear issues, not only about the scientific and technological aspects but also the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of nuclear power policy."51 In 1972, Dr. Anzai made a keynote speech to the first symposium on nuclear power generation organized by the Science Council of Japan, setting out a series of checkpoints about Japanese nuclear power policy; many of the themes he discussed have since been taken up as principles of the Japanese antinuclear power movement.⁵²

Once Ikuro Anzai began openly to question and criticize the government's nuclear energy policies, he experienced "extraordinary harassment in [his] academic life at the University of Tokyo"—his research budget was cut, colleagues were not allowed to talk with him, and when he expressed interest in positions at other colleges or universities, his applications were blocked in various ways.⁵³ When traveling to give lectures in different areas of Japan, he was often followed by power company staff in charge of watching him; a medical trainee sent from Tokyo Electric Power Company sat next to him in the lab to spy on his ideas about the antinuclear movement. Anzai's position as an assistant lecturer was frozen for seventeen years until "[he] moved to Ritsumeikan University which was a great happiness for [him]." ⁵⁴

During his years as museum director, Dr. Anzai became its public face in Japan and internationally. His expertise on nuclear energy, publications on nuclear power and peace-related themes for children and adults, and extensive networks of contacts, ranging from scientists to peace educators, have contributed to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace's becoming a center for peace literacy. With the participation of other educators, students, and Japanese citizens, the museum has been a site for Japanese peace museum meetings. It has initiated exhibits, group exchange visits, and lectures promoting reconciliation with people in China, Korea, and other countries who suffered under Japanese invasion and occupation. In recognition of his work toward reconciliation, Dr. Anzai was appointed director emeritus of the

Nanjing Museum's Research Institute for International Peace and Honorary Fellow at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall.

Tomohiko Takasugi, formerly vice president of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, was appointed the museum director in 2010. He said that he is committed to "respect our future" and continue "our role as a museum of peace-building." After the earthquake and Fukushima disaster, he wrote: "March 11, 2011, is a day we must not forget, we are posed with the question of how to create an environment free of nuclear threat, and live as global citizens. The role we must play as a museum is as important as ever." 56

In 2012, Professor Monte Cassim, vice chancellor of Ritsumeikan University, was appointed museum director; his vision and degree of commitment to the museum and its goals will be crucial in the future. On September 12, 2012, the International Day of Peace, Director Cassim and Director Emeritus Anzai issued a statement, on behalf of the museum, on the bilateral tensions building up over "the so-called Senkaku or Diaoyu islands . . . that [were] undermining friendship between Japan and China." They urged all parties to continue to work toward recognition of Japan's war responsibility and toward "peace, friendship and profound mutual respect," in order to inaugurate a New Asia for future generations. ⁵⁷ The rapid turnover of directors over the past several years underscores the challenges of new leadership and tests the degree of university commitment to the peace museum.

One positive signal is that in 2011, Dr. Kazuyo Yamane received a five-year appointment in International Relations to teach Peace Studies at the university, and in 2013, she was appointed deputy director of the museum. Dr. Yamane is a doctoral graduate of the University of Bradford Peace Studies Program, the author of a number of works on Japanese peace museums, and a former director of Kochi Grassroots House. She has been one of the editors of *Muse*, the Japanese Peace Museum network newsletter, and for many decades she has worked as an educator and activist for peace throughout Japan. Her appointment signals a continuation of the links between peace education and the museum as part of Ritsumeikan University's mission.

THE MUSEUM'S COLLECTION

The museum building consists of three floors, with the reception desk and the beginning of the exhibit located on the lower level. On display in these rooms are items collected during the Fifteen-Year War by citizens, who have donated them to the Kyoto War Exhibition.⁵⁸ The garden outside the lower level contains two types of roses, which are described as symbols of hope. One set of roses is from the outside of the annex where Anne Frank hid in Amsterdam; they were sent by her father, Otto Frank, in 1992 in honor of the museum's opening. The other set came from the garden of Kuboyama Aikichi, the radio operator of the *Lucky Dragon*, the Japanese fishing boat that was in the area of the Bikini Atoll during the U.S. hydrogen bomb test in 1954.

84

Six months after exposure to the bomb's fallout, Aikichi died. His wife, Suzu Aikichi, an antinuclear activist, donated the roses in his memory in 1993.

The first floor of the museum space houses the *Investigating Peace* exhibit. To one side of the entrance stands Wadatsumi-zo, a life-size statue of a young male nude; it's dedicated to those students who died in battle and whose scholastic careers were "cut short by the Government Mobilization Order in 1943."59 The first floor also includes the Media Library for International Peace; its collection of more than twenty-five thousand books, magazines, films, DVDs, and other resources is open to students and the public. There is a lounge that includes works of art on peace themes, including two large paintings: Firebird—Past and Present. These paintings come from the comic series Firebird by Osamu Tezuka, a famous Japanese cartoonist. When Tezuka was in junior high school, he worked in a factory in Osaka that made construction materials for airplane hangars. In March 1945, the plant was bombed and Tezuka fled, deeply affected by the air raid and its damage. His artistic work developed to include images of the horror of war and his strong desire for peace. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook describes these drawings of a phoenix (the firebird) as "a fitting symbol for the Museum's strong yearning to learn from the terrible lessons of war[;] we hope that the fover will be a space devoted to thoughts on how to achieve peace."60

In the lounge a peace sculpture titled Mutchan is on display; it was donated to the museum in 2005 by the heirs of artist Heijin Murakami. The story of the real-life Mutchan, a sixth-grade girl, became widely known in Japan through a newspaper story soliciting funds for a sculpture in her memory. Her mother and a younger brother went missing after a wartime air raid. Mutchan contracted tuberculosis and was guarantined in an airraid shelter, where she died of starvation in 1945. She died alone, never learning that the war ended. Her terrible story, along with that of Sadako, a young girl who died from radiation effects from the Hiroshima atomic bomb, resonates with many people in Japan. The two girls' fates are among a series of narratives that have appeared as testimonies to the terrible suffering of children and other civilians from the ravages of nuclear and other aerial bombardment. Interestingly, stories recounting the deaths of children, and particularly young girls, such as Anne Frank, Mutchan, and Sadako are widely used to educate about the ravages of war and the suffering of innocents. While these are important stories to introduce peace education themes, they need to be contextualized and linked to the complicated histories of peace and war.

The Nakano Memorial Hall is used for exhibits on special subjects, and it is the site where the Kyoto Museum of World Peace has hosted conferences on local, national, and international peace-related themes, ranging from controversies about history textbooks, to peace literacy projects, visiting traveling exhibits, and conferences of the Asia-Pacific Research Institute and the International Network of Museums for Peace. Commemorative events occur

annually, as well as on special occasions, such as the fiftieth anniversary of the U.S. hydrogen bomb tests in the Bikini Atoll. Since 2011, the Nakano Memorial Hall has been the site of a series of lectures, photos, meetings, and an exhibit about the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster. In his role as founder of the Anzai Science and Peace Office, Fukushima Project for a Safer Future, Ikuro Anzai works on an ongoing basis with museum staff on projects related to educating about nuclear power and radioactivity.

On the wall facing the reception desk, visitors are greeted by an inscription in Japanese, Chinese, English, and Korean of the museum's philosophy:

We wish to live in peace.

We do not wish to live with the fear of war, the pain of hunger

Or deprived of our human rights

How can the people of the world live in peace?

It is to think about these things that Ritsumeikan University established the Kyoto Museum for World Peace.

To look squarely at the path humanity has come down.

And make the most of what we learned from that history

To build peace in the future

That is what we need to do

That we all may become "hands that build peace"—

This is the dearest wish of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace.⁶¹

Immediately upon entering the museum gallery, visitors realize that Kyoto Museum for World Peace does not subscribe to the less-is-more rule in exhibitions. While it is a museum that can be toured many times, given the amount of information it holds, the first-time or one-time visitor needs to select particular areas or themes of interest carefully. The museum's strengths include extensive historical descriptions and an eclectic series of artifacts (letters, clothing, personal items, brochures, banners, military documents, etc.) and photos, paintings, graphs, and maps about war and peace on view; the emphasis on chronology reflects the way history is generally taught in Japanese schools. At the same time, exhibits challenge visitors to engage with the material both intellectually and emotionally—an orientation unusual in Japanese classrooms, where rote learning predominates.

Student and adult volunteer docents provide tours appropriate to groups of different ages, backgrounds, and interests. Preview tours available for teachers include an introduction on peace, a guided museum tour, and individual consultations.⁶²

By 2012, eight hundred thousand people had visited the museum, around 85 percent of whom were Japanese. Elementary, junior high, and high school groups, along with university students, made up 58 percent of visitors, representing more than three thousand schools, between 1992 and 2007.⁶³ A range of adult and student groups from around the world, and increasing numbers from China, have also toured the museum; and a few

visit annually, such as the summer program of the Nuclear Studies Institute at American University, which has brought students to the museum since 1995.

The galleries are packed with detailed histories; interwoven into these histories are individual stories, from accounts by Ritsumeikan University students working for the war effort to the experiences of ordinary soldiers to narratives by victims of Japanese aggression. The exhibit text describes how war deleteriously affects people on all sides, and it discusses the role of wartime propaganda.

In addition to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, which is available in Japanese, English, Chinese, and Korean, visitors can access an audio guide, available in Japanese, that provides commentary on thirty-five sections of the museum. Located throughout the galleries are pink-labeled Special Attractions that pinpoint specific items, such as a soldier's backpack (which visitors are encouraged to pick up to understand just how heavy it is), hand grenade vase and pineapple cluster bombs, Japanese antiwar leaflets, and a victim's appeal (a drawing done by a former South Korean "comfort woman"); these Special Attractions are "designed to trigger interest in the topic by making visitors wonder 'What is this?'"64 Docents recommend that children begin each section by taking a look at its Special Attractions. Also available in each room is a folder of additional information in Japanese, for visitors who are interested in pursuing certain topics. And there is a questionnaire for visitors to fill out about the museum; space is provided on the questionnaire for visitors to write their own message for peace. The final galleries focus on themes of citizen involvement in working against structural and cultural violence and war and toward personal and global equity, social justice, and sustainable peace.

FOCUS ON PEACE AND OTHER GALLERIES

The large opening section titled *Focus on Peace* begins by describing the Fifteen-Year War, events from September 19, 1931—the buildup of the Japanese Imperial Army, the Japanese invasion of northeastern China, Manchuria—until the defeat and official surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 (including a detailed timeline and maps). Later galleries examine subjects such as decolonization, Cold War and post-Cold War conflicts, and weapons development. "By giving visitors a deeper understanding of what war is actually like, we hope to make people think about what can be done to create a peaceful world." From a description of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 1937 as a pretext for launching an all-out war against China, to displays about the use of chemical and biological weapons, the text and exhibits provide critical analyses of the war and Japan's role in it.

An animated film describes the buildup to World War II and traces the war's impact on the life of a Ritsumeikan student. The use of propaganda

and indoctrination as part of the social history and ideology of war is a theme in several gallery displays. The Japanese system of conscription required all male citizens to serve in the military. The life led by soldiers is depicted through conscription documents, soldier IDs, a recruiting ad with cartoon illustrations, and military training manuals. From the *Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook*:

The constitution established the Emperor as commander in chief of the armed forces [photo of the emperor on horseback at a military preparatory academy]; soldiers were told that all orders from their superiors were to be considered orders from the Emperor himself. Emphasis was on mental rather than physical strength: weapons were old fashioned and supplies often were poor. Soldiers' human rights were severely suppressed, and altogether difficult conditions resulted in increasing deaths in the ranks.⁶⁶

Display cases are filled with artifacts, such as a scroll of the Field Service Combatants Code, issued in 1941, to "help soldiers mentally prepare for fighting." It includes this oath: "I will not accept the humiliation of being captured alive." Other military items on view include uniforms, call-up notices, inductee orientation papers, and war manuals issued by the government. There are personal mementos of soldiers from the Kyoto shrine, as well as mementos of family and friends; drawings with a red sun, amulets, and send-off prayers to soldiers for luck and a long life. Beside a rising sun flag with messages from family and friends is a long kerchief decorated with stitches made by a thousand different people. The exhibits underscore how pervasive was the support for soldiers and military culture.

What is unusual about the Fifteen-Year War displays is the way that visitors see contrasting images of how, during the war, different populations—civilian and military in Japan and other parts of Asia—either participated in the war effort or were affected and brutalized by it. Visitors get an overview of how many military activities were going on. "During those 15 years, Japanese military forces carried out indiscriminate bombing and used poison gases and biological weapons against China and other countries. In war zones, they killed and tortured soldiers and civilians alike, their operations aimed at totally destroying areas that put up resistance." One display features sketches by artist Kazuo Naga and a pamphlet presented to the families of war dead; another display case contains government newsletters and pamphlets issued to help Japanese civilians protect themselves if foreign troops used poisonous gas.

The next exhibit case discusses Unit 731, a Japanese unit that conducted germ warfare experiments and other abuses on Chinese, Russian, and Korean prisoners. Unit 731 is often omitted from official textbooks, and is not officially acknowledged by the Japanese government; this is another example of the Kyoto peace museum's writing in the "historical truth" of what occurred during the war. There is a gas mask and a replica of a poison gas missile

used by members of Unit 731. There is an image of "comfort women" being carried in an open truck; the description indicates that they were forced to provide "sexual services to Japanese soldiers." In a display case on prisoners of war (POWs), a photo of "emaciated Allied prisoners of war imprisoned at the Changi camp in Singapore illustrates the brutality of crimes of war." On the wall is a replica of the Nanjing Memorial Museum's Grand Peace Bell; it was presented to the Kyoto Museum by the Nanjing Museum in 2003. There is also a piece of wreckage from the USS *Arizona*, one of the ships destroyed by the surprise Japanese aerial attacks carried out by the Japanese Imperial Navy on the U.S. naval fleet at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, resulting in an estimated 2,400 people killed and over 1,000 injured.

The galleries on the Fifteen-Year War include a section on *Mobilization* of the Entire Nation. The text explains that these years included "an all out battle to which Japan devoted all of its resources." There follows a series of artifacts and mementos about how women and young people, including students and children, were mobilized to "carry out support work." A series of organizations were formed to ensure cooperation with the war effort and citizens felt pressure to conform and to keep their protests or complaints to themselves. Also, a wide range of materials were confiscated by the government for military purposes.⁶⁹

These galleries show not only what daily life was like during the war but also the culture of war and militarism that pervaded the home front. A separate replica of a portion of a typical Japanese townhouse, known as *machiya*, is reproduced to show the war's impact on everyday life and the difficult economic and social conditions. Inhabitants took precautions to protect themselves during aerial attacks; they used black material to mask lights and to cover windowpanes to shield themselves against flying glass. And "each house was equipped with a stick with rope loops to beat out flames caused by incendiary bombs."

Government constraints expanded from strictly enforced rationing to control of cultural activities for the war effort (for example, one photo of the Takarazuka Women's Drama Troupe shows the actors, guns in hand, performing a play about war). People led increasingly frugal lives, with ongoing restrictions on food staples and other necessities. Another display of male and female mannequins depicts the "national uniforms" people were required to wear after 1940. Primary schools began to be called "national schools," and education became more and more militaristic.⁷⁰

Various artifacts—irons and religious items made out of ceramics rather than metal—illustrate the effects of the "Kenno" system, which required citizens to donate of all their metal goods so that the materials could be used to produce weapons. There is also a photo of an airplane produced from donated metals, with a thank-you to those who gave to the war effort. A militaristic coloring book and playing cards, along with a poster drawn by a Ritsumeikan junior high student showing enemy troops being killed like flies, demonstrate how children were indoctrinated into the war culture.

Kyoto and the War describes the role individuals from Kyoto played in the imperial army and navy during the Fifteen-Year War, during which an estimated fifty-five thousand died. Their first overseas assignment was in Manchuria (1934–36), defending Japanese positions; later on, thousands of sailors from Kyoto Prefecture fought in China, the Philippines, and other countries.

The section *Ritsumeikan University and the Fifteen-Year War* looks at how students and universities were affected by the war, from restrictions on free speech to notices sent to students demanding that they end their studies and work in munitions factories. In the final war years, many students were ordered to enter the military and serve at the front. From the 1920s on, Ritsumeikan University adopted a nationalist curriculum, and in 1928 the university established the Kin'eitai, a special armed unit of Ritsumeikan students who served as Imperial Guards and took part in Emperor Hirohito's coronation.⁷¹ There is a photo of Kin'eitai members celebrating the fall of Nanjing in December 1937, and a maroon-colored banner with Chinese characters of the Kin'eitai that was presented to the emperor. In the display cases, visitors can examine a variety of items about students' experiences during the war, including a notice requiring female students to mobilize for work in the Mitsubishi factory, a draft booklet, and correspondence from student workers.

The next section, *Japanese Colonies and Occupied Territories*, includes a map and other artifacts about Japanese expansion throughout the Asia-Pacific region and about the natural resources the Japanese were searching for. Japan colonized Korea, Taiwan, and southern Sakhalin; took control of the Chinese state of Guangdong through a leasehold agreement; and controlled islands in the South Pacific under the League of Nations mandate even before the Fifteen-Year War started. People from occupied areas throughout the Asia-Pacific region were mobilized for the Japanese munitions industry, and some were brought to Japan against their will to work; others were drafted as soldiers or forced to support the Japanese military as civilians.⁷²

A series of photos reflect how the Japanese ruled through the establishment of puppet regimes, such as that of the puppet emperor Manchukuo Pu-i. There follows an example of Keizo Shimada's "The Adventures of Dankichi," a popular children's comic during the war, that describes a Japanese man who becomes king of a South Pacific island and acquires easy wealth. From currency issued by Japanese authorities in China and Burma to replicas of whips, chains, and poles used to beat the Chinese into submission, this section highlights the brutality and pervasiveness of the Japanese occupation.⁷³

Was there any opposition to Japanese expansion and militarization? Under the title "Anti-Japanese Activities," a display discusses the small number of liberals and members of religious groups opposing the war and fascism. There was resistance to Japanese occupation, and a series

of anti-Japanese cartoons, posters, and pamphlets depict such efforts. For example, a photo of an anti-Japanese wall painting in Shantou, China, states "If you love Japan, stop the war!" The text points out that the Japanese were unsuccessful in winning over the hearts and minds of most people in occupied territories. "Brute force was used to suppress resistance, destroying cities and villages," but "resistance did not die out. The anti-Japanese activities were eventually tied into international movements against war and fascism, and ultimately, formed the basis of national independence movements."⁷⁴

AIR RAIDS, THE BATTLE OF OKINAWA, AND THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS

The section *Air Raids over Japan* has photos of the damage and items such as air-raid protective gear and other artifacts. Following earlier air raids, intensive bombing of the Japanese mainland by U.S. forces began in November 1944, targeting military bases and munitions factories. By March 1945, there was a shift to civilian targets, and American bombers dropped incendiary bombs that burned down sections of Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and Kobe. By June, air raids began on small and medium-sized factories and cities. By the end of the war, entire sections of cities were burned down, and others were heavily damaged. The raids resulted in the deaths of, by some estimates, up to five hundred thousand people, and many others were injured. A significant number were women, children, and other civilians.

A small display of artifacts and photos from the Battle of Okinawa (April 1– June 22, 1945), the only battle on Japanese land, addresses the controversial history of the Japanese military and its treatment of Okinawan citizens, forcing them into a "volunteer corps" (sometimes called suicide squads) to go into battle. One in four residents died during the conflict. "The Battle of Okinawa was fought in order to buy time for what the Japanese authorities considered the impending decisive battle on mainland Japan." Also, the role of the U.S. forces in the battle, and afterward during the occupation and the establishment of a military base, are aspects of the ongoing debates about Japan's security and military alliances in the future.

Next, a discussion of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is illustrated with statues and other items that are burned through, which conveys the sheer power of the weapons. In addition, visitors will see a series of artifacts, including photos of civilians waiting to be treated for burns and other injuries just over a mile from the epicenter. Kyoto was one of the cities considered by the U.S. military as a site on which to drop one of the bombs. A photograph taken from a B29 bomber on April 4, 1945, shows an aerial view of downtown and industrial areas in Kyoto. A circle drawn on the photo by American military personnel measures off a radius of about 2,400 meters, which indicates the areas that would be destroyed if an atomic bomb

was dropped on the Umekoji Railroad Garage near Kyoto Station. In the end, due to its historic and cultural significance, among other factors, Kyoto was not on the final list.

The analysis of the use of the atomic bombs states:

At the end of the War, the American forces dropped their newly developed atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in quick succession. The US claims to have dropped the bombs to expedite Japan's surrender and reduce the number of American casualties. However, the US must have also wished to end the war before the Soviet Union could join in, thus ensuring that America would gain sole control of occupied Japan. The dropping of atomic bombs therefore effectively became the first act of the Cold War which pitted the United States against the Soviet Union after World War II.⁷⁶

The last sections of the Fifteen-Year War galleries introduce a series of prewar initiatives for peace, including a section on Japanese individuals living in Japan who opposed war and fascism, as well as those who fled to the United States and China and developed antiwar stances. A Special Attraction includes an antiwar leaflet designed to persuade Japanese soldiers in China that they were tired of war. It reads: "How sad to be able to meet only in dreams every night. When will we see each other again?" and includes the image of a sleeping woman dreaming of being together with a man. There is also a death mask of Yamamoto Senji, who was a native of Kyoto and opposed the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 that prohibited Japanese citizens from expressing criticism of imperial rule or expounding communist or antiwar ideas. He was assassinated in March 1929 in Tokyo, where he was working to oppose further strengthening of the law. As the military tightened its control on the country, all movements against fascism were suppressed, and censorship was widespread. In 1933, the minister of education criticized a text written by Kyoto University professor Yukitoki Takigawa, and Takigawa was forced to resign, despite protests by colleagues; an example of one of the declarations of support and signatures

One of the overriding themes of the museum is the ongoing necessity to face past historic wrongs in Japanese history as a way to move toward reconciliation and a more peaceful world. The section named *Determining Responsibility for War Crimes* discusses the Far East International War Crimes that took place after World War II and points out that many Japanese war crimes still have not been addressed. "For example, the Emperor was not put on trial and the issue of his responsibility for the War has not been pursued, even though he was the head of the Imperial Army during the War." One Special Attraction is a drawing by a former South Korean "comfort woman" called "A Victim's Appeal" depicting a tree with a soldier and nude woman with her hands folded, perhaps in fear or shame.



Figure 3.1 Textbook display: history textbooks about World War II from Japan, China, the U.S. and other countries, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University.

She is "one of many Asian women forced to provide sexual services to Japanese troops during the War who are seeking an apology and compensation for their suffering." Another photo shows two plaintiffs seeking redress for being forced to work as slave laborers; in March 2004, the Niigata District Court dismissed the defendants' claim on the grounds that the statute of limitations had expired.

A display on middle school history textbooks encourages visitors to compare the explanations of the Fifteen-Year War in Japanese texts with those that appear in the textbooks from several other countries, including China, Taiwan, Korea, the UK, and Germany. In fact, Kyoto's peace museum has held a number of forums and exhibits on Japanese history textbooks and

supported efforts not to simplify or omit but to give a balanced account, educating new generations about the military and war.

MODERN WARFARE

The first panel in the Modern Warfare gallery describes both World War I and World War II as emerging from the context of the territorial expansion of the great industrial powers of the period. The development of technology included bombs that airplanes could drop on cities in order to kill or injure civilians. One Special Attraction, "From Colonization to Independence," shows cartoons of industrialized countries greedily colonizing less-developed ones. There are photos of movements of decolonization and independence, and the founding of the United Nations to maintain peace and world security. While the Asia-Pacific region is the main focus of the museum's history of World War II, several photos of the war in Europe, including a photo of the Nazi death camp Auschwitz and another with three members of the Belgian resistance movement, are also on display.

JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION, THE "NO WAR" CLAUSE, AND ONGOING CONFLICTS AROUND THE WORLD

Another section called *Iapan's Constitution* includes a framed copy of the Preamble to Japan's Constitution, put into effect on May 3, 1947, and of Article 9 of the Constitution, which renounces war as an instrument for settling international disputes. The Preamble states:

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationships, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

This Article is in keeping with the United Nations charter that all members must "refrain . . . from the threat or use of force." The two paragraphs of Article 9 state:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces as well as other war potential will never be maintained. The rights of the belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

It should be pointed out that after the outbreak of the Korean War and with the support of the U.S. government, the Japanese government reinterpreted the meaning of Article 9 and established the Japanese SDF.

Article 9 has been the subject of varying interpretations within Japan—those who see the statement as a purely pacifist one versus those who view the statement as inclusive of the right to self-defense. There are ongoing debates on repealing the provisions; others maintain that Article 9 is a crucial part of Japanese democracy. On view in a glass case is the work by Ueki Emori, a nineteenth-century liberal, who submitted a draft for a constitution that abandons recourse to war and represents an example of a precedent to Article 9. Japanese citizens' associations as well as international peace groups support and take as inspiration the concept of including a "no war" clause in constitutions.

Displays about modern warfare look at the Cold War, postwar independence from former colonies, and a series of other conflicts. There is particular focus on the Korean War, including photos of U.S. airplanes using bases in Japan for storing supplies and for carrying out maintenance; and on the Vietnam War, for which Japanese bases were used again to support the conflict. One Special Attraction in this section is on homemade utensils and asks visitors to guess what several items, including a knife and a comb, are made of. (The answer is duraluminum: a metal the Vietnamese took from downed U.S. airplanes.) The text accompanying a photo of U.S. planes flying in formation as they spray Agent Orange over a South Vietnamese jungle describes the defoliation and how the highly toxic chemical dioxin caused birth defects and other health problems that continue for the Vietnamese today. According to the Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, "The scope and diversity of weapons employed by American troops in the Vietnam War was so great that the war has been referred to as an arms expo. Some of the many types of bombs used by U.S. forces in Vietnam are on display in this section of the museum."⁷⁹

Another section looks at the USA's role as the world superpower after the end of the Soviet Union. One photo of a group of individuals arranged to spell out "No War No DU" [depleted uranium] in Hiroshima Central Park in March 2003, acting to oppose the Iraq War, is contrasted with a well-known image of the caskets containing the bodies of U.S. soldiers that have been shipped back from the Iraq War. The section is critical of U.S. military policy and the Japanese government's support during wars in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, etc. The section on weapons development ties in to the museum's overall goal of disarmament:

The modern era has seen science and technology used for large-scale destruction, with increasingly deadly weapons developed and used in actual battles, starting with tanks, bombers, and poison gases (chemical weapons) in World War I, and moving on to biological weapons in the

1930s and nuclear weapons in World War II. During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union entered an arms race and deployed massive quantities of nuclear weapons under the theory of "deterrence"—the notion that fear of mutual annihilation would prevent war. After the great losses it suffered in the Vietnam War, America has been pursuing the development of easy-to-use miniature nuclear arms and other hi-tech weapons to minimize American casualties. Today military satellites and information technology are being used to make weapons increasingly accurate and powerful, with America maintaining an overwhelming lead in improving and deploying advanced weaponry.⁸⁰

There is a Special Attraction on Godzilla, the popular Japanese movie monster who was born following the effects of nuclear testing. And another Special Attraction features "pineapple bombs"; these metal objects look harmless but, in fact, are cluster bombs. Inside each "parent bomb" reside 250 to 350 smaller "bomblets" in the shape of steel balls; these balls spew out in all directions when the cluster bomb explodes. There is a mock-up of a U.S. B43, a hydrogen bomb, used for training by the U.S. military at its bases in Okinawa. "Deadly war weapons [other than] the nuclear bomb" were employed by the U.S. military in Vietnam, and such training indicates they were "clearly ready to use a nuclear bomb during the Vietnam War." ⁸¹

Against the Cold War arms race, an antinuclear exhibit traces the development of more powerful weapons. For example, there is a photo of the *Lucky Dragon* Japanese fishing boat and discussion of nuclear fallout following the U.S. hydrogen bomb test in the Pacific. Public reaction to the potential for radiation poisoning of food sounded the alert to the dangers of nuclear testing. 82 "Realizing this, housewives in Tokyo began collecting signatures for a petition to stop U.S. nuclear tests in the Pacific. This marked the beginning of a nationwide recognition of health hazards deriving from radiation and nuclear weapons." 83

The Building Peace exhibit includes Room 1, titled Thoughts on Violence and Peace—Seeking to Nurture Human Potential. Upon entering the room, visitors see a large hanging screen that contains three overlapping circles of different colors illustrating how violence occurs in societies on the local, regional, and international levels. These circles include such issues as discrimination, environmental degradation, military weapons, armies, etc. A group of large dice printed with statistics, maps, and images on each side illustrate barriers to our achieving full human potential today, and visitors are encouraged to examine them and learn more about current problems in the world.

There is also an interactive display about nuclear energy and radiation that visitors are encouraged to explore. By adjusting the various maps and scales, the visitor can find out various radiation levels worldwide.





Figure 3.2 Student docent teaching about structural violence and working toward global equity, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University.

Next, visitors can consider a series of images on how individuals around the world are working toward reducing violence and realizing peace. Particular attention is given to citizens' movements, such as The Hague Appeal for Peace, where individuals from around the world came together in the Netherlands to create a civil society peace agenda. Images of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other peacemakers are on display, and information about initiatives such as the World Tribunal Movement and the World Social Forum "give visitors insights into what needs to be done so that they can consider for themselves what role they could play in building a more peaceful world." 84

In the next room, "The Power of Ordinary People Working for Peace—Finding Out What We Can Do," the theme of citizen involvement, is explored. The three different colored circles from Room 1 appear once again, but now they are surrounded by thirteen more circles that represent actions taken by ordinary people to prevent and address violence. Such actions by individuals, citizens' groups, and NGOs include promoting fair trade; protecting the environment; promoting more peaceful flows of money; developing aid; reconstructing war-torn countries; controlling arms, including nuclear weapons; intervening in nonviolent ways; seeking the punishment of war

criminals; providing urgent humanitarian aid; assisting refugees; monitoring human rights; striving to help different cultures coexist; and interacting with international society. Building on this graph of methods for conquering violence are images depicting local and global actions undertaken to create a more peaceful world. "Some require a high level of expertise, but there are many that can be supported in the course of daily life. All of them, however, share an emphasis on thinking for oneself and taking personal action. By taking part in one of them, each and every one of us can become an independent actor in the drama of building a more peaceful world."

Room 2 also includes images of the Kiko Network, an NGO supported by individuals, organizations, and regional networks throughout Japan; it is working on the practical implementation of the Kyoto Protocol to prevent global warning. Visitors are asked, How eco-friendly is the life you lead? Do you buy drinks in bottles, cans, cartons, or PET plastic bottles? Returnable glass bottles are best for the environment. Other images are of the Peace Boat, whose international exchanges include the slogan "Knowing Meeting and Acting," and the "rice bank" sponsored by the Japan Volunteer Center (IVC). The IVC provides humanitarian aid to areas where people's lives have been disrupted by conflict and natural disasters; it also works in post-conflict reconstruction efforts to aid communities in their return to self-reliance. Another section includes a mini exhibit suggesting ways ordinary people can work for peace locally and regionally through giving support to protecting the environment, promoting fair trade, intervening in non-violent ways, monitoring human rights, assisting refugees, and offering development and humanitarian aid, among others.

The section titled *Citizens Contributions to Peace Building* provides examples of the work of NGOs in Japan and worldwide: World Court Project, Soviet Forum Movement, YWCA, Peace Boat, Alternative Trade Japan, Peace Brigades International, September 11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrow, Ai, Japanese Volunteer Center, KIKO Network (Citizens for Climate Change), Future Bank, Asian Women's Center, and Participation and Solidarity Korea.

Also on the second floor is a small gallery called the Mugonkan, or Silent Museum, which is an annex to the Mugonkan Art Museum for Peace, founded in 1997 in Nagano. ⁸⁶ Seiichiro Kuboshima, director of Mugonkan, worked with staff at the Kyoto Museum for World Peace to select about twenty paintings and personal items of art students who died on the war fronts when they were in their twenties and thirties. "Visitors are asked to silently contemplate the works and personal effects of art students who lost their lives on the battlefield" while they were still young. There is also a poem by Kuboshima called "Memory Palettes":

By drawing pictures
One youth drew his beloved wife, his lover
One youth drew his father and mother, whom he respected

The sisters he had cared for with great affection
The river and mountains in his hometown—after drawing them
He left for the front

They all drew those loved ones who were close to them And had brought them up, and then they went off to war We would like you to look

At the bright colors of their hometowns

And the shades of the hearts of their loved ones

That remain on their palettes—

Testimonies to their precious lives

Etched onto a canvas or the pages of a sketchbook

The pictures left here

Are not the pictures of war victims

No—though the artists may have been victims of war

They did not lose to war

These pictures convey to those of us living now

One more life of the youth who dies

They are pictures of distant memories that will never disappear. 87

In the third room, "Kyotoites Working for Peace—Sending Messages from the People of Kyoto to the World" focuses on peace-related activities of Kyoto citizens locally and internationally. The room includes items such as *karuta* playing cards with an antinuclear theme and a Kyoto doll called "the Sound of an Explosion" that depicts a mother trying to protect her child during an air raid. Also on display is the original model of an international children's peace sculpture, shaped like a globe and decorated with peace symbols, which was made by a group of high school students from Kyoto. From a picture of a peaceful world for children created by using the Japanese *yuzen* dyeing process, to sheet music about Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, the room is filled with peace art and images; it provides a stark contrast to the propaganda of war displayed in the opening gallery of the museum.⁸⁸

Another display shows a series of images of a tour of Kyoto peace sites, one of which is the No More War between Japan and China Monument located in Arashiyama Park, Kyoto. This idea evolved from a Kyoto citizens' initiative to promote friendship between Japan and China in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War and Japan's invasion and occupation of China. The Kyoto Committee for No More War between Japan and China collected money for a monument, and Ryokei Onishi, at the time the head priest of Kiyomizu Temple in Kyoto, designed it. It was erected in 1968. There are also calligraphic peace messages written by Buddhist monks from Kyoto temples, projects of Kyoto school students such as the Children's State for World Peace Kyoto, playing cards created by the Kyoto Association for a Nuclear Free Government, and a doll with a folding screen picturing Peace of a Children's Nation.

