

Peace Monuments and Reconstruction

Hideki Fuchinoue

(Researcher, Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation,
Hiroshima University)

Introduction

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law came into effect on August 6, 1949, in Hiroshima City.¹ Professor Hideaki Shinoda and other scholars point out the importance of this law in light of the peace building efforts that began in Hiroshima City after World War II (Shinoda, 2007b). Hiroshima is the first city in the world to be designated as the nominal “Peace Memorial City.” A National Upper House member from Hiroshima, Tadashi Teramitsu, who drafted the legislation remarked that “‘Peace Memorial City’ means ‘the city symbolizing permanent peace.’ In this sense, it is theoretically better to use the expression ‘Peace City.’ Alternatively, the term ‘memorial’ could be replaced by the term ‘symbol,’ and the city could thus be called the ‘Symbolic City of Peace’” (Teramitsu, 1949, p. 14). By this definition, the series of facilities that were constructed or developed in accordance with the guidelines of this law, such as the Peace Memorial Park, Peace Memorial Museum, and the Genbaku Dome or A-Bomb Dome, would be “facilities in Hiroshima symbolizing permanent peace.” In this article, such type of facilities will be referred to as “peace memorial facilities.”

The aim of this article is to clarify the effect of peace memorial facilities on

¹ According to Mr. Tadashi Teramitsu (1949, p. 7), the original English name of this regulation at the time of enactment was “(The) Act for Construction of Hiroshima, Eternal Commemorating City.” The current official name is “The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law.” An official in charge of international exchanges for the Hiroshima City government explained that because they could not identify the former name that Teramitsu had introduced, they adopted the generally used name in the 1990s out of necessity.

people based on a study of the A-Bomb Dome, since it is an internationally regarded symbol. In Nagasaki City, the Peace Memorial Statue or Urakami Cathedral (until the 1950s) had been viewed as a symbol representing the horrors of atomic bombs. In Okinawa, the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial has been granted this status. Each symbol has a unique appearance, background, and story. Therefore, these symbols reflect regional particularities and circumstances. The impact is so strong that the establishment of these symbols is often included in the agendas of the local assemblies. In my analysis of the impact that the A-Bomb Dome has on people as a symbol, the term “people” is not limited to Hiroshima residents. It also includes the soldiers of the Allied Forces who arrived in Hiroshima after the atomic bombing and the generations following the one that experienced the bombing. Further, I analyze the psychological impact that peace monuments such as the A-Bomb Dome had on the people who were involved in the postwar reconstruction. The analysis will illustrate the psychological aspects of the role that peace monuments play through an in-depth investigation of a particular monument that was a major issue during the reconstruction period in Hiroshima City after the atomic bombing. The purpose of this article is to contribute to the manner in which we generally utilize peace monuments for peace building efforts in postwar societies by contrasting their impact with other similar case studies.

For this purpose, I first describe peace memorial facilities in Chapter II. Next, in Chapter III, I review the background of the establishment of peace memorial facilities and provide a parallel history of Hiroshima. In Chapter IV, I focus on the A-Bomb Dome in order to trace the transitions of its symbolic meanings. Its impact on various people will be also considered. Finally, in Chapter V, I provide my conclusions on the role of peace monuments in terms of their psychological influence during the postwar reconstruction. Furthermore, I will remark on the limitations, measures to be taken, and future prospects with respect to the research in this field.

1. Peace Memorial Facilities

Article 2 of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law refers to the types

of facilities that should be established (City in Brief: Commemoration Issue/Volume of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, Showa 24th edition 1949, 1950, p. 4).

Article 2

1. Special town planning for the construction of Hiroshima Peace Memorial City (hereafter, referred to as the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan) shall include, in addition to the planning provided for by **Article 1** of the Town Planning Law (Code 36 of Taishō 8, 1919), the planning of facilities to inspire the pursuit of lasting peace and such other cultural facilities as would benefit a peace memorial city.

Mr. Teramitsu remarked on the cultural facilities suitable for Hiroshima Peace Memorial City as follows: “The law exemplifies ‘a facility that ought to commemorate permanent peace’ as an example of suitable cultural facilities. Those facilities commemorating permanent peace such as memorial museums or memorial monuments should be located in Hiroshima.” (Teramitsu 1949, p. 19) In brief, the peace memorial facilities in Hiroshima City should imply facilities advocating or symbolizing permanent peace. The Peace Memorial Park, Peace Memorial Museum, and A-Bomb Dome are examples of such facilities.

The following question arises: What do memorial facilities for permanent peace imply in general? The research report “International Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne” (2000, 2001) by Dr. Peter van den Dungen can greatly increase our understanding of such facilities. A summary of the report is given below.

On June 7, 1902, the International Museum of War and Peace opened in Lucerne, a small town in Switzerland. It was proposed by Russian Privy Councilor Jean de Bloch. The aim of this museum is to advance the cause of peace by presenting objective exhibitions on the realities of past wars and the horrors that future wars could produce (Peter van den Dungen, 2000, p. 92). Bloch planned and financed it himself so that he could present his own views, which are described in his work entitled *War of the Future*. The original version is a six-volume full-length series. However, a

summary of “Future of War in its Technical, Economic, and Political Relation” has been published in English. Until the publication of this work, military experts and pacifists had ignored each other’s concerns and expertise, as is evidenced in the books and research reports written by each group. Bloch’s accomplishment bridged the gap between militarists and pacifists and became famous in both the areas. He attempted to demonstrate that it was necessary for the wars of the future to be conducted as effectively as possible, taking into consideration each state’s economic situation (Dungen, p. 94). Consequently, he concluded that war between the great powers was impossible (this hypothesis is termed the “impossibility of war”). The phrase impossibility of war implies that war can no longer serve as a reasonable means by which problems can be solved. This is because war inevitably leads to economic, social, and political disorder in the belligerent state (*ibid*, p. 95).

One of the reasons why Bloch chose a museum to embody his ideas is that he believed museums to be the most effective means of attracting public attention, which he had as yet been unable to garner (*ibid*, p. 97). Bloch held the conviction that the “eradication of war is a synonym for the extermination of the public’s ignorance.” The message his museum conveys is that military powers expose their own defects. He was persuaded that the profits from the museum would be returned to all human beings and that it would promote justice in their civilization (*ibid*, p. 97). Stead (1902) describes the museum as an ingenious combination of generality and science, with elements of spectacle and education.

When Bloch announced his plan to build the museum, several pacifists feared that the museum might be used to widely propagate his idea of the impossibility of war developed in his book (Dungen, 2001, p. 91). On the other hand, this fear was belied by others (New York Times, June 29, 1902, p. 32). His conclusion—the hypothesis of the impossibility of war—was based on the so-called “end of war” defined by Karl von Clausewitz, according to whom “war is an act of violence intended to compel the enemy to fulfill our will” (Clausewitz, 2001, p. 22). Bloch believed that war among the great powers was no longer possible and emphasized the necessity of maintaining peace. However, rather than explicitly presenting the conclusion, he left it open for the

readers of his book and the visitors to his museum to draw it themselves. With this intention, he adopted the exhibition style described above by Stead. As a result, his museum was criticized by pacifists, who made the following comments: “it compromises with wars and armies,” “the purpose is unclear,” and “it lacks sufficient messages for the peace” (Dungen, 2001, p. 92). However, Bloch’s aim was not to elevate nationalistic emotion or display military power but rather simply present a historical exhibition of war (*ibid*, p. 93).

As summarized above, Bloch first clarified his purpose for building the museum. Specifically, it was to develop his hypothesis of the impossibility of war and convey it to the people. Thus, since Bloch considered that the “eradication of war is a synonym for the extermination of public ignorance,” he decided to build a museum as a vehicle for communicating his idea to the public. However, the exhibitions in the museum were such that they did not impose his idea on the visitors. Rather, he maintained an objective stance by using figures or charts so that visitors could comprehend the meaning of the museum exhibits by themselves. In other words, for Bloch, a facility commemorating permanent peace was a facility that eradicates the public’s ignorance and promotes peace.

We should now consider the significance of memorial museums for permanent peace in the contemporary world. At the third international conference on peace museums, which was held at the Osaka International Peace Center and Ritsumeikan University International Peace Museum in 1988, Professor Johan Galtung defined a peace museum as “a facility which provides people with information on peace and demonstrates methods to achieve the goal” (Yamane, 2003). In addition, Ms. Yamane remarked that “we can call all museums aiming for the realization of peace as museums for peace” (Yamane, 2003). This definition became a basis for the UN booklet *Peace Museums Worldwide* (1995). The revised version was published in 1998.

Peace Museums Worldwide provides information on 50 museums—located in Australia, Austria, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, the U.K., and the U.S.—that elaborate on the theme of

peace. The compilation of the booklet began with a questionnaire that was sent to 29 peace museums, 16 peace-related museums, and 10 other museums whose names were included in the list of peace museums drawn up at the first international conference on peace museums, which was held in Bradford, UK, in 1982 (Peace Museum Worldwide 1995, p. 6). This questionnaire requested the following information: (1) name; (2) date of establishment; (3) name of management organization; (4) address, hours of opening, and name of the director; (5) aims and contents; (6) special activities and exhibitions; and (7) publications.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is also listed in *Peace Museums Worldwide*. This volume describes the purpose of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum as follows.

To ensure that the reality of the nuclear bombing is passed down to future generations and to spread “the spirit of Hiroshima,” which entreats the realization of the total abolishment of nuclear weapons and eternal world peace. (Peace Museums Worldwide, 1995, p. 26)

Although there is no explicit explanation of its purpose, the official guidebook of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum provides the following introduction.

The Peace Memorial Museum collects and exhibits the relics of A-bomb victims and photographs or other materials portraying the A-bomb tragedy. It also depicts the history of Hiroshima around the time of the atomic bombing and the situation in the nuclear era. Each exhibit conveys the sadness and anger of the people. The wish of a Hiroshima that has recovered from the horror of the A-bomb is the realization of peace in a world without nuclear weapons.

In other words, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum aims to enlighten people on the need to completely abolish nuclear weapons or participate in antinuclear movements.

Comparing it with the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., Professor

Kiichi Fujiwara points out that the purpose of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is “to provide the specific perception of warfare, not various concepts of war, on specific incidents, as a memory to the people who do not have any direct experience” (Fujiwara, 2001). Thus, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is an enlightenment facility that is based on the concept of the renunciation of war and advocates the antiwar standpoint enshrined in the Japanese Constitution, also known as the “Peace Constitution.” In contrast, the Holocaust Museum is an enlightenment facility that is based on the concept of a “just war,” admitting humanitarian intervention. One similarity between them is that both the museums were established as the means for “recalling and passing” firsthand knowledge of war. Moreover, the people who established the museums were attempting to convey the tragedy of war from the viewpoint of victims to subsequent generations by collecting the records of war and putting them on display (*ibid*, pp. 33 and 37). Incidentally, the Holocaust Museum is not listed in *Peace Museums Worldwide*.

