

War and World Heritage¹⁾

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As Henri Lefebvre argues in his *Production de l'espace* (Lefebvre 1999), analysis of society should be conducted in the dimension of the space. When our intimate space is unchanged, we feel secure. When we see the same landscape every day, our life seems stable. The stability of space is thus a condition *sine qua non* for the continuity of society. This stability and continuity of space can be defined as *identity of space*.

On the contrary, if an event disrupts spatial stability, we recognize that the social order is in peril. The identity of space is no longer assured when a catastrophe occurs. In this sense, modern war is a symbol of catastrophe. It creates considerable victims, including civilians slain by high tech weaponry. It also destroys towns and cities. It even happens that the whole city is demolished; the annihilation of Hiroshima city by the A-bomb is an illustrative example. The destroyed city visualizes uncertainty physically and explicitly. It should not be left as is, because if it is, the future of the area is uncertain. In many cases, reconstruction does not advance quickly. But if nothing is done, this kind of space produces a disorder in the area. To restore the social order, the area should be spacially reconstructed. In this sense, war causes not only destruction but also gives rise to the production of the space. The purpose of this article is to clarify this relationship between war and production of space by analyzing exemplary World Heritage sites.

If we choose World Heritage sites, this is firstly because after World War II UNESCO was concerned with the protection of threatened cultural heritage and created the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict in 1954. This convention can be considered the first step to the constitution of the World Heritage institutions insofar as these institutions exist to protect cultural heritage in danger. Secondly, World Heritage sites demonstrate explicitly cul-

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tural dimension of spatial reconstruction. Particularly pertinent to the process of production of space, external cultural value has to be considered to establish the area of reconstruction as a World Heritage site.

The reconstruction process as World Heritage site

Some war disaster areas are transformed into World Heritage sites after their reconstruction. The Historic Centre of Warsaw laid the foundation for such reconstructions to become World Heritage sites. The Old Town of Warsaw was almost destroyed by Nazi troops in August 1944. The town, which had been destroyed by hard battles, was reconstructed in order to revive the city of the past. The Market Square and St. John's Basilica of the Old Town were successively restored in 1966 though the restoration of the Royal Castle was delayed because of the hesitation of the communist regime. It was only in 1971 that the restoration of the castle started thanks to the financial contribution of Polish people and Pole Abroad (Wolska 2013).

Once the reconstruction was completed, the Polish government submitted the file for the registration of Warsaw at UNESCO. However, the inscription of the Historic Centre of Warsaw on the World Heritage List did not proceed without opposition. During the first attempt to secure the inscription in 1978, ICOMOS noted the Warsaw proposal needed further expert study. In the next year, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee recommended deferral (Cameron 2008). At the second attempt, ICOMOS was placed in the favorable position for the inscription of Polish site and the World Heritage Committee recognized it as "an outstanding example of a near-total reconstruction of a span of history covering the 13 th to the 20th century"²⁾. The Historic Centre of Warsaw was, thus, registered for the World Heritage List while in the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines, the criterion of authenticity was revised to include the sentence: "reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture"³⁾ (Labadi 2010: 68).

The inscription of Warsaw's Historic Centre in 1980 was a turning point. It established the principle that World Heritage institutions should not only accept but also appreciate reconstructions. The reproduction acquired the same status of authenticity as the original.

According to the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, World Heritage sites need to satisfy the following conditions

2) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30>

3) <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/repcom80.htm>

of authenticity: form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors. To faithfully respect the guidelines, it should be necessary to restore World Heritage sites and put them upon their original conditions to the fullest extent possible. But in fact, it seems extremely difficult to fulfill all these conditions, insofar as all objects and architecture deteriorate, and restorationists cannot always obtain original materials. If the conditions of authenticity outlined by UNESCO needed to be faithfully respected, there would not be many truly authentic monuments or objects. In reality, restorationists use synthetic materials if they cannot find original materials⁴⁾. Because of this, another mode of preservation emerged. This is the *strategy of reproduction*, which makes it possible to restore threatened cultural heritage and in certain cases the reproduction will substitute the original. It is thus opposed to the principle of preservation that prioritizes authenticity. The notion of originality is born in the nineteenth century with the rise of modern art. New artists aspired to originality by denying the styles of their predecessors. But, in fact, we can also argue that production begins with the reproduction of existent works. As Gilles Deleuze pointed out, constant repetition gives rise to differences, chance aberrations (Deleuze 1968). Great works thus result from a long process of reconstruction and modification.