PEACE EDUCATION AND OUTREACH

The museum continues to develop as a source of information and a center where students and the public can gather. It has been the site of lecture series, films, symposia, and various peace-related contests, such as peace essays and peace art. The two-day What Is Peace? workshop held each summer introduces schoolchildren and their parents to the ideas of peace through visits to exhibits, lectures, and other activities. Teachers from elementary and junior high schools are invited for specially arranged tours and lectures to deepen their understanding of peace issues and the museum exhibits. Students and faculty in education, international relations, peace studies, as well as other fields use the exhibits and library resources. There is also a six-week training session for students and adults who wish to become guides to the permanent exhibits. The Association of Friends for Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace is composed of volunteers who support museum activities; the group went on a series of peace trips in Europe and in Asia. And there has been ongoing cooperation and exchange of information with sites such as the "War Remnants Museum" in Vietnam.

The museum has hosted a series of traveling exhibits from other peace museums and on varied subjects, from the fiftieth anniversary of the *Lucky Dragon* boat incident to hydrogen bomb testing, to violence in Palestine. And the site is an important place for local, regional, and international conferences on issues ranging from development to nuclear disarmament, to peace museums. Special exhibits are sometimes coordinated with Japanese events; for example, in May 2010, clothes and other personal effects belonging to Iccho Ito, former mayor of Nagasaki, who supported peace-related issues, were on display after his assassination by a nationalist supporter.

THE IMPACT OF KYOTO MUSEUM OF WORLD PEACE ON STUDENT VISITORS

It is always difficult to gauge the impact of carefully assembled exhibits and thoughtfully crafted lectures on visitors to a museum. Also, museum visits represent only one small segment of the ways people obtain information; videos, films, and various Internet sources, of course, predominate. Due to ongoing controversies over Japan's past, some teachers purposely do not cover the Asia-Pacific War at all, or cover the period only superficially. Also, educators are sometimes so busy preparing students for the highly competitive college entrance exams, which certainly do not cover controversial subjects such as Japanese war responsibilities, that they do not teach these difficult topics. Hence, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace offers an in-depth history of subjects and time periods with which many younger visitors are largely unfamiliar.

Teachers who want to go beyond official narratives can use peace museums to supplement textbooks. The Kyoto Museum for World Peace offers

a multileveled depiction of the Asia-Pacific War and post-1945 conflicts, particularly in Asia. A university student interviewed about how she was taught history recalled that it was her English teacher, rather than her history teacher, who "was an advocate of peace education," and that she had learned a lot from him. This teacher took students to what is described as "the liberal Kyoto Museum for World Peace, famous for its progressive exhibition of Japan's war in Asia." As the student remembered, "textbook descriptions tend to be shallow because of the former aggressor's point of views," and it reflects "official points of views, which is in contrast with the exhibitions at the Kyoto Museum, which reflected victim's viewpoints." Another student interviewed pointed out that her visit to the peace museum in Kyoto had been eye-opening:

At the museum, we saw pictures and videos, and even those clothes victims actually wore at the time, which was shocking to me.... I thought about the importance and necessity to stand on the same footing of the victims (*higaisha no tachiba*), and the absence of wars is the bottom line for peace.⁹²

The comments of these two students reveal the impact the Kyoto Peace Museum's exhibits may have for some visitors in reevaluating official histories and educating about war and peace. In fact, they reveal what is one of the most important functions history museums, whether tracing war or peace or both, can serve: teaching visitors to rethink the history they have learned.

FUKUSHIMA AND BEYOND

The importance of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace's commitment to disarmament and criticism of nuclear power was given new impetus in the aftermath of the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster, with renewed debates throughout Japan about nuclear energy and its dangers. There were photos, exhibits, and lectures after the Great East Earthquake that occurred in northeastern Japan on March 11, 2011, killing twenty-eight thousand people and resulting in wide-scale damage. The earthquake was followed by a tsunami, and extensive damage occurred to the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant resulting in the evacuation and/or displacement of hundreds of thousands of people.

Ikuro Anzai visited the Fukushima area three times between April and August, giving lectures on radiation protection and measuring radiation levels in soil samples. Using information derived from Anzai's ongoing visits and lectures about Fukushima, Kyoto Museum for World Peace has provided information, photos, and a series of lectures on the nuclear disaster in Fukushima for students and the general public.



Figure 3.3 Professor Anzai, in anti-contamination suit, gathering soil samples from a paddy field about 7 kilometres from the Fukushima nuclear power plant in April 2011. The soil was found to be extremely contaminated with radioactive substances such as Iodine 131, Cesium 134 and Cesium 137. Special exhibit on Radioactivity and the Future of Humanity, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Anzai Science and Peace Office, Fukushima Project for a Safer Future.



Figure 3.4 Professor Anzai and other volunteers removing contaminated surface soil at Sakura kindergarten, Fukushima City about 60 kilometres from the nuclear power plant, May 8, 2011. Contamination levels were found to be around 100 times higher than normal. Special exhibit Radioactivity and the Future of Humanity, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Anzai Science and Peace Office, Fukushima Project for a Safer Future.

The museum has also hosted conferences on Fukushima, such as the 2011 International Conference of Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association. Additional lectures, photographic exhibits, and "radiation literacy" programs, such as *Radioactivity and the Future of Humanity*, a special exhibit about the dangers of nuclear power and its effect on health and the environment, are part of the museum's ongoing programming, and include working with students to produce exhibits on Fukushima and related nuclear energy issues.

THE KYOTO MUSEUM FOR WORLD PEACE: LOOKING FORWARD

For Kyoto Museum for World Peace, one central issue will be the degree and type of commitment the university is willing to provide in the future. The appointment of a director and financial support are largely in the hands of the administration. University administrations and their priorities change, and the Kyoto Museum for World Peace promotes a range of progressive, controversial peace topics about history textbooks, the peace clause in the Constitution, and Japan's reconciliation with China and other countries over past history and ongoing disputes. To date, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace has continued to speak truth to power, but clearly opposition from nationalist supporters and pressure from various government and industry interest groups, such as those supporting nuclear energy, will continue to challenge the freedom of the museum to display histories of Japanese past militarism, antinuclear themes, and other controversial subjects.

The first generation of founders and supporters of Japanese peace museums is aging, and one significant question is to what extent a younger generation will take on leadership roles as directors, educators, and supporters of peace initiatives. Certainly, the more conservative wing of the Japanese populace and the protests and harassment by right-wing groups have managed to intimidate and either remove or omit exhibits that are deemed too controversial; exhibits on Japanese wartime crimes at a number of Japanese peace museums are a good example of this. The commitment of the university to a global perspective and educational and scientific ties with the Asia-Pacific region may facilitate ongoing support of the peace museum's goals of peace and cooperation with its Asian neighbors. Education, Peace Studies and International Relations programs at Ritsumeikan University are potential sources for training a new generation. Through the enthusiasm of the younger staff members and the student volunteers as well as initiatives through art and photography contests and exhibits, the museum is reaching out to entice new audiences to visit the museum.

The Kyoto Museum for World Peace represents a unique peace museum located at a university and promotes democracy and peace literacy; it simultaneously displays multifaceted aspects of peace, along with critiques of wars

of aggression and development of technologies of destruction worldwide. Particular focus is given to facing "historical truth" about Japan's past, from its militarism, to the carrying out of atrocities, to the suffering of its citizens. The museum, with its large collection of artifacts, presents history through a critical perspective, and as such it represents a measuring stick of Japan's success as a democracy and its capacity for allowing free speech on a range of controversial and troubling subjects. Few peace or history museums in the world have taken on such a formidable role.

NOTES

- 1. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University (Kyoto: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, n.d.), 4. (Booklet.)
- 2. Following on earlier exhibits that displayed the effects of the atomic bomb in the Hiroshima Public Hall, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum opened in August 1955, at the same time that the first international conference against nuclear weapons was held. The museum went through several subsequent renovations. Nagasaki International Culture Hall, as it originally was called, occupied one floor of the building; it was expanded and renovated in 1975. In 1996, after the original building was demolished, it was replaced by a four-floor museum and renamed the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. Both museums were located at sites of atomic destruction, and extensive materials related to the bombings and their aftereffects were collected and displayed. Both museums were funded by their respective municipalities, and local politics, including the mayors of each municipality, came to play an important role in the exhibits and what was or was not included. Along with their peace gardens, they also became centers for antinuclear activists, conferences, and a range of associations, such as those dedicated to survivors, those focused on scientific studies, and those involved with peace-related initiatives.
- 3. "The Path to Peace: Peace Memorial Ceremony," The Outline of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, accessed July 27, 2014, http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/outline/index.php?l=E&id=14.
- 4. Philip Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories* (London: Routledge, 2007), 176. By far, the sites with the largest number of student visits are Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but students visit the regional and local sites, too. Seaton points out that class visits range in length from one hour to four-day field trips.
- 5. See Nigel Young, ed., *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. "Japanese Peace Museums."
- 6. Takashi Yoshida, "Revising the Past, Complicating the Future: The Yushukan War Museum in Modern Japanese History," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (December 2, 2007), accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Takashi-YOSHIDA/2594/. These numbers are based on "A Survey of War Related Exhibits" published by the Japanese government in 2004.
- 7. Takashi Yoshida, From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China and South Korea (Portland, ME: MerwinAsia, 2014), 144. The size and support of the Japanese SDF have multiplied in both government and public circles. Peace activists oppose the SDF as a mechanism used to get around the exclusion of a standing army in Japan's postwar constitution and as a dangerous return to militarism.
- 8. Seaton, Japan's Contested War Memories, 177.

- 9. Yoshida, From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace, 144.
- 10. Yuki Tanaka, "Introduction," in *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth Century History*, ed. Yuki Tanaka and Marilyn Young (New York: New Press, 2009), 5.
- 11. See Yuki Miyamoto, Beyond the Mushroom Cloud: Commemoration, Religion, and Responsibility after Hiroshima (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 76.
- 12. Mark Selden, "Japanese and American War Atrocities, Historical Memory and Reconciliation: World War II to Today," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (April 15, 2008), accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Mark-Selden/2724.
- 13. Toshifumi Murakami, "How Peace Museums Can Be Used for Practical Peace Education," in *Museums for Peace: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Ikuro Anzai, Joyce Apsel, and Syed Sikander Mehdi (Kyoto: Organizing Committee of the Sixth International Conference of Museums for Peace, 2008), 29.
- 14. Lester R. Kurtz, ed., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: Academic Press, 1999), s.v. "Peace Education: Peace Museums."
- 15. Tanaka, Bombing Civilians, x.
- 16. Mari Yamamato, Grassroots Pacifism in Post-War Japan: The Rebirth of a Nation (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 8.
- 17. Ibid., 6.
- 18. While most of the materials are in Japanese, a number are available in English, such as *The Impact of the A-bomb: Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945–85*, ed. Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, trans. M. D. Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1985). This volume includes information on and photographs of the terrible devastation. Chapter contents convey the urgent antinuclear message: "August 1945—Hiroshima: A City Laid Waste"; "Nagasaki: Valley of Desolation"; "What Is Atomic Destruction? The Injured People"; "The Acute Stage of A-bomb Illness"; "The Unhealed Scars"; "The A-bomb Survivors"; "Life in the Ruins"; "Medical Care and Relief"; "The Pursuit of Peace"; and "Toward the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons."
- 19. Yamamato, Grassroots Pacifism in Post-War Japan, 218.
- 20. Hideo Fujita, "The Role of Museums for Peace in Social Education," in *Museums for Peace: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Ikuro Anzai, Joyce Apsel, and Syed Sikander Mehdi (Kyoto: Organizing Committee of the Sixth International Conference of Museums for Peace, 2008), 99–122.
- 21. Ibid
- 22. The Hiroshima Panels Foundation. *The Hiroshima Panels* (panels by Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki; text by Toshi Maruki), 4th ed, trans. Nancy Hunter with Yasuo Ishikawa (Saitama, Japan: Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels Foundation, 2010), 8.
- 23. See "Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels," accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.aya.or.jp/~marukimsn/gen/gen1e.htmlhttp://www.aya.or.jp/~marukimsn/gen/gen1e.html.
- 24. "A Guide to the Museum," Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.peace-museum.pref.okinawa.jp/english/index. html.
- 25. For references to various associations, see Yoshida, From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace, 295.
- 26. Takashi Yoshida, The Making of the "Rape of Nanking": History and Memory in Japan, China and the United States (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 135.
- 27. Ibid.
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Ibid.

- 30. Ibid., 135-36.
- 31. John W. Dower, Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, 9-11, Iraq (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 180.
- 32. Ibid., 145-48.
- 33. Ibid., 150.
- 34. "Introduction," Center of the Tokyo Raids and War Damages, accessed August 12, 2014, www.tokyo-sensai.net/english_page/. See also Kazuyo Yamane, "Peace Education at the Center for Tokyo Air-Raids and War Damage," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, ed. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 144–56.
- 35. Kazuya Fukuoka, "School History Textbooks and Historical Memories in Japan: A Study of Reception," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 24, no. 3–4 (2011): 83, doi: 10.1007/s10767-011-9113-0.
- 36. Takashi Yoshida, "Advancing or Obstructing Reconciliation? Changes in History Education and Disputes over History Textbooks in Japan," in *Teaching the Violent Past*, ed. Elizabeth A. Cole (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 74.
- 37. Yoshida, From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace, 94.
- 38. Ibid., 236.
- 39. In the 1990s, the Japanese Association of Peace Museums and the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace were founded. The latter has held a series of conferences about museums to exchange ideas and activities on air raid documentation, peace education, exhibits, and related matters. Since 1999, Muse: Newsletter of the Japanese Citizens' Network of Museums for Peace (http://www.tokyo-sensai.net/muse) has appeared biannually in Japanese and English. It is written and translated by peace academics and activists.
- 40. The Kinugasa Campus has six colleges and eight graduate schools, with 17,000 undergraduates and 1,100 graduate students; total enrollment on all campuses is 46,000. "Kyoto Museum for World Peace," 12. Information on the museum's exhibits is based on the author's two visits to the museum, and on a series of museum publications, including the brochure noted above and a 124-page volume also titled *Kyoto Museum for World Peace*, which features a selection of images from the museum's archive and exhibits and is available in English and Japanese; it's part of a series of volumes published on the museum's collections in the 1990s. Images and descriptive text about the permanent exhibit are also available on the museum's Web site, http://www.ritsumei.ac/jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/index.html.
- 41. Ibid., 2.
- 42. Ibid., 1.
- 43. There are a handful of other museums with themes related to social justice and peace on university campuses, such as the Jane Addams Hull House Museum (www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/_museum), which consists of several of the original buildings of the Hull House settlement; on the campus of the University of Illinois Chicago (UIC), it's affiliated with the UIC Social Justice Initiative.
- 44. http://www.ritsumei.ac/jp/acd/gr/gsir/-ir-syle/english/e-gp-hamoku.html.
- 45. "Introduction: Founding Purpose," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014, www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/director foun ging.html.
- 46. Ikuro Anzai, "From the Museum Director," *Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook*, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, n.d., 1. See also "Message from the Museum Director," accessed August 21, 2011, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/erwp-museum/english/director.html.
- 47. Yoshida, From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace, 235.
- 48. See Keiko Nakano, "My Father Nobuo Nakano and Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University," in *The Eighth International Conference of*

- Museums for Peace (Seoul: The No Gun Ri International Peace Foundation, 2014), 397–404.
- 49. Ikuro Anzai, "Agenda for Peace Research After 3/11" (keynote speech), Opening Session of the 2011 International Conference of the Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association, Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto, Japan, October 14, 2011.
- 50. Ibid.
- 51. Ibid.
- 52. Ibid. The checkpoints for a national energy policy listed include an independent national energy policy; development prioritizing safety first rather than economics; prevention of military use of nuclear energy; safety assurances for nuclear power plant workers and residents, and proven safety measures against severe accidents; and that the nuclear power administration be conducted democratically.
- 53. Ibid.
- 54. Ibid.
- 55. "From the Museum Director," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed June 22, 2011, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/director.html.
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Monte Cassim and Ikuro Anzai, "Toward the Renewal of Cordial Sino-Japanese Relations," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, September 21, 2012, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/documents/seimei_ryodo_e.pdf. (Media communiqué.)
- 58. See Junko Kanekiyo, "Kyoto Museum for World Peace in the 2010s: Acting as a University-run Peace Museum," in *The Eighth International Conference of Museums for Peace* (The No Gun Ri International Peace Foundation, 2014), 119–25.
- 59. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, *Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University* (Kyoto: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, 1997), 3. (Museum collection volume.)
- 60. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 23.
- 61. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, *Kyoto Museum for World Peace*, *Ritsumeikan University* (Kyoto: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, n.d.), 4. (Booklet.)
- 62. Ibid., 8.
- 63. Ibid., 10. Visitor Statistics Profile is for 1992–2007.
- 64. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 2.
- 65. Ibid.
- 66. Ibid., 3.
- 67. Ibid.
- 68. "The Fifteen-Year War: The Japanese Imperial Army," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/fifteen_war.html.
- 69. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 4.
- 70. Ibid., 6.
- 71. "The Fifteen-Year War: Mobilization of the Entire Nation," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/fifteen_war_mobilization.html.
- 72. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 6.
- 73. Ibid., 8.
- 74. Ibid., 11.
- 75. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, *Kyoto Museum for World Peace*, *Ritsumeikan University*, 56. (Museum collection volume.)
- 76. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 10.
- 77. "The Fifteen-Year War: Determining Responsibility for War Crimes," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014,

- http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/fifteen_war_determining.html.
- 78. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 12.
- 79. Ibid., 15.
- 80. Ibid., 17.
- 81. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, 7. (Booklet.)
- 82. See Miyamoto, Beyond the Mushroom Cloud, 36-7.
- 83. Ibid.
- 84. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 13.
- 85. "Building Peace: Room 2," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wpmuseum/english/building room2.html.
- 86. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kyoto Museum for World Peace Guidebook, 22.
- 87. Ibid., 22.
- 88. "Building Peace: Room 3," Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wpmuseum/english/building_room3.html.
- 89. Fukuoka, "School History Textbooks, and Historical Memories in Japan," 91–3. Fukuoka quotes Japanese students describing the emphasis in history classes and in college-entry exams on memorizing dates and facts. "The 'hows' and 'whys' are rarely asked. Students might be asked for example, which administration in Japan seized Korea in 1910 under which dynasty in Korea with which treaty. However, they will not be asked about the social and cultural implications of Japan's colonization to the Korean people and its society."
- 90. Ibid., 95.
- 91. Ibid.
- 92. Ibid.

4 Gernika Peace Museum

Creating a Culture of Peace and Reconciliation

A museum to remember the past, a museum for the future.

-Motto of the Gernika Peace Museum

What is peace? What happened in Gernika in the absence of peace? What about peace in the world today?¹

The Gernika Peace Museum does not intend to act as a narrator of war stories. It is, rather, 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, transmitting the ideas and sensations of interaction between history, creativity and human emotions.²

History, peace, and reconciliation are central themes of the Gernika Peace Museum in Gernika-Lumo in the Basque region of Spain. This unique contemporary museum conveys a strong antiwar message. The bombing of Guernica and Picasso's painting on the subject attract visitors to the site. And the permanent exhibit balances representations of the history of peace and reconciliation with depiction of violence and its effects. The museum and its research center bring to light how the 1937 bombing attack on Guernica was carried out and by whom and provide a counter to the decades of denial by the Franco government of its role. The museum also conveys a wider antiwar message that the bombing was a rehearsal for aerial, strategic bombing of civilian populations carried out during World War II and after.

The Gernika Peace Museum Foundation emphasizes creating a culture of peace as its mission, which specifically is to

preserve, display, publicize, conduct research and educate visitors in the basic ideas of the culture of peace, and the past and present relation of this culture to the history of Gernika-Lumo, so that, together with other history and peace organizations, Gernika-Lumo, the province of Bizkaia [Vizcaya in Spanish] and the Basque country be used as local, regional, national and international references in the search for peace and culture.³

Peace museums have the potential to act as a living form of resistance to the pervasive cultures of violence, and this museum was created in the post-Franco era and during escalation of violence by ETA, the armed nationalist and separatist Basque organization.⁴

In many aspects, the Gernika Peace Museum serves as a model for peace education and for the design of peace museums locally and globally in the future. It goes beyond the focus on memory and victimization that predominates at so many sites and museums commemorating historic atrocities. And in so doing, it challenges visitors to learn about the history and philosophy of peace and use learning about past wars and human rights violations to work toward reconciliation and social justice. From ongoing archival research to books and conferences, the Gernika Peace Museum is also committed to recovering the history of what happened in Guernica and throughout the Basque region during the Spanish Civil War in the face of denial and of a disputed historiography—from numbers killed to who planned the attack and why. The politics of memory continues to play out in the Basque region and throughout Spain.

Ongoing community outreach initiatives, educational programs, and traveling exhibitions promote a range of creative ways to learn about peace, from cooperative games to communal art projects. The museum has sponsored a series of conferences on culture, peace, art, and related themes with the peace research center Gernika Gogoratuz and the Culture House of Gernika. It has hosted Spanish and international forums of, for example, the INMP in 2003 and the International Sites of Conscience in 2012. The museum's unique framing of peace—la paz in Spanish or bakea in Basque and local, regional, and international perspectives are integral to its overall design, with images tracing the constructive history and representations of peace, of the "absence of peace," and of tools for peace and reconciliation. In addition to the 1937 bombing, museum subjects include describing Gernika-Lumo and Basque culture from ancient times, life under the dictatorship of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, and artistic representations and events in peace history. The importance of art and peace is reflected through the museum's exploration of the links between Picasso's painting Guernica and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is also a display and film on reconciliation between citizens of Guernica and Pforzheim, Germany. A final exhibit is on what has come to be termed the Basque conflict (also referred to as the *violence*), the toll on civilians, and resolution efforts.

BACKGROUND

The Basque region has a long and distinct cultural tradition, including its own language, called Euskara in Basque, which is still spoken and is taught in local schools, and a history of self-governance and autonomy within the

larger Spanish state. During the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) a short-lived Basque autonomous government with José Antonio Aguirre, a thirty-two-year-old lawyer and member of the Basque Nationalist Party, as its president (*lehendakari*) was created; and battalions fought against Franco and his supporters. After Franco's victory and during his rule, Basque autonomy and culture were suppressed and the speaking of Euskara was forbidden.

Many tourists to the Basque region go to its capital, Bilbao, and in particular visit Frank Gehry's architectural achievement, the Guggenheim Bilbao, which has received over 10 million visitors since opening in 1989.⁷ But a twenty-mile bus ride away, there is a much smaller, less widely known, yet nonetheless important museum: the Gernika Peace Museum, the first peace museum in Spain. The Gernika Peace Museum, called the Gernika Museum when its first exhibit opened in 1998, is located in the center of the town of seventeen thousand, in the Basque region of northern Spain.

The town of Guernica is internationally known as the site of the aerial bombing attacks that took place on April 26, 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, and it has become a symbol of the terror of modern warfare targeting innocent, undefended civilian populations. Guernica was seen as the precursor, the first act heralding in an age of brutal warfare that would escalate during World War II and continue up to today. In fact, Italian airplanes had bombed civilians in Ethiopia earlier on, and in March 1937, Durango, a nearby Basque town, was bombed, leaving many civilians dead or injured. But while Franco lovalists admitted to the bombing of Durango as a military target and part of the campaign in the north, they denied responsibility for the destruction of Guernica, accusing Basque militants of setting fire to the town. Controversy over who carried out the attacks and why, as well as how many people were killed and injured, emerged immediately and became part of a larger propaganda war within Spain, and in the international media as well. These controversies, along with Picasso's painting and its tour in Europe and North America to raise funds for the republican side, added to the event's notoriety.

Albert Camus wrote about the worldwide fascination with the Spanish Civil War:

It was in Spain that men learned that one can be right and still be beaten, that force can vanquish spirit, that there are times when courage is not its own reward. It is this, without doubt, which explains why so many men throughout the world regard the Spanish drama as a personal tragedy.⁸

The Spanish Civil War was complicated by international politics and growing tensions between fascist, communist, and democratic regimes that emerged in the aftermath of World War I. The Spanish Civil War has often been described as a dress rehearsal for World War II, from the loss of human life and flood of refugees to the war of competing ideologies between and within the supporters of the republic and loyalist factions. For example, by

some estimates as many as forty thousand men and women traveled to Spain and joined what became known as the International Brigades to support the republican side. There was *matériel*, technical, and other support from German and Italian fascist governments and from the Soviet communist state, along with official neutrality declared by Western governments.

According to historian Paul Preston, it was also the Spanish Civil War that "inspired the greatest writers and artists of its day in a manner not repeated in any subsequent war." Among these figures were Robert Capa and other war photographers; artists such as Alexander Calder, Salvador Dalí, René Magritte, Joan Miró, and Pablo Picasso; and writers of journalistic, memoir, and fictional accounts, such as George Orwell and Ernest Hemingway. Amid this international attention to Spain's landscape of war and politics, the news of the bombing of Guernica was received as a shocking, watershed event. The name of the small, previously unknown town in northern Spain became a rallying cry for antifascist supporters worldwide as well as a symbol of modern warfare and its inhumanity.

The death of Franco in 1975 brought an end to decades of dictatorship and repression, and there followed a transition to a constitutional monarchy; a transition that has faced increased criticism in Spain and elsewhere for refusing to acknowledge past crimes of the state. However, the end of Franco's authoritarian rule provided an opening to begin to research and rewrite histories and events long suppressed and denied. Initially, there was no national truth and reconciliation commission and, largely, silence in most of Spain about the crimes that took place during the Civil War and Franco government. But that initial silence has been replaced with a flood of literature and debates about the crimes carried out during the Franco years and issues of justice and memory.

In the Basque region, however, with its history of cultural autonomy and as a bastion of anti-Franco resistance, a number of initiatives were begun prior to that flood. One initiative was to find documentation about the bombing of Guernica and the parties responsible and to overturn the denial and propaganda that prevailed during the Franco years. In April 1977, almost eighteen months after Franco's death, the town was able to memorialize publicly the victims of the bombing that had taken place forty years earlier. There began a series of investigations and commissions to document what had occurred and who was responsible, as well as a series of communications with the German government about its role, issues of restitution, and reconciliation.¹⁰

In 1987, on the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing, the Gernika Peace Research Foundation, Gernika Gogoratuz, 11 was founded by a unanimous decision of the Basque Parliament. As a research center, Gernika Gogoratuz aims to build a "Culture of Peace" and early on worked on a reconciliation initiative with Germany over the 1937 bombing. The staff conducts research projects, publishes working papers, and organizes regular conferences on art and peace and peace culture. Other examples of Gernika

Gogoratuz's peace- and memory-related initiatives include peace education in the school system, conflict-transformation workshops, and community development "to create spaces for democratic and participatory resolution of conflicts and to strengthen the social network, thereby empowering and fostering critical and responsible citizens."12 For example, Juan Gutiérrez, former director of Gernika Gogoratuz, helped facilitate the first involvement of external actors by bringing in U.S. peace and conflict experts Christopher Mitchell and John Paul Lederach to encourage dialogue that would lead to later talks between groups in the Basque conflict. 13 In 1996, Gernika Gogoratuz established Gernika Network, an international network in support of reconciliation processes around the world and composed of institutions from more than forty-three countries. The network has also facilitated publications such as Intractable Conflicts: Keys to Treatment (1997) by Christopher Mitchell, and it has translated into Basque/Spanish works by peace theorists such as John Paul Lederach and Johan Galtung. The foundation and the Gernika Peace Museum cooperate on a number of these projects and their works complement each other.

There were a series of contacts and debates among officials and people concerned about issues of recognition and reconciliation between Germany and Spain. In particular, there was lobbying by German Green Party leader Petra Kelly (1947–92), and the work of Gernika Gogoratuz members. In 1989, President Herzog of the German Federal Republic sent a letter to the survivors of the 1937 bombing of Guernica, acknowledging German involvement. Subsequently, a reconciliation dialogue and ceremony took place in which the letter was read aloud. Guernica and Pforzheim, the German town destroyed by aerial bombardment in 1945, became twinned cites. And there have been a number of exchanges between the towns, such as cultural, sports, and other events with particular focus on young people. These developments, along with pacifist/peace groups working for peaceful solutions to Basque cultural autonomy and related issues, influenced support for the inclusion of reconciliation themes in the Gernika Peace Museum's permanent exhibition.

In 1998, as part of the initiatives to document the bombing, an exhibition titled *The Bombing of Gernika* was put together and displayed for the next three years in Los Fueros Square. The building used to house the exhibition, like most of the center of the town, was rebuilt after the destruction caused by the bombing and fires, and it previously was used for judicial matters and for postal and telegraph services. *The Bombing of Gernika* included an overview of the town's history and Basque cultural traditions, but it focused on the 1937 aerial bombing of Guernica and its devastating toll, with panel titles and images about "International Fascism against the Basque Country," "The Experimental Horror," "The Death of Gernika," and "The Myth Is Born." A final section provided a view on the rebuilding that followed the destruction. The exhibition as a whole may best be characterized as antiwar. ¹⁵ There followed a series of public meetings to discuss the town's history and what

the building in Los Fueros Square might be used for in the future. These activities and the renovation of the building were supported by the Spanish government's Ministry of Culture, Fine Arts, and Cultural Property, and the idea of making the space a permanent site for a museum evolved out of this series of events.

The Gernika Peace Museum Foundation was officially established in 2002, and its trustees include the Basque government, the Provincial Council of Bizkaia, and the Gernika-Lumo Town Hall Trustees. Hence, the project's initiation and support were local and regional and included initiatives for research, recognition, and reconciliation. Funding came from local and regional Basque agencies and private partners, including a bank, and was modest compared with, for example, the nearby Guggenheim Bilbao. It is worth noting that the Madrid government did not play a direct role either in funding or support of the peace museum. In 1981, Picasso's *Guernica* was finally returned to Spain, in keeping with stipulations in Picasso's will (i.e., that the painting remain on view at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City until democracy returned to Spain). Requests that the painting be housed in the Basque region were not heeded; *Guernica*, along with related sketches by the artist, is now housed as a "national treasure" in Madrid at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía.

Motivation to promote a message of peace was influenced by the ongoing Basque conflict—the escalation of a series of bombings and other violence by the ETA, and the torture and killings carried out by the police and the Madrid government on ETA prisoners and suspects. In fact, the characterization of the Basque countryside as a "terrorist" region was one of a number of elements, including economic revitalization, which factored into the Basque government's contribution of millions of dollars to build the Guggenheim Bilbao. According to Roger Sansi, "The Basque government saw in the Guggenheim the best way of polishing the image not only of the city of Bilbao, but also of the Basque country, associating it with modernity, luxury, and fabulousness instead of terrorism." Guggenheim Bilbao, in order to attract large numbers of visitors, exemplifies the museum as spectacle, and it highlights Frank Gehry's architectural building design over its collection. ¹⁷

The Gernika Peace Museum presents a contrast. Reopened in 2003 in the remodeled but still modest building in Los Fueros Square, the museum hoped to attract visitors through public interest about its content, which includes exhibits about the 1937 bombing and Picasso's painting on the subject. The following three questions have been central to the museum and its work: "What is peace? What is the legacy of the bombing of Gernika at a moment of lack of peace? What about peace and human rights today in the world and in the Basque country?" Basque government officials, along with a group of citizens, came to a consensus that the museum, which was renamed the Gernika Peace Museum, should emphasize peace and also address the current violence in the Basque region as well as nonviolent methods of

reconciliation. In 2003, Gernika-Lumo was recognized by UNESCO as a recipient of the City of Peace Award for work toward peace and reconciliation; the three aspects of its work cited were the reconciliation process with Germany, the Gernika Gogoratuz Peace Research Center, and the Gernika Peace Museum.¹⁹

Beside a series of progressive Basque elected officials, a small group of dynamic researchers, educators, artists, and activists took a hands-on approach to the museum project. Faculty members associated with the Pedro Arrupe Human Rights Institute at Deusto University in Bilbao also took part in discussions and made suggestions about how human rights and peace themes could be incorporated. Crucial roles were taken up by Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, who began researching the 1937 bombing, later became the museum director, and has continued to play a central leadership role in all aspects of the museum's development. Idoia Orbe heads the museum's education department, and staff from the affiliated Gernika Gogoratuz, such as María Oianguren Idigoras, who currently serves as its director, cooperate on projects. Interestingly, the core of key individuals working on the museum, including its director, its head of education, and its head of research, were all educated at Deusto University, and all were clearly influenced by the university's pedagogical initiatives toward human rights and social justice themes. While financial cutbacks since 2008, what is sometimes referred to as the Great Spanish Depression, a part of the larger Eurozone crisis, have directly impacted the number of full-time guides and other staff members, the museum has been able to continue its work with a small, dedicated group.