Thus, the primary purpose of peace museums is to enlighten the public. However, the topics of enlightenment vary across institutions. While some, like Bloch’s museum, attempt to set forth their personal philosophies as objectively as possible, others advocate specific causes such as antinuclear weapons activism, as in the case of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

As Mr. Teramitsu remarks, in general, peace memorial facilities involve not only museums or archives but also symbols such as memorial towers. Some examples of memorial towers are the A-Bomb Dome in Hiroshima, the Peace Memorial Statue in Nagasaki, the Cornerstone of Peace Memorial in Okinawa, the reclaimed ground of Minamata Bay in Minamata, and the Tower of the Nation at the Independence Memorial Museum in Cheonan City, South Korea. Each symbol has a unique appearance and historical background, and they embody the characteristics of the tragic stories on which they are based. This makes it possible for us to analyze the meanings of symbols and their various impacts by reviewing the process of symbolization that they underwent, the feelings that the victims hold toward them, the sentiments generated in subsequent generations by them, etc. For this purpose, I would

like to analyze the impact of the A-bomb Dome by examining it against the general background of the peace memorial facilities in Hiroshima City and the history of Hiroshima around that time.

2. History of Hiroshima City around the time of World War II and Peace Memorial Facilities

The identity of Hiroshima changed drastically after World War II. In order to appreciate the transition, it is necessary to understand its history after the Meiji Restoration (1868). Since the First Japan-China War (1894–1895), Hiroshima had assumed the aspect of a military city. In 1888, when six army divisions were deployed in the war, the fifth division was based in Hiroshima. Ujina Port, proposed by Governor Sadaaki Senda, was completed in 1889. In addition, the construction of Ujina Rail Road began on August 4, 1894, and was completed in a mere 17 days of rushed work. Three types of military-related facilities for provisions such as weapons, clothing, and food were developed along the railroad. Emperor Meiji moved his throne to Hiroshima during this period. Moreover, the Imperial Headquarters was based out of the Command conference room of the fifth division in Hiroshima from September 15, 1894 to April 27, 1895. The Great Japan Imperial Diet also shifted to Hiroshima accordingly, and the temporary Imperial Diet was built in the west military drill court of the fifth division. For these reasons, Hiroshima was called a military city. Since the fifth division was deployed in the First China-Japan War (1894–1895), Russia-Japan War (1904), and World War I, the characteristics of Hiroshima as a military city were further strengthened.

At the end of World War II, on April 7, 1945, the first Command was organized in the east of the Suzuka mountain ranges, while the second Command was organized in the west in preparation for a decisive battle on the mainland. The headquarters of the second Command was established in Futabanosato, Hiroshima, at an old barracks belonging to the fifth cavalry regiment. This fact proves that Hiroshima

remained a military city until the end of World War II. The fifth division greeted the end of the war in August 1945 in the northern islands of Australia (Ceram) (History of Hiroshima Prefecture, Gendai, 1983, p. 24). Some people believe that this is the reason why Australian troops rather than American troops were stationed in Hiroshima in the postwar days.

At 8:15 am on August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The number of deaths from this bomb as of the end of December of this year is said to be approximately 140,000. The mayor of Hiroshima, Senkichi Awaya, also died from the bomb. According to an issue of *Chugoku Shinbun* dated February 6, 1946, the population of Hiroshima City was reduced from 245,423 as of July 1, 1945, and to 151,693 as of January 1, 1946.² The headquarters of the second Command was in ruins (Ogura, 1948, p. 119). The city of Hiroshima was completely destroyed, in terms of both its inhabitants and structures, due to its identity as a military city. Ogura elaborates on this in Chapter 10, entitled “Gunto no Saigo [The Last of ‘Military City’],” of his book *Zetsugo no Kiroku [The Record after the Destruction]*. In this chapter, he writes as follows: “However, even if the ‘military city’ disappeared, ‘Hiroshima’ would never disappear. Seven clear streams and seven deltas remain as they had in the past. The lagoon city Hiroshima would never perish. It is going to revive as a ‘city of peace.’ A ‘phoenix’ is flapping away from the ruins. ‘A city of peace’ is ‘an eternal city.’ The largest sacrifice is about to bear a beautiful fruit with a silent warning toward the next generation” (Ogura, 1948, p. 198).

However, independent reconstruction had already begun soon after the atomic bombing in Hiroshima. This was possible due to the fact that during World War II, municipal governments were in constant anticipation of bombardments. An air defense plan of Hiroshima from Shōwa 16th edition (1941) is found in *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi [History of A-Bomb Damage in Hiroshima]* (Hiroshima City, 1971, pp. 1–320). For instance, according to a bylaw of the Hiroshima air defense headquarters,

² Since no edition of the City in Brief Commemoration was published at that time, the written record of the population as of July 1945 produced in *Chūgoku Shinbun* is quite valuable. However, it does not provide any indication of the source from which this

when damage was inflicted, the members of the headquarters were required to assemble and take action as soon as possible (Hamai, 1967). According to *Genbaku Shichō* [*Mayor of Atomic Bomb*], written by Shinzō Hamai, the chief of distribution at that time (and who subsequently became mayor), the city headquarters for air defense was provisionally established at a surviving building of an employment agency soon after the bombing. The staff primarily comprised the deputy mayor, rating officer, and treasurer. The headquarters was shifted to the front quarters of the city hall during the afternoons. The air defense plan of the city had designated the tracks of the Ujina training camp belonging to the army's armored division as the means through which the distribution of food would be mobilized should the city be subjected to air bombardment. Therefore, the headquarters was able to distribute hardtacks stored in the food warehouses of Fuchū from the day following the atomic bombing.

When the tracks from Ujina arrived at the food warehouse in Fuchū, a track running between Fuchū and Kure was already waiting for them. Ogura wrote down notes on the appearance of these tracks from Kure, remarking that “I think it was around 9 or 10 am of the day (August 6) when I arrived in front of my House in Tachikawa. (omission). When I arrived there, the jam caused by the tracks was really tremendous. As you see, that place became the only junction of land transport between an instantly annihilated Hiroshima and the half-paralyzed but still alive military cities of Kure and Hiro, which underwent repeated aerial bombardment. Anyway, it was a desperate confusion of arriving and departing tracks” (Ogura, 1948, pp. 27–28). The following morning (August 7), a considerable amount of rice balls, supplied by the surrounding communities, was transported to the city hall. There exists a photograph of the policemen from the Ujina police office, which was located two kilometers away from the center of the explosion, issuing certificates of affliction to the victims at around 5:00 pm of the same day (exhibited materials at the Peace Memorial Museum). Once victims were issued a certificate, they were eligible to receive food rations due to the wartime emergency. These facts also prove that the coordination of reconstruction assistance in the surrounding communities had been well-prepared beforehand.

data was quoted.

Not only the public authorities mentioned above but also the private sector began reconstruction activities at an early stage. President Yamamoto of *Chugoku Shinbun* printed the following statement in his newspaper on August 6, 1951: “Finally, I could not go to work on the day (August 6). When I went to work the next day, injured staff members worked with enthusiasm, commenting that ‘now is the time we need newspapers.’ They immediately went back to the evacuated factory in Nukushina. The staff members worked hard, even putting their family concerns aside. Consequently, we could restart our newspaper in three days. I had the acute feeling that even an atomic bomb could not destroy our traditions.” The railroads were fully repaired by August 7, and even the trams in the city were partially repaired by August 9.

On August 8, Dr. Nishina, a physicist, visited Hiroshima and made firsthand observations at the request of the army. He clarified that what the Imperial Headquarters had reported to be “a new type of bomb” was, in fact, an atomic bomb. He also identified the center of the explosion. It was located in the east side of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Exhibition Hall and the northern side of the Hiroshima Post Office. Ogura speculated that people in Hiroshima knew that the bomb was an atomic bomb immediately after the bombing (Ogura, 1948). Apparently, a young soldier who Ogura had met in Mt. Hijiyama on the morning of August 6 had told him that it was evident that the bomb was an atomic bomb based on the extent of damage it had caused in the city.

Another atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945, and World War II ended with the unconditional surrender of the Empire of Japan, which accepted the Potsdam Declaration on August 15. An advance team from the Allied Forces arrived in Kure on September 26 (History of Hiroshima Prefecture, Gendai, 1983, p. 2). This team, which comprised troops from the 10th corps of the 6th division of the U.S. army, arrived at the Hiro airport from Osaka. The team contained six members, and they spoke with Governor Takano, Station Sergeant Ishihara, and the mayor of Kure, Suzuki, at the official residence of the commander-in-chief, which was located at the Kure Naval Station. However, the occupying army was not stationed in

Hiroshima but rather in Kure, Hiro (now a part of Kure City), Kaita, and Edajima. The initial purpose of the occupation army was to disarm the imperial army of the Empire of Japan and destroy all military facilities (*ibid*, p. 18). There were a large number of military facilities in Hiroshima Prefecture, primarily in the military city of Hiroshima, including the headquarters of the second Command (*ibid*, p. 21).

The first city council meeting to be held after the atomic bombing took place on August 20, 1945. Its purpose was to appoint a new mayor. Reviewing the memorandum, we can infer the chaotic situation of the council. The council adopted a resolution endorsing Mr. Ichirō Fujita as the new mayor, without first soliciting even his informal consent. After the resolution was passed, another discussion took place on how to persuade Mr. Fujita to accept the position. A member of the council commented as follows: “It might be better if the Hiroshima City Council chose some members to tell Mr. Fujita directly how much we support him enthusiastically and to ask him to accept our request...” (History of the Hiroshima City Council: Proceeding Materials II, 1987, pp. 31–32). However, Mr. Fujita did not accept their request, and the city council adopted another resolution to endorse Mr. Shichirō Kihara as the new mayor. Thus, Shichirō Kihara became the new mayor of Hiroshima on October 22. At the same time, Shinzō Hamai, who was his eventual successor, assumed the post of deputy mayor.

On November 3, 1945, the Hiroshima City Council established a committee to oversee the war damage reconstruction. It also decided to request Douglas MacArthur—Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers—of the General Headquarters (GHQ) to provide assistance for the reconstruction. Hiroshima Prefecture convened a prefectural committee to oversee the reconstruction of the war-damaged prefecture on December 8. Subsequently, on December 9, Hiroshima City established a city committee, comprising members of the city council, the chiefs of the united town association, and the chiefs of the town associations.

The Hiroshima reconstruction agency was organized on January 9, 1946, and the Hiroshima reconstruction council was also set up on February 15. The council announced their proposed city plan, which included the construction of a 100-metre wide road from Mt. Hijiyama to Koi, government offices or schools at the west

training court and on the ruins of the Hiroshima castle, parks, memorial facilities at the center of the explosion, and an international airport in Yoshijima. On March 7, the council resolved to shape the character of Hiroshima City as “a synthetic city that has the combined characteristics of industry, politics, economy, an academic city, and a cultural-tourist city.” On April 13, the chief of the Hiroshima reconstruction agency contributed an article entitled “The City of Peace and Culture: A Sketch of Dreaming Hiroshima Reconstruction” to *Chugoku Shinbun*. On May 7, Hiroshima City announced its plan to construct a 100- or 200-metre wide main street, which now includes the Heiwa Boulevard.