Considering this perspective on the production of arts and architecture, a profound transformation occurred because of the inscription of the Historic Centre of Warsaw on the World Heritage List. Taking account of this new mode of preservation and conception of authenticity, the Nara meeting was held in 1994 on the initiative of the Japanese government. The result of the meeting was stated in the *Nara Document* of 1994. The Nara Document on Authenticity states in an abstract way that all value judgements attributed to cultural properties may differ from culture to culture and even within the same culture. Thus, it is not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity on fixed criteria. The document adds that on the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong. This idea about the diversity of cultural values stated in the Nara Document was finally enacted in the revised guideline of 2005. In the same year, the Old Bridge Area of Mostar that had been damaged by the Bosnian War was registered for the World

4) After World War II, synthetic resin was introduced in Japan for restoration. But at the beginning, this material did not efficiently improve the restoration of Japanese traditional arts because of the lack of knowledge about the appropriate use of synthetic glue. In consequence, some important traditional wall paintings were damaged due to excessive uses of synthetic glue.

Heritage List, because the reconstruction of the area was appreciated in the same way as the Historic Centre of Warsaw (Cameron 2008).

The model of reconstruction in the Warsaw case resulted from the bombing of the area. The reconstruction of a society that suffered from war thus modified the modality of preservation and legitimated a different type of cultural value based on the strategy of reproduction.

Reconstruction of Angkor Wat

The case of Angkor is different from that of Warsaw insofar as Angkor itself was not much affected by the string of violence Cambodian society underwent. This is a case in which the registration for the World Heritage List goes hand in hand with the reconstruction of society.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Angkor was a forgotten ruin. We know from a novel of André Malraux, *Voie Royale*, that Western vandals were seeking the unexplored heritage of the kingdom. The heroes of the novel finally arrive at Angkor Wat almost inapproachable at that time and try to take parts of the gigantic vestige. But during this adventure, one of them is injured and they are forced to go through “free” areas where they felt threatened by the presence of the Moi and Steing people, who had total autonomy. Before independence, when Cambodia was under the French protectorate, there were areas that were not subject to the protectorate.

When Cambodia won its independence, it was difficult to establish a stable state order and this situation gave rise to the birth of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge almost destroyed temples that they considered traces of a bad tradition. But curiously, Angkor Wat escaped demolition insofar as the Khmer Rouge did not attach much importance to it. We know in retrospect that the Khmer Rouge perpetrated an autogenocide during its reign. A large number of Cambodian people were killed by their compatriots between 1975 and 1979. In 1979, the Vietnamese army overthrew the Khmer Rouge. But the group ran into the jungle and continued to resist the new government supported by Vietnam. Before and during its escape, the Khmer Rouge laid a great number of mines that would create many victims.

After more than ten years of civil war the 1991 Paris Peace Accords were signed. One year later, Angkor Wat was registered for the World Heritage list before the establishment of the new government in 1993. Therefore, the registration for the World Heritage list coincides with the reconstruction of Cambodia after the civil war. We could even say that registration aimed to promote the reconstruction of Cambodian society destroyed by the civil war.

APSARA (Authority for the Protection of the Site and the Management of the

Angkor Region), founded in 1995, tried not only to restore the heritage, but also to improve the economic situation of the region in collaboration with foreign countries and international organizations. In spite of the registration for the World Heritage list, water and wood are lacking in the area and local people remain poor. Local people illegally cut down trees for charcoal. APSARA took measures to alleviate the lack of water and wood and to provide electricity. It set up solar collectors and distributed batteries to each family.

APSARA promoted “community tourism.” For example Banteay Srey community tourism was established in 2012. Members of the community manage tours for boat rides and fishing in collaboration with APSARA and New Zealand. “The Banteay Srey Community Tourism initiative is set up by the community and for the community. Money raised from the tour goes to the local community”⁵⁾.