Iratxe Momoitio Astorika has underscored the dual nature of the permanent exhibition in this way: it "stresses the importance of conserving a rich history memory" and also calls on visitors to take an active role in using their awareness to work toward "achieving a world in peace."²⁰

Remarks made by the former mayor and chairman of the Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, Miguel Angel Aranaz Ibarra, and recorded in the museum catalog reflect the philosophy for peace that is so central to the museum's character. He wrote that the Basque town has a long history and "recent significance for the whole world as a symbol of the horror and senselessness of war, so powerfully reflected in Picasso's *Guernica*." He goes on:

Gernika-Lumo is now a City of Peace: it has not forgotten its past but seeks to advance towards a future of peace and reconciliation. These fine words must be echoed in deeds. And what better deed than the creation and development of a Museum of Peace in this symbolic town. A museum that can introduce visitors to the rich culture of world peace, that can make us all more aware of all the ceaseless injustice in the world. A museum that centers on respect for human rights, dialogue, creativity and, in short, on PEACE.²¹

A MUSEUM OF LIVING ART

In 2001, before the new permanent exhibition was installed at the Gernika Peace Museum, community members and survivors of the bombing of Guernica worked with William Kelly, artist and director of the Archive of Humanist Art, to create a living art project titled *Sua eta Argia Palazan: Bakezaleen lekua* (*Plaza of Fire and Light*). On the date of commemoration of the 1937 bombing, a group of the remaining survivors, now all elderly, "passed the flame" from themselves to the children of Guernica so that "they may remember and act toward reconciliation." The pattern of light from candles held by participants glowed in the darkness in the central town square outside the site of the museum. Kelly identifies the importance of his living art by describing the museum as "not just a place of history, a keeper of dates and events[;] it is an active participant in the dialogue on peace and reconciliation" and testimony to the resilience and hope the people of Guernica inspire. He comments:

The Museum gives us the gift of images, powerful and moving. Our spirits are lifted. As an outsider I am aware that this story, like that of Robben Island, of Gandhi's "Salt March," is our story too and we are blessed to have been told this and to share in it in some small way. The Museum not only keeps history. It is helping change the course of history.²²

Photographs of the *Plaza of Fire and Light* now appear in the permanent exhibition of the Gernika Peace Museum and in the museum catalog, and the living art project was repeated at the opening ceremony of the Fifth International Conference of Peace Museums in May 2005. As an attendee of the conference, I participated in this project and held a lit candle, along with educators and representatives from peace museums around the world, side by side with young and older Guernica community members. We were welcomed into the group:

You are now in the Foru Plaza, *The Plaza of Fire and Light: Place of the Peacemakers*. In Gernika there is now a tradition of the "passing of the flame." The survivors of the bombing—many who live here today—have graced this place by passing the flame of remembrance, reconciliation, peace and hope on to the people and children of Gernika and to those who come to stand in this place. And now, you pass on the flames of peace from your places to the people of Gernika. And please know that when you leave, Gernika will always travel with you and . . . though you will go the far corners of the world, you will always be part of Gernika.²³

Several masked individuals interrupted the ceremony and displayed a banner in support of the ETA, the Basque independence movement that has carried out bombings and other violent acts to gain recognition. In keeping with the nonviolent commitment of the museum, the demonstrators were allowed to make their protest, and then the ceremony of passing the torch for peace and reconciliation from one generation to another continued.

THE TREE OF GERNIKA: SYMBOL OF RECONCILIATION AND RESILIENCE

The entrance of the Gernika Peace Museum opens up to a reception desk and museum shop containing souvenirs and a number of books on the history of the town; on the museum itself, with photos of the permanent exhibition; and on art and peace topics, including Picasso's painting Guernica. There are also volumes about the Spanish Civil War such as The Tree of Gernika (2009),²⁴ journalist G. L. Steer's 1938 evewitness account; and Recuerdos: Basque Children Refugees in Great Britain (2007), a collection of testimonies edited by Natalia Benjamin, the daughter of a teacher of the Basque children who were refugees from the civil war in 1937. As part of a collection called Gernika-Lumoko Historia Bilduma, the Gernika Peace Museum Foundation has published books such as Herbert R. Southworth: Life and Work (2001), The Church and Franquismo (2012), as well as titles on human rights and peace, art and peace, and other topics. There are also publications based on various conferences and exhibitions.²⁵ Guided onehour tours by trained docents are available in Basque, Spanish, English, and French. A virtual tour in all four languages is available on the museum Web site, and a new feature makes links with the Web site available through mobile phones and tablets.

As visitors walk up the stairs to the first gallery, they will see a stainedglass window depicting the Tree of Gernika, a symbol of local, Basque history of reconciliation and of the site where disagreements have been negotiated since the town's founding in the fourteenth century. The image of the tree reappears in the permanent exhibition to represent resilience, dialogue, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and reconciliation. Early historical accounts of Gernika-Lumo include "the historic tree, the oak tree where the Basque statutes were sworn, beneath which the representatives of the Vizcaya regions assembled and called their meetings."26 Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in a visit to the region, commented, "Gernika is the most happy town in the world. Its affairs are run by a group of countrymen who meet beneath an oak and always make the fairest decisions."²⁷ Later, in the permanent exhibition, there is also a photo of the tree left standing amid the destruction following the 1937 bombing, and another of the tree with a smiling image of a visiting monk and quote from the Dalai Lama.



Figure 4.1 Bakea Paz, opening panels of permanent exhibit Gernika Peace Museum. Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation.

EXHIBITION OPENING: BAKEA PAZ PEACE

Most visitors come to the Gernika Peace Museum because of interest in the bombing of the town, the Spanish Civil War, and Picasso's painting. They are surprised and often taken aback by how much of the museum also includes peace stories and images and examples of peace and conflict resolution.

The Basque and Spanish terms for peace, *Bakea* and *Paz*, are the first words the visitor sees in a large panel at the top of the first-floor entryway that opens the exhibition. Images of peace—in art and everyday life—greet the visitor under the banner.

The following reflections set the tone for thinking about peace:

Peace is a difficult equilibrium between various languages, different cultures and outlooks and situations; and the millions of hopes and desires in the minds of our civilization here on planet earth. The concept of peace is so wide-ranging, desirable, and unclassifiable that its many forms have appeared from advertising to the cinema, from the negotiating tables to the cemeteries, from sweet tales to harsh accounts of war, from the trenches to the living room, from the transformations throughout history to time in the future. This desire, longing, called peace is open to realization, but in exchange it demands of us understanding, tolerance, reconciliation and, above all, strength.

Peace is positive energy deeply rooted in life, in ourselves and in our desires and capabilities. It is peace that uses nonviolence in its battles, in its blind faith that together we are able to change the world.²⁸

There is a collage of colorful images representing peace signs, scenes, and pacts, some of which appear again later in the exhibit. Some images are familiar ones: a holiday card with different symbols of peace and well-being, a family eating together, footprints in the sand. Less well-known images are



Figure 4.2 Tibetan monk at the traditional tree of Guernica. Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation.

displayed, too: an ancient mosaic from Pompeii and Sienese artist Alberto Lorenzetti's fourteenth-century mural of *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government*. The collage reflects the broad spectrum of ideas and experiences that encapsulate the concept of peace and peacefulness.

The *Paths Towards Peace* section of the exhibit includes a range of spiritual, political, cultural, and other pathways toward achieving peace, and begins by emphasizing the following: "The preponderance of attention has been given to the violent history of conflicts that have been written, filmed, broadcast on the radio and photographed," while "we know very little of the men and women, ideas and thoughts, cultures and other people who have used peaceful methods in their fight to live in peace." Viewers are encouraged to look deeper into the "many faces and different forms" of peace.

In the section *Searching for Oneself: Peace of Mind*, there is, as mentioned earlier, an image of a Buddhist monk at the traditional Guernica tree, along with this quote from the Dalai Lama: "Maintaining peace always begins with personal satisfaction for each individual."

The universal human quest for inner peace is emphasized:

There are legends, stories and other facts which show us how on certain occasions peace has been sought inside a cave, in the solitude of the desert, on the peak of a mountain or amid the silence of cloisters. This concept sought from east to west and from north to south already was a part of ourselves. It is about achieving inner peace through personal retreat and meditation. This idea is to be found in a number of religions such as Christianity, Islam or Buddhism, and it has an extremely personal dimension. All of us, in fact, search for inner peace in our own way, on occasions with no relation to religion or philosophy, and we struggle to find a space in which we may feel at peace. Sometimes with our eyes closed as we listen to music, sometimes in the rustle of the leaves as we walk through the trees, or when we sleep.³⁰

The *Peace within the Group* section looks at the controversial, political nature of peace agreements, such as imposing rule on populations after military victory, and the challenges of peacekeeping. A quote from Erasmus of Rotterdam appears in this section: "The most disadvantaged peace is better than the most just war." And a series of photos show the first-century B.C. Pax Romana established after the victory of Emperor Augustus, the Yalta Conference, soldiers during the Cold War, and Khrushchev shaking hands and meeting with citizens and officials from the West.

A section titled *Blue Planet*, *Blue Peace* has images of the environment and describes how, since earliest times, different nations, from the Amazon River to the Euphrates, have linked peace with nature and resources in our environment. For example, Greek Stoic philosophy in the fourth century B.C. emphasized the virtue of humans' being able to live in harmony with their surroundings. As the museum guidebook explains,

In modern times, the eco-pacifist movement defends peace as the only solution to prevent the destruction on the planet. Not only do they condemn the use of nuclear and biological weapons, but they also encourage reasonable consumption of our resources to prevent them becoming depleted.³¹

The concept of social justice and sustainability as essential for peace is emphasized in panels called *Peace on a Daily Basis*. "What do we need to live in peace?" is a question posed to visitors. The answer provided states, in part:

Above all, to have enough to eat, to be able to obtain appropriate clothing and housing, medical attention and an education. We must work without exploitation, expand upon our relationships with each other and receive mental stimulation for our own cultural and spiritual development.³²

The structural violence of hunger that exists in many parts of the world is depicted in contrasting photos of a child enjoying a nutritious meal and of hungry children and families. As a quote from Spanish philosopher Jaime Dias points out:

The concept of peace is inseparable from the concept of justice on all levels: on the international level, on the social level and the interpersonal level. Peace is not always in relation to armed conflict, because there are many forms of war: cultural war, economic war, political war, social war, etc.³³

There are well-known images and quotations from Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and Mother Teresa. The classic photo of a single young man standing in front of a tank in Tiananmen Square is accompanied by quotes such as Mahatma Gandhi's "An eye for an eye, and the world will go blind." Viewers are challenged to think about the need for a personal commitment to take action in the name of peace. The text of the exhibit also includes statements and observations by a range of peace thinkers such as Jaime Dias, John Paul Lederach, and Johan Galtung to introduce visitors to a sample of philosophical foundations and theories of peace.

PEACE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: POSITIVE PEACE AND A TOOL KIT FOR CONSTRUCTING PEACE

In the next room, there are five large images of peace in life, such as a mother breast-feeding her baby and a happy couple on a bench, juxtaposed with images of the effects of violence, to introduce the subject of how to transform negative into positive peace. John Paul Lederach is quoted as describing positive peace as "cooperation, working together, mutual assistance, mutual understanding and trust. It is an active kind of association, the main feature of which is mutual benefit from a positive relationship." He suggests that human nature is such that conflict is ongoing, but each case has the potential to be "solved in a pacific manner, or lead to violent confrontation." Hence, the exhibition stresses the possibility of positive change.

The exhibit continues to weave the personal and local with the national and international in discussing conflict and how to address it. In the section *Transforming Conflicts*, descriptions continue to provide the visitor with ideas about the complexity of conflict and its resolution: "Conflict can break out in a queue at the market, in a demonstration or on the border between two nations." What do these events have in common? Clearly, they can escalate to violence or be resolved peacefully.

The exhibit goes further:

To overcome conflict, we must appraise the feelings of the other party and listen—if we do not listen we cannot understand the reasons of the other party, and thus the other party becomes a monster, an enemy. We must try to exchange arguments and postures, and reach agreements to create a different situation which is acceptable to both parties. Solving a conflict means that everyone must adapt to the new situation. The way in which the conflict is treated must involve an attempt to turn disagreement into mutual understanding and establishing links of heart-felt respect.³⁶

In the center of the room, there is a large exhibit case on the floor containing a range of tools with the following quote written on the case: "The path to peace is a movement of both understanding and being understood."

In this section titled *The Tools for Bringing Peace*, viewers can study various tools symbolic of methods used to construct peace, including:

firm dialogue, respect for human rights, looking to the future, respect our fellow human beings, putting ourselves in the other person's position, searching for common ground, mediating to unite the wishes of both parties, inventing and creating, directing the situation toward reconciliation, admitting our mistakes, thinking positive, investigating and discovering others realities, confronting positions in a positive way, reviewing laws and regulations, standing up to injustice and being more flexible in our positions.

Visitors are encouraged to think further about ways to include their own ideas in the museum's work:

The list does not end here, since the workshops are constantly using a number of different instruments, inventing and creating new methods, or a number of tools may be used at the same time. Since you too may have your own ideas with regard to this matter, please give us your suggestions for any other tools which could be used.³⁷

Museum guides often take time to discuss the nonviolent methods in the tool kit, and the museum offers a workshop on conflict resolution that takes up themes introduced in this peace tool kit display.

THE ABSENCE OF PEACE: THE BOMBING OF GUERNICA

The destruction of Gernika was perpetrated by the German Condor Legion and the Italian Air Force, acting on the commands of Franco's rebel army. The military tactics applied were so devastating that Gernika has gone down in history as the first experiment in total war.³⁸

After the exhibits focusing on a broad spectrum of peace images and issues, the permanent exhibition shifts to what is described as the "absence of peace," and traces the history of events leading up to the Spanish Civil War

and the bombing of Guernica. There is a living history room called Begonia's House that reenacts one family's experiences of living through the bombing. Expanding on the original exhibition *The Bombing of Gernika*, the permanent exhibition is designed to document who carried out the bombing of civilians and the destruction, and how. Eyewitness testimonies describing life during and after the bombings are included, providing a response to the lies and distortions begun in the aftermath of the bombing by General Franco and his supporters, which accused Basque "reds" and "communists" of carrying out the raids against their own people and denied Loyalist involvement. The galleries present a history of Guernica spanning from ancient times to the twentieth century, with cultural and economic developments, the civil war and the bombing, the occupation and the rebuilding during the Franco years, and a final memorial and reconciliation initiatives.

SOCIAL HISTORY AND REENACTMENT: "BEGONIA'S STORY"

The door opens suddenly to this section, and visitors enter into a re-creation of the interior of a dining room in Guernica in the 1930s. The lights go off, and visitors find themselves in the dark, listening to sounds of air-raid sirens and bombs and to the eyewitness accounts of Begonia and others.

Up to this point our journey has shown peace in its many aspects. There was a day, however, in this very town, when peace disappeared without a trace, and brute force and bombs took the place of words. . . . In the afternoon of 26 April 1937 the people of Gernika suffered one of the most atrocious air attacks of the modern era. This terrible experience was not an event which served no purpose—on the contrary, in fact—in the modern age, the Gernika message is valid for all peoples and all cultures. Commemoration of the event is an attempt to comprehend the past and the mistakes of the past; only then may we begin to improve our present and work towards our future. ³⁹

Through the re-creation, "Begonia's Story" provides a social history of what life was like in Guernica before and during the bombing. Begonia describes how an ordinary market day in the town is shattered when bombs drop from the air, and this section of the exhibit allows visitors to become "witnesses to the experiences of the people of Gernika immediately before and after the destruction of their town."

THE TOWN TALKS TO US

Visitors next enter a large room where the exhibit *The Town Talks to Us* depicts Gernika-Lumo through documents, images, and testimonies



Figure 4.3 Artifacts and documents on the bombing of Guernica, permanent exhibit. Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation.

concerning events before, during, and after the bombardment. One section traces Guernica's history from prehistoric times (for example, a replica of the nearby Santimamiñe cave paintings), through medieval times (for example, a section of the charter issued by Count Don Tello of the official founding of the town known as the Port of Guernica on April 28, 1366), to the legal, cultural, and economic developments of modern times. This part of the permanent exhibit is dense and includes maps, photographs, newspaper accounts, and artifacts about the bombing, and witnesses' reactions to the event (personal accounts, oral histories, and newspaper accounts). The floors in two large rooms are made of glass, through which pieces of shattered buildings and other debris are visible, serving as a constant reminder to viewers of the destruction as they walk among the displays.

Why and how was Guernica bombed? Who was responsible? Why did Guernica become a symbol of modern warfare? How did the Franco regime falsify the facts and its responsibility? Why has the Spanish military never acknowledged its role? These questions are addressed by providing visitors with the historical background of the Spanish Second Republic, factions and movements for Basque and Catalan autonomy, the Spanish Civil War, and the selection of Guernica as a target in the political and military cross fire. Images of airplanes and destruction from the bombing, as well as artifacts such as uniforms and rubble, are on display, along with text that explains

the different aspects of the 1937 bombing and their significance. The exhibit aims to set the record straight that the accusations that Basque militants set the town on fire were totally false. The words of General Mola set an ominous tone:

This is the last warning. I have decided to put a rapid end to the war in the North of Spain. The lives and possessions of those who are not guilty of murder and lay down their weapons or give themselves up shall be respected. If your surrender is not immediate, I shall raze Vizcaya to the ground, beginning with the industries of war. I have more than sufficient means to do so.⁴¹

An eyewitness account describes the raid:

The planes took off from the aerodrome at Vitoria, flew out over the sea and then performed a half-turn to follow the Oca valley and attack Guernica from North to South. . . . The tactics employed were to drop ordinary shells first, and then small incendiary cluster bombs, at the same time machine-gunning any villagers who had not yet reached cover—not only in the town itself, but also in its outlying districts and also around the neighbouring parishes.⁴²

The repercussions of the systematic aerial bombing are recorded:

The first plane appeared around four o'clock in the afternoon and dropped a number of bombs. About fifteen minutes later the first wave arrived—three planes flying low in triangular formation. This was the beginning of the systematic bombing of Gernika, which continued for over three hours....The destruction of Gernika was perpetrated by the German Condor Legion and the Italian air force, acting on the commands of Franco's rebel army. The military tactics applied were so devastating that Gernika has gone down in history as the first experiment in total war.⁴³

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TOWN

There is a section devoted to technical aspects of the bombing, including the dropping of tons of bombs, the types of airplanes, and images of the destruction and the fire that raged for several days afterward. The exhibit reveals photos of the smoldering ruins, and of a handful of buildings and sites—such as the Santa Maria Church, the Council Chambers, and the Tree of Gernika—that inexplicably remained intact. As historian Walther L. Bernecker points out, "If destruction was so devastating, it is reasonable to think that a high number of victims were involved." Estimates of how many people were killed immediately became part of the debates about the

bombing, ranging from a very low number suggested by Loyalist writers to several hundred; according to the Basque government, there were 1,654 dead and 889 wounded. In the updated section *Destruction of the Town*, the report of the mayor of Guernica, José de Labauria, is cited, and states that more than 1,000 people perished, including 450 in the Andra Mari shelter, to which they had fled for refuge. Eyewitness Father Eusebio Arronategi, who helped with rescue work, is quoted as stating that he saw "thousands of his fellow citizens suffocated, dead and wounded." People were shocked by the bombings, and some fled to town shelters, into ditches, into the hills, anywhere they felt might be safer. Three days after the bombing, Franco's troops, along with a military contingent made up of Italians, Germans, and North Africans, occupied the town. It was not until 1941 that the rubble was removed, and during the Franco regime the government "did its level best to eliminate all the records kept of the attack by the Basque authorities, wiping even the memory of the victims off the pages of history."

INFORMATION AFTER THE BOMBING

Immediately following the bombing of Guernica, eyewitnesses as well members of the Basque government told the world about what had been done and the role of Franco's troops and the German and Italian planes. However, Loyalist supporters denied involvement, insisting that the Basque Republicans (whom they called "reds" or "separatists") had set fire to the town during their retreat from Bilbao. José Antonio Aguirre, president of the Basque government, declared, "Before God and History, which will eventually judge us all, I hereby state that for three and a half hours German planes bombed the defenseless civilian population of Gernika with unprecedented viciousness. They reduced the town to ashes and machine-gunned women and children, many of whom were killed, while the rest fled in terror."

General Francisco Franco's response was: "Aguirre is lying. We respected Gernika in the same way that we respect everything Spanish." Guernica surrendered within days, and there was never an official count taken of how many people were killed. The Spanish military still has not acknowledged its role.

The exhibit *Information after the Bombing* records the immediate propaganda war that began about the aerial bombing and who was responsible. A selection of fascist propaganda in cartoons and press articles is included, as well as accounts such as those by journalist George Steer in the *London Times* and *New York Times*, publications that proved crucial in publicizing the bombing and countering the false assertions that the town was destroyed by fires set by Basque militants. Steer wrote on May 6, 1937 that there was "conclusive proof that Guernica was destroyed by aviation," including that he had seen German bombs and holes in rooftops. "I was in Guernica until 1.30 in the morning, and there was no

smell of petrol anywhere. . . . A large section of Guernica is not a pile of ashes, it is a pile of rubble." Newspapers and books such as Herbert R. Southworth's reporting about the bombing and George Steer's *The Tree of Gernika* (1938) are also on view in the exhibit; these and other works on the bombing are available at the museum bookstore, and further information is available at the museum's specialized Documentation Center, with its resources on the Spanish Civil War, the bombing of Guernica, and exile.

With the defeat of the Republican supporters by 1939, Guernica was rebuilt in the early years of Franco's regime, primarily by political prisoners and workers; it took five years to rebuild large parts of the town. A photo of Francisco Franco being made an adopted son of the town is on display, attesting to the irony that this "son" of Guernica was the very one responsible for its destruction in the first place. The repression during the Franco years and pervasive distrust are recorded, such as in one oral history that states, "There was much distrust . . . there were police, informers. . . . Many people were sent to prison, and there was a general fear until Franco died." At the same time, Guernica remained a symbol of Basque freedom, and on occasion there were public displays, such as the 1964 celebration of Basque National Day, when more than two thousand people gathered.

TOWARD RECONCILIATION

After the vivid descriptions and images of the bombing and its aftermath, the final parts of the first-floor gallery turn to themes of memory and reconciliation, of "making friends of those who were former enemies. In this situation, it is necessary that aggressors acknowledge their guilt and accept responsibility for past acts." Photos and text describe the various steps toward reconciliation, emphasize that the journey to reconciliation has proved to be a long one, and show that "Gernika is an advanced example of reconciliation." Germany delayed the first steps to reconciliation, and the acknowledgment of German involvement in the bombing did not come until six decades later, when President Herzog sent a letter to survivors acknowledging that Germany had been involved in the 1937 attack.

This symbolic act was the result of the work carried out by many people and many institutions; the result of countless arrangements made, hopes and frustration. The German town of Pforzheim (which suffered from allied aerial bombing during World War II) and Gernika are today twinned, and people have produced new ways of understanding and mutual support. Justice has not been done, but the path has been cleared toward reconciliation and the memory of Gernika has been kept alive.⁵¹

IN MEMORIAM: "REFUSE TO FORGET, REFUSE TO TAKE REVENGE"

Visitors now enter a separate room where a memorial stone "In Memoriam" is at the center engraved in Basque and Spanish with words that translate as "Refuse to forget, refuse to take revenge." Here, visitors have the opportunity to sit and reflect and to watch a short, moving film called *In Memoriam*, with images of destruction as well as of reconciliation from all over the world, and with messages from survivors of Guernica about the importance of memory and of "reconciliation, a genuine lesson in peace." The film emphasizes that today "Gernika is an advanced example of reconciliation; the process has not vet been completed, but the journey embarked on is a long one."53



Figure 4.4 Memorial to victims of the 1937 bombing of Guernica: "Refuse to forget, refuse to take revenge". Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation.

Displays at the Gernika Peace Museum also trace the important role of the late Petra Kelly of the German Green Party. Kelly lobbied for the official acknowledgment of Germany's role in the bombing plus a formal apology and a public reconciliation with the victims. One individual speaking on behalf of a group of survivors states in the film that there are "no feelings of hate or vengeance in us, only a huge, immense desire for peace, for such events never to happen again."

Following the memories shared by surviving witnesses of the bombing is President Herzog of the Federal Republic of Germany reading, sixty years after the bombing, an admission of German involvement. One survivor's statement in the aftermath of the official admission speaks of how

they rained down fire, shrapnel and death on us. And they destroyed our town. And that night we could not go back home for our supper, or sleep in our beds. We had no home anymore. We had no house. But that event, which was so incomprehensible to us, left no feelings of hate or vengeance in us—only a huge immense desire for peace, and for such events never to happen again. A flag of peace should rise up from the ruins of what was our town for all the people of the world.⁵⁴

The themes that reappear in the sounds and images of the film include survivor testimonies; a ceremony of the passing of lit candles from one generation to the next in remembrance of the tragedy; the twinning between citizens of Pforzheim, Germany, and Guernica, Spain; and remembrance and reconciliation. The film talks about the processes of reconciliation in Guernica, throughout Spain, and worldwide:

Reconciliation is the overcoming of past enmities and the creation of a new, common framework for a friendly future.... It ... seeks to turn enmity and distrust into respect and harmony. The basic requirement is for both parties truly to wish it to be so. Guernica has come a long way in its process of reconciliation with Pforzheim. Other parts of the world have come even further, such as South Africa, Australia, Guatemala and many others of which we are unaware, where processes are under way to end conflicts, heal wounds and build a future of peaceful coexistence.⁵⁵

PICASSO'S GUERNICA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The top floor of the permanent exhibition begins with a replica of the mural *Guernica* (11 feet 6 inches in height and 25 feet 8 inches in width) by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) and information about its history and links with peace and human rights issues. During the Civil War, the Spanish Republican government commissioned a work by Picasso, who was among the most

well-known artists of the time, to promote support for their cause as part of the Spanish pavilion of the 1937 Exposition Internationale held in Paris that summer. The Spanish government realized that the international exhibition provided an opportunity to gain support for its cause in the larger propaganda war that was unfolding. The rationale was to "attract attention to help with the difficult negotiations the Government of the Republic was carrying out to obtain arms that the Non-Intervention Pact refused them. In addition, its intention was to ring alarm bells about the unstoppable rise of fascism in Europe."56 The pavilion was designed by Spanish artists Luis Lacasa and Josep Lluís Sert, and sculptures and paintings were on view by Alexander Calder, Joan Miró, Picasso (including his sculptures Cabeza de Mujer, Busto de Mujer, and Bañista), and other artists. After some delay deciding what he was going to paint for the commissioned piece, Picasso began preliminary sketches on May 1, 1937, the day after news of the bombing of Guernica appeared in the French press, and he completed the work six weeks later. Dora Maar, Picasso's partner at the time, took a series of photographs of the work in progress; they reveal how some of the artist's images developed as "he composed, recomposed, arranged and disarranged, until he managed to find the right place for everything."57 As "the most important anti-war icon in the world," it continues to be associated with protests against wars, such as the Vietnam War in the 1960s and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 (a replica of the painting at the UN was covered over when Secretary of State Powell argued in favor of the war⁵⁸). As art historian Josefina Alix notes, "Picasso's passion in 1937 has made the name of Guernica indissolubly linked to the struggle for peace."59

Standing in front of three Plexiglas partitions in the exhibit *Picasso's Guernica and Human Rights*, the visitor sees the mural replica in its entirety, with its mixture of styles and influences, from cubism to surrealism, and can proceed from panel to panel to view the various sections of the painting and try to decipher the meaning of the range of images, from a minotaur to a lightbulb. During Picasso's lifetime, he was often asked to explain the symbolism of the images. One response he gave in 1947 was typical:

A painter does not have to create these symbols. Otherwise it would be better to write what you want to say rather than painting it. The viewing public has to see in the horse and the bull symbols that they can interpret as they wish. There are animals, animals that are destroyed. For me, that is all: the public can see what they want in it.⁶⁰

Not only did Picasso's *Guernica* became a powerful antiwar symbol in support of the Republican cause during the Spanish Civil War, but within a short time, as the painting was exhibited in European and U.S. cities, it became a universal symbol of protest against the inhumanity of war. The peace museum education staff offers a workshop on Picasso's painting,

discussing its history and its symbolism and providing an opportunity for students to learn about its significance in greater depth and to create their own drawings and interpretations.

Along the walls of the exhibit and tied in with the painting are the 1948 UN "Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." The human rights to life, liberty, and equality are the focus of the following exhibit, called *Three Expressions*, where photos of human rights violations appear beside discussions and questions to the visitors about the meanings of each right. Visitors are asked, for example, to consider the following: "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that everyone has the right to life. But what does that right truly imply? What conditions must prevail for it to be effective?" Another section talks further about the elements essential for the right to life, including

the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; the right to well-being and an adequate standard of living; to food, clothing, housing, medical and social services; the right to privacy in one's family home; the right to one's own identity, honour and reputation; the right to humanitarian aid; the right to live in a healthy environment.⁶¹

In the section A Seed for Peace, there are more images and text about human rights issues, and the continued violations and challenges that individuals and organizations face to realize such rights locally and globally.

THE BASQUE CONFLICT

Given the violence and terror over Basque autonomy, establishing a peace museum that was to include a section on the Basque conflict and whose philosophical overview was rooted in nonviolence and reconciliation was a courageous action. Oftentimes, museums cling to analyzing the past or events far away, so that they can avoid controversies in their own communities. However, the Gernika Peace Museum tries to avoid promoting resentment or blame while still making clear who was responsible and pushing toward reconciliation and nonviolence. It does not seek to promote narrow, chauvinistic interests but, instead, a humanistic approach calling on nonviolence and reconciliation.

As director Iratxe Momoitio Astorika recalls, she and other members of the museum organizing committee were aware of "the tragic and painful conflict that Spain and the Basque Country live in," referring to violence by both the ETA and authorities. They realized that they could not ignore this current situation, despite the controversy that it could create. "How could we ask visitors to discuss conflicts and rights around the world if we do not talk about our own problems?" She describes how invaluable it was to have

a series of discussions with experts on the conflict who helped to write and to develop the museographic project on the Basque conflict.⁶²

Thus, the final section of the Gernika Peace Museum looks at the history of post-Franco conflict in the Basque country. It contains glass panels of trees that attempt to make visitors feel as if they are in a forest. The museum guidebook explains:

The forest represents a metaphor for the region's landscape and conveys the idea that all kinds of trees, plants and animals can live together. In the conflict in the Basque region, we should also learn how to live together in harmony, to eradicate intransigence and terrorism and to respect all human rights especially the right to life.⁶³

This final room is divided into three parts. The first section describes the origins of the conflict and presents viewpoints of various political parties, experts, and people. The exhibit traces the violence, pointing out that an estimated one thousand individuals were killed and several thousand others injured. The next section shows the deleterious effects of the violence—both visible and invisible—through photos of injury and death to civilians, and material destruction such as blown-up cars and homes. The persistence of cultures of violence is depicted through evidence of the torture of political prisoners and how the prison system is used to dehumanize them. Finally, there appears a section of panels on the efforts to live in peace and to find a solution, including two computer screens which allow visitors to search additional information. Since 2011, the bombings and overt conflict have subsided, but aftereffects continue, as do issues of Basque claims to greater autonomy and the desire for recognition by the Madrid government of the 1937 bombing.

Furthermore, these final images look at efforts to live in peace and explore how various groups and initiatives are working together to counter violence though nonviolent means, and to create a "more peaceful, tolerant, and solidarity-based society."

EDUCATION WORKSHOPS

More than three hundred thousand people have visited the Gernika Peace Museum since its opening. Half of those visitors are part of school groups; they often combine a docent-guided tour of the exhibit with one of the educational workshops. A number of the school groups come from French schools, where learning about Picasso's painting, the history of the civil war and refugees who fled to France, and World War II are part of the curriculum. Most workshops include an interactive experience and often an artistic dimension (these are one to one-and-a-half hours in length and are conducted either before or after viewing the permanent exhibit), and they

include age-appropriate activities. Some are linked to the permanent exhibit and discuss different images and figures whose work reflects visions of peace.

The museum's education department includes a range of content-based and tolerance workshops to discuss issues about how different people can live together and "raise awareness of cultural diversity, play to promote peace, coexistence and solidarity." The Art of Peace workshop, for students in the primary grades and up, helps students to think about images of peace. Students begin by drawing popular images of war, such as bombs, tanks, guns, etc. Then the workshop leader describes how the students can "strip down" the images they drew by, for example, turning a wheel into a circle or the structure of a tank into a square. These new, simplified elements are then colored and cut out, and they are used to create a different image, one that represents peace. Drawings and other student artwork are often on display in the museum's hallways. And sometimes banners created by students or artists hang outside the museum, greeting visitors and passersby alike.

According to education director Idoia Orbe Narbaiza, many secondaryschool teachers prefer historical workshops on topics such as the bombing of Guernica, the history of the Spanish Civil War, or Picasso's Guernica. 65 Human Rights, one workshop for secondary-school students, aims to introduce more specifics about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international norms, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Students gain information about what human rights are, how they were created, and whether they are respected. Another workshop traces the changes in history textbooks during and after the Franco dictatorship in depicting the Spanish Civil War and the bombing of Guernica. Cooperative game workshops for both primary- and secondary-school groups promote diverse values, including cooperation, group play, inclusion, and learning from one another. New workshops incorporate popular cultural themes, such as "Pispas: A World of Colors," which is based on a popular children's TV character and provides examples of how different people can live together and "raise awareness of cultural diversity, play to promote peace, coexistence and solidarity."66 There are also training workshops. During a visit to the museum in 2010, I observed Idoia Orbe working with a group of guides to play a series of cooperative games so that these activities could be integrated into future student workshops. And a 2013 educational initiative called "The Museum at the School" brings museum staff to schools where they conduct free workshops on museum-related themes.

Since the museum prides itself on its emphasis on peace art, it is used as a space for local artists to link with education initiatives. For example, "artivist" (artist+activist) Alex Carrascosa, who also does projects for Gernika Gogoratuz and has held art workshops in Latin America and elsewhere, conducts dialogues through participatory/activist art workshops with children and adults, in which people learn to move beyond their own "comfortable limits" and to share and create larger artworks together. An

exhibit of his work appeared at the museum, and his book *Dia-Tekhn*: *Diálogo a través del Arte* (2010) is available at the bookstore.