In May 1946, Major Hervey Satin (a doctor of medical science) from the U.K. and First Lieutenant John Montgomery (a former advisor for the Michigan regional plan) from the U.S.—both of whom were members of the units of the Allied Forces occupying Kure—were designated as advisors for Hiroshima’s reconstruction. They attended the Hiroshima reconstruction council meetings and advised on the preservation of the center of the explosion and the establishment of facilities for visitors around the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Exhibition Hall. The Hiroshima commemoration tower for war victims at Jisenji Temple was completed, and a Buddhist service was held on May 26 for the dedication. On this occasion, First Lieutenant Montgomery stated that “it is desirable that this commemoration tower for war victims be regarded as an international peace memorial tower. The realization of an international peace conference will be a fantastic story as far as the occupation is lasting” (*Chugoku Shinbun*, June 16, 1946). The hint of the term “peace memorial” may have been derived from this statement.

At the first anniversary of the commemoration of the atomic bombing, the Hiroshima City Council and local groups organized a memorial ceremony. First, the Hiroshima Prefectural Chamber of Commerce and Economy and the Hondōri shopping street collaboratively planned a world peace memorial festival for three days, from August 5 to 7 (*Chugoku Shinbun*, July 2, 1946). In addition, Hiroshima City announced a plan to arrange a reconstruction festival around August 6 (*Chugoku Shinbun*, July 6). Interestingly, Mayor Kihara released a statement regarding the

nuclear tests in Bikini that revealed a novel way of viewing the atomic bombings of Japan. He stated that the “atomic bombing on Hiroshima promoted world peace, and the sacrifice of civilians was able to rescue hundreds and thousands of human beings all around the world from the tragedies of war. The nuclear test in Bikini provides a good occasion to remind the world of the devastation caused in Hiroshima. Hiroshima would inevitably win sympathy from the world. I hope that atomic bombs, which provided us with peace, will consolidate eternal peace, and not destruction. My desire is that nuclear power will be utilized for the welfare of human beings” (Chugoku Shinbun, July 3, 1946). The expression “atomic bombs, which provided us with peace” may serve as evidence that the bombings had various impacts on the people of Hiroshima, which was under occupation. It is necessary to analyze the above statement in light of these impacts. On August 5, the citizen’s rally for peace and reconstruction, which was a precursor of the current Peace Memorial Ceremony, was organized in Hiroshima City. The National House of War Damage Reconstruction was established, and it announced a city plan for Hiroshima’s reconstruction on November 1 of the same year.

In 1947, Hiroshima Governor Tsunei Kusunose convened a round-table discussion on the reconstruction. The deputy mayor of Kure City, Tomiko Takara, made the following remark: “I would like to leave the boundless ashes as it were, as a memorial graveyard for the eternal maintenance of world peace. I am not in favor of constructing a town on the ground where vast numbers of people surrendered to death. New Hiroshima does not need to be forced to get back to what it was. It would be better to seek new land around the city and rebuild Hiroshima City in the new place” (Hiroshima City, 1996 b, p. 249). It indicates that there were not only the people who hoped recovery of Hiroshima but also the people who abandoned it in those days.

Shinzō Hamai was elected as the mayor on April 17, 1947. Mayor Hamai had graduated from the Faculty of Law, Tokyo University. He had worked for the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce in 1932, and he had served as the chief of the Commerce and Industry Department, Personnel Division, Ration Department, and General Merchandise Division at the Hiroshima City Office since 1935. Finally, in

1945, he was elected as the mayor, following his term as the deputy mayor. The Japanese Constitution entered into force on May 3, 1945. Article 9 of the new constitution advocated the renunciation of the right of belligerency. This also meant that Hiroshima could not restore its prewar identity as a military city. Emperor Shōwa visited Hiroshima on December 17. On June 20, 1948, the Hiroshima City Council decided to construct the Peace Memorial Park.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was adopted in the National Diet on May 11, 1949 (promulgated on August 6, 1949). The full text of the law is given below (City in Brief Commemoration Number of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law: Showa 24th edition (1949 of the Christian era), 1950, pp. 4–5)

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law

(Purpose of this Law)

Article 1

It shall be the objective of the present law to provide for the construction of the city of Hiroshima as a peace memorial city to symbolize the human ideal of the sincere pursuit of lasting peace.

(Planning and Endeavors)

Article 2

(1) The special city plan for the construction of Hiroshima as a peace memorial city (hereafter, referred to as the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan) shall include, in addition to the planning provided for by Article 4 of the City Planning Law, the planning of facilities to inspire the pursuit of lasting peace and such other cultural facilities as would befit a peace memorial city.

(2) Special city planning endeavors to rebuild Hiroshima as a peace memorial city (hereafter, referred to as the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors) shall be

developed for the purpose of implementing the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan.

(Assistance for the Endeavors)

Article 3

The relevant agencies of the national and local governments shall, in light of the significance of the purpose described in Article 1, render every possible assistance to the expedition and completion of the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors.

(Special Subsidies)

Article 4

As deemed necessary for the execution of the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors, the national government may, Article 28 of the National Property Law notwithstanding, transfer ordinary assets to those local public entities mandated to bear the expenses required by the construction endeavors.

(Reporting)

Article 5

(1) Those engaged in executing the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors shall strive to complete the said endeavors promptly and shall submit progress reports to the Minister of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport at least once every six months.

(2) The Prime Minister shall report to the Diet once each year the status of the Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors.

(Responsibility of the Mayor of Hiroshima)

Article 6

The mayor of Hiroshima shall, with the cooperation of residents and support from the relevant organizations, establish a program of continuous activity toward the completion of Hiroshima Peace Memorial City.

(Application of the Acts)

Article 7

Unless otherwise stipulated by this law, the Special City Planning Law and City Planning Law shall apply to the Peace Memorial City Construction Plan and Peace Memorial City Construction Endeavors.

Supplementary Provisions

1. This law shall be in effect on and after the date of its promulgation.
2. All projects currently being implemented under the Hiroshima Special Town Plan shall be revised according to the procedures stipulated in Article 3 of the Town Planning Law to formally establish them as Peace City Construction Endeavors in compliance with Article 2(2) above.

A booklet entitled *Hiroshima Peace City Law*, written by Tadashi Teramitsu, was distributed to Hiroshima residents before the referendum was held. This booklet contained a commentary on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law.

In this booklet, Mr. Teramitsu pointed out that “peace memorial city” implied “a city symbolizing permanent peace.” He also stated that “in this sense, it is theoretically better to use the expression ‘a peace city.’ Alternatively, the term ‘memorial’ could be replaced by the term ‘symbol,’ and thus could be called a ‘peace symbolizing city’ in general.”

On July 7, 1949, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was favored by the majority in Japan’s first referendum on the issue, which was held in Hiroshima. The results of this referendum were as follows (City in Brief: Commemoration Issue of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law: Showa 24th Edition (1949), 1950, p. 3).

Number of eligible voters	121,437
Total number of votes	78,962 (Turn-out: 65%)

Valid number of ballots	78,192
Affirmative votes	71,852
Dissenting votes	6,340

As evident from the above figures, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was overwhelmingly approved by the residents of Hiroshima. Consequently, this law was promulgated on August 6, 1949. According to Shinoda (2007b, p. 331), as a result of the construction law, (1) non-compensatory land grants of previous military reservations became a possible source of revenue for reconstruction and (2) the national budget contained provisions for assistance. The table provided below presents the general account revenues for the reconstruction activities following the promulgation of the law (City in Brief, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951).

Year	Annual revenue (yen)
Shōwa 22 (1947)	82,632,299
Shōwa 23 (1948)	452,283,480
Shōwa 24 (1949)	1,071,459,371
Shōwa 25 (1950)	1,041,793,462

Around 1949, when the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law entered into force in Hiroshima, a book entitled *Hiroshima* (Japanese version)—written by John Hersey—was published in Japan. Since August 1946, when the original version (in English) had been reviewed by the *New Yorker*, the facts about Hiroshima had been immediately known throughout the U.S. Although the Japanese version was published in 1949, it had already been mentioned in the October 1946 issue of *Chugoku Shinbun*. Therefore, *Hiroshima* had been a popular topic of conversation even before its publication in Japan. ヒロシマ—(Hiroshima), written in *Katakana*, indicates the title of the book *Hiroshima*, and it began to be recognized as the *atomic-bombed Hiroshima*.

A Japanese priest named Tanigawa visited the U.S. from October 1948 to 1949 on the invitation of the Mission Board of the Methodist Church in the U.S. During this period, concerns about and sympathies with Hiroshima were on the rise as a result of the publication of *Hiroshima*. Tanigawa belonged to the Hiroshima Nagarekawa Church, Kiyoshi Tanimoto, and was one of the characters featured in *Hiroshima*. He embarked on a lecture tour around the U.S. During the tour, he proposed a construction plan for the Hiroshima Peace Center and worked hard with John Hersey to realize it. He wrote a memoir, *Hiroshima no Jūjika wo Daite* [*Holding the Cross of Hiroshima*] (1950), in which he narrated the details of his trip. Given below are some of his stories.

Tanigawa met with Dr. Albert Einstein at least twice. During their first meeting, Dr. Einstein was asked a question by another priest on whether the U.S. should have developed atomic bombs. He answered as follows:

It was not exactly evil to develop atomic bombs. But it was evil to employ them in practice. Even if it was necessary to threaten Japan, it would have been enough to drop them over any countryside or small islands without people.

While Tanigawa was traveling all around the U.S. to deliver lectures on Hiroshima's tragedy and make a plea for help in establishing the Hiroshima Peace Center, he met with Dr. Einstein again. At that time, Dr. Einstein told Tanigawa that "it is certainly meaningful to conserve Hiroshima's tragedy as a memory of World War II." Dr. Einstein bought 1000 volumes of *Hiroshima* and gifted them to his friends to use as a reference for peace activities.

Tanigawa commented on the Hiroshima Peace Center (at the time of publication, it was known as the World Peace Center) as follows: "We propose the establishment of a World Peace Center, international and non-sectarian, which will serve as a laboratory of research and planning for peace education throughout the world; and in connection with this center, we propose various subsidiary agencies" (Tanigawa, 1949). In particular, he envisaged an institution that conducted research and provided education on international relations and peace studies at the postgraduate level.