APSARA also played the role of educator. It taught elementary, junior, and high school students the importance of preserving Angkor Wat. It also asked monks to collaborate, because Cambodian people deeply respect monks as religious and moral authorities. If monks attribute significance to the World Heritage designation and support its preservation, local people faithfully obey their instructions. APSARA thus leads activities for *autogenous development* that aim to realize development for local people by local people.

However, the tourist industry, which seeks profits, expands independently of the politics of autogenous development. The number of foreign tourists increased greatly (from 118,183 to 47,752,341) in twenty-two years (from 1993 to 2015)⁶⁾. The economy of Cambodia, thus, largely depends on tourism today. In Siem Reap, a town close to Angkor Wat, many modern hotels are built for foreign tourists. An area named Pub Street gives the impression to be in London, because there are only foreign visitors essentially from Europe and U.S.

An elementary school is situated next door to the World Heritage site. Some children go to sell souvenirs just after school. Cambodian people who work in tourism and especially want to work are obliged to learn English. After the end of French colonization, the dictatorship of the Khmer Rouge, and the civil war, they are obliged to learn the language of a country that bombed Cambodia,⁷⁾ as if Cambodian people should always assimilate the culture of others. Anyway, the risk that visitors run is minimized and the inhabitants of the city are well disciplined to ac-

5) It is noted in the leaflet of *Banteay Srey Community Tourism*.

6) http://www.tourismcambodia.org/images/mot/statistic_reports/tourism_statistics_2015.pdf

7) The American Air Force intensively bombed Cambodian territories in 1973 to eradicate the communist party base. But these air raids produced a lot of victims, provoking hatred against the United States among Cambodian people and facilitating the rise of the Khmer Rouge.

commodate foreign tourists. Many inhabitants live inside the sites and have opportunities to meet visitors in their daily life. Tourism reduces, therefore, the distance between local people and foreigners. At the same time, it reduces the autonomy of local life.

Negative Heritage

Inside the World Heritage site of Angkor, victims of mines laid by the Khmer Rouge play traditional music. In Siem Reap, there is the *Killing Fields*, a memorial tower for victims of genocide. Inside the tower, we can see many skulls. The development of the city cannot completely erase remnants of genocide. In the case of Warsaw, the Old Town was perfectly reconstructed like before the destruction by Nazi troops. Only in 2004, a long time after the reconstruction of the Old Town, the Warsaw Rising Museum was founded to memorialize the Warsaw Uprising.

People would prefer to quickly forget memories that invoke abhorrent feelings. Even if people are unable to fully forget these matters, they want to distance themselves from them as much as possible. In the event that they are forced to confront sad memories, they try to keep them bottled up deep inside. Feelings such as these mean that people remain tight-lipped about negative memories, and this is tied to the impulse to expunge all objects and monuments that could invoke them. When East and West Germany were unified, the first thing torn down was the Berlin wall.

On the other hand, in modernity, the museological desire, promoter of the “Age of Preservation” (Ogino 2002), places more importance on preserving clear, tangible testaments to negative legacies. This means that history wins out over legend. In such a way, a range of events are documented, and at present we have entered the age in which we are actively, and as exhaustively as possible, trying to preserve as shared heritage the various experiences of people even if they remind us of negative memories. Instead of forgetting them, the museological desire suggests constantly and faithfully recording the negative experiences of those who lost their loved ones. The Genbaku Dome is registered on UNESCO’s World Heritage List and can be considered one of these. In addition to monuments or memorials of war, other legacies with negative aspects – including buildings from colonial times and abandoned mines that have resulted in environmental pollution or industrial accidents – are called in Japan *hu no isan*, which means negative heritage⁸⁾.