Through a number of projects, the Gernika Peace Museum fosters its goal of making the museum a living experience to promote community building and cooperation. The museum is the site of various community activities and celebrates special days, including the Anniversary of the Bombing of Guernica, the International Day of Peace, and the International Day of Human Rights. Despite the small size of its staff, the first Sunday of each month is free of charge and offers a variety of art and cooperative-game projects for children and their families, and there are also special summercamp weeks filled with games, arts, and other activities.

The museum has a series of traveling exhibitions, some of which were created on site and others that were brought from countries around the world, listed under history, peace, and human rights categories. ⁶⁷ Museum staff members often develop educational curriculum and special workshops for teachers and classes based on the temporary exhibitions. Traveling exhibitions include *The Bombing of Gernika*, *The Road to Peace* (covering the bombing of Guernica and of Pforzheim and steps toward reconciliation), *Failing to Make the Grade: The Spanish Civil War in School Text-Books*, and *Women of Gernika in the 20th Century: Testimonies and Experiences*.

Other exhibitions are on temporary loan to the museum, such as *Flying* Prohibited: Children and Armed Conflict (2012-13) created by Save the Children. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki* is a traveling exhibit that was prepared in Japan and translated into Basque and Spanish. After its showing at the Gernika Peace Museum, the exhibition moved on to appear at various schools and other sites in the Basque region. Signs for Peace and Art and Human Rights were two additional traveling exhibits on view; the latter included images by thirty-four artists that originated in South Africa and was organized for the Art for Humanity Project. Other temporary exhibitions that have appeared at the Gernika Peace Museum include Argentina: Educate in Remembrance to Build a Future; The Ringelblum Archives: The Hidden History of the Warsaw Ghetto, and From Apartheid to Democracy: The Struggle for Liberation in South Africa. These exhibitions reflect the ongoing commitment of the Gernika Peace Museum staff to carrying out exchanges with other museums and agencies worldwide, sharing their own exhibitions on Guernica, peace, and related issues, and housing various exhibitions on a range of issues, from nuclear weapons and disarmament to peace art and signs. The museum's goal includes expanding its audience globally through adding an online presence to include WEBQUEST and social networking, and joining international projects such as the Kid's Guernica project.

Research about the bombing was one of the original rationales for establishing the museum as a permanent site, and this continues. The Documentation Center on the Bombing of Gernika and the Civil War (CDBG) is located in the museum and includes books, magazines, audiovisual material,

and other items from around the world that are related to the bombing and Spanish Civil War. Ana Teresa Núñez Monasterio is head of the CDBG; she and Iratxe Momoitio Astorika continue archival research in resources ranging from the Vatican Secret Archives to war documents in Berlin, to the ALBA Archives (Abraham Lincoln Brigades Archive) in New York City, investigating the details about planning and execution of the 1937 bombing and various related topics. There is also the Herbert R. Southworth Collection, which is part of the CDBG and is open to the public for research; it consists of newspapers, books, more than three thousand documents, and other items about the Spanish Civil War by the historian of the same name. The museum has also published a series of books based on research, conferences, and exhibits. There are volumes on Herbert Southworth, on journalist George Steer, and different historical subjects such as La Iglesia y el Franquismo (The Church and Françoism, 2007) and El bombardeo de Gernika v su repercusión internacional (The Bombing of Gernika and Its International Repercussions, 2013). There is a series on Human Rights and the Peace Museum and a volume on Arte v Derechos Humanos (Art and Human Rights). There is a volume of essays on the seventieth anniversary of Picasso's painting, as well as Signs for Peace (2007), which is based on an exhibit. Some of these works are available in Basque, Spanish, French, and English, and a number are listed as open publications available to read on the museum Web site. The quality and number of publications is noteworthy for a small museum with a limited staff.

Networking has been a characteristic of the museum staff since its opening, and the museum is an active member of national networks such as the Forum of Human Right Education (Basque country) and AIPAZ (the Spanish Association of Peace Research). The Gernika Peace Museum also works with international peace and museum networks. For example, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the bombing (and at a time of serious fiscal constraint) the museum held a number of commemorative conferences, including one co-sponsored with the International Sites of Conscience Network.

FUTURE CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

The Gernika Peace Museum faces a series of challenges in the future, including maintaining financial support from a combination of Basque regional government agencies and private funding sources. Given the financial crisis in Spain and in other European Union countries and EU agencies, funding of cultural projects has been increasingly difficult and will remain so in the foreseeable future. The current handful of dedicated staff members and the committed leadership have exercised a great deal of flexibility and innovation in keeping the museum open and in creating new workshops, programs, and other initiatives. Given the small size of the staff and the museum's limited resources,

the number and quality of books and conferences that the Gernika Peace Museum has produced is impressive, as is the museum's range of outreach efforts, from social networking to local and international collaborations. The Gernika Peace Museum Foundation Web site is constantly being updated and improved, and since 2014 it has included a guided tour in four languages that takes viewers through the highlights of the permanent exhibition. New education programs and temporary exhibits continue to be integrated into programming by the museum staff, such as the 2014 staff-created exhibit TRANSIT in Gernika, and others such as Artists and the Spanish Civil War and Dialogues across Civilizations (2015) are borrowed from organizations and sites around the world, in particular exhibits on peace and art themes.

One museum goal is to update the permanent exhibit, including survivor narratives and research on the 1937 bombing and on what can be learned from the ETA violence and related issues. But a major renovation is on hold for now, due to the fiscal situation in Spain. However, the staff submitted a proposal in 2014 to both public and private supporters for a partial renovation and update in several sections of the museum. This initiative continues the museum's commitment to facing difficult histories; in this case, by narrating the history of violence, acknowledging its victims, and exploring lessons learned and how to address grievances nonviolently in the future. It will be interesting to see if, over time, the government in Madrid will set the historic record straight on the military's role in the 1937 bombing, recognize the Gernika Peace Museum's unique place in Spanish culture and history, and provide greater support to the museum. In the meantime, the staff continues to carry out cooperative projects in conjunction with cultural institutions in Madrid and throughout Spain, as well as with European and global cultural networks.

Through its vision of creating a site and experience to learn about peace and human rights, the Gernika Peace Museum provides a unique model of a site of memory which records the past while providing visitors with information about the possibilities of a future for human rights and justice. This inspirational museum is dedicated to educating about a future of peace, reconciliation, and human rights.

NOTES

- 1. "Permanent Exhibit," Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, accessed July 20, 2014, http://www.museodelapaz.org/en/expo_des_en.php?idexposicion=2. The spelling of the town in Basque is "Gernika"; in Spanish it's "Guernica." Likewise, the province is spelled "Bizkaia" and "Vizcaya," respectively. The Basque cultural community extends from northeast Spain (also referred to as the Basque Autonomous Community Euskadi) to a small section of bordering France.
- 2. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation: A Museum to Remember the Past, a Museum for the Future (Gernika-Lumo: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 2004), 15. Text of this museum catalog is provided in Basque, Spanish, English, and French.

- 3. "History/Mission/Objectives," Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, accessed September 20, 2013, http://www.museodelapaz.org/en/docu_history.php.
- 4. Established in 1959, the revolutionary, separatist organization ETA advocated armed struggle during the 1960s and splintered into a series of groups. By one estimate, the terrorist violence (bombings, targeted killings) of the ETA groups resulted in more than eight hundred dead and more wounded.
- 5. See, for example, Paul Williams, Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities (Oxford: Berg, 2007).
- 6. Like much about Basque history, the term *Basque conflict* is a contested one within the region. For example, on Basque political violence and the international discourse of terrorism, see William A. Douglass and Joseba Zulaika, *Basque Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2007).
- 7. "Guggenheim, Bilbao," accessed September 20, 2012, http://www.guggenheim-bilbao.es/en.org.
- 8. Quoted in Paul Preston's introductory text to *The Spanish Civil War: Dreams* + *Nightmares* (London: Imperial War Museum, 2001), 3. This is a catalog for a temporary exhibit at the Imperial War Museum of London (2001–2), in which works by a select group of artists and writers about the Spanish Civil War were on display.
- 9. Ibid., 16.
- 10. See Walther L. Bernecker, "Gernika and Germany: History, Historiography and Collective Memory," in *Picasso-Gernika 70th Anniversary* (Gernika-Lumo: Ayuntamiento de Gernika-Lumo, 2007), 290–303, for background into the complicated politics of recognition and reconciliation between Germany and Gernika, including how the Gernika-Pforzheim twinning evolved.
- 11. See http://www.gernikagogoratuz.org.
- 12. Peace Research Center, *Gernika Gogoratuz* (Gernika-Lumo: Peace Research Center, 2003), 11.
- 13 Ibid
- 14. Gernika-Lumo, Gernika-Lumo City of Peace (Gernika-Lumo, n.d.), 3–6. (Brochure.)
- 15. Gernikazarraf Historia Taldea, *The Bombing of Gernika*, trans. Arantxa Basterretxea Aguirre (Gernika-Lumo: n.d.). (Exhibition catalog.)
- 16. Roger Sansi, "Spectacle and Archive in Two Contemporary Art Museums in Spain," in *The Thing About Museums*, ed. Sandra Dudley et al. (London: Routledge, 2012), 221.
- 17. Ibid. Sansi points out that the Guggenheim Bilbao originally emphasized international art to such an extent that Basque artists were not included. In contrast, the Gernika Peace Museum includes universal themes but sees the display and preservation of Basque culture, art, and history as part of its mission. Publications and exhibits are in Basque and Spanish; most are translated or summarized in English and French as well.
- 18. Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, "Gernika Peace Museum: A Museum for Peace, Reconciliation and Remembrance," in *Museums for Peace: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Ikuro Anzai, Joyce Apsel, and Syed Sikander Mehdi (Kyoto: Organizing Committee, Sixth International Conference of Museums for Peace, 2008), 172–3.
- 19. Ibid., 179.
- 20. Interview with Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, March 2010.
- 21. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 3.
- 22. Quoted in ibid., 6–7.
- 23. William Kelly, "Art and Its Contribution to Peace and Reconciliation," in *Gernika Peace Museum Foundation*, 54–9.
- 24. G. L. Steer, *The Tree of Gernika: A Field Study of Modern War* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009). After returning from covering the war in Ethiopia, where Italian

aircraft bombed civilians, Steer was an eyewitness to the fighting in the Basque region, and his account was first published in January 1938. As an admirer of the Basque and supporter of Basque nationalism. Steer writes about the short-lived Basque government and the defeat, imprisonment, and exile of Basque fighters against Franco's forces. Nicolas Rankin in the "Introduction" to the reissued edition of The Tree of Gernika quotes a line from George Orwell's 1938 review of the book: "It goes without saying that everyone who writes of the Spanish war writes as a partisan." (Orwell quoted in Rankin, "Introduction," vii).

- 25. For a list of titles available, see the museum Web site http://www.museodelapaz. org/en/publi en.php.
- 26. Gernika Peace Museum, "The Town Talks to Us," in Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation (Gernika-Lumo: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, n.d.), 5. (Visitor's guide.)
- 27. Ibid., 6.
- 28. Ibid., 1.
- 29. Ibid.
- 30. Ibid.
- 31. Ibid., 2.
- 32. Ibid., 2.
- 33. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 21.
- 34. Ibid., 23.
- 35. Gernika Peace Museum, Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 4.
- 36. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 24.
- 37. Gernika Peace Museum, Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, "The Tools Used to Bring Peace," 4.
- 38. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 34.
- 39. Ibid., 26.
- 40. Ibid.
- 41. Ibid.
- 42. Ibid., 34.
- 43. Ibid.
- 44. Walther L. Bernecker, "Gernika and Germany," 295.
- 46. Gernika Peace Museum exhibit text, "The Destruction of the Town."
- 47. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 37.
- 48. Gernika Peace Museum, Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 11.
- 49. Gernika Peace Museum, Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, "Gernika in the Post-war Period: Franco's Regime and Repression," 39.
- 50. Ibid., 40.
- 51. Ibid.
- 52. Film *In Memoriam*. Script transcribed by author, 2010.
- 53. Film *In Memoriam*. Script transcribed by author, 2010.
- 54. Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, "Towards Reconciliation," 12.
- 55. "Bombing of Gernika: Towards Reconciliation," Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, accessed July 8, 2014, http://www.museodelapaz.org/en/docu_ bombing.php. This statement was made by surviving witnesses after the reading of an admission of involvement by the president of the German Federal Republic.
- 56. Josefina Alix, "Guernica, the Gestation of a Myth," in Picasso-Gernika 70th Anniversary (Gernika-Lumo: Ayuntamiento de Gernika-Lumo, 2007), 312.
- 57. Josefina Alix, "The Different Stages of the Painting Guernica," in Picasso-Gernika 70th Anniversary, 327.

138 Gernika Peace Museum

- 58. A U.S. diplomat at the UN was reported as stating, "It would not be an appropriate background if the ambassador of the United States at the U.N. John Negroponte, or Powell, talk about war surrounded with women, children and animals shouting with horror and showing the suffering of the bombings." See http://www.commondreams.org/views03/0209-04.htm.
- 59. Alix, "Guernica, the Gestation of a Myth," 318.
- 60. Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, 42.
- 61. Ibid., "The Expression of Life," "The Expression of Freedom," and "The Expression of Equality," 44–6.
- 62. Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, "The Basque Conflict as Projected in Gernika Peace Museum," in *Museums for Peace*, 127.
- 63. Fondation Musée de la Paix de Gernika/Gernika Peace Museum Foundation, "The Basque Conflict," p. 16.
- 64. Iratxe Momoitio Astorkia, "The Gernika Peace Museum: Education Workshops on Peace and Human Rights with Children and Teachers," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures*, ed. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: The International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 56–71.
- 65. Interview with director of education Idoia Orbe Narbaiza, March 2011.
- 66. Ibid.
- 67. www.museodelapaz.org/ex/expo.

5 Dayton International Peace Museum

A Community Model

A space to make peace.

We're building a world where everyone can help create a culture of peace.

—www.daytonpeacemuseum.com

Oh, I'm not afraid to go, folks; I'm not afraid to die. I just got something else in mind that I would like to try. Give me a shovel instead of a gun, And I'll say so long for now. And if I die, I'll die making something Instead of tearing something down.

—"Brave Man from Ohio," a ballad by Andy Murray

The Dayton International Peace Museum (DIPM) is a unique museum in the United States whose mission "is to inspire a culture of peace" and educate about "themes of nonviolent conflict resolution, social justice issues, international relations and peace." Although a small part of the museum serves to bear witness to war and violence, the museum's broad philosophical approach

is on nonviolent solutions that can be used in the present and future to create peace. All ways to work for peace, both internal and external are included in Museum sponsored exhibits, activities and events. Sixteen specific nonviolent approaches to conflict and violence have been identified. They include education, relational, artistic, environmental, civic, and spiritual, among others.²

Its vision is to inspire a culture of peace through contributing "to a local, national and international culture of peace through exhibits, activities and events that focus on nonviolent choices." The broad goals reflect the varied interests and orientations of the museum founders and volunteers for the museum to become a thriving center for peaceful and nonviolent activities, reducing fear and polarization by encouraging tolerance and respect, providing curricula and teaching children about peace, and serving as a resource for researchers and writers. The peace museum began as the idea

of educator and citizen-diplomat Christine Dull, along with her husband, Ralph, who worked with a small group of supporters to transform the idea into reality in 2003. Located in downtown Dayton in a refurbished Victorian-style house, DIPM's eclectic exhibits reflect its volunteer orientation, and different members have contributed to permanent and temporary exhibits on subjects such as Daytonians working for peace, antinuclear themes, and environmental sustainability.

DIPM promotes peace literacy through public lectures, activities, and educational opportunities for people of different ages and backgrounds. One distinguishing feature of the Dayton International Peace Museum is the participation of more than one hundred volunteers who make the peace museum a community center promoting nondiscrimination and tolerance, and spreading information about local, national, and international peace projects. A number of new, temporary exhibits are on display annually; some are created by volunteer members and others are borrowed from various peace museums and religious and civic groups. These temporary exhibits on subjects such as Mahatma Gandhi, civil rights, antinuclear themes, African peacemakers, and peace paintings and quilts serve as a springboard for a range of community activities. For almost a decade, the PeaceMobile, a recreational vehicle, was used to travel to schools and various events in the area, bringing activities and information on peace-related themes. One of the museum's unique features is the Abrams Chatfield Library, with its collection of more than fifteen hundred books and pamphlets on peace



Figure 5.1 Children learning about Peace, PeaceMobile, Dayton International Peace Museum. Credit: Dayton International Peace Museum.

and nonviolent history, as well as fiction and nonfiction volumes on peace, human rights, diversity, social justice, and related themes. The DIPM serves as a center linked with clusters of peace and multicultural projects, including annual events like the Dayton Peace Run and Peace Art contest, the Dayton Literary (and Peace) Award event, and REACH Across Dayton (a community-wide tolerance initiative begun in the 1990s).

ADDITIONAL PEACE MUSEUMS AND INITIATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, museums and memorials about war, mass atrocity, other violent events and related themes predominate, and these sites are supported by government as well as private funding. They generally subscribe to a patriotic narrative, shaping public memory about the events and human losses that contribute to a distinct American history making and identity. Critical evaluations of the decisions leading to U.S. military engagement are largely missing from this country's museum landscape. Evaluation of the ongoing effects of war and of the use of atomic and other bombs, Agent Orange, or drones on civilian lives around the world is for the most part absent from exhibits, American public education, and national debates.⁵

The reluctance to debate U.S. war decisions and their effects is illustrated by the controversy surrounding the 1995 exhibit on the World War II atomic bombings of Japan at the Smithsonian Institution, the national history museum in Washington, D.C. The impetus for the exhibit was to mark fifty years since the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks, and it was to include a history of development of the atomic weapons and also documents revealing various arguments by President Truman's advisers about whether to drop the bombs. Individuals and institutions in Japan were invited to contribute materials to the section on the human consequences on the health and lives of Japanese, and a panel of well-known historians served as advisers. Martin Harwit, the former director of the National Air and Space Museum, where the exhibit was displayed, is quoted as commenting that "he wanted the museum to come forward and 'play a role in reflecting and mediating the claims of various groups, and perhaps help construct a new idea of ourselves as a nation." But veterans' organizations and government and military groups objected to the plans to tell "multiple stories"; they, along with members of Congress and other citizens, mounted a campaign against the original exhibit. Accusations of lack of patriotism and dislovalty to the service of all U.S. soldiers, in particular those who died in the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor and in conflicts throughout World War II, were a few of the criticisms leveled against the planned exhibit and its organizers. In the end, the material about the bombings' effects on human lives as well as the various viewpoints about whether the atomic bombings were necessary to end the war were omitted; the final, scaled-down exhibit focused "on the Enola Gay aircraft, and the actual dropping of the bomb, largely devoid of context."⁷

The above example demonstrates why antiwar and antinuclear exhibits are a rarity in U.S. museums. That peace is political is a theme repeated throughout this book, and two ways to get around politically controversial aspects of peace are to emphasize figures who are icons and widely accepted for their contributions (Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, and Nelson Mandela, for example) and to rely on broad, mainstream lessons of working toward inclusion and against violence. Hence, a series of museums that broadly write in and display histories of past discrimination and racism and promote tolerance and nonviolence have emerged. For example, the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York City and the Manzanar National Historic Site in California, which is the site of where more than ten thousand Japanese Americans were detained during World War II, explore immigration, discrimination, and ethnic and heritage histories.

There are a series of civil rights museums and monuments, particularly in southern cities, associated with the civil rights movement, a number of which discuss nonviolence as a tactic of protest, the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and the National Civil Rights Museum at the Lorraine Hotel in Nashville, Tennessee, are examples. In 2014, the latter reopened with major renovations; it now traces early resistance to slavery, the U.S. civil rights movement—including the hotel balcony where Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated by James Earl Ray in 1968 and racial issues today. A quote by W. E. B. Du Bois greets visitors to the Web site: "There is no such force in the world as the force of a person determined to rise. The human soul cannot be permanently chained." Atlanta, Georgia, the birthplace of Martin Luther King Ir. and where he lived and preached, has a cluster of exhibits, archives, and sites that are part of the Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site. In 2014, the National Center for Civil and Human Rights opened in Atlanta; it seeks to link the work of Martin Luther King Jr. and the larger struggle against segregation and racism with the modern human rights revolution. More broadly, there are panels about Martin Luther King, nonviolent protest, and the U.S. civil rights movement in a range of children's museums and other U.S. museums.

Other themes are civic education and citizenship, emphasized in the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, and tolerance and multiculturalism, found in the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles. There are hundreds of large and smaller-scale museums/centers in the United States about the Holocaust, from the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., to sites located at universities and communities around the country. Shootings and bombings across the United States have prompted a series of memorials and projects to curb gun violence and discourage bullying. The broad range of exhibits and artifacts associated with all of the above museums are in keeping with how "museums afford the chance to learn about history in ways not available elsewhere." And they sometimes

provide individuals with the "potential to interrogate historical interpretation by looking critically at how individual museums choose to present and interpret the past." The museums described above fall largely within the mainstream discourses of what is acceptable for debate and display.

In contrast, peace museums that include exhibits with antinuclear themes or that look critically at the complexity of decision making and the deleterious effects of war on civilians and soldiers are a rarity in the United States. They are small in number, privately funded, and struggle to survive. This is illustrated by the Peace Museum in Chicago (1981-2007), cofounded by two activists, Mark Rogovin, an artist, and Marjorie Craig Benton, who served as U.S. ambassador to UNICEF. During its first decade, the museum attracted between fifteen and twenty thousand visitors, and presented as many as four major exhibits annually. There were "strong antiwar" themes on subjects visitors knew little about, such as an exhibit titled The Unforgettable Fire, drawings made by survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki twenty-five years after the event. Other exhibits explored antiviolence and nonviolence themes: how war toys affect children, and how nonviolent protest was used by Martin Luther King Jr. during the civil rights movement in the South and linked to contemporaneous protests in Chicago.⁹ There were positive peace projects such as Play Fair, an interactive display on cooperation for children. The Peace Museum took up a broad range of contemporary topics on the homeless, apartheid, intervention in El Salvador, and the environment.10

The Peace Museum in Chicago emphasized the role of the artist as an agent for effective social change, and its best-known exhibit was Give Peace a Chance in 1983. A range of well-known musical artists contributed original items, from manuscripts to album covers, concert posters, photos, and instruments, including Yoko Ono, who provided the Gibson guitar John Lennon used to record "Give Peace a Chance." As Marianne Philbin, curator of the museum, wrote in the exhibit catalog: "It is not easy to voice unpopular opinions, especially when your voice is being heard by thousands, and amplified untold times by the media."11 Other examples from the exhibit include Pete Seeger and the Weavers, who were backlisted; Yoko Ono and John Lennon, whose bed-in for peace was ridiculed; and Frank Zappa, who severed relations with his record label when it refused to issue his single "I Don't Wanna Get Drafted." There are examples of how music brings people together, such as reggae artist Bob Marley's One Love Peace Concert, which brought together two opposing Jamaican leaders to shake hands in a public expression of unity, as well as a range of music for civil rights, ban the bomb, anti-Vietnam War, environmental, and other movements.

Due to an increase in rent and lack of funds, in 1992 the peace museum was forced to move to a smaller space in the Chicago Cultural Center, where exhibits on peace and social justice themes were featured. In response to an increase of violence in inner-city neighborhoods (at the time called drive-by shootings because a number of victims were shot at from cars), the Peace

Museum in Chicago created a program called Drive by Peace and developed partnerships with teachers and administrators "to teach peace in the classroom and in the home." The peace museum staff introduced thirteen lessons to integrate peace skills into the curriculum, including conflict resolution and motivating "children, teens and adults to achieve creative solutions to the problem of violence." This project continued even after the museum once again relocated. In the end, lack of funding and management issues were among the factors that contributed to the museum's closing, and this was followed by legal disputes over who had the right to claim ownership of artifacts, including a guitar owned by John Lennon, an original peace poster collection, and other items.

In contrast to the Peace Museum in Chicago, Swords into Plowshares Peace Center and Gallery, founded in 1985 in downtown Detroit, continues working to educate about nonviolence, peace, and social justice issues. The center was the inspiration of the late Reverend Jim Bristah, a dynamic peace activist and educator, and his wife, Jo, and is located at the Central United Methodist Church. The five-thousand-square-foot space is donated rent free by the church, and there is a gift shop, children's corner, library, and a series of different exhibits and programs on peace-related themes. Swords into Plowshares Peace Center and Gallery has as its purpose using "the creativity, power and persuasiveness of the arts to educate and sensitize people and groups to the need for peace in the world, and that all conflicts can be resolved in non-violent ways."14 Beside early exhibits on children's peace art from the United States and the then Soviet Union, other displays are on nonviolence, antiwar, and antinuclear themes. Programs include peace art classes for students, adults, and the homeless. From Art4Detroit, works created by local artists, to the 2014 Syria: Crisis and Hope, an exhibit by local Syrian American artist Ilham Badreddine Mahfouz, committed volunteers continue the work begun by the Bristahs in 1985. Funding comes from individual donations, the proceeds from holiday fairs, and monies collected from art raffles held throughout the year. The Harbinger newsletter and the center's Web site¹⁵ provide information on current and upcoming events. Due to financial and staffing challenges, the Swords into Ploughshares Peace Center and Gallery has limited hours of operation. However, the museum serves as a community meeting place for groups such as Vets for Peace, and its work provides an oasis of peace culture in a struggling downtown Detroit.

Plans for peace museums continue in the United States, as they do worldwide, but transforming ideas into reality is a challenge. For example, PASOS (loosely translated from the Spanish as "step by step") was established in the New York City area under the leadership of Nitza Escalera, a dean at Fordham Law School and student of peace educator Betty Reardon. After the 9/11 bombings, Escalera wanted to create a center for peace education, peace building, and conflict resolution. PASOS has a virtual presence and museum, ¹⁶ and the organization has carried out an impressive series of peace

activities, including One Day for Peace at the Schomburg Center in Harlem, as well as various traveling exhibits linked with tours and events, such as A Peace of My Mind, on view at New York University. The mission of PASOS is to promote peace literacy in classrooms and at public events. The Web site includes an interesting timeline of the organization's development, which serves as a helpful guide for others who want to launch a peace initiative. William Repicci served as temporary director and continues to work and support the organization, and individuals volunteer their time to various projects. PASOS consists of a core of friends and associates, and they invite anyone interested in education, art, and peace to join with them, reaching out to children and adults in various communities. As of this writing, Nitza Escalera and other PASOS members continue looking for donated space for a gallery, either from New York City or from a private donor. But most of their energy goes into updating the virtual peace museum; organizing a series of public peace-related events and activities in the various boroughs of New York City; and bringing in younger members to continue the work PASOS has begun.

Another example is the Envision Peace Museum in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which for over a decade has been working to realize what architect and the initiator of the project, Tony Junker, saw as a permanent site for a peace museum in downtown Philadelphia. Though a physical site has yet to be built, Envision Peace Museum has evolved: volunteers have set up its Web site and individuals have joined the advisory board, including well-known international peace educators and community members. Leaders have brought in funding through foundations and public support, and the group has already held a series of peace-related activities. Envision Peace Museum continues to struggle with how and which issues of peace and social justice to incorporate and how to address the issues of racism, poverty, and violence that are central to the lives of Philadelphia's inner-city population, which includes a significant African American and Latino population. The museum has the support of the city's mayor and a number of other officials and their agencies. But Envision Peace Museum exemplifies the challenges of creating a medium-size, permanent, nonprofit peace museum in the United States. It will be interesting to see the eventual content (the degree of antiwar emphasis, for example) and how the museum achieves its goal: "a peace museum by 2020."17

Hence, there are only a very small number of peace museums, centers, and libraries in the United States that emphasize nonviolence, social justice, and positive peace themes. Even rarer are places that are antiwar or provide critique of U.S. decision making and military policy.

At the same time, there is a popular culture of peace, from music to bells and poles (often with the word *peace* engraved in different languages) to well-known peace symbols (the disarmament symbol, rainbows, doves, etc.) as a motif on clothes, jewelry, and other items that are visible in communities across the United States. There is also much talk of curbing violence through gun legislation, antibullying campaigns, and tolerance education; these exemplify popular approaches to peace and violence reduction in the aftermath of shootings in public spaces, from schools to theaters to sporting events like the Boston marathon. That there is a link between the incidence of domestic violence and the U.S. development of new military weaponry such as drones and its involvement in a series of foreign conflicts is rarely brought up in the mainstream discourse. Since 9/11, the "wars on terrorism and terrorists" and arguments to support homeland security have greatly undermined dissent, but peace initiatives—including exhibits with antiwar themes—continue, and a number have been taken up by veterans for peace and religious groups. Reconciliation as a theme is largely missing from U.S. public discourse and museum spaces.

The rest of this chapter will focus on the DIPM, a not-for-profit museum that attempts to promote cultures of peace through emphasizing positive peace and peace literacy while maintaining a broad antiviolence stance. The description traces the exhibits and activities of its first decade as a volunteer community museum, with a brief update on new developments since the hiring of a director in 2014.

THE FOUNDING AND SITE OF THE DAYTON INTERNATIONAL PEACE MUSEUM

When I flew into Ohio's Dayton International Airport in March 2012, I was struck by the number of men and women in military uniform. There, in contrast to airports in U.S. cities such as New York and Los Angeles, the number of people in uniform and families waiting for military personnel arrivals and others seeing men and women departing for various missions gave a very real sense that the United States was a country at war and on military alert. Six miles northeast of Dayton is the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, and more than a million people annually visit the National Museum of the United States Air Force, the oldest and largest military aviation museum in the world, which is located on the base grounds. 18 There are more than four hundred aerospace vehicles on display, and exhibits trace early aviation, from the inventions of Orville and Wilbur Wright (whose hometown of Dayton advertises itself as the birthplace of aviation) to "today's stealth and precision technology." Beside the five-hundred-seat IMAX theater, Memorial Park, Souvenir Shop/Bookstore, and National Aviation Hall of Fame, visitors will find on display aircraft and other military items, beginning with "the Mexican Punitive Expedition," world wars, research and development, Cold War Gallery, Missile and Space, and nine presidential aircraft. "Visitors can view a Doolittle Raiders' exhibit surrounding a B-25B [and] stand next to the B-29 Bokscar that dropped the atomic bomb on Nagasaki."19 In 2014, a \$35 million expansion and renovation project at the museum began. Both the museum and the air

force base have ongoing economic and historic ties with residents of the larger Miami Ohio Valley region, and there is strong sentiment in support of the U.S. military.

At the same time, the Miami Ohio Valley region is home to a much smaller and less well-known series of peace and nonviolent initiatives and sites. The DIPM is one such community undertaking; it originated as a citizens' action initiative focusing on nonviolent and creative peace history and projects. In 2003, Christine Dull, who describes herself as a peace activist and "citizen-diplomat," along with her husband, Ralph Dull, a farmer and environmentalist, were returning to Ohio after visits to Iraq, Barcelona, and the United Nations. They had lived in the Ukraine during the Cold War and were long-time members and supporters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Christine Dull felt strongly that "Dayton should have a museum dedicated to transforming our culture of violence into a culture of peace." 20

How, in less than a decade, did the idea for a peace museum become transformed into a permanent museum site, with traveling and permanent exhibits and education outreach? The museum evolved in fits and starts through a series of conversations and dialogues, as well as the dedicated work and funding initially of a small group of key people, along with nearly one hundred community volunteers. Individuals donated items or created small exhibits on peace themes that they were interested in. The result is a peace museum that reflects the power of volunteer creativity and dedication, a community model where peace education and activities have flourished. "Peace is not an idea or a goal; it is a practice. The Peace Museum exists to help people from all walks of life develop that practice in their own lives so that they can bring the fruits of their practice of peace into the world, for all to benefit."²¹

The museum's goal was to create a "non-partisan cultural and educational facility" to promote the concept of peace and nonviolent solutions to conflict. A former teacher, Christine Dull was strongly committed to educating children as part of the museum's goal. The peace museum's Web site states that it seeks to "particularly address the educational gaps of children on the local, regional, and international levels with respect to peace and peacemaking, recognizing that they will be the next generation of peacemakers."²² Dayton community members, artist Lisa Wolters and marketer Fred Arment—along with Christine and Ralph Dull—met frequently over a two-year period to plan the museum, including its goals, publicity, location, and fund-raising ideas. The Dulls provided the funding crucial to help set up and maintain the museum. In 2004, the organization was incorporated as the Dayton Peace Museum Inc. and later changed its name to Dayton International Peace Museum. The project received a \$10,000 grant from the Dayton People's Fund, and rented space in the United Methodist Administration Building in the downtown area. The Green Energy Information Visitors Center was established by Ralph Dull on his family's farm in Brookville, where it "exhibit[s] and promot[es]

alternative sources of energy and green environmental practices"; on view in the museum is a small exhibit on peace and environment, and the connection between environmental degradation and international relations.²³

Steve Fryburg, a Vietnam veteran, antiwar activist, and retired police officer, was an early volunteer; he served with Fred Arment directing the museum and became its full-time pro bono director in 2005. Fryburg played a key role in leading the museum for the next five years, including establishing its Web presence, sponsoring community activities, gathering financial support, making a series of international peace trips such as to the Iran Peace Museum, and forging links with the International Network of Museums for Peace. Fryberg is a committed antiwar activist whose experiences and philosophy are rooted in an understanding of the political nature of peace. His strong antiwar stance and opposition to U.S. military policy put him, at times, at odds with board members who supported a "softer," less political peace orientation. Following his departure, DIPM has adopted a less political attitude, what it refers to on its Web site as a "non-partisan" approach to peace, emphasizing nonviolence and peacemaking.

Volunteerism and educational outreach have been important aspects of DIPM. A report by Fryburg and Arment in the museum newsletter describes a series of local speaking engagements and class visits, as well as PeaceMobile tours (with a Martin Luther King *World House* exhibit and Darfur presentation), including to the Necolia Friend Prairie School at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.²⁴ Hence, there has been a pattern of volunteers establishing a series of contacts; the challenges, however, are with reducing volunteer turnover, and with sustaining and building upon earlier peace education class visits and workshops.