Mr. Norman Cousins, who was dedicated to realizing the establishment of the Hiroshima Peace Center proposed by Tanigawa, visited Hiroshima in August 1949. He visited the hypocenter of the bombing, hospitals, and orphanages, accompanied by Mayor Hamai. He remarked that the Hiroshima Peace Center also required welfare facilities such as medical institutions or orphanages (Cousin, 1949). Upon leaving Hiroshima, Mr. Cousin asked Mayor Hamai about what the U.S. could do by way of assistance. The Mayor answered as follows (*ibid*, p. 21):

There is much I would like to say to America. First of all, I would like to thank those Americans who have helped us to bring a dead city back to life. It is not my place or purpose to try to tell Americans what ought to be done. But what I can do is to tell them about what will happen to the world's cities if something is not done to stop war. The people of Hiroshima ask nothing of the world except that we be allowed to offer ourselves as an exhibit for peace. We ask only that enough people know what happened here and how it happened and why it happened, and that they work hard to see that it never happens anywhere again. We, the people of Hiroshima, are sick at heart as we look out at the world and see that nations are already fighting the initial skirmishes that can grow into a full war. We know that stopping war is not a simple thing and that there are grave questions that have to be solved before the world can have true peace. We know, too, that peace is not to be had just for the asking; all nations must agree to it. But we also know that some nation must take leadership in building the type of peace that will last. And we are looking to America for that leadership. America can call for world law and all the world will listen. The leaders of a few nations may not want to listen but their people will hear. Let the call go out from America for a federation of the nations strong enough to prevent war, and a thrill will be known in the hearts of millions of people everywhere. This is the best hope for averting a war which would see thousands of Hiroshimas. And this is the message the people of Hiroshima ask that you take back to America.

An analysis of why the representative of an atomic-bombed city had said such things to an old enemy could provide us with a clue on reconciliation mechanisms.

Tanigawa, John Hersey, and Norman Cousin devised a plan to present

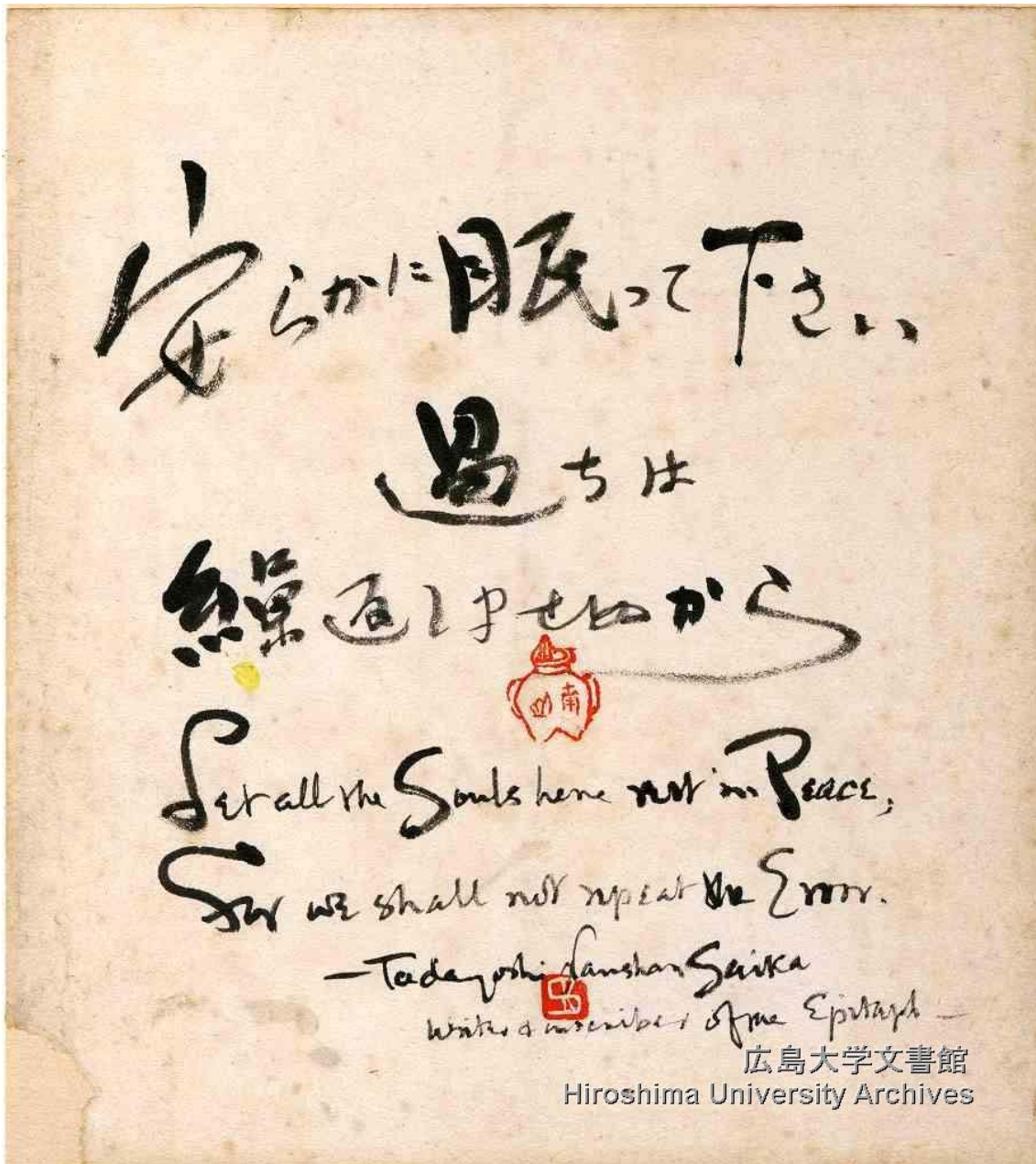
President Truman with a petition for the establishment of a world government, to be signed by 100,000 survivors. This proposal was submitted to Mayor Hamai on April 27, 1949, and the mayor agreed to it on June 4. The plan became a reality when 108,010 signatures were collected. Originally, it had been planned that the petition would be submitted to President Truman on August 1949. However, the signatures were sent to the U.S. only on October 7. The collection of signatures was delayed due to the referendum on the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law, which was proposed by the Diet on May 12 and held on July 7. The headline of the petition was “A Petition from Hiroshima Citizens to President Truman for World Peace.” The following statement was included on the first page: “We, Hiroshima residents, who experienced the first nuclear war in the world, petition the President of the United States of America to espouse the cause of reinforcing the United Nations and creating a world government strong enough to prevent wars in the future.” Initially, Major Thomas Ferebee, who was the pilot of the Enola Gay (B-29) that had dropped the atomic bomb, was supposed to be a member of the delegation that was sent to the White House to submit the petition. However, since the primary purpose of the petition was to obtain support for the establishment of a world government, he was excluded from the final delegation. Notably, the petition advocated neither antinuclear activism nor the abolition of nuclear weapons; rather, its purpose was to appeal for the establishment of a world government. At the time, Japan had still not been allowed to join the United Nations. Thus, it was considered that the strong desire of Hiroshima residents for peace would be proved through the fact that over a 100,000 residents of Hiroshima had signed the petition for the establishment of a world government.

The old Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Exhibition Hall (where the A-Bomb Dome is now located; it was generally called the Exhibition Hall at that time) was handed over to Hiroshima City on November 14, 1953. Subsequently, the Peace Memorial Park, designed by Mr. Kenzō Tange, was completed on April 1, 1954. Tadayoshi Zouga, a professor emeritus of Hiroshima University, prepared a draft of the inscription for the Peace Memorial Monument (a memorial for the victims of the atomic bomb) located in the Peace Memorial Park (Takemura, 2005). The paper on

which the original epitaph was written is stored and exhibited at the Hiroshima University Archives. The original draft contained the expression “Please rest in peace; for we shall not repeat the error” (*ibid*, p. 4). However, the day after the original draft was submitted to the chief of staff of the mayor’s office, 千万太 Fujimoto, Zouga presented the epitaph that has actually been inscribed to Mayor Hamai himself.

Let all the souls here rest in peace;
For we shall not repeat the error.

There were various debates over the subject of the inscription (especially regarding the use of “we” in the second sentence: “for we shall not repeat the error”) immediately after the dedication. Newspapers reported that the judge of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, Radhavinod Pal, criticized this inscription during his visit to Hiroshima. Judge Pal presumed that “we” indicated Hiroshima residents. In fact, Zouga had translated “jinrui [human being]” as “we.” The *Chūgoku Shinbun* issue of November 4, 1952, commented that it was reasonable for Judge Pal to have misunderstood the meaning of “we.” However, Judge Pal was convinced of the actual meaning following a protestation by Zouga (Takeuchi, 2005).



The Paper on which the Original Epitaph was Written for the Memorial Inscription for the Victims of the A-bomb

(In Possession of the Hiroshima University Archives)

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum opened in 1955. It exhibits materials gathered by Mr. Shōgo Nagaoka—who was a part-time lecturer at the Hiroshima Bunri University (now Hiroshima University)—immediately after the atomic bombing. In 1959, when Mr. Hamai again became the mayor of Hiroshima, Mr. Nagaoka was

appointed as a director. In the mayoral election of April 1955, the sitting mayor, Shinzō Hamai, was defeated by a newcomer, Tadao Watanabe. On April 6, 1955, the first world conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs was held in the Hiroshima Town Hall, in addition to the Peace Memorial Ceremony that was organized by Hiroshima City. After these events, the pacifist movements in Hiroshima became further animated. Mr. Hamai, then out of power, made the following statement on these movements: “Initially, they (pacifist movements in Hiroshima) were not started by any particular leader, political party, or ideology group. They were movements borne out of the earnest wishes of the citizens who had experienced an atomic bombing to not invite these tragedies again. Then they were unexpectedly integrated. There was no difference between the Right and the Left, nor between capitalists and the labor class. There were no boundaries between the ideologies or regions. They were movements spread among all the citizens, as human beings, each with the determination to eliminate war and establish permanent peace” (Hamai, 1967). Needless to say, in the background of these movements, an accident occurred wherein Daigo FukuryūMaru was exposed to the radioactive fallout from the hydrogen bomb test conducted by the U.S. at the Bikini Atoll on March 1, 1954. Hamai’s Book (1967, pp. 266–275) summarizes the context within which the actions of the Japan Council against atomic and hydrogen bombs, which were not based on mere ideology, began to assume left-wing characteristics. During the Watanabe administration, which only lasted one term, the Hiroshima City Stadium was built. Shinzō Hamai (with the support of the opposition, which comprised parties such as the Socialist Party of Japan) was reelected as the mayor in April 1959.

On July 20, 1965, an investigation was commenced to test the structural strength of the A-Bomb Dome, with the aim of establishing it as a permanent monument. The Hiroshima City Council approved a resolution for its permanent preservation by unanimous consent on July 11, 1966. Once this proceeding was concluded, Mayor Hamai resigned from the post of mayor. Thirty years later, in December 1996, the A-Bomb Dome was listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, which cited it as a symbol of the pledge to seek for both the elimination of nuclear

weapons and peace for all human beings. Its official name in English is the “Hiroshima Peace Memorial.” On April 21, 2006, even the buildings of the Peace Memorial Museum were designated as a cultural asset of national importance.