8) Even if this negative memory is of an abhorrent past, this invokes the desire to record that past, and to express it in different ways. If this desire is realized, then heritage that no longer exists may be reconstructed, such as in the case of the Urakami Cathedral, a part of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. In Korea, the former Governor-General of Korea’s headquarters was demolished, but the Independence Memorial Hall of Korea in Cheonan ↗

Two sites literally conserving places where massacres occurred during World War II are registered for the World Heritage List, Genbaku Dome (A-bomb dome) and Auschwitz Birkenau. Both sites are registered based on criterion VI⁹⁾ of UNESCO. They are thus considered monuments directly or tangibly associated with events. Auschwitz Birkenau shows “irrefutable evidence to one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity,”¹⁰⁾ while the Genbaku Dome has an outstanding value as “a stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace”¹¹⁾. Auschwitz Birkenau was constructed as a concentration camp and used for extermination, whereas the Genbaku Dome was the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotional Hall and not a military facility. In the case of Auschwitz Birkenau, the criminal aspect of the event is underlined. On the contrary, the value of the Genbaku Dome is the achievement of world peace. The word “peace,” of undeniable value today, masks diverse political conflicts with regards to the conservation of the Genbaku Dome. We will raise some problems concealed behind the inscription of the Genbaku Dome on the World Heritage List.

Those who remain silent

Thoughts on events that evoke negative memories are twofold: some people believe they should be preserved as a heritage and some that they should be quickly removed precisely because they have a negative effect. Additionally, people with negative memories vacillate between a strong will for their preservation, and a desire for utter oblivion. Such survivors can also be divided into those who remain silent and those who try to attest to their experiences.

Minoru Omuta, a journalist who served as Director of the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation, pointed out “there are some survivors of the atomic bombing that will not talk about their experiences, no matter how often they are asked.” In reality, for a long time after the bombing, many survivors were unable to talk about their experiences. This was not just because of their psychological trauma, but because society saw them only through the lens of their negative experience as survivors. Even now, around the Hiroshima area, there are people who will quietly admit that “while I know it is discriminatory, I would feel some uncertainty if my child told me they wanted to marry someone descended from an A-bomb survivor.”

↘ was constructed in its place, showing dioramas that depict torture carried out by Japanese soldiers.

9) This criterion is to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

10) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31>

11) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775>

The Genbaku Dome, *aka* Hiroshima Peace Memorial, was registered for the World Heritage List in 1996. But it took a long time before the definitive decision on the preservation of the former Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotional Hall, situated just beside the hypocenter of the blast on August 6, 1945. This is due to the ambivalent nature of a negative heritage that invokes nightmarish memories; whether the Genbaku Dome should be preserved was a controversial question that divided public opinion after the end of the war. Only one month after the bombing, the Prefecture of Hiroshima decided to preserve the area around the hypocenter as a memorial area. But this project of preservation met opposition. A British Lieutenant colonel suggested choosing thirteen Genbaku monuments that should be tourist attractions, including the Genbaku Dome. But the regional prefect, the mayor of Hiroshima and the president of Hiroshima University all strongly opposed this suggestion (Hamada 2014).

While this unstable and antagonistic situation continued in Hiroshima, another serious incident in the history of nuclear contamination occurred in 1954. The *Lucky Dragon*, a fishing boat from Yaizu in Shizuoka Prefecture, was caught in the atomic tests held at Bikini Atoll. The crew aboard the *Lucky Dragon* experienced a similar situation as the A-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They had to keep silent to avoid social discrimination. Silence is a particularly good option if the number of victims is limited. The crew said that immediately after the incident, they were “treated like criminals.” “Fish shops and sushi restaurants said this because the tuna was contaminated, meaning they couldn’t sell it. When we passed by, people said to us that it was our fault they couldn’t sell anything, and that we’d put them out of business.” (Statement by Matahachi Oishi, former *Lucky Dragon* crewman) (*Lucky Dragon* Peace Association 1986).

Furthermore, “when we met other crewmen, we hardly ever talked about the incident, and none of us ventured the information that we were on the *Lucky Dragon*. This was very hurtful, and no one wants to keep opening old wounds, do they? (Statement by Fishing Chief Yoshio Misaki, former *Lucky Dragon* crewman) (*Lucky Dragon* Peace Association 1986: 78).

Given circumstances such as these, it is unimaginable that the affected crewmen would voluntarily talk about their experiences or start a campaign to preserve the *Lucky Dragon*. The memory of that radioactive fallout is one that they want to get as far away from as possible. Matahachi Oishi, for example, left his hometown of Shizuoka and moved to Tokyo, where nobody knew him.