Interestingly, two members of the initial group of key museum leaders have left to create their own peace-related projects. Fred Arment formed the nonprofit project Dayton International Cities of Peace.²⁵ Steve Fryburg resigned as volunteer director and then established the Missing Peace Art Space to create a "tolerant, non-commercial artistic forum for contemplating the issues of peace and non-violence."²⁶ This small art space is located near a high school in Dayton and reflects Fryburg's goal of connecting more directly with the Dayton inner-city community and his emphasis on the political nature of peace. Fryburg's strong antiwar philosophy is reflected in the exhibits and literature available at the Missing Peace Art Space. He remains an active member and treasurer of the board of the International Network of Museums for Peace and continues to travel to museums such as the Tehran Peace Museum to foster cooperation and peace between countries and regions. The DIPM served as a laboratory for Fryburg, Arment, and others to launch their own peace projects, and their departures also reflect differences in philosophy and management styles.

William Shaw, president of CrossCurrents International Institute,²⁷ a citizen diplomacy initiative he founded in 1985, is another volunteer; he has served as chair of the DIPM board since 2010. Bashir Ahmed, who spends

part of each year in his native Kashmir and is former head of the Ohio Islamic League, volunteered as head of operations for many years. Most board members and other volunteers are retired or work part time, and they bring their experience, skills, and enthusiasm serving on committees from exhibits to finance to education. But, like William Shaw and Bashir Ahmed, they have other projects and commitments as well.²⁸ With most museum volunteers in their sixties and older, who will continue the vision and take up leadership roles poses a serious question for the future. And in recognition of the need for new leadership and better coordination of volunteers and projects, in April 2014, the board hired Jerry Leggett, a community organizer and self-described peace troubadour, to become full-time director of the museum. The description below of DIPM characterizes the first decade of its activities, and the latter part of this chapter will include some updates on the changes beginning to take place under Leggett's leadership.

DIPM is located in downtown Dayton, Ohio, and is part of a consortium of local peace projects in the area. Nearby is the University of Dayton, home to a human rights center and one of the few schools in the United States with an undergraduate major in human rights. Other initiatives include the Dayton Peace Literary Prize and Dayton Peace Prize. The downtown area has a large African American community, and one of the challenges of DIPM is to connect with the local community through antibullying and antiviolence projects. DIPM members have participated in a number of projects, including Interfaith Dialogue, and in many local initiatives, such as United Against Violence, Planting Peace Initiatives, and Dayton's first Violence Prevention Expo, with participation from more than sixty providers of services related to violence prevention and intervention.

The museum is housed in a three-story restored Victorian-style residence built in the mid-nineteenth century, called the Pollack House after its original owners. The rich wooden interior is beautiful, but the lack of an elevator and difficult room layout present challenges for arranging new exhibits and conducting tours. Interestingly, the building was almost demolished in the 1970s; instead, in 1979 this historical landmark was placed on several dollies and moved to its current location five blocks from its original site.²⁹ There followed a series of restorations and tenants; and in August 2005, it became the permanent home of the DIPM. Through a capital campaign that included donations by board members, museum volunteers, local grants, and a series of fund-raising activities from theater productions to raffles, by 2012 the museum eventually paid off \$312,000 in loans and now owns the building.

For almost a decade, the PeaceMobile, a thirty-three-foot-long recreational vehicle, has served as a mobile peace museum. Using the vehicle, volunteers traveled to schools, fairs, churches, and other locations throughout the Miami Valley region to share traveling exhibits, such as one on the tenth anniversary of the Dayton Peace Accords, and to distribute literature on peace topics to children and adults and participate in parades and other events. The schedule of the PeaceMobile events ranged from visiting with

the Adam Project, a group working with young males in Dayton to reduce gun violence, to attending a block party, to sponsoring a symposium on peace at nearby Wilmington College. Earlham College students enrolled in a History of Non-Violent Movements program painted the PeaceMobile with a colorful array of people and peace symbols. One challenge the museum faces is outreach to inner-city schools, and the PeaceMobile has been an effective way to deliver programs and exhibits on peace and conflict resolution directly to classes and into the community. There is also a separate annex, the Peace Hall and Gallery, where museum events and activities are held. Volunteers also edited a monthly newsletter called *PeaceKeeper* that included announcements about exhibit openings, upcoming speakers, a volunteer of the month, a schedule of volunteer committee meetings, book discussions, a peace coffeehouse, Peace One Day Festival, a listing of other local activities, as well as news about global peace partners.

The museum collection is eclectic and includes photos, mementos, and exhibits on a range of peace-related issues. This is not like the Peace Museum in Bradford, which houses a store of valuable artistic pieces and other archives; instead, DIPM's contents have grown organically and reflect varied interests about peace by community volunteers. A centerpiece of the museum is its peace library, with more than fourteen hundred volumes on peace-related subjects; the library is a valuable resource for community members (with offerings ranging from peace games to curriculum supplies) as well as peace researchers. Each room contains different colored cards (designed for different grade levels and ages) that provide further information and raise discussion questions related to each particular exhibit or space and includes suggestions for further activities. The museum is crowded with a variety of projects, images, and panels on peace themes. The building's second and third floors are made up of small rooms, and different peace-related themes or sometimes a number of different themes are featured in each space.

As visitors enter the building, they are greeted by a number of peace mottos: a very large hanging on the right wall with "May Peace Prevail on Earth" translated into forty different languages; a "Welcome to Dayton International Peace Museum" sign; "A Space to Make Peace" greeting; and a plaque with words from Mother Teresa: "If we have no peace, it is because we have forgotten that we belong to each other." For a number of years, there were also two doves—Rose and Mo, named after Rosa Parks and Mahatma Gandhi—that were adopted from the Dayton Humane Society. On one wall "You Have a Right to Peace" provides an overview of the evolution of the concept of the right to peace, with examples ranging from Persian ruler Cyrus the Great, who more than 2,500 years ago issued a decree for greater tolerance, to a series of documents such as the English Magna Carta (1215) and the U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776). Another exhibit, created by lay Franciscans about St. Francis the Peacemaker, fills the space under the stairs on the first floor.

There is also a wall panel of 25 Nonviolent Solutions to War and Violence with Real-World Examples of Peacemaking, beginning with diplomacy (e.g., Dayton Peace Accords, which ended war in Bosnia, 1996); and including economic boycott (e.g., César Chávez and the United Farm Workers, 1965); spirituality (e.g., Quaker William Penn, "love your enemies," 1693); and peace education (Dalai Lama Center for Peace and Education, 2005). Other noted strategies for nonviolence include statecraft, reconciliation, mediation, arbitration, peacekeeping, economic aid, fair trade, united action, civil disobedience, conscientious objection, pacifism, cultural exchange, citizen diplomacy, environmentalism, artistic express, nonviolent resistance, arms reduction, humanitarianism, distributive justice, witnessing violence (Christian Peacemaker Teams Human Shield Action in Iraq, 2003), and rule of law.³⁰

The first floor also includes a museum shop with fair trade items, peace gifts, and children's books that link to exhibit themes. The atmosphere is very inviting to visitors, with a range of items and exhibits for those new to peace art and history as well as for those with a background in the topic.

TEMPORARY EXHIBITS: EDUCATING FOR A CULTURE OF PEACE

The first floor has two large, connected rooms where three to four times a year new exhibits on issues of social justice, humanitarian emergencies, conflict resolution, intercultural understanding, international peace initiatives, and related themes are displayed. A sample of past museum exhibits include State of Peace: The History of the Peace Movement in Ohio; Pete Seeger: A Life in Song; Nonviolent Solutions; The Dayton Peace Accords: Ten Years Later; and Promoting Peace with Books Not Bombs: The Ideals and Work of Greg Mortensen. There have also been collaborative exhibits such as Under Our Noses: Modern Day Slavery and What You Can Do about It, done in conjunction with students and faculty from the University of Dayton, and In Search of Darfur, a combination of photos taken by Cincinnati columnist Nick Clooney and his son, actor George Clooney, and materials brought in by Dayton for Darfur Interfaith Coalition and a local Methodist church.

A number of exhibits feature individual perspectives such as *Veterans' Voices* and *Dayton Immigrants and Their Stories*. Others, such as *Student Perspectives on Conflict and Genocide: Why We Need to Work for Peace* and *What Is Peace?* feature student art and commentaries. An exhibit on the tenth anniversary of the Dayton Peace Accords toured the Miami Valley region providing information about the accords and links to peace-related issues. *Through the Eyes of Children* (2006) presented images of war done by children in Darfur and Iraq and added drawings by students living in Dayton. In 2013, the traveling exhibit *Peacemakers: The Women of Liberia* was on view; it traced how a group of women in this West African country,

originally formed as a refuge for freed American slaves, used nonviolent tactics—from marches to prayer—to end violence in their country. New exhibits become the focus of a series of activities, beginning with opening-night celebrations, lectures, guest speakers, class visits, dinners, and other community-wide events. While museum volunteers create some exhibits themselves, other exhibits are brought in on loan from religious, educational, and various not-for-profit groups.

When I visited DIPM in March 2012, the excellent *Life and Ideals of Mohandas Gandhi* was on view in the two main rooms on the first floor. The idea for the exhibit began when a local woman, Mrs. Vimala Nagaraja, donated eleven large photos of Gandhi made from original negatives that had been given to her family by the Indian embassy. The result was a small yet surprisingly in-depth exhibit that reflected the knowledge and commitment of a small team of volunteers who donated their time to do the research and pull it all together. The ten biographical and historical panels were well designed, and historical photos from original negatives enhanced the digital images.³¹ There were compelling well-known images, such as Gandhi at a spinning wheel with the banner "My Life Is My Message," and an excellent historical commentary integrating the philosophy, life, and activism of Gandhi. But there was also more in-depth material educating about Gandhi's passion for peace and justice:

While many associate Gandhi primarily with nonviolence, Gandhi himself did not use *ahimsa*—the Sanskrit word for nonviolence—but *Satyagraha*, meaning firmness in truth, for a description of his life's approach.

"Truth" was, for Gandhi, one of the names for God. To understand *Satyagraha* one must examine Gandhi's use of spirituality and simplicity. Only then can one understand how Gandhi during his lifetime would spend over six years in prison. He also spent innumerable days fasting, including his "fasts to death" at the time of independence when untold violence erupted among Indians deeply divided over the Hindu versus the Muslim approaches to God.

Gandhi strongly advocated for justice and equal rights. For many years he wore a loincloth to symbolize his solidarity with the poor. His continuing use of the spinning wheel and cottage industries also served this goal with an emphasis on equal rights for women.³²

The panel *Gandhian Ideals for Today* included images and examples from civil rights, union rights, people power, and truth and reconciliation efforts.

The prime movers of the volunteer exhibit committee included Joseph Kunkel, a retired philosophy professor from the University of Dayton, and local volunteer Bill Meers, longtime nonviolence advocate. Panels featured commentary on Gandhi's spirituality practice and philosophy of simplicity in living, and on his nonviolent campaigns in South Africa and India for

justice and independence. Included were a map of Gandhi's birthplace in Gujarat and a map tracing the route of the famous Salt March to the sea; original newsreel footage of specific historical events were available on a touch-screen monitor, along with interviews of Gandhi and a forty-five-minute television documentary produced by the History Channel.

DIPM held a number of programs linked to the Gandhi exhibit: the opening; several lectures, including one by Dr. Ramesh Patel, professor emeritus of philosophy at Antioch College on "Gandhi's Truth: A Deeper Look"; and school visits to the exhibit. The peace museum also sponsored a series of stage dialogues of Gandhi speaking with Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Reinhold Niebuhr, and the young Gandhi. This pattern of using new exhibits as a springboard for a series of activities and networking with community groups and educational institutions has become an integral aspect of realizing DIPM's goal of promoting a culture of peace. And sometimes these projects become integrated into the exhibits on permanent view. For example, the *Promoting Peace with Books Not Bombs* exhibit not only included a guest lecture by author Greg Mortenson, but it inspired volunteer Thomas Girvin to lead a Pennies for Peace Campaign—Let's Build a School in Afghanistan. Information on this project and how to donate was available in the Children's Room.

The Children's Room, with a series of interactive materials about peace—toys, computers, books—can be found on the second floor. As an alternative to the violent video games so many children become addicted to, the "Children's Room features interactive pursuits that teach your children well, teach them there are other ways to resolve conflict, other ways to approach the world rather than killing people."³³ There is children's artwork as well as illustrations from the winners of a local peace poster contest and student peacemaker awards. The room also includes a children's peace library. In 2013, the Children's Room was repainted in bright yellow and renovated with a peace mural and age-appropriate peace projects and hands-on activities.

LEARNING, RESEARCHING, AND READING ABOUT PEACE: ABRAMS CHATFIELD PEACE LIBRARY

The Abrams Chatfield Peace Library, also located on the second floor, is a room where visitors can sit down and read the magazines, books, and other materials on peace, nonviolence, international studies, and a range of social justice issues. The library is named after Irwin Abrams (1914–2010), who lived in Yellow Spring, Ohio, and was a professor at Antioch College. Abrams was a CO who wrote on peace history and completed a number of volumes on the history of the Nobel Peace Prize and on its various recipients. The library is also named to honor Dr. Charles Chatfield (1934–2015), a professor at Wittenberg University who donated to the library almost a thousand works on peace-related subjects.

154 Dayton International Peace Museum

Volunteers created an online catalog of museum holdings, and students from Earlham College helped put together a Peace Database to retrieve online information on peace documents, groups, issues, individuals, etc. Photos of some Nobel Peace Prize winners, along with brief biographies, are on display throughout the museum. Since research on the Nobel Peace Prize and its winners is a subject of popular interest, the library features materials that are suitable for student projects and teachers' lesson plans as well as for general interest. The following is part of a card encouraging visitors to learn more about Nobel Peace Prize recipients.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS34

The Nobel Peace Prize is featured here to honor those who have demonstrated an insurmountable spirit in applying nonviolent principles to create a more peaceful world. Recipients have come from a variety of nationalities, cultures, genders, professions, social status and religions. There have been 94 individual and 19 organization winners since the award was first given in 1901.

What's the importance of this exhibit? One person, any person, with a passion for and devotion to peace can make a difference in the world and be recognized for their efforts. There are many different ways to work for peace as shown by these individuals and organizations.

What can we learn here? There are many different individuals that we can look to for inspiration as we study how they overcame injustices in our world. One international organization has made recognizing and rewarding peaceful efforts a noble cause of global importance.

Suggested Activity:

Read a biography of a Nobel Peace Prize Winner. Share the life of that person with your group members. Read aloud a quote from a Nobel Peace Prize winner. Discuss what he/she said and how it could be applied to your personal life; to your school?

The Peace Museum library has biographies and literature on peace, nonviolence, history and culture. Feel free to browse through the stacks and read from some of the books aloud. Materials can be checked out at the Museum Office.

The museum also has on display current fiction and nonfiction books awarded by the separately endowed Dayton Literary Peace Prize Foundation (DLPP), a volunteer nonprofit organization. Begun in 2006 and inspired in

part by the Dayton Peace Accords, the DLPP honors writers whose work "uses the power of literature to foster peace, social justice and global understanding."35 There are annual awards in both fiction and nonfiction as well as an annual lifetime achievement award; recipients receive a \$10,000 honorarium and are honored at a dinner in Dayton. Lifetime achievement winners (renamed the Richard C. Holbrooke Award in 2011) are Studs Terkel, Elie Wiesel, Taylor Branch, Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, Geraldine Brooks, Barbara Kingsolver, Tim O'Brien, Wendell Berry, and Louise Erdrich. Past winners of the fiction and nonfiction awards include Francine Prose, Stephen Walker, Mark Kurlansky, Junot Diaz, Edwidge Danticat, Chang-Rae Lee, Dave Eggers, and Adam Hochschild. In 2011, a special scholarship award was presented to peace historian Nigel Young, editor of the four-volume The Oxford Encyclopedia of Peace. In 2014, Bob Shacochis received the fiction award for The Woman Who Lost Her Soul, and Karima Bennoune, author of Your Fatwa Does Not Apply Here, was the recipient of the nonfiction award. The museum features books by current award winners, and the volumes of all past awardees are also available in the museum's collection. In fact, there are not many places in the United States, or elsewhere, where such a rich trove of materials on peace-related issues is available and open to the public; the Abrams Chatfield Peace Library collection and its accessibility is a distinguishing feature of DIPM.

DAYTON PEACE ROOM: LOCAL PEACEMAKERS AND PEACEMAKING

The Dayton Peace Room includes a series of small exhibits featuring local peacemakers and histories, the Dayton Accords (1995), and United Nations peace projects. The exhibit on the Dayton Accords (called also the Dayton Peace Accord or Dayton Agreement), titled *How Dayton Helped End a War*, has a brief write-up on the three-year war in Bosnia–Herzegovina, photos, and text on the art of diplomacy. "In 1995, the warring parties in the bloody Bosnian Wars came to Dayton to discuss peace. As a result of that act of DIPLOMACY and STATECRAFT, the Dayton Peace accords stopped the war in Bosnia that had taken nearly 200,000 lives" and uprooted more than two million people in the Balkans.

One biography and the corresponding photos feature Richard C. Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs, who was the lead diplomat in a series of intense negotiations between November 1 and 21 at nearby Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. The isolated venue of the negotiations—situated in a U.S. military base near Dayton, Ohio—created an intense atmosphere for negotiations without the usual distractions and influences of a more cosmopolitan venue. According to Ambassador Holbrooke in his book *To End a War* (1998), this isolation was an important element in getting the opposing parties—Alija Izetbegovi

of Bosnia, Franjo Tu man of Croatia, and Slobodan Miloševi of Serbia—to sit down with one another and negotiate. The final agreement, which included eleven annexes, was signed in Paris. The exhibit describes the Accords' achievements but does not address such controversies as which parties were left out, later violence in the Balkans, and the results on the ground of not including state-building mechanisms as part of the agreement.

While the actual negotiations took place outside the city of Dayton at the air force base, the use of *Dayton* in the final name of the agreement resulted in putting Dayton, Ohio, on the map as a city associated with peace. Identified as the site where the peace settlement for a European conflict was negotiated, what might be described as a cottage industry of citizens' peace initiatives followed: the museum, peace and literary prizes, and Cities of Peace projects, and so on. In *Drawing the Lines of Peace* exhibit, there are photos and commentary about Daytonians and Bosnians together, and Sarajevo as a sister city of Dayton. The exhibit emphasizes the positive aspects and Dayton's role in the peace negotiations. A series of commemorations of the accord followed, such as Richard Holbrooke's receiving the Dayton Peace Prize in 2005 and donating \$10,000 to the museum.

Another section of the museum contains material from the exhibit *The State of Peace:* A Peace Tradition for over 200 Years; it covers how peace history is closely intertwined with the history of the state of Ohio and the Miami Valley region. Given the history of violence and wars that characterized U.S. settlement and expansion, this information writes in the histories of peace and cooperation in this region that became Ohio and eastern Indiana. In 1797, the Quaker community brought their "Friends of Peace Testimony" to settlers in the Miami Valley. In the early 1800s, Mennonites, who are part of the historic peace church tradition, arrived in Ohio; the majority were pacifists who opposed all violence and war. The second Peace Society in the world was formed December 1815 in Warren County, Ohio.

In 1840, students formed the Oberlin Non-Resistance Society, whose constitution stated: "The members of this society believe that all wars are anti-Christian—that governments sustained by force, and acting upon the principles of retaliation, must be left to other hands than the disciples of Jesus—that the weapons of the Christian's warfare are not carnal, but spiritual."³⁷

Other peace societies around Oberlin College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, were formed by students and faculty such as the Oberlin Peace Society (1843) and community-based Oberlin Peace League (1850). From 1800 to 1865, the Underground Railroad came through western Ohio communities, and thousands of escaping slaves were aided on their flight to gain freedom. A series of schools founded by religious groups included themes of peace and justice, such as Earlham College (1859) in Richmond, Indiana, based on the Quaker philosophy of peace and nonviolence; and Wilmington College (1870) in Wilmington, Ohio, for students to "gain an awareness of the world, to acquire knowledge of career and vocation and to seek truth and social justice." In 1899, what is now known as Bluffton University was founded as

Central Mennonite College; continuing the Mennonite peace church tradition, the university prepares students of different backgrounds "for service to all peoples and ultimately, for the purposes of God's universal kingdom." The 1903 invention of Dayton natives Orville and Wilbur Wright is described as giving "humankind the gift of flight, believing that it would bring an end to wars, even though it eventually became another tool of war." The *State of Peace* traces the local and regional history of peace and peacekeepers up to 2004 and the opening of the DIPM.

The Dayton Peace Room also features more in-depth personal stories about the lives of local peacemakers. There are a series of personal mementos and images of Sister Dorothy Stang (1931-2005), who grew up in Dayton and joined the religious order of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Cincinnati at seventeen. She spent half her life in Brazil (and was made an honorary citizen of the country), working in the Amazon to save the rain forest from deforestation by wealthy cattle ranchers, soybean farmers, lumberjacks, and others. Sister Dorothy supported a movement of peasants who campaigned for sustainable use of the rain forest, and she worked with the Pastoral Land Commission, a Catholic organization "that struggles for the rights of rural workers and peasants, and defends land reforms in Brazil." Through her work as an educator and activist, she taught about the harm deforestation was doing: "If the forest dies, our lives are over." Shortly after meeting with Brazilian human rights officials about threats made to local farmers from illegal loggers and ranchers, she was shot to death in Anapu, Pará, a section of Brazil's Amazon rain forest. A children's book Angel in Our Forest (available at the bookstore), written and illustrated by Sister Janet Mullen, a member of the same religious order, is on view, and it emphasizes Dorothy Stang's dedication and inspiration to others that: "You can make a difference." 40

Another story of local peacemaking is that of Ted Studebaker (1945–71), who was a member of the Church of the Brethren, one of three historic peace churches, along with the Quaker Friends and the Mennonites. Raised on a farm in rural Ohio and one of eight children, Ted Studebaker graduated from Manchester College (a Church of the Brethren-affiliated college) and received a graduate degree in social work from Florida State University. Ted loved music and played the guitar, and on display are his guitar, letters he sent from Vietnam, and a ballad about his life and death.

During the U.S. war in Vietnam, Ted Studebaker was drafted, refused to serve in the military, and was granted CO status. As a Christian pacifist, Ted chose at the age of twenty-three to go to Vietnam and do alternative service in agriculture for Brethren Volunteer Services, through an organization called the Vietnamese Christian Service. He worked with farmers of the ethnic minority Montagnard, a tribal people living in the highland region, introducing a rice polisher, and he learned their language, Koho, as well as Vietnamese. After signing up for a third year of service, and less than a week after marrying another volunteer—Lee Ven Pak from Asian Christian

Service—Ted Studebaker was killed by Vietcong during a raid in Di Linh, the village where he lived and worked. The story of his dedication to helping the people of Vietnam, his opposition to war, and his tragic death was retold in "Brave Man from Ohio."

SELECTIONS FROM "BRAVE MAN FROM OHIO," A BALLAD BY ANDY MURRAY⁴¹

Verse 1

Ted was raised in Ohio
Where brave men regularly grow.
And he wasn't afraid to get a letter
Calling him to the war.
He was most polite
And he wanted to do right,
So he wrote right back and said,
"I've learned from my people that I must not fight,
But I'd like to work instead."

Chorus

Oh, I'm not afraid to go, folks; I'm not afraid to die. I just got something else in mind that I would like to try. Give me a shovel instead of a gun, And I'll say so long for now. And if I die, I'll die making something Instead of tearing something down.

Verse 3

He worked among the people of That far-off Asian land.
And many who would be the enemy Became the friend of the brave young man. He helped in the shops,
And he helped with the crops,
And he talked whenever he could
Of how he dreamed of a peaceful world
When life would be sweet and good.

Verse 4

He fell in love with a brave young woman And he took her to be his bride. She shared his dream of a world gone right And worked right by his side. But the war got to The love so new,
And a bullet left the young groom dead.
And in her tears of grief, the bride
Heard a gentle voice that said,

Chorus

Tell them I wasn't afraid to go, my love;

I wasn't afraid to die.
I just didn't want to be the one
To make another man's woman cry.
So put my shovel beside my grave;
Maybe someone else will vow

To be brave enough to die making something Instead of tearing something down. So put my shovel beside my grave And say so long for now. Don't worry my love we're going to make it. I know we're going to make it somehow.

Ted Studebaker became one of a growing number of military-age U.S. dissenters who chose different methods to oppose the Vietnam War, and a short clip about his life and death appeared on ABC national news, contributing to the growing debate about opposition to the war.⁴²

Other biographies with artifacts on display range from Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906), African American, Dayton-born poet, playwright, and writer, who was among the earlier African American poets to come to national attention,⁴³ to Irwin Abrams, a CO during World War II and peace historian at Antioch College who specialized in research on the Nobel Peace Prize laureates.⁴⁴

DISPLAY ON THE GREEN ENERGY INFORMATION CENTER

In the hallway, there is a small display on the Green Energy Information Center and global warming; visitors are invited to make an appointment to visit the center in nearby Brookville, Ohio. Ralph Dull established the Green Energy Center on his family's farm in 2004, and it is described as "the environmental branch" of the DIPM (although the two entities are financially independent). The Green Energy Center features wind, solar, hydrogen production, geothermal, biomass, and soy-diesel energy, and visitors see displays and receive handouts on a variety of conservation practices and clean energies from the wind, turbine, and solar panels currently in use

on this over thirteen-hundred-acre working farm. For example, the farm office/energy center is heated and cooled by geothermal (clean) energy. There is information about why renewable fuels need to replace petroleum and the benefits of doing so, from employment to production opportunities. "Everyone gains from clean, renewable energy!" and "Invest in peace. It is priceless!" are among the Green Energy Center's mottos.⁴⁵

OTHER EXHIBITS

In one section of the museum, visitors can view a display about the history of the United Nations and its organizational structure and photos of UN global projects. In another small room there's a section on World War II featuring a collage of images called *Inhumanity*, made by junior high school students, along with a collection of books and images about World War II and the Holocaust. In one area is a desk where visitors are invited to write comments about their visit to DIPM, and there's a section on letter-writing campaigns on behalf of people around the world.

ANTINUCLEAR EXHIBIT: ON THE EDGE OF DESTRUCTION—WHY DO WE NEED SO MANY NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

The last section of the third floor features an antinuclear exhibit on the horrors of the use of atomic weapons, disarmament, and the need to resolve conflicts through nonviolent means. "Military conflict can be seen as the ultimate failure of creativity, reason and education." While DIPM focuses primarily on positive ways to peace, "it is important for all generations to understand the lethal impact of nuclear weapons." The exhibit does not discuss the ethical, strategic, and any other debates surrounding the U.S. government's decision to carry out civilian bombing of Japanese cities, and in particular the use of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945. Instead, the exhibit focuses on providing information on the tragic human toll, including images of the physical effects on humans.

Ironically, the U.S. government chose Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the cities to be targeted because they had escaped the earlier massive fire bombings carried out by the U.S. military against Japanese cities. Silence about the effectiveness and decision-making processes involved in the use of atomic weapons in World War II will in all likelihood continue in most public venues in the United States. The amount of controversy that the Smithsonian exhibit generated sixty years after the dropping of the bombs reflects how fierce opposition to debate continues to be. This silence/absence in the United States contrasts with the preoccupation about the bombings and their aftereffects in public debates and museums throughout Japan (see Chapter 3). DIPM's exhibit avoids overtly political controversies on decision making

and so forth, and instead focuses on the terrible effects and threat of nuclear weapons, and the urgency of disarmament.

Cloth hangings by Yellow Springs artist Pierre Nagley on the ceiling are described in the exhibit as creating a "mood for the other displays." Some materials in the exhibit come from Japan, via a volunteer who visited the country, and give the U.S. audience an opportunity to view graphic images of the "effects" of nuclear weapons on human bodies, plus scientific explanations of different types of radiation injuries and diseases. Three panels titled *The* Vanished Cities: Hiroshima and Nagasaki include before-and-after maps with arrows pointing out examples of destroyed buildings, such as the Honkawa Elementary School. Photos of samples of the damage include charred bodies, and a stunned survivor looking vacantly over the burned body of a young boy. A panel discusses in some detail the different types of long- and short-term medical effects, and "the type of complex interactions of heat rays and fire burn contusions and lacerations caused by severe radiation damages."48 The term damage is used to refer to a range of mental and physical effects, including severe burn cases in which the surface of the skin is burned crisp, slips off the body, and exposes tissues beneath, sometimes down to the bone, and the increased incidence of leukemia and other medical conditions.⁴⁹

The room also includes an information panel with a short history of the Manhattan Project and a chart tracing the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs, listing type, structure, weight, name, date dropped, test sites, etc. There is also a table that holds jars of small pellets which are used to show visitors the numbers of nuclear weapons worldwide; visitors are encouraged to feel their weight and think about how many weapons exist. An excellent series of books and pamphlets on a range of disarmament issues are available for visitors to look through.

PEACE MUSEUM AS COMMUNITY CENTER

Educational activities for different age groups are held at the museum, as well as programs ranging from yoga and other meditation classes to lectures on current events and peace-related topics. Local educator and museum volunteer Debra Wolf created a project titled Peace-Abilities, Making Peace Possible One Classroom at a Time to teach about the benefits of nonviolent responses to aggressive behavior. She conducted workshops for teachers and for elementary-school students with hands-on learning experiences, "using a variety of props, role-plays, and age appropriate, real-life adaptations" to empower "kids to make nonviolent behavioral choices when faced with challenges and conflict." For a number of years, Debra Wolf led the annual summer peace camp session and incorporated such peace-abilities techniques as listening skills, simple relaxation methods, and effective ways to communicate. In 2015, DIPM will offer its seventh peace camp for youngsters.

Importantly, the museum has become a community resource in a variety of ways: it's a meeting place for volunteers and retired individuals who

work on museum projects together or meet and have coffee or lunch together. The retired teachers from nearby schools and colleges, the peace activists who add their voices and expertise to the museum, and the citizens of Dayton have all found DIPM a hospitable place to be. Individuals linked to different religious and civic groups in the Dayton area are able to bring their particular interests to the museum and to the larger community through lectures on subjects that range from environmental sustainability to antiwar histories to nonviolent solutions to the India-Pakistan Kashmir conflict. Museum members join local activities such as the annual REACH Across Dayton, which seeks to create "an atmosphere that builds respect, knowledge, appreciation and understanding for this area's diverse cultural populations."51 DIPM also houses Live Music for Peace, featuring local artists who perform at the Peace Coffeehouse. Volunteers coordinate various other activities, from the DIPM newsletter to evening lectures to the annual Dayton Peace Accords 5K Run. Peace education outreach initiatives range from lectures by volunteers on peace-related themes to nearby religious communities to teaching at local schools.

Jerry Leggett, executive director since the spring of 2014, has a background in music, popular peace activism, and community organizing; he has built on earlier DIPM programs and initiated a number of new peace projects and renovations. For example, there is a new gathering space with computers called Peace Station 208, where teenagers and other people are invited to live music, poetry slams, or simply to gather over coffee and hot chocolate and enjoy conversation.

There are also plans for working with local partners such as Sinclair Community College, the University of Dayton, and Wright State to develop a teaching peace leadership program and other projects. While many exhibits that were on the third floor and elsewhere are no longer on view, new exhibits incorporate some of their themes. The concept of "Peace Heroes" is a crucial part of the museum's new direction. There is a permanent *Peace Heroes* exhibit featuring both well-known individuals such as Nobel laureates and local peace heroes such as Sister Dorothy Stang and Ted Studebaker as well as a community *Peace Heroes* walk.

In an interview with a local newspaper, Jerry Leggett describes two local people as peace heroes, Bev and John Titus, whose daughter Alicia was killed on 9/11; she was a flight attendant on one of the hijacked planes:

They're part of this amazing group of people who have tried to use that day's events as an occasion for peace instead of retribution. They've spent their days, their lives, inspiring people to see what peace can look like, despite the tragedy of their experience. John wrote about this journey in a book, "Losing Alicia," and he and Bev founded a foundation in their daughter's name at Urbana University that promotes a culture of peace and non-violence, and to educate people about peace efforts. ⁵²



Figure 5.2 "What does a more peaceful world look like?" Teenagers at a program at the Peace Station 208, Dayton International Peace Museum. Credit: Dayton International Peace Museum, photo by Jerry Leggett.

In 2014, DIPM presented the *Peace Labyrinth*, an exhibition of seventeen quilts, using different styles and materials, made up of representations of the Golden Rule from various world faiths and humanistic philosophies. The quilts were donated to DIPM by the artist Janet B. McTavish from Minnesota and afterward traveled to Urbana University through the Alicia Titus Memorial Peace Fund. Bev Titus saw the exhibit at DIPM, where she is a volunteer, and called McTavish, who explained that the exhibit had been inspired following the events of 9/11, because "she was wondering what she could to help others heal." ("She just saw so much hatred and profiling and wanted to do something that was helpful." Hence, the museum continues to create peace networks, links, and projects.

An exhibit on loan from the Museum of the Peace Corps Experience in Portland, Oregon, called *The Peace Corps Experience: 54 Years of Global Service*, continues the theme of peace heroes in 2015. The opening included an event honoring Ambassador Tony Hall, who received a Lifetime Achievement Award for Peace and Justice. Other exhibit-related activities are scheduled as well, including Peace Corps Slams, recruitment information, and guest speakers. Through artifacts, images, and stories of Peace Corps

volunteers, the exhibit traces the history of the Peace Corps and its mission of establishing peace and understanding between different cultures and countries. Hence, DIPM continues emphasizing nonviolence and popular peace themes about "peace heroes/heroines" and exploring what individuals can do to make a difference, themes central to the museum since its founding.