In this chapter, we have reviewed the history of Hiroshima City in terms of how it changed from being a military city to being a peace memorial city. By reviewing this history, readers might recognize the will of the leaders aiming to realize its new identity as a “peace memorial city,” and the will of the victims and citizens and their changing roles. Inoue describes his impression of the time when A-bomb victims visited the victims of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and mentions it as follows: “The (A-bomb) victims spoke with the victims of the terrorist attacks and shared their feelings, appealing that they should not allow the death of their blood family to become a reason for reprisal. The Japanese group affirmed the message that Hiroshima has transformed its tragic experience to energy for peace.” (Inoue, 2003, p. 163) In the same vein, Shinoda (2007a) remarks as follows: “What Mayor Hamai indicates is the vitality of human beings who keep to their path positively even in an incredibly difficult condition. It is the will power of human beings to appeal to the importance of displaying their ideals even if they undergo distress, anger, sadness, and suffering. There is no limit on its importance” (Shinoda, 2007a). Thus, Inoue and Shinoda summarized the strengths and transformational developments of the people who had contributed to the reconstruction of Hiroshima through their own expressions. Next, I will discuss the process through which the A-bomb Dome was preserved, enabling it to remain as a symbol. Furthermore, I will trace the changes in its symbolic meanings.

3. A-Bomb Dome: The Changes in its Symbolic Meanings

3-1 The A-Bomb Remains and the Problems Encountered for their Preservation

The A-Bomb remains, now known as the A-Bomb Dome, was a part of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall ruined by the atomic bomb. The Industrial Promotion Hall was originally constructed as the Hiroshima Prefectural Products

Exhibition Hall on April 5, 1914. The purpose of this hall was to promote the domestic sale of goods produced in Hiroshima, and it thrived in the wake of the supply routes created as a result of the transportation of military goods after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) (*Hiroshima no Hibaku Kenzoubutsu wa Kataru* [Atomic-Bombed Buildings in Hiroshima Tell Stories], 1996).³ The intensification of the war led the government to discontinue the commercial use of the Industrial Promotion Hall on March 31, 1944 (*Dome wa Yobikakeru* [A-Bomb Dome Appeals], 1967, p. 26). Instead, it was used to house the branch office of the Chugoku Shikoku Public Works Office of the Internal Affairs Agency and the offices of the Hiroshima District Lumber and Japan Lumber Control Corporation.

The Industrial Promotion Hall had been a landmark in Hiroshima even before the atomic bombing (*Memorial Journal for Designation of A-Bomb Dome as a World Heritage Site*, 1997, p. 38). Ogura also remarked that “that old, and a bit non-Japanese flavored, brick building with a quaint dome was a Hiroshima institution” (Ogura, 1948, p. 175). According to *The History of Hiroshima City Vol. 4* (1972, p. 414), “the principal business was to display commodities produced and sold by the traders in Hiroshima Prefecture and others for reference, to sell products on consignment to traders, to conduct research on commerce and industry, to contact potential buyers for intermediate trading, and so on. Compared with other products facilities across the country, it was so remarkable in terms of facility integrity and scale that it added beauty to the landscape of Hiroshima.” We can also surmise that the Industrial Promotion Hall had continued to be a landmark even after the atomic bombing and before it began to be regarded as a symbol. In May 1946, the Hiroshima Student Culture Development Association—established by volunteering school teachers and staff in Hiroshima—organized a sketching event for the students of their elementary schools (third grade and above). The Aioi Bridge and Industrial Promotion Hall at the center of the explosion were designated as the subjects.

³ Although the original address was Saiku-machi, Hiroshima City, the address had changed to Sarugaku-chō following a land rearrangement and to the present address—1-10 Ōte-machi, Naka ward, Hiroshima—following the most recent land

After the end of World War II, Hiroshima was placed under the control of Australian and British troops. Existing photographs show that a number of Allied soldiers, commanders, and other VIPs visited the A-bomb ruins of the Industrial Promotion Hall. They would etch their names on the wall of the A-Bomb Dome at the time. In 1947, a monument named the Peace Memorial Tower was built near the A-Bomb Dome (Hiroshima City, 1996 b, p. 26). Two pictures of the Industrial Promotion Hall were placed on the left-hand side of the monument, one with a note stating “BEFORE COLLAPSE” and the other with a note stating “AFTER COLLAPSE.” In between them was an engraving depicting a pigeon flying in front of a mushroom cloud. Apparently, the carved names and the monument were regarded as proof that the Allied Forces viewed the ruins of the Industrial Promotion Hall as a symbol of their victory in the war and their great achievements (namely, the development and dropping of A-bombs and the termination of the war). From what we can infer from the photographs taken in 1951, these engravings were removed. In their place, a plaque was placed providing a simple explanation of the facts of the A-bomb damages in Japanese and English (*ibid*, p. 140).

The time from which the Industrial Promotion Hall began to be called the “A-Bomb Dome,” and not the Exhibition Hall, is uncertain (*Dome wa Yobikakeru*, 1967, p. 26). While researching, the first instance of the term “dome” that I came across in printed materials was in *Hiroshima* (Hersey, 1946). Appearing in a feature article entitled “Hiroshima” in the *New Yorker* issue of August 31, 1946, it was included in a phrase by Father Kleinsorge when he was describing the circumstances around the center of the explosion as follows: “The Museum of Science and Industry, with its dome stripped to its steel frame, as if for an autopsy” (*ibid*, 1946, p. 88). However, when John Hersey visited Hiroshima in May 1946, he was still writing the book *Hiroshima*. Therefore, the term A-Bomb Dome had not yet been generalized at the time. This book was translated and published in Japan in April 1949. As we can see from Father Kleinsorge’s statement, his use of the word “dome” was quite remarkable as it appeared to refer to an atomic-bombed landmark.

rearrangement.

Norman Cousin, the chief editor of the *Saturday Review*, visited Hiroshima on August 11, 1949. After he returned to the U.S., he contributed an article to the feature entitled “Hiroshima—Four Years Later” in the *Saturday Review* with the following headline: “The famous land mark of the atomic explosion, the hollowed-out dome of the old Industrial Exhibition Hall” (Cousin 1949, p. 9). Furthermore, the text of the report contained an interesting expression: “The dome, or what used to be a dome, of the old Industrial Exhibition Hall.” He had visited numerous places in Hiroshima accompanied by Mayor Hamai and Mrs. Tanimoto. Considering these descriptions, there is no evidence that people called the building the “Atomic-bombed Dome or A-Bomb Dome” at that point in time. The term “hollowed-out” that Mr. Cousin used appears to be based on his own impressions, and therefore, it is apparent that neither was it called by this name nor was it a translation.

It was not until June, 23 1950, that the term A-Bomb Dome first appeared in *Chugoku Shinbun*. Although the term “dome” appeared in an issue on August 2, 1947, as mentioned above, John Hersey had used the same term in his book a year ago. Moreover, even after June 23, 1950—when it appeared for the first time—both the names Industrial Promotion Hall and Exhibition Hall were used intermittently for a period of time. However, at the round-table discussion “Discussion on the Peace Festival” (*Chugoku Shinbun*), Mayor Shinzō Hamai of Hiroshima City, Governor Hiroo Ōhara of Hiroshima Prefecture, and the president of Hiroshima University, Tatsuo Morito, used the term A-bomb Dome. The first appearance of the term A-Bomb Dome in the *City in Brief* is found in its 1958 version (*City in Brief*, 1958, p. 51). Thus, it is evident that the nominal use of A-Bomb Dome had already been extended generally in the early 1950s, since newspaper readers could identify what the A-Bomb Dome was in reference to.

A discussion on the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome and other A-Bomb ruins had begun immediately after the explosion. According to an article in *Chugoku Shinbun* on September 2, 1945, Hiroshima Prefecture was planning a memorial facility. It was proposed that the places with scorched earth be preserved in their original state. On the other hand, taking into account the fact that the toxic influence of the A-Bomb

would remain there for a considerably lengthy period of time, another proposal was made to leave the land at the center of the explosion vacant. Meanwhile, on February 27, 1946, Mr. Kōichi Hata (1896–1957)—who composed the songs “Asakusa March” and “A Song of Flush Days”—insisted through the title “Zenzen Atarashii Hiroshima wo [Give Us a Totally New Hiroshima]” that “I do not want to keep anything but the memories of the A-Bomb written in books as historical materials on the ground of Hiroshima.”

The *Chugoku Shinbun* issue of May 30, 1946, reported that the Hiroshima Tourist Office was examining a plan to preserve the city’s partially collapsed buildings in order to establish Hiroshima City as a world-renowned tourist city. In the same month, a Major and a First Lieutenant, who were appointed as Hiroshima Reconstruction Advisors, attended the Hiroshima Reconstruction Council meetings and advised them on how the center of the explosion could be preserved and visitors’ facilities established. Their advice most likely influenced the plans of the Hiroshima Tourist Office.

Shinzō Hamai assumed the mayorship of Hiroshima City on April 17, 1947. On August 10, 1947, Hiroshima City selected “10 sites affected by the A-Bomb” to illustrate the uniqueness of the damage caused by A-bombs to future generations. However, the Industrial Promotion Hall and the land at the center of the explosion were not included in the list. This serves as one of the examples demonstrating Hiroshima City’s initially negative attitude toward preserving the Industrial Promotion Hall.

On March 28, 1948, the Hiroshima Tourist Office and Hiroshima Tram planned a sightseeing bus service for a tour around the center of the explosion or other such sites with the aim of establishing Hiroshima as a tourist city. On July 12, 1948, the Hiroshima Tourist Office specified 13 locations such as the old Industrial Promotion Hall as potential A-Bomb landmarks. The result of a poll conducted by the Hiroshima Tourist Office, which asked residents whether the old Industrial Promotion Hall at the center of the explosion should be preserved or abolished, appeared in *Chugoku Shinbun* on August 18, 1948. The total number of respondents was 604, of

which 436 favored preservation and 168 did not. It is evident from these numbers that the voice of the residents supporting preservation had been strong since soon after the atomic bombing. Additionally, it tells us that the tourism industry generated a positive attitude toward the preservation.

However, the opposing view also prevailed to a certain extent. The *Evening Hiroshima*, in its issue dated October 10, 1948, inserted pictures of the A-Bomb ruins in Hiroshima City with the headline “Until when are you going to remain as you are?” An article regarding the Industrial Promotion Hall was published, which stated as follows: “It has been four years leaving such debris which is nothing but a miserable sight in the middle of the city. It is about time for the citizens of Hiroshima to eliminate the spiritual poverty of those intending to arouse sympathy by displaying their pockmarked faces to the world.” Moreover, according to Inoue (2003), the mental damage was so severe that a number of A-bomb victims had either sealed off their memories of the incident or left Hiroshima. Thus, the opposition to the preservation of the sites must have been derived from concerns about Hiroshima City’s external appearance and the mental trauma of the victims.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was passed by the Diet on May 11, 1949. The construction proposal for the Peace Memorial Park, which was prepared by Associate Professor Kenzō Tange, was adopted along with this law. The plan was to create an axis line running along a 100-meter wide road from which the Hiroshima Peace City Commemoration (Cenotaph) and A-Bomb Dome could be observed through the columns of the Peace Memorial Museum. Thus, although this construction plan had also included the A-Bomb Dome, at the time of planning, it was uncertain as to whether or not the A-Bomb Dome would be preserved. In later years, Professor Tange would comment on the A-Bomb Dome as follows: “The A-Bomb Dome was one of the modern buildings in Hiroshima, called the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall at that time. This Industrial Promotion Hall had left its painful body to reveal the iron frame beyond the river on eastern side of the top of the triangle (named Nakajima Park). There was a heated debate over it. One side insisted that it be removed, since its catastrophic appearance would not be appropriate in

peacetime. The other side insisted on preserving it all the more because of its catastrophic nature. I thought we should keep it. I thought we should preserve this Dome as a symbol in order not to ever forget the horror, brutality, and inhumanity of atomic bombs, and not to allow human beings to use atomic bombs any more” (Memorial Journal for Designation of the A-Bomb Dome as a World Heritage Site, 1997). From this statement, we can infer that there was a debate at that time over whether or not the A-Bomb Dome should be preserved as well as the primary arguments that each side presented. and How Professor Tange who designed Peace Memorial Park thought about preservation of the Dome to make the design proposal.