The will for narrative

Contrary to the crew’s experience, the *Lucky Dragon* incident gave rise to anti-

nuclear movements. Various support groups for hibakusha, A-bomb survivors were established. Support groups and mass media encouraged hibakusha to talk about their experiences to transmit them to the future generations. Following this idea, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum was founded in 1955. Today, at the Museum, visitors can watch videos that collect testimonials of A-bomb survivors¹²⁾. It was not the same for the Genbaku Dome. The controversy continued and Hiroshima city did not make the final decision on the preservation of the dome.

A change occurred when a support group for the child victims of the atomic bomb, *Orizuru No Kai* (paper crane club) expressed support for preservation in 1960. In Japan, there is a custom of making and giving one thousand Origami Cranes when we pray for a wish to come true. Sadako Sasaki, an A-bomb survivor, ten years after the bombing, developed leukemia. She was then twelve years old. Following this custom, she began making paper cranes to pray for her recovery. Unfortunately, Sadako passed away one year later. To mourn her death, her classmates at elementary school had the idea to erect a statue of Sadako and began a fundraising campaign. In 1958 her statue was built at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. At the same time, the paper crane club was founded and its opinions were influential.

Moreover, various antinuclear associations agreed on the final preservation of the dome in 1964. However, Hiroshima city did not make a decision, because it had a more pragmatic concern. As evoked above, a monument inevitably deteriorates and it is necessary to restore it eventually. This restoration requires major financing. The mayor of Hiroshima refused to finance the cost of restoration with the budget of the city government and decided to call on the donation of citizens in 1967. Fortunately, citizen contributions reached the sum necessary for the restoration. The mayor then drew up a project to make the Peace Memorial Park a sacred place. The project was realized little by little and finally by 1990 the Genbaku Dome was on the path to preservation. Six years later, the dome was inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Until the inscription, Hiroshima city, owner of the dome, was primarily responsible for its preservation. But after that, the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare started to collect testimonies from survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. This was done under the motto "There are memories that could not be hidden away. There are memories that must not be hidden away." War experiences have to be narrated and then recorded. In 2002, the National Peace Memorial Halls for the

12) In fact, as time passes, the same person may give differing testimonials. This is because he or she should answer so that the society expects. Their testimonials are not always impartial or unsullied and can be eroded by specific ideologies without the person being aware of this happening.

Atomic Bomb Victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was founded at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park near the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. The foundation of one more *Peace* museum signifies the relationship between pacifism and the politics of memory. The accumulation of memories considered as “negative” should, according to this view, contribute to the growth of pacifism. The inscription of the Genbaku Dome clearly symbolizes this connection.

After the inscription of the dome, other monuments were rediscovered and recognized. The Hukuromachi elementary school is one of them. This school is located 460 m from the hypocenter. After the bombing, the school was used as a refuge for survivors. Pupils, teachers, and local residents left their message to their families and neighbors on the burned wall of the school with chalk. When the school was restored, a new blackboard was put on the wall, hiding the messages. In 1999, because of the deterioration of the school buildings, Hiroshima city decided to build a new structure and during construction the messages were discovered behind the blackboard. Hiroshima city decided to preserve the messages. Specialists then deciphered the faded messages. The Hukuromachi Elementary School Peace Museum opened in 2002 and many visitors have visited since. This recovery of bombed monuments has become fashionable. For example, the former Bank of Japan, Hiroshima Branch, is also preserved and now used as an art gallery.

Another memories

In August 1998, *Asahi Shimbun* published a special issue entitled “Tormented Memories,” which dealt with former soldiers’ memories of war. In response to the issue, a letter to the editor voiced the opinion that “my feeling uncomfortable with this serialization is because it consciously uses interviews with people who have been through the emotional wringer of being on one hand pulled into an anything-goes war, and who have then suffered the emotional turmoil of returning to the ordinary daily life, and then ties this to pacifism” (Dated August 25, 1998). It is difficult to reconstruct the memories of such extreme battlefield circumstances at a later point in time. Even more so, it is very easy and simplistic in our society to interpret a wide range of experiences of war in support of the rising banner of “pacifism.”