CONCLUSION: CHALLENGES AHEAD AND ONGOING VISION

The Dayton International Peace Museum has evolved into a vibrant community site for peace education and activities, welcoming a range of visitors from local school groups to international tourists. It has a permanent location in a beautiful building in Dayton (in contrast to the Peace Museum in Chicago, which was forced to relocate three times and finally closed) and local volunteers who have found a home and voice for their own interests. Now with a full-time paid director, DIPM is transitioning from its earlier allvolunteer staff; moving forward, the museum hopes to preserve the legacy of volunteerism and the contribution of long-time contributors while also trying to reach out to new members and a younger generation. DIPM is a place where a series of informative peace exhibits and projects have been created and updated, and it has an impressive library collection of books, videos, and other materials on peace for public use. Throughout the year, there are meetings, lectures, and activities fostering peace literacy. And DIPM has become part of a series of peace clusters in the larger Miami Valley region. Inviting people of different backgrounds and philosophies is central to the goal of the museum. In a 2015 interview, Jerry Leggett emphasized the importance of "non-polarization, and accepting different ways of making peace—I don't think it needs to be a contest between the museum and the military community. Not at all. In fact, some of the most amazingly peaceful people I know have military service in their background."55 Leggett then gave the example of Captain Paul K. Chappell (who has visited and spoken at DIPM), a graduate of West Point, whose book The Art of Waging Peace points out how it was only after seeing war up close that he became convinced of the need for nonviolence.56

In all likelihood, DIPM will continue to emphasize popular peace culture themes (music, art such as the quilts exhibit, and so on) and downplay or avoid the politics of peace. For example, it is doubtful that the exhibits on disarmament and the dropping of atomic bombs and their effects—a rarity in U.S. history museums—will be updated, even though 2015 marks the seventieth anniversary of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, DIPM is increasing its outreach and connecting with the public through various technology platforms such as its website and social media.

DIPM faces a series of challenges to continue its work and mission. There is a generational issue that a number of other peace museums face: how to

engage younger generations to become involved in the museum through both volunteering and providing financial support. The museum's biggest strength—its volunteers—can also be its biggest weakness; many volunteers are senior citizens who have other commitments and projects. Coordinating volunteers and projects and bringing in younger people are ongoing challenges. Several younger volunteers did not remain at DIPM because they needed to find full-time paying jobs. Since coming on board in the spring of 2014, Jerry Leggett has been working to address these issues. To date, he has energized the museum, but new leadership and changes can create a series of challenges between different constituencies. Leggett faces funding challenges to cover financing the museum's basic expenses, such as heating and upkeep, as well as for future exhibits and other activities. Along with the help of museum volunteers, he has begun fund-raising activities, encouraged the participation of younger members, expanded technology and initiated new exhibits. In many respects, this is an exciting new stage in DIPM's development.

Finally, the Dayton International Peace Museum serves as a model for what communities with a committed group of people are able to do to provide peace exhibits and peace education. In this sense, DIPM serves as an exceptional community participatory model offering constructive peace histories and activities as an alternative to the predominant cultures of violence and of war.

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6 The Nobel Peace Center, Oslo, and Casa per la Pace La Filanda, Casalecchio di Reno

Individuals and Movements for Peace and Pacifism

The Nobel Peace Center presents the Nobel Peace Prize and its ideals. It is an arena where culture and politics merge to promote involvement, debate and reflection around topics such as war, peace and conflict resolution.¹

—The Nobel Peace Center (Nobels Fredssenter)

Perché? (Why?)

—The Antiwar Poster and the Struggle against the Arms Race, Casa per la Pace La Filanda

This chapter includes descriptions of the two most recently established peace sites covered in this volume: the Nobel Peace Center in Oslo, Norway (2005), and Casa per la Pace (House for Peace) La Filanda (2006) in Casalecchio di Reno, Bologna, Italy. Each chose to forgo the title "museum"; the Oslo site refers to itself as a center, and the Casalecchio di Reno site calls itself a house for peace. Peace education is at the center of their goals; and they both identify as promoting cultures of peace. Each comes out of a different peace history tradition: the Nobel Peace Center emphasizes the well-known and popular Nobel Peace Prize awardees and their work, while the poster collection in Casa per la Pace emerges out of a more radical, political, and activist tradition of nonviolence and protest.

The Nobel Peace Center has a permanent exhibit that records the history of the Nobel Peace Prize and of its laureates; every year the staff curate an exhibit on the most recent individuals or organizations to receive the award. There are also temporary exhibits about war and peace, civil liberties, human rights, and humanitarian themes. The center offers exhibit-related programs and a strong component of educational workshops for students. The Nobel Peace Center is centrally located in a large, renovated former train station and has become a popular site for tourists as well as a public forum for the Oslo community for peace-related issues. Casa per la Pace is on the outskirts of Bologna in a small building that also serves as a community center and nucleus for a range of peace-related activities. It houses close to five thousand peace posters collected by Italian pacifist Vittorio Pallotti since 1965. These posters are a trove of social history, recording the

rich but relatively unknown history, politics, and artistic representations of protest not only in Italy and Europe but also internationally. A series of theme-based, temporary exhibits are curated from the poster archive linked to pacifism, disarmament, social justice, and other peace movements. An overview of these very different peace sites provides two more examples of how different visions, politics, and resources contribute to creating spaces for visitors to discover peace themes and histories.

BACKGROUND OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The Nobel Peace Prize is the oldest and best-known award dedicated to recognizing individuals or groups who have contributed to peace in the world. It is a popular symbol associated with peace, and its awardees gain an international platform to publicize their work and causes. The peace prize was based on the will and estate of Alfred Nobel (1833–96). the Swedish-born industrialist, inventor, and holder of a series of patents including on dynamite. Alfred Nobel was one of a small group of industrial, capitalist entrepreneurs who, like Jean de Bloch, Andrew Carnegie, and Edward Ginn, used their wealth to support a range of pacifist and peace initiatives prior to the outbreak of World War I. By the 1890s an international movement to prevent war was growing. And a series of meetings and congresses took place, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union of "peace-minded deputies" composed of members representing a series of national legislative bodies. The earliest peace prize awards recognized the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, along with other groups such as the International Peace Bureau. Awardees include Frédéric Passy from France (1901 co-recipient with Henri Dunant, a founder of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent), Élie Ducommun and Albert Gobat from Switzerland (1902), and William Randal Cremer from Great Britain (1903), who was both a labor leader and cofounder of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.²

Bertha von Suttner was an important figure in these international peace circles, and her years of friendship with Alfred Nobel brought to his attention the activities of the international peace movement, particularly those with which von Suttner was involved. While remaining skeptical of the effectiveness of disarmament and international arbitration initiatives, Nobel did nonetheless provide financial support to a series of such undertakings. In fact, Nobel felt that realistically, if a collective security could be achieved between states, "the world would still need military power in order to penalize violators of the peace." And in fact, "that technological progress would one day yield weapons of such horrific power that war would ultimately rule itself out."5

On January 7, 1893, Alfred Nobel wrote to his "Dear Friend," Bertha von Suttner. In this letter, he conveys his thoughts about awarding a prize:

I should like by testament to dispose of a part of my fortune by prizes to be distributed every five years (let us say six times in all, for if in thirty years it has not been possible to reform the present system, there will be a total return to barbarism) to him or her who have brought about the greatest step in advancing to the pacification of Europe.⁶

The final terms of Nobel's will stipulated that a fund whose capital was invested in safe securities be created out of what remained of his estate after distributions were made to family members and other individuals. The interest from the fund was to be divided into five equal parts for each award, of which "one part to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses."⁷

The award for "champions of peace" was to be decided by a committee of five persons elected by the Norwegian Storting (Parliament), and all the other prizes were to be awarded in Stockholm by experts in each area. Beside the award for peace, the other prize categories are physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, and literature, and each is awarded on Nobel Prize Day, December 10, the date on which Alfred Nobel died. In 1969, the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences, in memory of Alfred Nobel, was added.

In an age of competing nationalism and chauvinism, Nobel did not limit the awards to any particular nationalities, and his instructions reflect his internationalist outlook: "It is my express wish that in awarding the prizes no consideration whatever shall be given to the nationality of the candidates, but that the most worthy shall receive the prize, whether he be Scandinavian or not."8 Nobel signed the final version of his brief will on November 27, 1895, at the Swedish-Norwegian club in Paris, and he died a little over a year later, on December 10, 1896, at his home in San Remo, Italy. One estimate of the total worth of Nobel's estate is almost \$9 million (over 31 million Swedish crowns), "an immense fortune at the time." The first Nobel Prizes were awarded in 1901 and, in all likelihood, the donor himself "could hardly have dreamed of the impact that his benevolence would have in the future."¹⁰

The Norwegian Parliament (Norway and Sweden were in union until the Norwegians declared independence in 1905) acted within a month after it received notice from the executors of Nobel's will. On April 26, 1897, the Norwegian Storting "voted to accept the responsibility," over a year before the Swedish bodies took similar action.¹¹ At the time, there was no way to anticipate the worldwide fame that the prizes, and especially the Nobel Peace Prize, would achieve. There remains debate over why Nobel stipulated that Norway award one prize, the peace prize. Some explanations put forth include that Nobel may have been impressed that the Storting promoted mediation and arbitration and was the first national assembly in the world to designate funds for members who wanted to attend sessions of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. 12 Another explanation was Nobel's admiration for the work of Norwegian writers Henrik Ibsen and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. 13

THE POLITICS AND TRENDS IN AWARDING NOBEL PEACE PRIZES

Peace historian Irwin Abrams, in his classic study The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates, divided prize winners in the first one hundred years into primarily the following categories: the organized peace movement, humanitarianism, international jurists, statesmen and political leaders, and human rights. As discussed previously, peace is political, and clearly there is a politics associated with the awarding of the prizes. Hence, it is not surprising that the orientation of Norwegian parliamentarians, who appoint members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, is reflected in the choice of awardees. For example, early committee members were associated with the Vestre (Left) Party, representing a broad democratic-nationalist coalition, and some had links to developments in the Inter European Union and International Peace Bureau. Of the first nineteen peace prizes awarded, all but two went to individuals who represented the Inter-Parliamentary Union, popular peace groups, or the international legal tradition.¹⁴ Geir Lundestad, who served as director of the Nobel Institute in Oslo and secretary of the Norwegian Nobel Committee (1989–2014), writes that selections in general "reflected the Norwegian definition of the broader, Western values of an idealist, the often slightly left-of-center kind, but rarely so far left the choices were not acceptable to Western liberal-internationalist opinion in general."15

For over half a century, most peace prize recipients were male (except for Bertha von Suttner in 1905; Jane Addams in 1931, who shared the prize with Nicholas Murray Butler; and Emily Greene Balch in 1946, co-recipient with John Mott) and from Europe or North America. From the 1970s on, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee broadened out to choose more women and to select individuals and groups from Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The committee remained all male until 1947, when Aase Lionæs, who was a Labor deputy, became the first woman to hold a regular seat and served as chair from 1969 to 1979. ¹⁶

It is not surprising that, given the number of nominations and difficulties in weighing political and cultural factors, a series of controversies have surrounded both the committee's selections and its omissions. For example, Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), the Russian novelist and advocate of Christian nonviolence, who also was critical of patriotism, the state, and militarism, was nominated several times but did not receive the award. An official adviser to the committee in 1909 supported Tolstoy's nomination and pointed out that, whatever his limitations, Tolstoy's contributions would stand the test of time. But the committee did not "feel comfortable in awarding the Peace Prize to outspoken advocates of nonviolence." The most well-known example of the committee's failing to act positively on the nomination of a nonviolent leader is Mahatma Gandhi (who was nominated five times, beginning in 1937). Gandhi's philosophy and politics challenged not only the British but, more broadly, Western colonialism. The complicated history,

debates, and expert reports about Gandhi over a decade split the committee members. Øyvind Tønnesson in the essay "Why No Gandhi?" asks whether, against the background of World War II and post-independence violence between India and Pakistan, the committee's decision not to award Gandhi was an example of "unwillingness, cowardice or prudent pragmatism." ¹⁸

In 1935, the German antimilitarist Carl von Ossietzky, who was being held by the Nazis in a concentration camp and had become a symbol of the struggle against German rearmament, received the peace prize. A journalist and socialist, Ossietzky brought international attention to the violation of the terms of the Versailles Treaty through the secret rearmament of Germany, begun during the Weimar government, and his imprisonment became a *cause célèbre*. Ossietzky was forbidden to travel to Oslo to receive the award and was transferred to a private sanatorium, where he died seventeen months later. In response to the award to Carl von Ossietzky in 1935, Hitler issued an order that no German could accept any of the Nobel Prizes. In other cases, such as Andrei Sakharov, Lech Wał sa, and Aung San Suu Kyi, among others, the awarding of the prize may have helped prevent governments from taking more extreme measures against awardees who were dissidents.

There were also debates surrounding the selection of leaders or government officials that appeared early on, such as when U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt received the 1906 prize for his mediation role to end the Russo-Japanese War and interest in international arbitration. In fact, Roosevelt's role in ending the conflict was exaggerated, and his reputation for carrying out an aggressive foreign policy was well known. One factor may have been that Norway had become an independent state just one year before and "needed a large, friendly neighbor—even if he is far away," as one Norwegian newspaper put it.²⁰ During the Cold War, the committee was attacked for its choices, particularly of anticommunist dissidents, and accused of demonstrating pro-Western bias. Among the most controversial awards was the one given in 1973 to Henry Kissinger, U.S. national security advisor and secretary of state (whose involvement in the secret bombing of Cambodia and other military actions resulted in his being viewed as a war criminal in leftist circles), and to Lê Đúc Tho, North Vietnamese leader and negotiator, for their work on the Paris Peace Agreements which led to the cease-fire in Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. troops. There have also been a number of years when no peace prize was awarded, due to differences within the committee as well as external factors, such as during World War I and World War II. It has been argued that the awards in general, and controversial ones in particular, help spark debate about a range of peaceand war-related issues and contribute to more-informed citizens. And from the work of NGOs to environmental, disarmament, and a range of human rights and humanitarian issues, the Nobel Peace Prize has played a unique role in bringing attention to and educating about peace-related issues to an international audience.

DEVELOPMENT AND VISION OF THE OSLO NOBEL. PEACE CENTER

In 2005, over a century after the awarding of the first peace prize in Oslo, the Nobel Peace Center opened its doors. This was the culmination of a series of conversations, planning, debates, and politics between members of the Norwegian government and Oslo municipality, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, and various Nobel Foundation representatives in Stockholm, civil society actors, and industry sponsors. The Norwegian Parliament passed a resolution in 2000 that "the Norwegian Storting request the Government in cooperation with the Norwegian Nobel Committee to make arrangements for a Peace Prize Center to be established in the former Vestbanen railway station building with a view to opening on 7 June 2005."21 As the chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Ole Danbolt Miøs, wrote, that date on the one hand captures "the interest of Norwegian politicians," since it marks the centennial anniversary of Norway becoming a fully "autonomous nation." But it also "adds a clearly international perspective to the national observance."²²

In 2001, the Nobel Museum in Stockholm opened, inviting visitors to learn more about the founder and history of the Nobel Prizes and the work of the more than eight hundred laureates. The museum promotes "interest in, knowledge of and debate about science and the arts through creative educational methods, technology and elegant design."²³ Plans are currently under way for a new, expanded building and site to house the Nobel Museum in Stockholm.

Before the establishment of the Nobel Peace Center, visitors to Oslo could tour the town hall, where the Nobel Peace Prize is awarded and where laureates give their acceptance speeches each year. There is also the Norwegian Nobel Institute, housed in a nineteenth-century building that includes the Nobel Library and the room where the Nobel Peace Prize Committee meets. The library has a small-sized room open for reading and research, and it houses a major collection of books, journals, and other materials on peace subjects (and new materials are continually being added to the collection).

The Nobel Peace Center is housed in the former railway station, built in the 1870s, a large, permanent space near the Aker Brygge wharf complex. The impressive facade includes three words engraved in Norwegian and English—broadmindedness, hope, and commitment—as well as an image of Alfred Nobel in profile. In addition to its central location, the Nobel Peace Center had the benefit of receiving support to carry out needed renovations before all the plans for the content and form of the project were decided upon. The Nobel Peace Center was also able to secure private funding after the Nobel Institute's decision not to be a sponsor and provide financial support because the proposed peace center was not in keeping with the institute's reading of the stipulations of Alfred Nobel's will. In the end, a group of Norwegian corporations and partners took on the initial sponsorship, with additional funds raised from other donors.²⁴

Along with the support of the Norwegian government, in particular the Directorate of Public Construction and Property and the Ministry of Culture, the Nobel Peace Center is an example of a public-private partnership. The building is owned by the Norwegian government, and the center pays an annual rent to use the space. The Nobel Peace Center Web site lists 85 million Norwegian krone (NOK) raised for the project; with 65 million NOK spent for content and installation, and the rest available for ongoing running costs.²⁵ And there are currently more than twenty-five people employed in areas such as education, exhibitions, programs, public relations, and the bookstore.

Promoting peace and human rights has become associated with Norway through its cooperation with a range of United Nations and other agencies, and the highly publicized Israeli-Palestinian negotiations resulting in the Oslo Peace Accords. The country's oil resources (and decision not to join the European Union), small population, and generally progressive government have provided financial and other support to national and international peace, relief, and human rights projects. The NGO sector is impressive, given Norway's size. For example, there is the internationally renowned Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO, 1959) and the Rafto Foundation for Human Rights (1986), an organization located on the west coast in Bergen that promotes human rights globally through its annual prizes and advocacy work. The numbers and range of issues taken up by advocacy and research groups have multiplied. Given this environment, an important factor supporting the founding of the Nobel Peace Center was the encouragement by the Norwegian government and Oslo officials, as well as by those within the private sector, to promote peace tourism as an attraction. Hence, the establishment of the Nobel Peace Center has cemented Norway's position as a hub of peace and human rights activities.

TECHNOLOGY AND COMMUNICATION: TWO FEATURES OF THE NOBEL PEACE CENTER

The Nobel Peace Center opened on June 11, 2005, in Oslo, Norway, with dignitaries from the Norwegian and Swedish royal families, government officials, and members of the press and public in attendance. More than eight hundred thousand individuals have visited the peace center since its opening.

In contrast to a number of other peace museums in this volume, this center was not planned as a research site, nor as a site to house an archival collection. As director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo and an initiator of the project, Geir Lundestad, explains that the idea for a museum was transformed into the more dynamic-sounding designation as a center: "As our visitors will quickly discover, the Nobel Peace Center is not a museum that exhibits artefacts. Our approach is quite different." ²⁶ Peace

Prize awardees Wangari Maathai and the Dalai Lama attended the opening, and participated in its inaugural Response Exhibition. The exhibition was made up of a series of postcards, and visitors to the new Peace Center were encouraged to write responses to the following questions: What is the opposite of conflict? How do you contribute to peace? What does peace mean to you? Responses were posted on the wall for the public to read.

The Nobel Peace Center is a large structure housed in the original latenineteenth-century train station with a modernized interior; the permanent exhibit is made up of the Nobel Field, the Nobel Chamber, and the Wall Papers.

Visitors to the Nobel Field may at first be taken aback by the darkness permeated by predominantly blue fiber-optic lights (described as "a garden of 1000 fibre-optic lights"), and a series of images and sounds that make up the installation. The dark room has hundreds of thin tubes of light that stretch up from the ground to about waist height, each with a mini-computer perched on top. The small computer screens that make up the Nobel Field each display an image of a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, a brief description of his or her work, and an excerpt from his or her laureate lecture. The installation was a collaboration between Norwegian project directors Grete Jarmund and Paul H. Amble, an international group including architect David Adjave, and various designer and electronic installation experts. David Small of the Small Design Firm, Timon Botez, and John Rothenberg describe their larger goal in creating the Nobel Field:

The room is an example of a new kind of relationship between viewer and medium. The screen diffuses into the space and takes on the characteristics of architecture by defining space and creating paths through that space. Rather than facing a display, as you would in a theater or your living room, or even moving around it, as you would with a museum object, the Nobel Field invites the viewer to inhabit the landscape of displays. As you pass through the space, your perspective is continuously changing.²⁷

As a result, "the Nobel Field becomes a living instrument, played by visitors to the Center."28 Another feature is the Nobel Chamber, which includes an interactive book with images that trace the family, interests, and career of Alfred Nobel, including his life as a child in St. Petersberg, his cosmopolitan background, his years in Stockholm and Paris, and descriptions of his scientific experiments, discoveries, and patents, including that of dynamite. From his father's work as a scientist and armaments producer to the accidental death of one of his brothers during an experiment, details of Alfred Nobel's background are traced.

"You say I am a riddle—it may be, For all of us are riddles unexplained," wrote an eighteen-year-old Alfred Nobel, and his complicated personality and life are a central part of the permanent exhibit. Another section, the *Wall Papers*, is a wall of computers with information and photos about Nobel, the peace prize, and various laureates. By moving large sliders between the computers, visitors can navigate on five large screens, where more than "2,800 articles, 1,500 images and hundreds of videos and animations can be retrieved and explored."²⁹ For example, visitors can hear excerpts from Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, read about why Barack Obama was awarded the peace prize in 2009, and obtain information on how they can get involved.³⁰

One critique of the installation has been that the technology and its complexity overwhelm the content for some visitors. And, not surprisingly, the content about Alfred Nobel and the recipients of the peace prize is descriptive and positive rather than analytic. Are all Nobel Peace Prize winners equal or merited? Overall, however, what the permanent exhibit accomplishes is introducing to tens of thousands of visitors annually the diverse range of individuals and organizations (there are a number related to the League of Nations, the United Nations, and NGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and Médecins sans Frontières) working toward an improved and more peaceful world. Themes include arbitration, peacekeeping, and nonviolence to ecological justice, human rights, and humanitarian issues. The permanent exhibit is a trove of information on peace initiatives, personalities, and histories, and through the available technology visitors can seek out information on areas of particular interest to them.

Each year in the two months between the announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize winners and the presentation of the prize, the museum staff assembles an exhibit on the life and work of that year's awardee(s). The quality and depth of these displays, as one might expect, have varied; sometimes they are primarily a series of portraits of the individual, and other times they give a more detailed representation of the work of that year's awardee(s). It has become customary for peace prize awardees to be present for the opening of the exhibit featuring themes from their life and work. Since the center's opening, these exhibits have included the following: Make Power, Not War, in 2005, which traced the work of Mohamed ElBaradei and the International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA); A Fistful of Dollars, in 2006, which highlighted Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank, which Yunus created to give help and hope to poor people; A Call to Action, in 2009, which detailed the surprising and, many felt at the time, premature award to Barack Obama; SHEROES in 2012, which described the work of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Levmah Gbowee from Liberia and Tawakkol Karman from Yemen and their nonviolent promotion of women's safety and women's rights; and Combating Chemical Weapons, in 2013, which covered the efforts of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

The Nobel Peace Center opens its doors to the public for a free day on the Saturday following the announcement of the year's recipient. More than two thousand visitors of all ages attended events at the center after the European Union was awarded the prize, to learn more about the topic and to participate in a range of activities.³¹ In late 2014, the exhibit *Malala and Kailash* was created in honor of the work of Malala Yousafzai and Kailash Satyarthi, a Muslim and a Hindu, "for their struggle against the suppression of children and young people and for the right of all children to have education." On the center's Web site, the 2014 Peace Prize question is: "Did you know that there are still 168 million child labourers around the world?" Malala Yousafzai, at age seventeen, is the youngest person to receive the award, and her story was surrounded by a great deal of publicity. She has become an international symbol for refusing to give in to extremism. After being shot by a gunman for supporting education for girls in her native Swat Valley of Pakistan, Malala recovered and continues to advocate for female education in the face of threats against her and her family by the Taliban.

EDUCATION AND CHILDREN

One of the most successful aspects of the Nobel Peace Center is its educational outreach and activities. Up to one-third of an estimated two hundred thousand visitors annually are children and young people. To date, more than a thousand school groups have taken part in programs and tours (offered in both Norwegian and English) of the permanent exhibit and special exhibits on themes from child soldiers to discrimination.³² During my semester as a visiting scholar in Oslo, I visited the peace center frequently, and was impressed by the number and quality of programs provided for pupils of different ages. Most students are Norwegian, and workshops are often linked with the state curriculum. Students are provided with age-appropriate tours and introductions to the main themes in the permanent and temporary exhibits. The center has developed special programs like Mission: Peace, where children solve puzzles and meet up with different peace agents, and there are activities related to the most recent Nobel Peace Prize winners, as well as art and essay competitions.

Some exhibits focus on children and youth, such as that on refugee children and those on the 2014 awardees working for children's rights. Another initiative, which was created in cooperation with the Norwegian Football Association is called the Handshake for Peace. The program promotes fair play in sports, and visitors view team members, such as those competing in the Norway Cup and in the World Cup Brazil, as they shake hands as a "symbol of friendship, respect and fair play." Special festivals and art-related activities are offered for children and adults, including musical presentations, face painting, and film screenings.

Learning about history through reading biographies of "heroes" and "heroines" is a popular choice for both children and adults, and this method can provide a valuable entryway to peace history. However, the

peace center shares in the challenges of such a pedagogical approach in terms of "iconization" of figures and how to convey historic context and decision-making processes. At the same time, the work of individuals and groups focusing on a common cause—from humanitarianism to human rights to peacemaking—has the potential to serve as a model and inspiration to effect change. Shirin Ebadi, 2003 awardee, describes the positive impact of the award among groups in the Muslim world, and spoke specifically how it "led to the fulfilment of a long-held desire for the women of Iran: The child custody law has finally been amended."³⁴ As the 1984 laureate, Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, is quoted as saving, "Children are the future Nobel Peace Prize laureates."

The Nobel Peace Center staff work with a series of local and international partners; through photojournalism and other mediums, more than thirty-five temporary exhibits have been curated or brought in on topics ranging from migration to child soldiers, from arms negotiations to peacekeeping, from wars to climate change. Other temporary exhibits focus on former laureates, including Bertha von Suttner, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr. and Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. In 2014, when the exhibit on Liu Xiaobo opened, marking twenty-five years after the Tiananmen Square demonstrations and killings, he was the only Nobel laureate in detention. These exhibits are accompanied by a series of special events open to the public.

While some temporary exhibits are put together from the activities of children or artists in Norway, others are international cooperative projects. For example, in 2007, Norway hosted the UN World Environment Day; the museum displayed Melting Ice/A Hot Topic, an exhibit of eighty artworks by forty-two artists from around the world responding to man-made climate change. The exhibit, which later traveled to other countries, was a joint effort with the Natural World Museum, UN Environment Program, Norwegian Ministries of Environment and Culture, and the Nobel Peace Center. Another special event in cooperation with the Pulitzer Center, Norwegian government, and civil society groups was Congo/Women, a series of photographs displayed on the facade of the Oslo Nobel Peace Center on the evening of February 17, 2011, in honor of Mother's Day. The project's images and music provided audiences with "a stark reminder that one of the big differences between the poor and the rich women of the world is the likelihood of surviving their pregnancies."35

Another temporary exhibit was 2012's Eye on Gandhi, which combined the personal and political history of Gandhi through a series of photos, film, interviews, and other artifacts. Interestingly, the exhibit spoke to the fact that Gandhi, who is described as "the world's most familiar symbol of peace," never won the Nobel Peace Prize, and quotes his words: "First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win." A film, Gandhi—The Missing Laureate, was made for the exhibition; it was narrated by Ben Kingsley, who portrayed Gandhi in the 1982 movie of the same name.

The Eye on Gandhi exhibit, created in collaboration with Magnum Photos, the Fondation Henri Cartier-Bresson, and others, also traced how international photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson met with Gandhi only an hour before he was assassinated on January 30, 1948. Cartier-Bresson continued to take photos afterward of an India in mourning, and of Prime Minister Nehru as he announced Gandhi's death. Visitors can read and/or hear an interview about the significance of these photographs and the impact they had on Cartier-Bresson's life and career. Another aspect of the exhibit described Gandhi's life, his nonviolent philosophy, and his accomplishments, such as his nonviolent Salt March campaign. In keeping with the Nobel Peace Center's focus on communication and interactive designs, one display allowed visitors to view a photo of Gandhi and his son at Juhu Beach in Bombay in 1944, then to sit down and—through a simulation—experience the sights and sounds of Juhu Beach while taking a few minutes to contemplate Gandhi and the tenets he lived and died by.³⁶

Within a decade of its opening in 2005, the Nobel Peace Center has become a destination for tourists visiting Oslo. It also is an integral part of a series of historical and cultural museums and centers for the Norwegian public at large, and a public forum on a range of peace and human rights topics. The bookstore is filled with popular peace symbols on clothing, bags, and other items. Beside postcards and books on Nobel Peace Prize winners and peace center-related activities and exhibits, there is also a good mix of both popular and academic books on peace history and figures, as well as fair trade products for sale. The center also houses Alfred, a café that serves as a meeting place and a spot where visitors can drop in for coffee or a taste of Norwegian cuisine. Finally, the large open space in front of the center has become a site for photography and other artistic displays, and for public demonstrations and protests on international conflicts, peace and war themes, and domestic issues such as immigrants' rights.

With the support of the Norwegian government, its crucial link to the Nobel Peace Prizes, and its emphasis on communication and technology, the Nobel Peace Center has created a site that supports a culture of peace through accessible, creative public exhibits and programming.

CASA PER LA PACE (HOUSE FOR PEACE), LA FILANDA: COMMUNITY CENTER AND POSTER COLLECTION

Casa per la Pace La Filanda, located in a small building on the outskirts of Bologna, houses a unique collection of close to five thousand posters representing pacifist (the term used by founder Vittorio Pallotti to describe nonviolent peace actions and histories) and other peace-related activities in Italy, in countries throughout Europe, and all around the world.

In March 2006, I attended the opening of Casa per la Pace in Casalecchio di Reno, and visited several more times while I was teaching in Florence.

La Filanda, which means "the spinning mill," is another name for the peace center; it refers to the site's former life as a spinning mill in the years prior to World War II. Nonviolence is a central theme of the poster collection, and the "spinning mill" name recalls Gandhi's emphasis on manual labor, critique of modern civilization, and resistance to British economic exploitation. The image of Gandhi at the spinning wheel became a powerful symbol of the multifaceted aspects of what is popularly referred to as the "Gandhian revolution." This emphasized self-development and autonomy as well as freedom from British colonialism. Gandhi's commitment to nonviolence and use of a range of methods from boycotts to return to the spinning wheel continues to serve as an inspiration to peace movements. Gandhian images and themes appear in a series of posters housed at Casa per la Pace.

The goals of Casa per la Pace are epitomized through its adoption as its logo of an open book and a rainbow, symbolic of the opening up of culture and, in this case, of the fostering of hope through a culture of peace. In contrast to the Nobel Peace Center, Casa per la Pace has an archive at the center of its work: it not only houses an extensive poster collection but also serves as a Peace Documentation Center. Casa per la Pace is the outgrowth of an environment of Italian peace activism. For example, "red Bologna," where the poster collection was first put together and where exhibits were displayed, has deep roots in a range of pacifist, socialist, Marxist, anarchist, communist, and other political groups that see the realization of peace and social justice as political as well as cultural struggles.

The Comune di Casalecchio di Reno is associated with a range of peace and solidarity movements. In 1990, an Italian military jet crashed into the Salvemini technical school, killing twelve people and injuring more than seventy others. The flight was linked to an increase in military activity that came about as a result of the Italian government's decision to allow Italian aircraft in combat—for the first time in forty-five years—in support of the U.S.-led coalition against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The crash prompted further protests against Italian military operations and government support for the first Gulf War. The Association of Victims of Salvemini 6 Dicembre 1990 was created as a living memorial, and among its projects were the dedication of la Casa della Solidarietà (House of Solidarity), the publication of various printed materials, and other events to honor the students.³⁷ Hence, it was fitting in a number of respects that Casa per la Pace is located in Casalecchio di Reno. The poster collection and exhibits are central to its aim to "promote a global culture of peace with a variety of actions including conferences, films, community events, initiatives on disability, sale of fair trade products and a solidarity garage sale."38

Casa per la Pace La Filanda is a small peace center consisting of several rooms. The large main room is used for exhibit openings; for lectures on a range of peace, social justice, and environment-related themes; and for a variety of local community affairs. The room also contains books and other publications on peace and nonviolence, a selection of fair trade

items for sale, and the archive that is at Casa per la Pace's core: the unique collection of almost five thousand peace posters from Italy and around the world. They are stored in large cabinets and organized under categories ranging from nonviolence to peace museums. Only a small number of posters are on display at any given time, sometimes as part of a curated exhibit put together for public viewing; these exhibits then often travel to schools, churches, and other venues in Italy. Some of the traveling exhibits have been viewed by thousands of people in different public and private venues. In a separate room at Casa per la Pace, a clothing exchange has been set up and is frequented by community members, some of whom are immigrants and low-income workers.

The poster collection represents the complex, multilayered history of peace initiatives and movements. Members of the public and researchers can view, by appointment, both the exhibits on display as well as any posters in the archive. The oldest posters date from the 1950s, but most of the collection focuses on peace figures, protests, conferences, and other activities from the 1980s to the present. The range of methods and movements used by those working for peace and social justice are reflected in the artistry and information contained within these posters. They document the history of the vision of peace and actions taken toward achieving peace through nonviolence and cooperation; some pieces are political art depicting the more militant acts of resistance to war and structural violence. Art and peace are represented with photos, drawings, caricatures, and cartoons; some are in black and white, and others are in color. The housing of the collection at its new "home for peace" is the latest stage in how it serves as a repository about peace history, issues of disarmament, and protests against militarism.