According to the *Chugoku Shinbun* issue dated February 11, 1950, Hiroshima City had polled 500 A-bomb experienced people on right or wrong, their preferences with respect to the preservation of the Industrial Promotion Hall, and their impression of the Peace Festival held in October 1949. Of the 428 who responded, 62% preferred that the Promotion Hall be preserved. The reasons they cited were as follows: “for commemoration,” “as a warning against war,” “as a symbol of peace,” and so on. In contrast, the major reason that the remaining respondents wished for the removal of the Industrial Promotion Hall was that “they do not want to be reminded of the tragedy.” This poll illustrates the fact that the majority of the citizens, particularly those who had experienced the A-bomb firsthand, preferred to preserve the Industrial Promotion Hall.

A comment made by Mr. Yasurō Yamashita—the chairman of the Japan Federation of Architects & Building Engineers Association—appeared in the evening edition of *Chugoku Shinbun* on June 4, 1950 as follows: “It would be better to remove the ruined Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall.” On July 31, *Chugoku Shinbun* carried a picture of the tattered A-Bomb Dome. Moreover, on October 24, it published an article in its edition, entitled “The Treatment of the A-Bomb Dome.” This article expressed the following sentiment: “Isn’t it (A-Bomb Dome) too miserable to be regarded as a symbol of Hiroshima? Don’t you feel something in common with the mindset of the shameless and slavish people who go begging around streets capitalizing on their own pockmarked faces?” Thus, while the majority of the citizens called for the Industrial Promotion Hall’s preservation, it appears that the

pockmarked-face argument had been repeated again and again.

On November 29, 1950, the Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly adopted a resolution to request the national government to designate the old Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall as a historical site under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. The proposal was submitted by Hiroshi Doi, an assembly member. The arguments he provided in favor of the proposal were as follows: “Hiroshima underwent unprecedented damage caused by the atomic bomb and had become a focus of world sympathy and attention. The old Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall at the center of the explosion exists as the only historical site which tells of the brutal damage. However, the devastation caused by 5 years of wind and rain is so severe that it is in danger of collapsing, and the price escalation of steel materials has resulted in theft from the building; its preservation is in a very regrettable condition. Therefore, I urge you to designate this atomic-bombed building as a historic site pursuant to the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties; to collect and exhibit the materials and mementos related to the atomic bomb contained inside the Dome; to lay them open for visits by not only Hiroshima residents but also domestic or foreign visitors; to aim for its adequate preservation; to take prompt measures as well construct a peaceful Hiroshima so as to make it a symbol of world peace” (Archived Material of the Proceeding Division, Hiroshima Prefectural Assembly). Thus, we can conclude that the steel frames of the Dome were stolen due to the prevailing shortage of materials. Furthermore, it confirms that Hiroshima Prefecture was uniquely attempting to have the Industrial Promotion Hall designated as a historical site and a museum. Meanwhile, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law entered into force, the construction of the Peace Memorial Park was a work in progress, and the framework of the Peace Memorial Museum was established. However, it was considered that Hiroshima Prefecture might not always adopt a positive approach to the plans for Hiroshima City. As a result, the Industrial Promotion Hall was not designated as a historical site pursuant to the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties.

Mayor Hamai, the governor of Hiroshima Prefecture—Hiroo Ōhara—and the president of Hiroshima University—Tatsuo Morito—stated that the “preservation of

the ruins is not necessary” at the round-table discussion on the Peace Festival, which was held on August 6, 1951 (*Chugoku Shinbun*). Mayor Hamai remarked that “I think it is impossible to preserve it. The human shadow on the stone and the gas tanks seem to be fading away. I think spending money for the preservation of the Dome is not worth doing.” Governor Ōhara remarked that “I think, unless we incite the people’s hostility, it is not necessary to preserve it for the commemoration of peace.” Tatsuo Morito mentioned that “I think there is no necessity to preserve it, too. In any case, it is more significant to create a sanctuary of peace, paying no attention to the past. I don’t really feel good about keeping it for all time.” On January 25, 1952, the Committee on Reconstruction of the Industrial Promotion Hall, comprising members from the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Hiroshima City, petitioned Hiroshima Prefecture to rebuild the Industrial Promotion Hall under prefectural management. At this point, it is understandable that there was a large difference of opinion between the members of the Prefectural Assembly and the citizens and Mayor Hamai as well as Hiroshima City at large regarding the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome. Additionally, Governor Ōhara’s statement of “unless we incite people’s hostility” seems to imply that he apprehended—indeed, he seemed to wish that this would not be the case—that the Industrial Promotion Hall could become a symbol of antipathy toward the U.S.

In 1953, the tones of Mayor Hamai and Hiroshima City began to shift slightly. At the monthly regular meeting of the Hiroshima Junior Chamber held on February 13, 1953, Mayor Hamai remarked on the preservation of the old Industrial Promotion Hall as follows: “In my personal viewpoint, since devastation at that level could be made by a normal fire, it would not be a help toward indicating the power of an atomic bomb. However, I think it is better to leave it for a while because I find it helpful currently as a figure symbolizing Hiroshima” (*Chugoku Shinbun*). This statement is significant due to its implication that the mayor was acknowledging the fact that the A-Bomb was becoming a symbol of Hiroshima at this stage.

Subsequently, jurisdiction over the old Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall was transferred from Hiroshima Prefecture to Hiroshima City. In the *Chugoku Shinbun*

issue dated February 15, 1953, the following article was printed with the headline “A-Bomb Dome Transferred to Hiroshima City”: “A notice was announced in the name of Governor Ōhara that the world-famous A-Bomb Dome (the old Industrial Promotion Hall, Sarugakuchō, Hiroshima Prefecture), as a symbol of the atomic-bombed Hiroshima, would be transferred to Hiroshima City as a result of an application by the city. While the Parks and Greens Division of Hiroshima City is to manage it as a park facility, at this point, their policy is not to implement any special measures to either preserve or to demolish it but to leave it until its natural collapse.” This article reveals that Hiroshima City agreed with the above sentiments of Mayor Hamai. Considering the fact that this policy of neglect continued until the 1965 investigation into the Industrial Promotion Hall’s preservation, it can be concluded that such a policy was propounded by Mayor Hamai and Hiroshima City.

On May 21, 1954, the Hiroshima Prefectural Tourist Federation called for the city to establish the “A-Bomb Dome Preservation Campaign Association” for the purpose of preserving the A-Bomb Dome. The reason for their appeal was as follows: “The A-Bomb Dome is a symbol of Hiroshima residents striving for peace. It is a historical monument and a precious tourism resource for Hiroshima City.” In light of such mounting public opinion, the Parks and Greens Division of Hiroshima City, which managed the A-Bomb Dome, surrounded it with a wired fence and declared it to be off limits.

The first discussion on the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome was held at the Hiroshima City Council meeting on March 15, 1956. A city council member named Yoshirō Uemura posed the following question: “I would like to hear the mayor’s view on the future of the A-Bomb Dome.” Mayor Tadao Watanabe, who had been the mayor since April 1955, replied as follows: “Although we must decide to either preserve or demolish it as soon as possible, in my heart, I feel that it should be left for a while as a atomic-bombed landmark for sightseeing purposes rather than rebuilt as the Industrial Promotion Hall” (The History of Hiroshima City Council: Record Materials vol. II, 1987, p. 816). According to the official records, this was the first time that the term A-Bomb Dome was used at the city council. However, Mayor Watanabe did not

express any considerations for the feelings of A-Bomb victims in his statement.

Nagasaki had a problem similar to Hiroshima's vacillation on the issue of the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome. On March 14, 1958, the ruins of Urakami Cathedral began to be demolished (Nagasaki Nichinichi Shinbun, March 15, 1958). The request for its preservation was unanimously approved by the Nagasaki City Council. Moreover, the mayor, Tsutomu Tagawa, attempted to persuade Archbishop Yamaguchi, who represented Urakami Cathedral, to advocate for the preservation. However, their request was not granted. Further, *Chugoku Shinbun* did not mention this matter. For this reason, it appears that there was, in fact, no exchange of opinion between Hiroshima City and Nagasaki City regarding the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome in Hiroshima and Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki, nor does it appear that the citizens of either city cared for the preservation of the other's ruins. Therefore, it is difficult to consider that the demolition of the ruins in Nagasaki had any influence over Hiroshima.

A German-born journalist and writer, Robert Yung, contributed a column entitled "A-Bomb Dome" to the *Chugoku Shinbun* issue dated August 5, 1959. Yung remarked in this column that the "A-Bomb Dome has become a worldwide symbol as famous as the Acropolis in Athens and the Colosseum in Rome. However, while the Acropolis and Colosseum speak only of past destiny, that round tower of the old Industrial Promotion Hall warns against the possible fate of the future." Moreover, a writer named Torahiko Tamiya contributed an article entitled "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Okinawa" for the *Chugoku Shinbun* issue dated August 1, 1960. Tamiya wrote as follows: "The past will be forgotten. This is fate. However, not all of the past is allowed to be forgotten. I guess that even if it will collapse and be reduced into piles of iron frames and rubble, the Hiroshima A-Bomb Dome must be left at the place where it will remain forever." Thus, discussions on the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome became a popular issue around August 6 of every year. However, there was no organized movement for the preservation in the 1950s.