In fact, not everyone involved in the war has always joined peace movements. There are some people who feel that they are unable to readily align themselves with the abstract concept of peace. Some veterans and bereaved families not only have a sense of discomfort with regards to the preservation of the war heritage and the recording of testimonials to promote pacifism, but also are actually against doing so. Yasukuni Shrine has in a certain sense become a focal point for such people.

In the *Yushukan*, the War Memorial Museum that manages the Yasukuni

Shrine, both a “*Kaiten*” manned torpedo, and an “*Ohka*,” manned flying bomb are displayed. The United States Army has granted the “courtesy” of giving the Yasukuni Shrine the *Kaiten* as a permanent loan and it appears there is a special relationship between the Shrine and the United States military. In fact, American institutions did not adopt the absolute pacifism common to most Japanese war museums. For example, the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, which organized the controversial exhibit of the *Enola Gay* that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, extols the glory of American aerospace technology and military technology. Given this, the war is in some ways taken as a type of game or as a sport.

Whereas the Yushukan highlights the spirit of the military, American institutions relating to war focus on the superiority of technology and skills. However, beyond this difference, the Japan War-Bereaved Association and the American Legion have many ideas in common, including that the peace we enjoy today is precisely because of the people who fought for their countries in wars. On the semicentennial of the end war, the President of American Legion sent a letter to the President of United States, expressing his opposition to the “*Enola Gay*” exhibit, which was to be held at the National Air and Space Museum:

The hundreds of thousands of American boys whose lives were thus spared and who lived to celebrate the 50th anniversary of their historic achievement are, by this exhibit, now to be told their lives were purchased at the price of treachery and revenge.

This is an affront to all Americans (Nobile 1995: xlii).

While the details of the planned exhibition did not contradict the usual American version that “the atomic bomb brought forward the end of the war, saving many lives,” other viewpoints were also put forward. This meant that it was handled as a “historical debate (something regarding which there is room for discussion)” about the legitimacy of the atomic bombing. This point and the exhibit’s argument that America’s entry into the war spurred a feeling of revenge against Japan aggravated the American Legion. If in fact, the atomic bomb is “a stark and powerful symbol of the most destructive force ever created by humankind” as UNESCO qualifies it, the recourse to the atomic bomb means the most inhumane act.

At around the same time, the Yushukan held a special exhibit, “Spirits of Fallen Flowers, and a Requiem for the Truth” to commemorate the semicentennial of the war’s end. This exhibit featured farewell notes from 57 soldiers killed in action, the situation of their deaths, and touched upon what sort of people they were. It is described in the catalogue of the exhibit as follows:

Impressions from the youth who wrote down their feelings of thankfulness, realizing that their present peaceful life is thanks to the fallen who gave up their lives for their country; junior high and high school students who, in front of portraits of the fallen youth, are made aware of the preciousness of the time that they have been given now, and who have thought of their life more seriously (Yasukuni Shrine, 1996: 211).

For a certain number of bereaved families, the Yasukuni Shrine and other shrines around Japan that venerate the war dead as “sprints of war” offer far more comfort than absolute pacifism. Let us add here that there is no mention of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Yushukan.

Personal names and generalization

Just as the Japanese Army during the Pacific War is portrayed negatively, the actions of the soldiers during the war are denied. If the actions of the Japanese military come to be considered as nothing more than atrocities committed against other Asian countries, then the sacrifice of soldiers would be forgotten forever. Veterans and bereaved families thus cannot openly commemorate their close relations or friend’s killed as soldiers. They feel that their desire for commemoration is suppressed because of the rise of pacifism and its dominance in *peace* museums.

Taken from a different point of view, this feeling of suppression can be seen as a type of generalization that absolute pacifism has produced. In fact, insofar as various experiences are more and more generalized in the peace museum – for example by means of dioramas – this museological generalization inevitably expunges the individuality of dead soldiers for the sake of a general historical explanation and interpretation of war. The names of the fallen are erased. Their individuality is not recognized. The diversity of people’s experiences is therefore lost. But the bereaved families hope that the dead soldiers are respected and want to show that their deaths were useful for the future of society. They cannot easily accept the desire to preserve the negative heritages that pacifism promotes and hope to give a transcendental value to the death of a loved one.