The collection is the work of Vittorio Pallotti, a lifelong pacifist and peace activist. He points out that beginning with one simple, spontaneous act—collecting posters and keeping them under his bed—he was able to "build over time a significant action from a cultural and political point of view."39 Vittorio was born and has lived his whole life in Bologna, Italy, and up until 1978 he taught natural sciences, chemistry, and geography in an Italian technical high school. He has been involved for decades in Italian peace and nonviolent movements, including actively campaigning against the installation of Euro-missiles at Comiso in Sicily (a series of posters on the Comiso protests are in the archive) and in other European countries. Later, he joined the Campagna di Obiezione alle Spese Militari per la Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta (Conscientious Objectors Campaign Against Military Spending in the Popular Nonviolence Defense, OSM-DPN). The collection of posters mirrors his engagement with a series of peace-related issues: from serving on a Biafra relief committee, to participating in pacifist marches and congresses in Bologna and its surrounding provinces, to taking part in nonviolent protests against the Italian government's support of the Gulf Wars and in the Balkans.

The initial nucleus of the collection (around 150 posters) was assembled in the context of the European-wide antimilitarist and nonviolent struggles

for disarmament in the late 1970s. A series of mass demonstrations took place in the early 1980s in Amsterdam, Bonn, Geneva, Rome, and other sites, protesting various aspects of militarization. In 1986-87, Pallotti met Gene Sharp, a U.S. political scientist and researcher on nonviolence: his threevolume The Politics of Nonviolent Action (1973) was translated into Italian and became influential in pacifist and other activist circles. Sharp delivered a series of talks on nonviolence at various sites throughout Bologna. In speaking with Vittorio Pallotti, Sharp recognized the importance of collecting posters of peace activities and movements, and he encouraged Pallotti to continue to do so. And as the poster collection expanded, in fact, it came to reflect the range of methods of nonviolence that Sharp wrote about in his books. This meeting, as well as the increase in antinuclear activities and the mass demonstrations against wars in the Middle East and Balkans during the next twenty years, contributed to Pallotti's utilizing a more focused methodology in his collecting and organizing of the peace posters. At the same time, through a series of local and international peace networks, word of what he was doing spread, and people began to send him posters, unsolicited, to add to his collection.

What do these posters reveal? The collection represents the range of subjects, ideas, and activities of various pacifist movements and peace movements: conscientious objection and civil service, nonviolent popular defense, peace and economy, disarmament, human rights (the right to food, health care, etc.), environment and ecology, and a series of methods to promote peace from education to marches. The diverse spiritual beliefs and political philosophies of the posters' sponsors reflect the pluralism within peace histories: from Catholic social justice themes to Hinduism, with a link to Gandhi's ideas and actions; from communism to anarchism, from civil disobedience to nonviolence. The posters provide a way to preserve historic memory of the methods, actions, and movements of individuals and groups working toward peace. Interestingly, most of the posters are not signed; perhaps their creators felt it more important to keep the emphasis on the larger cause than on themselves.

Members of the Antimilitarismo e Disobbedienza Nonviolenta (Antimilitarism and Nonviolent Disobedience Association, ADN) of Bologna, Italy, supported the poster project. From 1984 on, a small group of volunteers who were affiliated with different peace groups worked on the project and specific exhibits. The Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale (International Pacifist Poster Documentation Center, CDMPI) was founded in Bologna in 1993. 40 CDMPI initiated a series of peace-related projects, including working with local educators and publishing the book Matite per la Pace (Pencils for Peace), a collection of student-created drawings, cartoons, and caricatures on topics of war and peace.⁴¹

Posters from the Casa per la Pace archive have been displayed in more than 240 traveling, temporary exhibits, organized with the cooperation of political, cultural, social, and religious groups, along with local authorities and universities throughout Italy. (Some exhibits have appeared in Switzerland and Germany, too.)⁴² The vast number of themes represented in the poster collection are reflected in former exhibit titles, including the following: 50 Years of Peace on the Walls of Europe (1950–2000); Ecology–Peace–Environment; All Human Rights for All; Literature and Peace; Nuclear Weapons and Atomic Disarmament; Religions for Peace; Women for Peace; Resistance–Constitution–Peace; Conscientious Objection to Military Service; Anti-Personnel Mines; Migration in the Third World; Self-Defense without Arms: Civil Defense without Weapons and Nonviolence; and Makers of Nonviolence.

In 1994, Professor Antonino Drago, who taught in the Department of Peace Sciences at the University of Pisa, suggested creating a peace museum with a poster archive. Under the leadership of Vittorio Pallotti, and with the help of several volunteers, CDMPI donated the entire poster collection to the Casalecchio di Reno municipality and negotiated with it to ensure the collection would be preserved and stored in a permanent, public structure available to anyone interested in viewing or doing research on the posters. CDMPI continues to manage the collection's documentation, to collect posters, to travel with and set up exhibits, and so forth. Artist Fiorella Manzini, Pallotti's wife, has played a significant role in this project by promoting exhibits and activities linking art to feminist and peace themes.

THE POSTER COLLECTION AS A SPRINGBOARD FOR PEACE PROJECTS

While some posters fall into more than one area, in general, the collection is organized into thirteen categories: (1) International, (2) Italian, (3) Bologna, (4) Conscientious objection to military expenditures—that is, for the non-violent popular defense against use of state funds for military spending, a theme that was of prime importance in the Italian nonviolent, antimilitaristic movements, (5) The Balkans, (6) The Gulf Wars, (7) Anti-mine campaigns, (8) Ecology–Peace–Environment, (9) Third World–International Cooperation–Human Rights, (10) Pencils for Peace, (11) Poster reproductions, (12) Handmade posters, and (13) Drawings by young people six to ten years old.

According to Vittorio Pallotti, this collection "represents only a small part of the vast and variegated pacifist archipelago" and is only "a small fraction of the posters that have been printed." Information about the content of the collection and the exhibits has been publicized through books, pamphlets, press releases, and postcards. CDMPI has been working on digitizing the poster collection for its Web site, with commentary in Italian (and, in some instances, English translations). In addition, more than a thousand posters have been reproduced under the "political posters" category on the Web site of the Antonio Gramsci Foundation. Casa per la Pace continues to seek funding for the digitalization project, since making the collection a resource accessible to a broad public audience is a central goal.

Education for Peace: The Antiwar Poster and the Struggle against the Arms Race (1987) was a public exhibition of four hundred posters that grew out of a series of earlier poster exhibits in Bologna. Later, even more posters were added, and it became the largest exhibit of its kind in Italy. ⁴⁵ The posters were divided into sections: (1) Conscientious objection to military service, (2) Protest against military spending, (3) Nonviolent defense, (4) Women and peace, (5) Peace education, (6) Art and peace and pacifist satire, (7) Disarmament and its link to economics and specifically to hunger, Euro-missiles, and militarization, and (8) Mass initiatives and international antimilitary marches. A sound track of peace songs accompanied the exhibit, as well as a series of films, videos, and other special events.

The exhibit catalogue Perché? (Why?, a collaborative effort of Manuela Corti, Letizia Grassi, Pallotti, and others) includes a series of theoretical essays (aesthetic, philosophical, and historical) about peace and posters. There is an interview with Italian writer and semiotician Umberto Eco about exhibition catalogs and in what ways peace posters can or cannot encourage people to reflect on war and its human toll. A selection of posters are reproduced with detailed descriptions (in Italian, with English translations) about the images and the historic context in which they were created. A final section includes posters (some in color and others in black and white) that provide readers with a glimpse of the range of images and topics in the larger collection. The eclectic nature of the catalog mirrors the multifaceted poster collection itself. For example, Omar Calabrese writes about the ethics and aesthetics of "pacifist posters" as demonstrating value judgments that "are not only not ambiguous but demand adherence and action." The posters make up a complicated, entire system in which good "is also beautiful, euphoric, and true. Evil is ugly, dysphoric, and false."46 Calabrese links human choice with politicalization and concludes: "The theme of peace can only be a crossroads, a meeting point of different values. There can be no ambiguity about it. Either you accept it or you are the enemy."47 A very different essay with an illustration is about Bomburla ("burla" means joke; "bomb" needs no explanation), a fantastic fable about interplanetary war and peace, whose moral is summed up by the slogan of one of the exhibition's posters: "Guarantee peace. Put an end to rearmament."48

In 2000, there were a number of projects linked with events happening throughout Italy. For example, traveling exhibits from the poster collection toured seven Sicilian sites connected to commemorations of earlier nonviolent protests against missiles housed there during the Cold War, as well as anti-Mafia and various "Stop the War" activities. Another initiative was in response to Bologna's selection as one of nine European cities of culture in 2000. The CDMPI organized a special poster exhibit titled 50 Anni di Pace . . . sui Muri d'Europa (1950–2000) (50 Years of Peace . . . on the Walls of Europe (1950–2000)). The accompanying guidebook features images and essays about the exhibit and poster collection, as well as a compilation of peace activities listed chronologically to reflect the exhibit's organization.

From articles such as "The Poster: Essential Tool of the Struggle for Peace in Europe" to "History of the West German Peace Movement," the guidebook details the broad spectrum of peace activities shown in the posters on display. Among the criteria used to select from the thousands of posters were those that reflected "practical activities in favour of peace, not mere slogans"; those that evolved from society rather than political parties; and those from various European countries (eventually a small number of posters from Africa and other parts of the world were included to demonstrate the international nature of peace and nonviolent movements).⁴⁹

A SMALL SAMPLE OF POSTERS AND AN INTERPRETATION OF THEIR MEANING

Those who view the posters in the Casa per la Pace collection not only gain an appreciation of their aesthetics and artistry but also recognize the multiple levels through which we can interpret these posters and understand the historical context in which they were created. It's most interesting to see the range of ways in which universal symbols of peace and nonviolence are reinvented and reimagined: objects of war such as tanks, missiles, and mushroom clouds are transformed into images of coexistence and peace; a soldier's boots morph into footprints marching in protest. Some posters depict the terrible toll of war through images of skeletons, destruction of property, and loss of lives, or artistic representations such as Picasso's Guernica. Other posters engage the viewer through a mixture of positive and negative images; for example, throwing away, breaking, or converting rifles into chairs or other items, and repurposing soldiers' helmets and other military items into objects used for peaceful means. Some posters consist of text announcing peace activities; others include paintings, cartoons, and caricatures. A number capture viewers' attention by employing a puzzle or a play on words, and a range of tones, graphics, and methods stir viewers' interest.

Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. are among the well-known figures whose images or quotes appear in posters. Some posters were done on a series of Italian activists such as Aldo Capitini (1899-1968), who introduced Gandhian nonviolence principles in Italy and founded the journal Nonviolent Action. Capitini organized the first march for peace in 1961 from Perugia to Assisi, where Saint Francis lived; and posters in the collection document the march, including one made to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary. Another leader portrayed in the posters is Alexander Langer (1946–95), who became a member of the European Parliament and of the Italian Green Party. Langer was a CO opposed to the use of public funding for military expenditures. He coined the term ecopacifism, "which is increasingly used among pacifists and environmentalists to emphasize the strong links between the two fields."50 Satire and caricature appear in various posters depicting political leaders such as Ronald Reagan, George Bush (both the elder and the younger), Mikhail Gorbachev, and Silvio Berlusconi. Although some posters appear to have been quickly put together and produced, others display the elaborate detail that suggests a great deal of time and effort were put into their creation.

POSTERS OF NONVIOLENT ACTIONS: KEY THEMES

This section provides a small glimpse of the multilayered histories within the collection by analyzing two posters from the archive category Nonviolent Actions.⁵¹

Nonviolence combines ideology and praxis in working toward peaceful transformation, and the peace posters in the Nonviolent Actions category reflect the range and contexts of a series of practices of civil disobedience and antimilitary activities in Italy and around the world. While people have resisted oppression throughout history, modern nonviolence as a method of peaceful resistance and active struggle is identified most closely with Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolence and activities against injustice, first in South Africa (against treatment of the Indian minority there) and later in India against British colonialism.

Central to Gandhian nonviolence is the belief that personal and political transformation and resistance to evil may be realized through a series of nonviolent acts. Through noncooperation, boycott, civil disobedience, fasting, marches, self-sacrifice, and other methods, Gandhian nonviolence worked to gain independence for India and to end British oppression. At the same time, Gandhi emphasized that hind swaraj (independence) and freedom for India meant more than removing an outside political force; the people and institutions of India would have to remove injustice from within as well. Therefore, Gandhi took up the case of the untouchable caste known as "pariahs" and instead called them "Harijans—Children of God," emphasizing that "it is necessary for us Hindus to repent of the wrong we have done, to alter our behavior toward those whom we have 'suppressed' by a system as devilish as we believe the English system of the government of India to be."52 In this way, Gandhian nonviolence is holistic, emphasizing private and public, individual and communal transformation and action.

One section of posters in the collection demonstrates this philosophy through the interpretations of global movements for nonviolent change that take aspects of Gandhian nonviolence as their model—from Martin Luther King Jr. and the U.S. civil rights movements to Kwame Nkrumah and other African and Asian nonviolent movements to achieve political independence from colonialism. From dissent against communism in eastern Europe to the 2011 overthrow of dictatorship in Egypt, nonviolent movements continue to play important if often unrecognized roles. Political scientist

Gene Sharp in his writings (1973; 2005) provides an important analysis of the broad range of strategies and methods employed to counter injustice and violence effectively and to bring about positive political and personal change. The Italian pacifist and peace movements incorporate these nonviolent strategies, and a number of the posters in this section reflect their innovative projects.

The two posters described below record the ongoing activism to forge solidarity between individuals and fight against militarization and corruption as part of the Italian pacifist undertaking:

POSTER I

Motto: "Against Militarization" "XI Congresso Nazionale della Lega Obiettori di Coscienza." (See color insert, Plate 13.)

This 1982 poster announces the 11th National Congress of the League of Conscientious Objection in Turin, Italy, and is among the first posters to specifically target conscientious objection to military expenditures. The different faces and items of civilian clothing contrast with the repetition of the same photo of a soldier. The poster conveys how militarization strips people of their distinct qualities and roles and is dehumanizing. There is a well-known Italian saying: "Tell me about your clothes and I will tell you about who you are," and this poster exemplifies this theme.

Beginning in 1948, there was ongoing civil disobedience and conscientious objection by young people, and many were jailed for their objection to serving in the military. In 1981, some years after the establishment of the League of Conscientious Objection for Popular Nonviolent Defense (OSM-DPN), the realization emerged that organizing and protesting against military spending and service were not enough and that there needed to be a next step, an alternative. In this case, the concept of popular nonviolent defense—that is, a civil defense initiative rather than the existent military defense structure—was developed. Also, the work of nonviolent associations such as the League of Conscientious Objection to Military Expenses resulted in the Italian Constitutional Court recognizing in 1985 that the defense of the Italian homeland may also be carried out with appropriate unarmed social actions and that civil service does not render the CO subject to military jurisdiction.

The approval of Law 230/1998 resulted in the establishment of the first national institution of Nonviolent Popular Defense (DPN): the National Office of Civil Service (UNSC) under the direction of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers rather than, as earlier, under the Ministry of Defense. This law, the first of its kind in the world, provides that the UNSC should maintain a specific allocation in the budget for Nonviolent Popular Defense as well as for the civil service training of COs.

POSTER II

Motto: "Mass Occupation: Everyone to Comiso, July 22–24, 1983" "Occupazione di massa Farmhands, peasants, workers, unemployed people, women, students, pensioners unite in the struggle against the American Invasion." (See color insert, Plate 14.)

This poster is created and published by the Coordination of the League for Autonomy, Comiso, Sicily, Italy. It represents mass occupation, a method that was used in Sicily and other parts of Italy and Europe to protest nonviolently against the construction of U.S. military bases. This particular poster documents the concrete opposition based on mass occupation as a strong form of nonviolent resistance. The poster states "No War, No Missiles, No Mafia. Americans Go Home, Mass Occupation." The illustrations depict a crowd of people marching to the base in Comiso. Two military police, shown as puppets of both the mafia and capitalism, are trying to stop the demonstration. Workers on a tractor are included to represent the fact that in Sicily the League for Autonomy consisted primarily of peasants, farmhands, and other agricultural workers, as well as the unemployed; another worker with a wrench represented the industrial sector.

There were two camps formed outside the base; one consisting of men and women from the International Meeting Against Cruise Missiles (IMAC) and one made up of women from La Ragnatella SpiderWeb, which referred to a women's network united against cruise missiles. The people in these camps undertook a series of nonviolent actions, including physical occupation of the military base. They also created assorted obstacles to prevent vehicles from bringing materials to construct the base. In 1991, after the agreement between Gorbachev and Reagan, the base was finally closed and transformed into a civilian airport. This is just one example of the nonviolent actions that took place between 1981 and 1983 to protest the missile installation in Comiso.

Comiso became a symbol during the Cold War of protest against NATO and US militarism; and tens of thousands of people from North Italy and Europe travelled there and participated in protests against building the base and installation of cruise missiles. Several methods were used to protest the militarization: engaging in hunger strikes; creating obstacles to prevent further expansion of the base, such as buying the land nearby; and blocking entrances to the base to prevent the delivery of supplies.

In conclusion, Casa per la Pace La Filanda and its poster collection provide an important and unique history of nonviolent activism and peace activities in Italy and worldwide over the last half century. Its poster collection continues to be a center for peace literacy, and in 2014 Manifesti Raccontano . . . le molte vie per chiudere con la guerra (Posters Tell . . . the Many Ways to Close the War), the newest volume of beautiful color images from the poster collection with commentary was published. ⁵³ The challenge,

as with so many small peace centers, is to find funding to maintain the archive, as well as to establish a new generation committed to maintaining the poster collection and continuing its work of educating for a culture of peace.

NOTES

- 1. "History," accessed April 29, 2013, http://www.nobelpeacecenter.org/en/aboutus/organization/history.
- 2. For descriptions of the historical context and peace prize awardees, 1901–18, see Irwin Abrams, The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates, Centennial Edition (Nantucket, MA: Watson Publishing, 2001), 39-86.
- 3. Ibid., 4. Abrams describes Nobel as a man of contradictions. In 1876, Nobel advertised for a secretary and manager of his Paris household, and for one week the "beautiful Countess Kinsky" came from Vienna and charmed him, but after only a week she left to elope with an Austrian nobleman whom she loved. Later, the new Baroness von Suttner returned to Paris with her husband and visited Nobel; their friendship continued mainly through correspondence for the rest of his life.
- 4. Øivind Stenersen, Ivar Libæk, and Asle Sveen, The Nobel Peace Prize: One Hundred Years for Peace (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens, 2001), 11.
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. Letter from Alfred Nobel to Bertha von Suttner, UNOG Library/Archives, BvS/24/307-1/11. An English translation appears in "Introduction," A Century of Nobel Peace Laureates 1901-2005: From Peace Movements to the United Nations (Geneva: United Nations, 2006).
- 7. Full text of Alfred Nobel's will, accessed October 3, 2014, http://www.nobel prize.org/alfred_nobel/will/will-full.
- 8. Ibid.
- 9. Abrams, The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates, 7.
- 10. Tore Fransmyr, "Life and Philosophy of Alfred Nobel," in The Nobel Prize: The First 100 Years, ed. Agneta Wallin Levinovitz and Nils Ringertz (London: Imperial College Press, 2013), 12. This is a collection of essays about the history of the Nobel Foundation and awarding of prizes put together by the Nobel Foundation, Stockholm, Sweden.
- 11. Lundestad, "The Nobel Peace Prize," in The Nobel Peace Prize: The First 100 Years, 165.
- 12. Stenersen, Libæk, and Sveen, The Nobel Peace Prize, 13.
- 14. Lundestad, "The Nobel Peace Prize," 166.
- 15. Ibid., 164.
- 16. Abrams, The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates, 13.
- 17. Ibid., 42.
- 18. Øyvind Tønnesson, "Why No Gandhi?," in How? Thoughts about Peace, ed. Øivind Stenersen (Oslo: Nobel Peace Center, 2005), 35.
- 19. Lundestad, "The Nobel Peace Prize," 172.
- 20. Ibid., 168.
- 21. Stenersen, How? Thoughts about Peace.
- 22. Ole Danbolt Mjøs, "Why Create a Nobel Peace Center?," in ibid., 2.
- 23. "About the Nobel Museum," accessed May 3, 2013, http://www.bibeknyseyn. se.eb.abiyt-us.
- 24. http://www.nobelepeacecenter.org/en/sponsors/, accessed April 29, 2013. The main sponsors and partners listed are a group of Norwegian corporations: Hydro,

- Telenor Group, ORKLA, and ABB—from the aluminum, telecommunication services, investment, power, and automation technology sectors—and the Norwegian Football Union.
- 25. "Funding," accessed May 3, 2013, http://www.nobelpeacecenter.org/en/aboutus/organization/funding/.
- 26. Geir Lundestad, "What Is the Significance of the Nobel Peace Prize?" in How? Thoughts about Peace, 21.
- 27. David Small, Timon Botez, and John Rothenberg, "The Nobel Field," accessed May 6, 2013, http://www.davidsmall.com/articles/2006/06/01/nobel-field/. The authors played important roles in the installation, and they detail positively and enthusiastically the philosophy, design, and complexity of the project, including brief descriptions under the categories Pulse, Color, Thresholds, Content, and Movement. For example, Pulse is described as: "The portraits of Nobel Laureates breathe in a gentle transition of color. The speed with which each one breathes is related to the age of the laureate—those that received the prize at a young age breathe more rapidly than those who were honored relatively late in life. Each of the 100 screens has a unique pulse and collectively the screens produce a twinkling surface." Timon explains: "Information about the laureates drives the activity on the screens. Although it might not be immediately obvious to the visitor, this means the field can be explored on different levels."
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. "The Nobel Peace Prize and the Laureates," accessed May 3, 2013, http://www. nobelpeacecenter.org/en/exhibitions/peace-prize-laureates/.
- 30. Ibid.
- 31. "Major Popular Interest in EU," accessed April 29, 2013, http://www. nobelpeacecenter.org/en/pressbriefing.
- 32. "Handshake for Peace-Nobel Peace Center," accessed October 21, 2014, http:// www.nobelpeacecenter.org/en/sponosrs/norges-fotballforbun/.
- 33. Ibid.
- 34. Shirin Ebaldi, "What Happened When I Received the Nobel Peace Prize?" in How? Thoughts about Peace, 51.
- 35. "Congo/Women," accessed October 15, 2014, http://pulitzercenter.org/video/ marcus-bleasdale-congo-nobel-peace-center.
- 36. "Eye on Gandhi," accessed January 29, 2013, http://www.nobelpeacecenter. org/en/exhibitions/gandhi/.
- 37. For example, see "Vittime del Salvemini 6 Dicembre 1990," Quindicesimo Anniversario, Il Progetto Diventa Realtà, un libro per ricordare la strage dell'Istituto Salvemini (Comune di Casalecchio di Reno and the Associazione, 2005), which includes images and descriptions of the twelve students as well as poetry, posters, and information about a series of activities in their memory. There are a number of marches, meetings, and other events that oppose militarization and Italy's support of wars.
- 38. Casa per la Pace La Filanda (Casalecchio di Reno, n.d.). (Brochure.)
- 39. Vittorio Pallotti, "Lecture for the Fourth International Conference of Peace Museums, Ostend, Belgium, 2003, updated December 2011," accessed October 21, 2014, http://cdmpi.interfree.it.
- 40. See www.cdmpi.it.
- 41. See, for example, Matite per la Pace (Bologna: CDMPI, 2004), a collection of sketches, cartoons, comic strips, and other images created by students. Pencils for Peace also took place in Florence and other locales in Italy.
- 42. Fiorella Manzini and Vittorio Pallotti, "Fifty Years of Peace in Europe: 1950–2000," in 50 Years of Peace in Europe: Events and Images, ed. Vittorio Pallotti (Bologna: Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, 2000).

- 43. Pallotti, "Lecture for the Fourth International Conference of Peace Museums."
- 44. See http://www.manifestipolitici.it.
- 45. "History and Outline of the Exhibition," in Perche? Catalogo della Mostra del Manifesto Contro Guerra, Corsa Agli Armamenti Per Una Cultura di Pace e Nonviolenta, ed. Manuela Corti (Bologna: Essedue Grafice Rioveggio, 1987), 7. The exhibit was curated by Vittorio Pallotti.
- 46. Omar Calabrese, "Manifesti per la Pace," trans. Rod Fotheringham, in Perché?, 20–1. (Pacifist Posters.)
- 47. Ibid., 20.
- 48. Manuela Corti, "Peace Manifestos and the Fantastic (ma non troppo) Worlds Inspired by a Fable," in Perché, p. 63.
- 49. Vittorio Pallotti, "What the Pacifists Were (and Are)" in 50 Years of Peace in Europe: Events and Images, ed. Vittorio Pallotti (Bologna: Centro di Documentazione del Manifesto Pacifista Internazionale, 2000), 11.
- 50. Vittoria Pallotti, "A Museum for Peace: Images and Themes from the Poster Collection Housed in Casa per la Pace," in Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures, ed. Clive Barrett and Joyce Apsel (The Hague: INMP, 2012), 201.
- 51. The author viewed sections of the poster collection in the archive, and a series of traveling exhibits, books, postcards, and online viewing. The following description is also based on research and information provided by Vittorio Pallotti, who served as a guide to the archive: including a series of conversations at Casa per la Pace, Bologna, Florence, Barcelona, and elsewhere about the collection and its history.
- 52. Mahatma Gandhi, "Segregation in India," in The Essential Gandhi, ed. Louis Fischer (New York: Vintage, 1962), 119.
- 53. Vittorio Pallotti and Francesco Pugliese, Manifesti Raccontano . . . le molte vie per chiudere con la Guerra (Posters Tell . . . the Many Ways to Close the War) (Casalecchio di Reno: CDMPI, in cooperation with the International Network of Museums for Peace, 2014).

7 Conclusion

Peace Museums Looking Forward

Introducing Peace Museums has described a series of museums and centers whose exhibits and narratives reflect complicated understandings of peace philosophy rooted in antiwar and antiviolence traditions. But these museums also envision peace as more than the end of a particular conflict or aspect of structural violence. Instead, peace is depicted as part of an ongoing, positive process—both for individuals in their daily life, taking up the theme that "peace begins with you," and in the larger world. These are sites where items have been collected to record peace histories such as nonviolent actions for social justice and protests against specific wars or weapons, from atomic bombs to nuclear missiles to drones. The museums and centers also have created spaces for cultures of peace to thrive by producing traveling exhibits and books, sponsoring lectures and workshops, and encouraging exchange visits and other peace-related activities. Different visions, politics, and resources influence how visitors are invited to explore peace histories and cultures.

This volume is being completed at a time when violence—including terrorism, conflicts, and structural inequality within states and between regions—is experienced by people daily yet is highlighted selectively in the media. All too often the terms futile and failure are associated in the popular consciousness with the concepts of peacemaking and peace movements. And, of course, this contributes to peace museums not being acknowledged and valued. In fact, one purpose of peace museums is to challenge such negativism while promoting a more nuanced, positive, and public history of peace. For example, the permanent exhibit at the Nobel Peace Center highlights the many Nobel Peace Prize awardees who work to reduce discrimination, violence, and a range of human rights violations and serve as inspirations to individuals and groups interested in working to improve the world. Peace museums reveal hidden histories of little-known peace "heroes" and "heroines" who opposed wars, tried to stop conflicts, and fought injustice. Through artistic, economic, political, or other initiatives, their work envisions a more positive, less violent world.

Peace museums record the choices people make and endure during conflicts; the histories of war, from propaganda to aftereffects; and the

terrible human toll. They reveal stories and decisions that counter the hegemonic narratives that emphasize patriotism and sacrifice, and that glorify war as inevitable. From the posters of protest in Casa per la Pace to the diaries of COs in Bradford, these centers are sites preserving a rich heritage and sharing stories about peace histories and cultures that are not widely known.

Introducing Peace Museums arrives just as a flood of books, exhibits, and conferences for the centenary commemorations and "celebrations" of World War I appear. In fact, as the curators and staff members in history, war, and other museums are putting together their World War I anniversary exhibits and programs, one hopes that they may adapt some ideas or be inspired toward collaborative projects after reading about the resources available from and the projects being carried out in peace museums. Certainly, in the UK, the fact that the Leeds Armoury Museum, with its large collection of armaments and other military-related displays, has provided space to house a small exhibit from the Peace Museum in Bradford's collection provides a model that one hopes will be followed by other institutions. Similarly, Thalia Campbell's "Greenham Common Women's Peace Group" banner is on view at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, as part of the 2014-15 exhibit Disobedient Objects. Through traveling exhibits, loans from collections, and other types of exchanges, peace museums may bridge the gulf or serve as a point of dialogue between war and peace museums.

Along with various commemorations of World War I battles, the year 2015 marks a number of other anniversaries, such as one hundred years since the Armenian genocide and seventy years since the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the liberation of death camps, the end of World War II, and the beginning of war tribunals in Europe and Asia. From commemoration of Victory Day (1945) in St. Petersburg to the massacre at Srebrenica that took place five decades later, all of these events continue to have political implications for states and regions today. There is little doubt that the politics of memory and forgetting will influence which events will be recognized and how these events will be commemorated in countries throughout the world. In some places, these events will reinforce nationalist, patriotic narratives; in others, remembrance will be part of the truth-telling and reconciliation processes. A goal of a number of peace museums is to contribute to a more complicated understanding of such events and processes connected to war and violence and to link with ongoing issues of repair and recovery as well as to work toward disarmament and the prevention of future conflicts.

PEACE MUSEUMS AS SITES FOR EDUCATION

Hence, these peace museums and centers have a *very special role* to play in civic and global education as they challenge visitors to consider and rethink local and global histories. In *Teaching History with Museums*, educators

highlight how museum visits may play a "powerful role in shaping students' conceptions of their possibilities as civic actors and help frame students' views of the role cultural institutions can [have] in their own lives." The combination of formal and informal learning experiences serves two purposes: "first as occasions of learning; second as an invitation to active citizenship." But peace museums go a step further than most history museums when they take up controversial subjects and provide alternative interpretations to prevalent narratives. Peace museums often "speak truth to power," and by doing so they challenge students and other visitors to weigh the meaning of artifacts and exhibits about peace histories and cultures that are largely inaccessible in mainstream schooling and may be unfamiliar or unknown to students and to their teachers.

Peace museums often supplement the state curriculum and provide the missing details on which classrooms remain silent. For example, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace features a display of history textbooks and has held conferences discussing controversies over what events are or are not included in narrating the history of the Asia-Pacific War (1933–45), and the implications for shaping historical memory. Like a number of peace museums, they try to give a more balanced account of how people suffered from war and other types of violence. Hence, the exhibits not only trace the environmental devastation and the loss of Japanese lives, but they also explore war crimes that were carried out during colonization and conflict. The peace museum critiques military buildups and a series of post-1945 wars, sending out a strong antinuclear and general disarmament message; such narratives are at odds with the standard curriculum.

A number of peace museums have archives or special collections and undertake to expose the layers of past violence. For example, staff members of the Gernika Peace Museum not only searched Gernika's own special collections for answers, but they have traveled to the Vatican, Berlin, and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives at New York University to find materials that will shed further light on how and why the 1937 civilian bombing attack occurred. The museum serves as witness to the effects of civilian bombing and its historical significance both within Spain and worldwide, and it cooperates with sites from Dresden to Tokyo to learn from others' histories. Beside archives available for scholars, there are peace libraries and resource centers such as the one in Dayton, Ohio, which has more than a thousand books, both fiction and nonfiction, and other peace-related materials for schoolchildren and adults to borrow. As centers of activities from peace camps to essay, photography, and art contests, these museums foster peace literacy. Exchange visits, docent training, lectures, and film screenings provide community members from Japan to Norway with places to learn about and work on a range of subjects concerned with war, peace, human rights, and humanitarianism.

Peace museums remain small in number, in contrast to the large and growing numbers of public and private memorials and museums that are sites of atrocity and suffering, bearing testimony to a range of violence and victims. Such museums and sites dot the global landscape, and in telling the histories of violence and memorializing the victims, a number also educate against future conflict and atrocity as part of their larger mission. But their main emphasis remains the memorializing of victims through shaping historical memory around recognition of these tragedies. Museums and centers focused on human rights and humanitarian themes are also increasing. Thus, there exist a variety of museums that are linked, to different degrees, to the broad category of museums for peace. However, just like peace museums, all of the above are situated in particular discourses and vocabularies and influenced by the push and pull of history and politics. In this sense, museums are no more neutral or objective than are history texts. Peace museums have some crossover characteristics with the broader and much larger group of museums for peace. But their emphasis is on narrating histories and displaying cultures of peace, and memorialization is balanced with themes about reconciliation.

Many peace museums share participation in memorialization and recognition. Along with many sites of conscience, they serve to highlight and encourage reconciliation and acknowledge how difficult and complicated these processes are. Visiting a peace museum can reinforce elements of what has been described as sociopolitical reconciliation, where exhibits, like historical texts, can build on the "truth-seeking and [truth]-telling mechanisms" within a society and promote rethinking past resentments and contested histories.³ Exhibits at the Kyoto Museum for World Peace include displays of Japanese war crimes, and the museum has taken the lead in a series of exchange visits and dialogues with museums in China and Korea. Further, the museum leadership has issued statements about current disputes over territories that stem from past conflicts, emphasizing the need to settle disputes peacefully and to advance mutual understanding and cooperation between peoples. In the Gernika Peace Museum, the reconciliation ceremony between the twinned cities of Guernica, Spain, and Pforzheim, Germany, is highlighted, and the museum's displays and film narrate the difficult road of both remembering and reconciliation. The Kyoto and Gernika museums demonstrate the challenges inherent in the processes both of memorialization and of reconciliation, and they can "function as 'sites of persuasion' and be harnessed to build public and political support for equity, fairness, and justice."4

Finally, museums are sites that serve as repositories of our cultural artifacts; how best to preserve and display these artifacts now and in the future is an ongoing dilemma. Without such repositories, the artifacts, and the histories linked to them, would not be readily available to study and, over time, would cease to exist. For example, the collection of banners at the Peace Museum in Bradford and the collection of posters at Casa per la Pace preserve histories and cultures of largely unknown, multifaceted peace protests and movements; their art brings to life for visitors the creativity and resilience of a range of peace initiatives and movements.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FACING PEACE MUSEUMS

Each museum or center described in this volume faces a series of future challenges and opportunities. They share in the broad challenges of sites worldwide in this postmodern era: how to integrate new technologies and capture the attention of visitors in the face of growing, alternative sources of information, many of which are instantly available on mobile devices. Certainly the permanent exhibit in the Nobel Peace Center provides an innovative model of how a peace site can combine history, documentation, and technology.