3-2 From Neglect to Preservation

On May 5, 1960, Hiroshima Orizuru no Kai (Origami Bird Society of Hiroshima) decided to begin a formal petition and fund-raising campaign for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome (Kensyō Hiroshima 1945–1995 [Validation of Hiroshima 1945–1995], p. 267). On August, 4, Mayor Hamai announced that the Dome would be demolished in the near future. He stated that “it will cost about 10,000,000 yen to preserve the Dome. This debris does not have any academic value that proves the power of the A-Bomb itself” (Choubunsha Editorial Department, 1990). The evening edition of *Chugoku Shinbun* for August 21 featured an issue on whether the A-Bomb Dome should be preserved or demolished. In this feature article, Mayor Hamai stated: “I will decide in accordance with the public opinion.” On August 28, in front of the Children’s Peace Monument, 10 children belonging to Hiroshima Orizuru no Kai called for donations and signatures in an appeal for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome. The trigger for the first preservation movement was the diary of Hiroko Tsubakiyama from Fuchū Machi, who had died of acute leukemia in April of that year. In her diary, she wrote as follows: “Only the Epigraph on the Cenotaph for the A-Bomb victims and that painful A-Bomb Dome will speak about the fearful atomic bombs to the world after the twentieth century” (Kensyō Hiroshima 1945–1995, p. 262). On December 2, the representative of the Japan Council against atomic and hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyō: Communist group) visited the Hiroshima City Hall and requested Deputy Mayor Masao Katō to preserve the A-Bomb Dome. The representative remarked that the “A-Bomb Dome is a symbol of the movements against A-bombs and H-bombs around the world. It should be preserved not to work against those movements. I hope that the city council will pass a resolution on the preservation of the Dome.” In the period from 1955 to the 1960s, when civil movements inspired by the growing communist movements were initiated, the civil movements in Hiroshima began to influence the municipal administration.

August 29, 1961, when Yasuo Kondō, a professor emeritus of Kyoto University, visited Hiroshima to deliver a lecture on concrete, he pointed out the necessity of reinforcement work, stating that the “A-Bomb Dome is in a very critical

condition. There is a possibility that it will collapse from the vibrations caused by passing cars.” Hiroshima City exhibited a negative attitude toward this in the sense that “it is technically impossible to reinforce it while retaining the original form” (*Chugoku Shinbun*). According to the *Chugoku Shinbun* issue dated October 5, 1963, since there was a possibility of the A-Bomb Dome collapsing as a result of the construction of the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry building, which was located nearby, the Chamber requested the Faculty of Engineering of Hiroshima University to investigate the Dome’s structure. Responding to this request, Yasuo Yano—a lecturer from the Faculty of Engineering—carried out a seismic qualification test (*Chugoku Shinbun*, October 23). On this occasion, Mayor Hamai remarked that “I think the Dome is not worth preserving if it needs reinforcement.” On April 11, 1964, when the risk of the Dome’s collapse increased, Hiroshima City ordered the residents of a privately-owned house to evacuate the area. Since that time, expert opinions on building’s engineering systems began to be clear. However, it is remarkable that the policy of Mayor Hamai and the city hall—namely, waiting for a natural collapse—did not change.

From late 1964 until 1965, with the increase in the movements against A-bombs and H-bombs, the A-Bomb Dome preservation movements also became more active. On November 26, 1964, the Hiroshima branch of the Japan Congress against A-Bombs and H-Bombs (Gensuikin: Socialist group; hereafter, referred to as the Gensuikin Hiroshima Congress) decided to support the A-Bomb Dome preservation movements. Further, on November 28, the Gensuikin Hiroshima Congress (socialist group) determined a project plan for the 20th anniversary of the atomic bombing. The project plan set out the following four aims: (1) develop a campaign to lobby for the submission of a white paper on A-bombs; (2) compile the history of the campaigns against A-bombs and H-bombs; (3) establish a campaign for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome; and (4) construct the Gensuikin Hall (*Chugoku Shinbun*). On December 22, 11 pacifist organizations, including the Gensuikin Hiroshima Congress, Christian Congregation of Hiroshima, Hiroshima Conference of Region and Peace, and Academics Protecting Peace and Knowledge, among other,

requested Mayor Hamai to arrange for the permanent preservation of the A-Bomb Dome. Responding to this request, Mayor Hamai promised to include research expenses in the budget for 1956 for the purpose of investigating preservation methods. It is interesting that while the Christians belonging to Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki advocated the demolition of the city's ruins—which resulted in the removal of the cathedral—Christians in Hiroshima advocated the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome. In other words, Hiroshima's stance discredits the criticism or allegation that the preservation of the ruins did not correspond with Christian values.

On February 11, 1965, Hiroshima City decided to include 1,000,000 yen in the budget for 1965 as expenses for investigating the structural strength of the A-Bomb Dome. On the same day, Orizuru no Kai contributed 9,181 yen toward the A-Bomb Dome preservation funds as well as 1,300 signatures to Hiroshima City. Mayor Hamai would remark at a later date that “I was strongly inspired by a petition by Orizuru no Kai at that time” (Hamai, 1967, p. 312). Mr. Shinich Iwamoto, who was a member of Orizuru no Kai, wrote an article for the *Chugoku Shinbun* issue of March 4 entitled “Let's leave the A-Bomb Dome.” On March 29, Dr. Yasuo Kondō, a professor emeritus of Kyoto University, Dr. Hideki Yukawa, and Dr. Kenzō Tange visited Mayor Hamai as a group to request him to preserve the A-Bomb Dome. In their “request for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome,” they remarked that the “A-Bomb Dome is a memorial, a sacred edifice symbolizing the atomic-bombed city Hiroshima, and an unparalleled worldwide cultural property” (The History of Hiroshima City Council: Record Materials vol. II, p. 823). Professor Kondō contributed a series of articles entitled “Appealing for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome” to *Chugoku Shinbun*, starting from April 30. In the articles, Professor Kondō argued as follows: “In order to eliminate atomic and hydrogen bombs from the Earth for good, I hope it would be left alone at the present place.”

Under the influence of these cumulative requests and preservation campaigns, an investigation into the feasibility of permanently preserving the A-Bomb Dome began on July 20, 1965. The investigation was commissioned to Professor Shigeo Satō from the Faculty of Engineering of Hiroshima University. An interim report submitted

by Prof. Satō on November 15 stated that the A-Bomb Dome could be preserved with reinforcement. With the investigation result indicating that the preservation was technically possible, the calls for the A-Bomb Dome to be preserved only increased further. The principal actress of the film *Hiroshima 1966*, Yūko Mochizuki, visited Hiroshima City Hall on April 22, 1966. She advocated the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome, saying that “it should be absolutely preserved as a proof of the war” (Chugoku Shinbun, April 23, 1966). Professor Hideki Yukawa of Kyoto University visited Hiroshima and made the following statement at a press conference on May 8: “I really want the A-Bomb Dome to be preserved for the future of human beings. We must not forget the awfulness of nuclear weapons, waiting to destroy human beings forever” (Chugoku Shinbun, May 9, 1966).

On July 11, 1966, the Hiroshima City Council unanimously resolved to permanently preserve the A-Bomb Dome. Draft resolution No. 21 entitled “The resolution on request for the preservation of the A-Bomb Dome” stated as follows: “Hiroshima City completed an investigation of the methods for the A-Bomb Dome preservation last year, spending 1,000,000 yen for the investigation costs. It was reported that the Dome could be preserved by reinforcement. Preservation of the Dome along with the prevention of nuclear war and comprehensive prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs is the earnest desire of the atomic bomb victims, all citizens, and the people who wish for peace around the country. It is one of our duties toward the souls of the two hundred thousand A-Bomb victims and the people wishing for world peace to preserve the Dome in perfect condition to leave it to future generations. Therefore, the Council has decided to take every possible measure to preserve the Dome” (July 11, Shōwa 41 (1966), Hiroshima City Council, *The History of the Hiroshima City Council: Record Materials vol. II*, p. 822).

Mayor Hamai reviewed the progress of the A-Bomb Dome preservation as follows: “The A-Bomb Dome—it is a monument representing a permanent ardent wish for seeking peace among human beings. (Snip) During the deliberations of the city reconstruction plan, quite a lot of opinions were expressed, insisting that ‘in order to transmit the terrible devastation of an atomic bomb, the A-Bomb Dome should be

preserved just as it is.’ On the other hand, there were also a large number expressing the opposite opinion. These people alleged that ‘in the case that world peace is truly wished for, things which remind us of the past animosity or hatred should be removed immediately.’ In particular, for the people who lost their own dear children, darling husbands or wives, or their beloved families and relatives, the appearance of the Dome will be forever gut-wrenching. The majority opinions of the victims claimed that such a thing should be demolished as soon as possible. It was understandable. However, the question is not which side is right or wrong. In deciding whether or not we should leave it, money was the first consideration. Since it was impossible to allocate sufficient funds for this in the budget, we decided to leave it alone. Later, an investigation report was submitted by Prof. Satō. It said that the Dome has suffered countless cracks, large and small, on all sides, and the cement protecting the bricks has decayed. Therefore, there is a possibility of collapse unless we reinforce it before it is too late. The report also introduced a construction method for the reinforcement, which is to press an excellent new architectural glue into the cracks in order to stop the cracking, keep the building standing, and preserve it. This construction method encouraged us more than a little. It is no longer a question of whether we should remove or leave it. I think that now is the time to decide to reinforce and preserve it. Human life is finite. The people who experienced that tragedy and learned a lesson firsthand will also gradually begin dying after a while. Therefore, we must preserve this Dome to carry out the mission of the witnesses. This means leaving the most tragic history of World War II here as it is and letting it bear the cross for world peace. I think it should” (Hamai, 1967). Mayor Hamai also stated in another media report that “nowadays, it so happens that the public opinion has been confirmed as being in favor of the preservation, and the city council has unanimously resolved to arrange for the preservation. Considering these circumstances, Hiroshima City is determined to reinforce the Dome and preserve it forever” (Dome wa Yobikakeru, 1967, p. 21).

If we were to review only the statements that were made after it was determined that the A-Bomb Dome would be preserved, it would not be difficult to form the impression that Mayor Hamai had intended to preserve it from the very

beginning and that he had merely been waiting for the opportunity to do so. However, by reviewing all of his historical statements and actions, as done in this section, it becomes obvious that he had originally had a negative attitude. It was the presence of the A-Bomb Dome itself and numerous concerned people who influenced his change of mind.

The president of the Knack Visual Center, Mr. Masaaki Tanabe, remarked in the *Asahi Shinbun* issue of January 22, 1997, that “the appearance of the A-Bomb Dome after the war reminded us of the hell. However, I began to identify with the Dome after reaching the age of 50. The Promotion Hall had suffered serious injury, and I was hurt mentally by the atomic bomb. Now, I feel that the figure of the Dome looks like myself.” His house was located next to the Industrial Promotion Hall at the time of the atomic bombing. Thus, the feelings of the A-Bomb victims who had initially protested against the preservation had altered with time.

In December 1996, the A-bomb Dome was included on the World Heritage List as a symbol of the vow to abolish nuclear weapons and establish peace for all humankind. The registered official name in English is “The Hiroshima Peace Memorial.”

In this chapter, I have summarized the history of the A-Bomb Dome preservation efforts and provided the testimonies of Mayor Hamai and others. The history appears to imply that the symbolic meanings of the A-Bomb Dome has changed or multiplied with time. It was a symbol of victory and great achievement to the Allied Forces right after the atomic bombing. It then became an exhibit of the damage caused by the atomic bomb, a symbol of its destructive capability. As is appreciated from the expression of then mayor Kihara—namely, the “atomic bomb which brought peace”—concrete concepts such as “anti-nuclear activism” had not been established as yet. Moreover, as we can surmise from the comment made by Mayor Hamai that it did not have academic value in terms of proving the A-Bomb damage—which became the basis for the decision to remove the A-Bomb Dome—it was regarded as being worthless after the initial analysis.