War monuments and memorials need to reconcile a fundamental contradiction between their tendency to generalize experiences by simplification and the will to commemorate diverse, individual experiences of war. This respect for individuality is so important because modern wars cause large-scale intentional loss of human life not only for the military but also for civilians. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, in order to resolve the contradiction, displays personal effects of the deceased, along with simple details such as the person’s name and what they were doing when

the atomic bomb was dropped. For example, a display of a charred tricycle includes the comment, “Shinichi Tetsutani (3 years and 11 months) was riding his tricycle in front of his home in Higashihakushima-cho when the bomb was dropped. He suffered burns and died that evening. His father Nobuo was unable to cremate his remains, so he buried his son together with his tricycle.” Instead of simply displaying the burnt tricycle, the name of its owner was displayed. By giving this explanation, the tricycle transitioned from being an ownerless “article from the atomic bombing,” to having a symbolic meaning alluding to an extraordinary event that an individual suddenly experienced. This display illustrates that war in the twentieth century killed vast numbers of people in an instant, and that nuclear weapons were the ultimate instruments for carrying out this large-scale slaughter.¹³⁾

This charred tricycle in itself symbolizes large-scale slaughter and the utter helplessness of an individual in the face of it, and this expresses plainly the characteristic of modern warfare in the twentieth century. In order to illustrate it, some museums use images that illustrate the death of soldiers without recognizing their individuality. This is the case with the Caen Mémorial. Caen is the French city largely destroyed during the Battle of Normandy and is situated near the D-Day Landing Beaches, the site of fierce fighting between the Allies and the Germans. The Caen Mémorial shows on a multi-screen display images of Allied troops just before they landed on the D-Day beaches and of German troops preparing for the coming onslaught, both sides showing anxiety on their faces.

At first, the screen is divided into two, but the screens merge into one just at the point the Allied troops land. The Allied troops are displayed landing on the beach from a commanding aerial view, and we can see them being hit and falling one by one, as small as grains of rice. They look just like toy soldiers being pulled over by invisible pieces of thread, and in no way resemble individuals dying. This is an instance when large numbers of people are shown losing their instantly lives in a matter-of-fact fashion. In a sense, these images were taken with the supposition that they were going to die, with the objective of recording their deaths.

The D-Day Landing Beaches are part of the French World Heritage tentative list from 2014. To justify Outstanding Universal Value, it was noted that the beaches became a place of reunion for veterans, a place of transmission of the values of peace and reconciliation, compost of the Franco-German reconciliation, and they gave a lot of positive consequences for the political evolution of Europe. In 2018, the French government submitted the file for the registration of the D-Day Landing Beaches at UNESCO.

Two peace memorials in Hiroshima and in Caen adopt a different type of dis-

13) This attachment to personal names means that it resembles the exhibition at Yushukan.

play. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum displays the tricycle with a caption showing the name of the owner and his destiny. On the other hand, the Caen Mémorial uses footage of battles in which the individual is completely nullified. However, more than this difference, both displays give a snapshot of a situation in which individuals are crushed by an overwhelming force. These two museums provide, in this sense, two different ways to resolve the contradiction between generalization and the respect for the individuality.

Loss of Negative memories

In the age of preservation, monuments and objects with negative connotations are transformed into cultural heritage. However, in doing so, the process of preservation may elide their negative aspects by the effect of antisepsis¹⁴⁾ that the logic of preservation contains. Preserved monuments must keep its figure for always like mammy. Once it was inscribed on the World Heritage List, the Genbaku Dome was to some extent frozen. This half destroyed ruin should be preserved in this condition to maintain its integrity. The dome is fenced and plants are planted around it. It is harmonized perfectly with the surrounding landscape. A large number of tourists visit and take pictures of the dome, which became an important tourist attraction.