Most museums are linked to tracing past events, often through the use of artifacts and creating exhibitions. There is an enormous challenge in making historical narratives and controversies relevant and meaningful to audiences of different ages and backgrounds. Offering a range of educational workshops, lectures, and other events and integrating modes of social media are ways museums and centers are reaching out to engage community members and visitors in their exhibits and work. A glance at the Web sites of most of the peace museums in this volume reveals a variety of social media and educational links, from virtual tours of the Gernika Peace Museum, to information on current exhibits, to blogs on new peace initiatives at the DIPM.

Peace museums also face particular challenges when they "speak truth to power" and push for a more balanced account of past events, deconstructing the simple good-versus-evil narrative. As pointed out repeatedly, peace is political. And even where there are assertions of nonpartisanship or objectivity, each museum discussed in this book reflects its own interpretations—from which topics are taken up, to which are avoided, to which vocabularies and narratives are highlighted. Hence, peace museums are situated at different points on the political spectrum of liberal discourse about democracy and rights. Developing a much-needed, critical peace museum lens remains difficult, given how hard-pressed most peace museums are to gain audiences and thrive. For example, in Japan, the country with the largest number of peace museums, some of these sites have responded to mounting opposition from conservative and national groups by removing controversial images from their exhibits, such as those depicting war crimes. Theoretically, democracies draw from the tradition of a marketplace of ideas, but economic and security concerns impede the degree to which debating controversial topics or alternative histories is encouraged or permitted, and during the "global war on terrorism," restricting debate or silencing is even more the case.

This reaction results in the small number of peace museums that are committed to using vocabularies and telling peace narratives finding themselves largely against the grain of the dominant discourses in their countries. The term *peace*—like the terms *democracy*, *tolerance*, and *human rights*—is appropriated to cover a wide range of exhibit topics. The peace museums

described in this volume include examples of nonviolence and reconciliation. To different degrees, they move beyond the liberal rhetoric pervasive in the countries in which they reside, and a number challenge the justifications made of past wars and state violence, and offer alternatives to power and chauvinistic patriotism. Through displaying richly detailed banners and posters used in antiwar and social justice protests, as well as the biographies of local and international peacemakers, these peace museums are distinguished by their educational and community outreach, as they work toward creating a ripple effect of dreaming, thinking about, and working toward cultures of peace. Some dig deeper in asking how conflict and terrorism may have structural roots and how systemic violence can be addressed. Hence, not only are peace museums and centers "sites of persuasion," they often are sites of contention as well.

In fact, criticism of military or government decisions can be viewed as unpatriotic and may drive away not only financial supporters but also school groups and other visitors. For example, the DIPM increasingly subscribes to popular peace themes, from peace guilts to the Peace Corps and Peace Heroes, and largely avoids subjects about U.S. wars or foreign policy, except in the case of "peacekeeping initiatives," in particular, the Dayton Accords. In contrast, the Kyoto Museum for World Peace has been at odds with government policies and outspoken in its support of progressive causes, such as maintaining Japan's peace clause in its Constitution and reconciling with China, Korea, and other former enemies. Its exhibits put forth a strong disarmament and antinuclear message. The museum has been an important source of information on the Fukushima nuclear disaster since it occurred in 2011; and continues to serve as a space to inform the public about its aftereffects and the dangers of radiation through temporary exhibits, lectures, and other public forums. Approaches vary, but overall, promoting the benefits of peace and disarmament is a central theme in peace museums. But in general, the fascination with and focus on violence and conflict continues, and that is reflected in the number of people visiting war and history museums annually. Hence, how can peace museums thrive when they represent alternative discourses or challenge hegemonic, patriotic narratives?

This remains among the greatest challenges to sustaining existing peace museums as well as garnering support to build new ones. In addition, because they are situated in alternative histories, a number of sites face great difficulty in finding financial support and institutional stability. Further, a number of sites want to update exhibits and undergo renovation, and again, finding supporters and benefactors is a challenge. The Peace Museum in Bradford has no permanent site and struggles to keep its doors open and to find funding for its projects. The Peace Museum continues to accept donations of items, and it has collected an extraordinary number of peace artifacts. But cataloguing, preserving, and exhibiting them are challenges, given the museum's limited financial and human resources. The same is true

for the poster collection at Casa per la Pace, La Filanda. Without such a commitment to preserve these artifacts and peace stories, a number of peace movements and initiatives would be written out of history and their artifacts would have disappeared. One purpose I have in writing about these museums and centers is to encourage readers to visit these sites, and also to become volunteers and potential benefactors—that is, to step forward with assistance that will enable these sites to continue their important work.

A generation of peace museums set up in the 1990s face questions about who will have the commitment to continue their mission. For example, many supporters who originally served as docents or volunteers were firsthand witnesses of conflicts. How will the stories of these war resisters, survivors, or witnesses be passed on in years to come? To address this concern, a number of peace museums are creating oral history projects and living testimonies to integrate into their exhibits, thus preserving for future generations firsthand accounts of the toll of war and participation in nonviolent protests.

Other issues include how to integrate new voices and ideas into existing museums, how to transition to new leadership, and how to implement new organizational structures. These are the questions being considered by both the large and small museums and centers dedicated to telling peace stories and histories as described in this book. Worldwide, a new generation of young people are interested in righting human wrongs, and hopefully their interests and concerns will support peace museums and create new sites and initiatives.

To date, there have been several examples of the establishment of a positive environment, such as the support of the Norwegian government for the Nobel Peace Center and of the Ritsumeikan University administration for the Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Regularly sponsoring peace events and activities, such as peace runs, music jams, essay and photo contests, and film series is an effective way that peace museums can strengthen their place as an integral part of a network of peace cities, peace trails, and other peace structures, and bring in a new generation of supporters.

Peace museums need to continue seeking out ways to cooperate and collaborate on projects outside what have been considered conventional peace topics and take up such themes in the future. Traveling exhibits have been and will continue to serve as important ways to link peace themes worldwide. For example, there is heightened public interest in environmental issues, human rights, and humanitarian themes. This is reflected in a number of trends, from increased numbers of courses and programs on these subjects at universities, to the establishment of new museums and exhibits on these themes and the renovation of older ones. Continuing to create traveling exhibits, along with developing Web-related options, are important methods for introducing peace themes into the work of a range of different types of museums. In general, further cross-pollination between peace museums and various museums for peace and other sites will provide important ways to broaden interest and publicize the work and collections of existing peace museums and bring attention to their collections and peace literacy activities.

To conclude, this volume has described a series of peace museums that self-identify as peace centers and promote a culture of peace through their education workshops, publications, and other activities. They aim to promote vocabularies, images, and deeper understanding of peace histories and possibilities for the future. These museums and centers actually put teeth into the term *peace*. They move beyond vague ideas of yearning for peace and harmony, to engaging visitors with substantive issues about past and present conflicts and presenting peacekeeping histories, images, and tools. In a very real sense, they invite visitors to think seriously and deeply about "giving peace a chance."

NOTES

- 1. Alan S. Marcus, Jeremy D. Stoddard, and Walter W. Woodward, Teaching History with Museums: Strategies for K-12 Social Studies (New York: Routledge, 2012), 10.
- 3. Elizabeth A. Cole, "Introduction: Reconciliation and History Education" in Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation, ed. Elizabeth A. Cole (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 20.
- 4. Richard Sandell, "Museums and the Human Rights Frame" in Museums, Equality and Social Justice, ed. Richard Sandell and Eithne Nightingale (New York: Routledge, 2012), 197.

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Index

Note: page numbers in italics denote figures

Abrams, Irwin 153, 159, 171 Abrams Chatfield Library 140, 153–5 Aguirre, Jose Antonio 110, 125 Aikichi, Kuboyama 83-84 Anti-Kriegs-Museum (Berlin) 3 antinuclear themes: campaigns 36, 37, 47–50, 51–2, 55, 67, 72; education on 58–9, 84, 95; in Japanese museums 68, 73, 74-5, 78, 80, 95, 98, *Plate 16*; in U.S. museums 142, 143, 160 antiwar 7, 23, 192, 197; artworks 3, 20-1, 42-3, 52, 61, 86, 91, 129, 184; movements 27, 37, 47-8; sites 12-17, 67, 71, 74, 80–81, 108, 112, 141–6, 162; see also pacifism; peace activists Anzai, Ikuro 81–3, 85, 100, 101 architecture 18-19, 110, 113, 175 Arment, Fred 10, 147–48 Article Nine No-War clause: exhibit about 93-4, 98; in Japanese Constitution 27, 56, 71; opposition to 59, 70, 82 Asia Pacific War 67, 68, 80, 92; galleries on 83, 86-9, 91 Plate 6; see also Fifteen Year War

Barrett, Clive 36, 41, 44, 54, 60
Basque conflict 109, 113; culture and history 108–11, 116
Bloch, Jan (Jean de) 12–17, 21, 169
Boulding, Elise, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* 7
Bradford (UK) 24, 27, 36–7, 44, 46; *see also* Peace Museum (Bradford)

Brock, Hugh 50 Brown, Wendy 5

Caen-Normandy Mémorial Centre for History and Peace 3 Calabrese, Omar 184 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 37, 48–50, 56, 58 Campbell, Thalia 27, 36, 51-2, 57, 193, Plate 3 Camus, Albert 110 Canadian Human Rights Museum (Winnipeg) 6 Capitini, Aldo 185 Carnegie, Andrew 13, 18, 21, 169 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 18 Carrascosa, Alex 132 Cartier-Bresson, Henri 179 Casa per la Pace La Filanda (Casalecchio di Reno) 30, 168-9; and Comiso protests 181, Plate 14; CDMPI 182, 184; conscientious objection to military expenditure 187, Plate 13; culture of peace 179–80; nonviolence and pacifist themes 179, 186-9; poster collection 180–5; poster interpretation 185–6, traveling exhibits 181–3 Cassim, Monte 83 Center for Tokyo Air Raids and War Damage, 76 Chappell, Captain Paul K. 164 children and education see peace education; workshops

Children's Peace Monument in Hiroshima Park 59 Chiran-Town Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots 68 citizen initiatives 10, 72; collections 67, 70, 83, 88; in Japan 72–3, 76, 81, 86, 96–8; in U.S. 10, 72; see also

volunteers civil rights 2, 6, 11, 71, 142–3, 152, 186; *see also* human rights

Comiso (Sicily) anti-military, non-violent protest 181,182; poster about mass occupation 188, *Plate 14*

commemorations 4, 20, 115, 156, 185; of Guernica bombing 115, 122, 134, *Plate 7*; in Japan 71,77, 84–5; *see also* World Wars

Commonweal Collection 37, 49–50

conscientious objectors 3, 22, 24; items and stories at Bradford's Peace Museum 27, 41–2, 53; posters on 187, *Plate 13*

cooperative projects 8, 10; at Bradford's Peace Museum 27, 40, 53–6, 193; at Gernika Peace Museum 112, 120, 132–3, 135, 194; at Kyoto Peace Museum 79, 81, 99, 102; at Nobel Peace Center 173, 174, 177–8; see also traveling exhibits

Cortwright, David 7–8 critical peace museum studies 22, 196

critical pedagogy 8, 24–5, 114, 178 culture/s of peace 1, 7–10, 199; at Bradford's Peace Museum 36, 43, 60; Casa per la Pace 30, 189; DIPM 139, 147, 151, 153, 162; Gernika Peace Museum 108, 111; Kyoto Museum for World Peace 67; Nobel Peace Center 179–80

Dalai Lama 116, 118, 175
Dayton International Peace Museum (DIPM) 10, 23, 29, 139–41, 150–1, 194, 197, *Plates 9–10*; as a community center 161–4; educating children, 147, 153; founders and volunteers 147–9; Green Energy

Center 159–60; library 29, 140–1, 150, 153–5; music, 162, 164; PeaceMobile 29, 140, 148, 149–50; Peacemakers and Peace Heroes exhibits 29, 155–9, 162, 164; temporary exhibits 151–3 Dayton Literary Peace Prize 154,

155 Dayton Peace Accords 29, 149, 151,

155–6, 162,197 Dias, Jaime 120

disarmament *see* antinuclear; antimilitarism Drewett, Gerald 35, 38

Dull, Christine 140, 147

Dull, Ralph 140, 147; see also Green Energy Center

Dunant, Henri 17, 20, 169 Dunbar, Paul Laurence 159

Dungen, Peter van den 39, 41, 70

education 14, 193–5, 197; on community cohesion 60–1; in Japanese museums 68–70; and politics of 38; teaching resources 56; against violence 5–8, 23–5, 29; in U.S. museums 140, 144–5, 147, 153, 161, 163; see also libraries; peace education; traveling exhibits; workshops

environment 22, 28, 31, 119, 178, 180; ecopacifism 119, 185; Japanese concerns 74, 83, 96, 97, 102; U.S. activism 157; Green Energy Center 159–60

Envision Peace Museum (Philadelphia) 145

Erasmus of Rotterdam 21, 119

Fifteen-Year War: 68, 80, 83, 86, 91–2; see also Asia Pacific War Fifth Lucky Dragon Exhibition House

Fifth Lucky Dragon Exhibition House (Tokyo) 73

Fifth Lucky Dragon Incident, hydrogen bomb testing and nuclear fall-out 83, 95, 99

Flores, Thomas 24 Franco, Francisco 110–11, 122, 125–6, 132

Friedrich, Ernst 3

Fryburg, Steve 148 Fukushima nuclear disaster 28, 67, 78, 85, 100–2, 197 funding: of citizen initiatives 72, 76, 81; donations by Japanese citizens 67, 70, 76, 81, 83–4, 88; for education 61; furnishings of Peace Palace 70, 76, 88; of Gernika Peace Museum 134; of museums 1, 5, 6, 24, 197; at Nobel Peace Center 169-70, 173-4; in U.S. museums 141, 143, 144, 147, 149, 165; see also philanthropy Galtung, Johan 112, 120 Gandhi, Mahatma 6, 11, 20, 37, 43, 120, 142, 150; exhibits on 152–3, 177–8; Nobel Peace Prize controversy 171-2; nonviolence 180, 185-6 Gay, Arthur Wilson, The Conchie 53, 61 Geneva Convention (1864) 13, 15 Gernika Gogoratuz 111-12 Gernika-Lumo see Guernica Gernika Peace Museum 23, 28-9, 76, 108-9, 110, 113-14, 134-5, 194, ETA 130–1; commemorations 115, Plate 7; human rights 129–30; peace art and themed exhibits 117–21;

195; and the 1937 bombing 28, 121, 122, 123, 124-6; Basque conflict and propaganda war 125-6; publications 134; tool-kit for peace 120-1; Tree of Gernika 116, 118; workshops at 129, 131–3; see also Guernica (Picasso); reconciliation

Give Peace a Chance Trust 35, 37–9 Goya, Francisco, The Disasters of War 3

Grassroots House (Kochi) 74–5, 83 Greenham Common (UK) 42, 48, 56-7, 59; Women's Peace Camp 27, 42, 49, 51 - 2

Guernica see Pablo Picasso Guernica (Spain) 108-11; as a City of Peace 114; reconciliation with Germany 111–12, 126, 128, 195; twinning with Pforzheim, Germany

Guggenheim Museum (Bilbao) 110, 113

guidebooks: at Gernika Peace Museum 119, 131; at Kvoto Peace Museum 67, 80, 84, 86, 87, 94; of Casa per la Pace's posters 184–5 guided tours: Gernika Peace Museum 116, 134; Kyoto Peace Museum 85, 99; Peace Palace 20–1

Hadwen, Diane 41, 60-1 The Hague (Netherlands) 6, 8, 13, 17–19; as city of peace 20, 21 The Hague Peace Conference in 1864 14, 18; in 1907 18 Hammarskjöld, Dag 12 Harwit, Martin 141 Henning, Michelle 25 Hiroshima and Nagasaki: as cities of peace 10; exhibits on atomic bombings 23, 44, 55, 59, 84, 90–1, 133, 143, 160-1 Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum 68, 71, 75 Hockney, David 37, 49 Hockney, Kenneth 49 Holbrooke, Richard C. 155-6 Holtom, Gerald 35, 39, 49, 50, 51, Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, Museums and Education 25-6 Humanity House (The Hague) 6 human rights 2, 4, 6, 11, 23, 24–5, 74, 195; at Gernika Peace Museum 129–30; and posters 182–3, 186; see

Imperial War Museum (London) 24, 39, 54, 56–7 International Coalition of Sites for Conscience (ICSC) 4, 7, 109, 134 International Court of Justice (the Hague) 20 International Museum of War and Peace (Lucerne) 12, 15–17

also civil rights; UDHR

International Network of Museums for Peace (INMP) 2, 4, 7, 24, 28, 39, 84, 109

International Red Cross and Red Crescent 13, 15, 176; Museum (Geneva) 6, 169

Japan: air-raids and damages to cities 70–1, 76, 90; anti-nuclear activism 10; atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 67–8, 70; bombing of China by Japanese, 88; colonization, 89; contested war memories, 70; history textbook controversies, 77, 92; NGOs and volunteers 97; peace museums in 68–78; war vs. peace museums 68–70; wartime crimes, 75, 91, 92; see also Article Nine; Kyoto Museum for World Peace; reconciliation Johns, Emily 35, 52, Plate 15 Journeys of Peace (Kenya) 9

Kant, Immanuel, Perpetual Peace 21 Kazuko, Yoshioka 77 Kelly, Petra 112, 128 Kelly, William 115 King, Martin Luther, Jr. 6, 11, 120, 142-3; Nobel Peace Center 176, 178; posters 185-6 Kissinger, Henry 172 Kollowitz, Kathe 3 Kyoto Museum for World Peace 23, 27-8, 67, 78-81, 102-3; air raids and atomic bombings 90-91; Building Peace exhibits 95–7; citizen involvement 96-8; collection and Special Attractions 83-6, 91, 93-5; education 96, 99-100, 194; Fukushima nuclear disaster 100, 101, 102; history textbook controversies 92, 93; nuclear energy and radiation interactive display 95, Plate 16; permanent exhibition on Asia Pacific war 86–90; role of Ritsumeikan University 78–9; war crimes 91

Langer, Alexander 185 Lederach, John Paul 112, 120 Lê Đúc Tho 172 Leggett, Jerry 149, 162, 164–5 Lennon, John 11, 143–4 libraries: at DIPM 29, 140–1; at Kyoto Peace Museum 84; at the Peace Palace 20 Lord, Miriam 47 Lorenzetti, Alberto, *The Allegory of* Good and Bad Government 118 Lundestad, Geir 171, 174

Manzanar National Historic Site 142
Marley, Bob 143
Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima
Panels 72–3
Mayor, Federico 9
McMillan, Margaret 47
Mémorial de Caen see Caen-Normandy
Mémorial Centre for History and
Peace
memory and controversies over

69–70; politics of 109; memorial at Guernica, 127, 128; site of memory 135; see also commemoration; ICSC; reconciliation

Missing Peace Art Space (Dayton) 148

Mola, Emilio (General) 124 Momoitio Astorkia, Iratxe 114, 130, 134

Mothers for Peace 36, 38 Mugonkan Art Museum for Peace 97, Plate 5

Murakami, Toshifumi 70 Murray, Andy 139, 158 Museo De La Paz de Gernika see Gernika Peace Museum

Museum of the Peace Corps Experience (Portland) 163–4; exhibit *Plate 10* music and peace museums 11, 98, 143, 145, 162, 164; *Brave Man from Ohio* 158–9

Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum 68, 71, 75 Nakano, Nobuo 81

Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum (for the Despised Japanese Invaders) 77, 88

narratives: just war 1, 23; of nuclear disasters 73; on activists 157–9; on war 59, 84, 122, 194

National Center for Civil and Human Rights (Atlanta) 6, 142 National Civil Rights Museum

(Nashville) 6, 142

National Museum of the United States Air Force (Wright-Patterson AFB Ohio) 146 national museums 2, 24, 54, 56 newsletters 39, 61, 83, 87, 144, 148, 150 NGOs 10, 11, 145, 176; in Japan 96, 97; in Norway 172, 174; see also **DIPM** Nicholas II, Czar of Russia 14, 18 Nobel, Alfred 13, 169–70, 173, 175–6 Nobel Museum (Stockholm) 173 Nobel Peace Center (Oslo) 26, 29-30, 168-9, 192; education and children 177–9; exhibits on yearly awardees 176-7, *Plate 12*; history 173-4; Nobel field exhibit 175, Plate 11; technology in 174-6, temporary exhibits 178-9 Nobel Peace Prize: awardees 14, 16, 176–8; origins of 169–70; political controversies 171-2; research at DIPM 154, 159 No Gun Ri Peace Memorial and Park (Korea) 4 nonviolence see antiwar; conscientious objector; pacifism; peace activist Oastler, Richard 46–7 Obermeyer, Julie 40, 51, 57, 58 Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum (Japan) 73–4 oral history 24, 57, 62, 126, 198 Orbe Nabaiza, Idoia 114, 132 Osaka Human Rights Museum (Japan) 74 Ossietzky, Carl von 172

Ossietzky, Carl von 172

pacifism 7, 57, 71, 74, 94, 112;
ecopacifism 119, 185; in Dayton 155–9; Italian 179–87; pacifists 3, 8, 14, 37–8, 157, 168, 181; peace pledge in UK 43
paintings 15, 19, 61; *The Conchie* 53; *Firebird* 84; Kyoto Peace Museum 73, 84, 97; *see also Guernica*Pallotti, Vittorio 168, 180, 181–2, 183
PASOS Peace Museum (New York) 144–5

peace activists 11, 14, 46-7, 84, 132, 185; financial support by 62, 81; Gerald Holtom 35, 49–50, 52; Mothers for Peace 36, 38; Thalia Campbell 36, 51-2, 57, 193; U.S. 143, 144, 148, 157-9; see also conscientious objectors; pacifism; volunteers peace banners 27, 46, 56, 58, 61, 89, 116, 152, 197, Plates 3-4; antinuclear 36, 47, 49, 50-2, 193 peace, cities of 10, 44, 71, 114, 148 peace culture see culture of peace peace: definitions of 3, 7; negative peace 8; positive peace 8, 26, 28 peace education 8, 9, 10, 24, 27, 29, 47, 58, 132-3; at Bradford *Plate 15*; in Dayton 140, 147, 153, 157, 161, Plate 9-10; Drive by Peace 144; at Guernica 132–3; in Japan 74, 96, 99; at Nobel Peace Center 177–8 see traveling exhibits, workshops Peace and Justice Studies Association (PISA) 54 PeaceMobile 29, 140, 148, 149–50 Peace Museum (Bradford) 24, 27, 35-6, 61-3, 197, Plates 3-4; aims 39-40, 42; antinuclear exhibits 48-52; collection (banners, posters, etc.) 35–8, 48–53, 61–3; and community cohesion 36-7, 60; and conscientious objection 53, 61; cooperative projects 53–6, 193; panels 42–3; *Peace not Prejudice* exhibition 44–8; workshops 57-61, Plate 15 Peace Museum Bridge at Remagen 8 Peace Museum (Chicago) 143–4 peace museums: as distinguished from museums for peace 4–7; early 12–17; peace and destruction 10–12; purpose 1–2, 31, 192–3, 199; visitors and impact 8, 26, 31, 195, 199 Peace Palace (Vredespaleis) (The Hague) 8, 12, 17–21, Plates 1–2 Peace Pledge Union 43, 53 peace societies 156, 157 peace studies 1–2, 7, 27, 99; university programs 37, 38, 39, 41, 49, 62, 83, 102

peace symbols 11, 145; dove 29, 41, 150: Holtom's design for CND 35. 49, 50, 52; poppies 25, 43–4, 51; roses 83; trees 46, 47, 116, 118 peace wreaths 35, 52, Plate 15; see also **Emily Johns** peacebuilding tool-kit 120, 121 Permanent Court of Arbitration (the Hague) 18, 20 philanthropy 8, 13; Carnegie 18; Nakano 81 Philbin, Marianne 143 Picasso, Pablo, Guernica 3, 28, 55, 109, 110, 113, 114, 128-30, Plate 8 poetry 97-8, 159 politics 1, 5, 14, 29, 30, 38, 68, 142, 148, 164; and commemorations 77, 193; peace prize controversies 171–2; posters on 181-7, Plate14; see also education poppies 25, 43–4, 51, 52, *Plates 3*, 15 postcards 8, 49, 175 posters 30, 43, 49, 51, 88; at Casa per La Pace 168-9, 180-189, Plates 13-14 Preston, Paul 11 Priestley, J. B. 37, 48 publications: Casa per la Pace's posters 184–5; of art, conferences, history and exhibits at Gernika Peace Museum 112, 116, 134; of Bradford's Peace Museum collection 40

quilts and peace themes 27, 36, 38–9, 140, 197; *Peace Labyrinth* exhibit, 163 quotes on peace 17, 35, 67, 108, 118, 119, 120, 121, 139, 142

Rank, Carol 40, 41
reconciliation 9, 11, 23, 28, 43, 146,
195; in Guernica and twinning with
Pforzheim 29, 108, 111–16, 121,
126–8, 130, 133; see also Japan
religion, and peace groups 140, 146,
156–7, 162
"Remembrance Banner" 27, 52, Plate 3
research centers 28, 48, 108, 111–12
Ritsumeikan University 27, 67, 78–80,
83, 85, 89, 102; see also Kyoto
Museum for World Peace

Roosevelt, Theodore 172 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 116 Royal Armouries (Leeds) 53–6, 63, 193

Samarkand International Peace Museum and Solidarity 8 Sansi, Roger 113 Saotome, Katsumoto 76 Satyarthi, Kailash 177, Plate 12 sculptures: at Bradford's Peace Museum 61; at Kyoto Peace Museum 84, 98 Selden, Mark 69 Shah, Shireen 39, 40 Sharp, Gene, The Politics of Non-Violent Action 182, 187 Sheppard, Dick (Canon H.R.L.) 43 Silent Museum see Mugonkan Art Museum for Peace Smith, Peggy 43 Smithsonian Museum (Washington, D.C.), Enola Gay exhibit controversy 141 Sontag, Susan 3 Southworth, Herbert R. 116; archive Spanish Civil War 110-11, 116, 129, 132, 134 Spree, Tommy 3 Stang, Sister Dorothy 157 Steer, George 116, 125-6, 134 Studebaker, Ted 29, 157-9, 162 Suttner, Bertha von 8, 14, 16–17, 20–21; and Nobel Peace Prize 169, 171, 178 Swords into Plowshares Peace Center and Gallery (Detroit) 144

Tanaka, Yuki 70–1 technology in museums 12, 26, 30, 62, 146, 164–5, 196; audio guides 21, 86; films and videos 21, 29, 58, 59, 74, 86, 100; iPods 44, 60; at Nobel Peace Center 173–6, 179; see also websites Tehran Peace Museum 8, 148 temporary exhibits 12, 15, 71, 76; at Bradford's Peace Museum 24, 42, 56,

61, Plate 4; at Casa per la Pace 169; at

Takasugi, Tomohiko 83

DIPM 140, 151–3, 163–4, *Plate 10*; at Gernika Peace Museum 133, 135; at Kyoto Peace Museum 28, 67; at Nobel Peace Center 30, 168, 176, 177–9 testimonies 198; at Gernika Peace Museum 29, 115, 122, 124–5, 127–8; at Japanese museums 70–72, 74, 76 Textbook Museum (Japan) 77 textbooks 81, 84, 92, 99, 102, 194; omissions in 23, 29, 69, 87, 100 Tezuka, Osamu 84 tolerance 27, 60, 132, 139, 142, 146, 150, 196; Museum of Tolerance, Wiesenthal Center 5 Tolstoy, Leo 171 Tønnesson, Øyvind 172 tourism 10, 15, 164, 168; at Noble Peace Center 174, 179; at the Peace Palace 10, 20–1; see also peace cities tours of Gernika Peace Museum 116, 134; at Kyoto Peace Museum 85, 99; at the Peace Palace 20-1 trails of peace 8; in Bradford 43, 60, 62 traveling exhibits 9, 24, 145, 198; of Bradford's Peace Museum 35, 37, 38-9, 40, 41, 44, 55, 57-9; in Dayton 29, 140, 148, 149–50, 151–2; of Gernika Peace Museum 133; in Japan 71, 81, 99; of posters 181, 184

UNESCO 9–10, 114 United States Institute of Peace (Washington, D.C.) 54 Universal Declaration of Human Rights 9, 109, 132; in exhibits 6, 29, 130, Plate 8 Uppsala Peace Museum (Sweden) 12

violence: at Casa per La Pace 180, 186–9; at Gernika Peace Museum 109, 131; education against 5–6, 7–8, 11, 95–6; in U.S. museums 142, 143, 145–6 visitors center 20–1, 147, *Plate* 2 volunteers 5, 10, 144–5; at Bradford's Peace Museum 38, 40, 41, 62; at DIPM 29, 139–40, 148–9, 154–5, 161–5; Italian 182; Japanese 79, 81, 85, 90, 97, 99, 101, 102 Vredespaleis see Peace Palace

war museums 1, 2, 24, 54; cooperation with 55; in Japan 68–9 War Resisters' International (WRI) 43, 53, 62 wars: Asia Pacific (Fifteen Year) War 68, 80, 83, 86-9, 91, 92; Balkan Wars 155–6; representation of 2–4, 11, 12, 75, 77, 86-9, Plates 5-6; Spanish Civil War 109-11, 134; see also World Wars weapons: as artifacts 2, 15, 55, 94–5; condemnation of 10, 12, 23, 29, 48, 50, 68, 72; studies on 13–14 Winter, Jay 2 women: as activists 38, 51, 95, Plate 4; victims of war 91-2 workshops 24; at Bradford Peace Museum 35, 37, 44, 58–63, *Plate* 15; at Gernika Peace Museum 129, 131–3; at Kyoto Peace Museum 99; at Nobel Peace Center 30 World Peace Foundation 13 World Wars: commemorations 24, 27, 35, 37, 54, 61–3, 193; representations 3, 5, 41, 74, 79, 86, 91-5, 108, Plate 5

Yamamoto, Mari 71 Yamane, Kazuyo 22, 74, 76, 83 Yasukuni Shrine (Tokyo) 69 Yorkshire Air Museum (UK) 55 Yoshida, Takashi 68, 77, 81 Young, Nigel 20, 39, 155 Yousafzai, Malala 177, *Plate 12*

Zappa, Frank 143



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Plate 1 Front view of the Peace Palace (Vredespaleis), The Hague, Netherlands. Credit: Carnegie-Stichting/The Peace Palace.

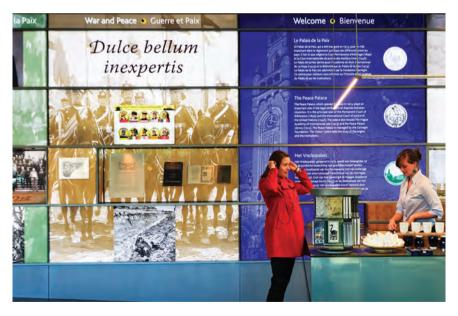


Plate 2 War and Peace Exhibit, *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (War is sweet to those who have never experienced it) Visitors' Center, Peace Palace, The Hague. Credit: Carnegie-Stichting/The Peace Palace.



Plate 3 "Remembrance Is Not Enough," banner by Thalia Campbell, 1981, The Peace Museum, Bradford. Credit: The Peace Museum, Bradford.



Plate 4 Visible Voices: The Art of Women's Protest, temporary exhibit at the Pop Up Art space, Curator Julie Obermeyer, 2011, the Peace Museum, Bradford. Credit: The Peace Museum, Bradford.



Plate 5 Artifacts belonging to art students who were sent to battlefield and died during World War II, displayed in the Mugonkan (Silent Museum), Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University



Plate 6 Permanent exhibit, Focus on Peace, timeline and artifacts about the Asia-Pacific War, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University



Plate 7 Living Art Project, Plaza of Fire and Light, Gernika Peace Museum. Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation



Plate 8 Picasso's *Guernica* in 3-D with Universal Declaration of Human Rights on surrounding walls, Gernika Peace Museum. Credit: Gernika Peace Museum Foundation



Plate 9 Renovated Children's Room, Dayton International Peace Museum. Credit: Dayton International Peace Museum



Plate 10 The Peace Corps Experience: 54 Years of Global Service, temporary exhibit, Dayton International Peace Museum. Credit: Dayton International Peace Museum, photo by Jerry Leggett



Plate 11 Nobel Field, permanent exhibit, Nobel Peace Center, Oslo. Credit: Timothy Soar/The Nobel Peace Center



Plate 12 "Wallpaper" of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Malala Yousafzai and Kailash Satyarthi, 2014— Images and Information, Nobel Peace Center, Oslo. Credit: Johannes Granseth/The Nobel Peace Center



Plate 13 Poster: "Eleventh National Congress of the League of Conscientious Objection," Turin, Italy, 8–10 October1982, Poster Collection, Casa per la Pace La Filanda. Credit: photo by Vittorio Pallotti



Plate 14 Poster: "Mass Occupation: Everyone to Comiso," July 22–24, 1983, Poster Collection, Casa per la Pace La Filanda. Credit: photo by Vittorio Pallotti



Plate 15 "We Are Running Out of Poppies" Workshop, with Emily Johns Peace Wreath in the background, the Peace Museum, Bradford. Credit: The Peace Museum, Bradford



Plate 16 Interactive Exhibit about Nuclear Energy and Radiation in Japan, Kyoto Museum for World Peace. Credit: Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University