Pacifism is another factor in antisepsis. If the Genbaku Dome is the symbol of the achievement of world peace, peace has been already realized. Hiroshima city is indeed peaceful nowadays. But the effects of nuclear contamination have remained; hibakusha and their families are morally and physically suffering still today. Takeshi Hamada, specialist of the history of the Genbaku Dome, notices that complex experiences of the A-bomb tend to be reduced to pacifist ideology. The dome becomes only a symbol of peace (Hamada 2014: 29). At the same time, actual negative aspects are ignored. The renovation of the display at the east building of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in 2017 tends toward the same direction. The exhibition of the east building is mainly devoted to the Dangers of Nuclear Weapons, especially the movement for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Two World Heritage sites concerning mines have the same problem of antisepsis. The two sites both date to the Meiji Industrial Revolution. One is the Hashima coal mine, the other Miyanochara pit. In explaining its outstanding value, UNESCO notes that the technological ensemble of key industrial sites of iron and, steel, shipbuilding, and coal mining is testimony to Japan's unique achievement in world his-

14) Antisepsis means the stop of physical deterioration that cultural heritage would undergo. It also signifies the loss of negative aspects that objects and monuments recall after the recognition fo cultural value. War heritage illustrates par excellence these effects of antisepsis.

tory as the first non-Western country to successfully industrialize¹⁵). This explanation glorifies the past when the mine was still actively producing coal, without mentioning negative aspects of the mine. The Hashima coal mine is situated on an island near Nagasaki city, the other city that endured the atomic bomb. Excursion boats regularly go to the island so that tourists can visit limited areas. Volunteers guide visitors and explain the history of the Hashima coal mine. Their narrative also tends to emphasize the glory of the mine. The narrative evokes only positive “outstanding value” by arousing a feeling of nostalgia towards the time of glory. The site has thus been completely sanitized physically and symbolically. Negative memories seem to have been almost definitively eradicated. However, old Chinese and Korean laborers claim that their negative experiences have not been recorded and they risk being forgotten. In fact, during the war, because of the deficit of labor, mine company brought workers from China and Korea.

The same is true for the Miyanohara pit at the Miike Coal Mine in Fukuoka, one of the biggest coal mines in Japan. Miners were recruited from throughout Japan. Furthermore, many Chinese and Korean labors worked there and were sometimes victims of explosions in the mining gallery. Great labor disputes occurred in 1953 and from 1959 to 1960. The last dispute divided laborers into two opposite groups. Moreover, the great mine disaster happened in 1963. It caused 458 deaths and many victims of anthracemia. After the mine’s closure, many pit workers left the area of the Miike Coal Mine to seek another job.

The ruin of the coal mine is curious and stimulates the imagination of visitors, especially in the case of the Hashima coal mine. Its power can make visitors feel not only its glory, but also the severity of the working conditions, even if the site has been sanitized. But this margin of imagination should be reduced little by little.

World Heritage and reformulation of the past

According to Barbara Adam, “the past is continuously recreated and reformulated into a different past from the standpoint of the emergent present.” This possibility of interpretation presupposes a selection of events that are considered important. As a result, events regarded as unimportant become significant when a new interpretation appears. The past can be brought back and is “as hypothetical as the future (Adam 1990: 39).” Thus, there is no single, objective version of the past that history can capture. Whatever standpoint we may take, we reformulate the past based upon our present viewpoint.

The reformulation of the past does not occur without obstacles, especially with

15) <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1484/>

regards to controversial topics. As we see in this article, it is difficult to give a definitive meaning to an event because it can be interpreted differently. These interpretations often enter into conflict, for they are based on different memories of the event. For example, survivors of the A-bomb and others don't recall the event similarly. Even among the survivors, there are different memories according to the circumstance in which they experienced bombardment.

The production of space is possible once conflict situations are attenuated. It goes with the regulation of different memories in conflict and the World Heritage institutions plays a role in the process of regulation and reconciliation, because the Genbaku Dome as a World Heritage site became a sacred centre of Hiroshima city. Or, better yet, World Heritage institutions are implicitly mobilized for the definite reconstruction of the city.

In conclusion, we can propose three postulates about the relationship between war and the production of space.

1. War causes not only destruction but also gives rise to the production of space.
2. To reconstruct the ruin caused by bombardment, conflict situation due to the contradiction of different memories has to be attenuated.
3. Cultural factors, including cultural heritage policy, can play a role in the process of spatial reconstruction.

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