Eventually, it became a symbol of the horrors of war, which led to the

argument that it should be duly preserved. Nevertheless, given its symbolic representation of the horrors of warfare and A-Bomb damage, it is understandable that the victims of the A-bomb viewed its continued existence as a reminder of that gut-wrenching experience and that they requested it be removed. Meanwhile, another idea took root—the preservation of such ruins would carry over the disastrous result of the war to the future generations, which in turn, might persuade them not to repeat such destructive behavior. Additionally, since the preservation imposed a financial burden on Hiroshima Prefecture and Hiroshima City, the building had been neglected and the issue sidelined for over 20 years after the atomic bombing.

Years later, the symbolic significance of the A-Bomb Dome became associated with peace movements such as Orizuru no Kai or the campaigns against A-bombs and H-bombs and nuclear weapons. The decision to preserve the A-bomb dome was due to the following reasons: civil movements such as the preservation campaigns organized by various groups and citizens; technical innovation for the preservation; alteration of the feelings of the A-Bomb victims with time; and prospects for raising funds for the preservation after a period of economic growth. Finally, it was included on the World Heritage List as a symbol for those campaigning against nuclear weapons and for permanent peace. At the same time, it has been viewed as a symbol of Hiroshima since the bombing.

4. Conclusion

The A-Bomb Dome has been a symbol that has influenced people in various ways since the time of the bombing. Immediately after the war, during Hiroshima's occupation, it had revitalized the soldiers of the Allied Forces who were stationed there as a symbol of victory and great achievement (development and dropping of the atomic bomb and termination of the war). Subsequently, it became a subject of research as a symbolic representation of the damage caused by atomic bombs. Based on the research, the atomic bomb's power was identified, and people felt threatened by it as a symbol of nuclear power at a time when the cold war was escalating. When civil movements such

as the one organized by the Japan Council against A & H Bombs had increased in the 1960s, the A-Bomb Dome was involved in the movement as a symbol of why nuclear weapons should be banned. Since 1967, it has officially been a symbol of the horrors of war and the desire for peace. Following its designation as a World Heritage Site in 1996, it has been a symbol for those campaigning against nuclear weapons and for permanent peace and a reminder of the A-bomb's destructive power to our present generation.

Bar-Tar and Bennink remarked that “the earnest wish for peace is supported by elements such as motivation, goal, confidence-building, and sensitivity. Those elements are the very products of reconciliation” (Bar-Tar and Bennink, 2004, p. 17). If the mental goal of reconstruction is found in building wish for peace or reconciliation, the A-Bomb Dome had strongly affected those people who were oriented toward the goal. Opinion polls conducted during the period when people considered that “atomic bombs provide peace” have confirmed this. The example of Hiroshima has shown that peace monuments have a strong impact on the mental states of people during reconstruction.

In the process of writing this article, I have encountered various limitations. For example, it was difficult to conduct interviews with A-Bomb victims or the people who were in responsible positions at the time. Further, since the primary materials had already disappeared, we had to rely on secondary sources. Given the fact that these conditions will only worsen in the future, I have reprinted entire sentences from some of the quotations that might be lost forever. I hope that this study will be of assistance to those who will conduct research in a similar field in the future.

If peace monuments contribute to peace and peace contributes to the economy, it will be possible to establish peace monuments using ODA. This article is written as a part of a wider research that aims to prove the primary research proposition that peace monuments contribute to peace. The impact of peace monuments on a postwar society extends beyond the mere establishment of symbolic structures or objects. At the stage of its planning or construction, dialogue between the hostile forces may be promoted. Moreover, opposing forces will be continuously provided with opportunities to

contemplate peace, for instance, during peace memorial ceremonies or monument dedications. Further, peace monuments themselves can contribute directly to peace in the regions they are located in. Their influence will be felt in the intensification of people's determination and capacity for seeking peace.

When this research is advanced, we might obtain the answer to the question concerning the optimal timing for establishing peace monuments such that they can contribute to regional peace more effectively. Concretely speaking, it could benefit peace-building efforts to focus on certain objects that should be particularly established or preserved in accordance with the types and places of the conflicts or after a certain period of time following the end of a conflict.

Acknowledgement

Ida Grandas, Yūji Uesugi, Norikazu Ōkōchi, Yūko Ōkōchi, Katsuo Ochi, Eriko Ochi, Chieko Kajiwara, Mai Katō, Haruka Kanaizuka, Yasue Kawamura, Shiori Kumasaki, Masahito Sasaki, Hideaki Shinoda, Yukiko Takashiba, Naira Babaiyan, Nader Ghotbi, Tadayoshi Fuchinokami, Yoshie Fuchinokami, Momoyo Takarada, Masatsugu Matsuo, Masahiro Yamaguchi, Tatsurō Yamane, Osamu Yoshida, Ryūichi Yoneyama, Junko Yoneyama.

Bibliography

<Japanese>

Akizuki, Shinichirō, *Shi no Dōshinen: Nagasaki Hibaku Ishi no Kiroku*, Kōdansya, 1972, p. 262.

Ishida, Nobuko, *Ayamachi wa Kurikaeshimasennkara: Hibun Ronsōno Ayumi*, in *Bulletin of Hiroshima City Document Library* Vol. 20, 1997, pp. 39–59.

Inoue, Kyōsuke, *Hiroshima: Kabe ni Nokosareta Dengon*, Syueisya, 2003, p. 185.

- Urakami Catholic Church, *Urakami Cathedral Kaisou Kinenshi*, Seibo no Kishisha, 1981, p. 33.
- Ogura, Toyofumi, *Hiroshima Genbaku no Syuki: Zetsugo no Kiroku*, Chuousha, 1948, p. 254.
- Smith, Campbell, *Kant no Eikyū Heiwaron: Shisetsu Kaisetsu to Honron*, Kindai Bungeisya, 1996, p. 224.
- Clausewitz, Karl von, translated by Japan Institute of Clausewitz, *Sensōron*, Fuyou Syobou Syuppan, 2001, p. 417.
- Sasaki, Yūichirō, *Syashin Kiroku: Hiroshima 25nen*, Asahi Shinbun Sya, 1970, p. 282
- Shinoda, Hideaki, *Heiwa Kouchiku to Hou no Shihai: Kokusai Heiwa Katsudou no Rironteki/Kinouteki Bunseki*, Soubunsysa, 2003, p. 255.
- Shinoda, Hideaki, *Ima wo Yomu: Heiwa eno Kokorozashi, Kokkyō wa Nai*, *Chugoku Shinbun*, April 8, 2007, 2007a, p. 3.
- Shinoda, Hideaki, *Heiwa towa Ikitsuzukeru Kotodearu: Kokusai Heiwa Kouchiku Katsudou to Hiroshima no Isan*, in *RATIO3*, Kodansya, 2007b, pp. 318–335.
- Hersey, John, *Hiroshima*, Housei University Press, 1949, p. 150.
- Takagi, Toshiko, *Heiwa to Kaiken: Hontou ni Korede Iinodesuka*, *Asahi Shinbun*, 21, May 2007, p. 21.
- Tagawa, Tsutomu, Nagashima, Seiichi, and 每熊儀一, *Nagasaki no Heiwa to Bunka wo Kataru*, Insatsukai August version, 1963, pp. 44–53.
- Takemura, Shinji, *Kitahata Toyohiko shi Kitaku: “Genbaku Shibotsusya Ireihi Hibun Whikishi” Kaidai*, in *Problematique VI (Bungaku/Kyouiku 6)*, 2005, p. 13.
- Tanimoto, Kiyoshi, *Hiroshima no Jujika wo Daite*, Kodansya, 1950, p. 226.
- Chugoku Shinbun Sya, *Nenpyō Hiroshima: Kakujidai 50nen no Kiroku*, 1995, p. 1946.
- Chobunsysa Editorial, *Genbaku Dome Monogatari*, Chobunsysa, 1990, p. 55.
- Teramitsu, Tadashi, *Hiroshima Heiwa Toshi Hou*, Chugoku Shinbun Sya, 1949, p. 46.
- Nagai, Takashi, *Nagasaki no Kane*, Hibiya Syuppansya, 1949, p. 319.
- Nagaskai City, *Isibumi wa Uttaeru: Genbaku Monument/Ikousyū*, Nagasaki Kokusai Bunka Kaikan Hensyū, Kabushiki Gaisya Fujiki Hirohide Sya, 1986, p. 176.
- Nagasaki City, *Nagasaki Genbaku Shiryōkan Guidebook*, Nagasaki Genbaku

- Shiryōkan, 2000, p. 20.
- Nagasaki City, Shougakkou Syokuin Kai, *Meiji Ishin Ikou no Nagasaki Nenpyō*, Nagasaki City Shougakkou Syokuin Kai, 1925, pp. 375–377.
- Nagasaki City, *Nagasaki wa Kataritsugu*, Iwanami Syoten, 1991, p. 214.
- Nagasaki City Hall, *Nagasaki Genbaku Sensaishi vol. 1: Sousetsu Hen*, Nagasaki Kokusai Bunka Kaikan, 1977, pp. 595–596.
- Nagasaki City Hall, *Nagasaki Genbaku Sensaishi vol. 2: Chiiki Hen*, Nagasaki Kokusai Bunka Kaikan, 1979, pp. 292–298.
- Homepage of Nagasaki City Hall:
(http://www1.city.nagasaki.nagasaki.jp/abm/heiwasengen/oldsengen/oldsengen_1948_j.htm)
- Nagasaki City Hall, General Affairs Department, Research and Statistics Division, *Nagasaki Shisei 65nen Shi: Zenpen*, Nagasaki City Hall, General Affairs Department, Research and Statistics Division, 1956, p. 1546.
- Nagasaki Shinbun Sya, *Nagasaki Shinbun ni Miru Nagasakiken Sengo 50nenshi*, Nagasaki Shinbun Sya, 1995, p. 312.
- Nagasaki Nichi Nichi Shinbun, *Heiwa no Syouchou wo Nokose, Iwaguchi Giin, Nagasaki Shigikai, Urakami Cathedral Mondai de Ronsen, Shicho, Genbakuka wa Kagaku de Shoumei*, February 17, 1958, p. 6.
- Nagasaki Nichi Nichi Shinbun, *Haikyo wo Zehi Nokoshitai, Rongi no Mato, Urakami Cathedral*, February 26, 1958, p. 5.
- Nagasaki Nichi Nichi Shinbun, *Genkei Hozon no Nozomi Tatsu, Urakami Cathedral no Saiken Hajimaru, Haikyo Ichibu wo Utsushite Nokosu*, March 15, 1958, p. 5.
- Nagasaki no Genbaku Ikou wo Kiroku Suru Kai, *Genbaku Ikou: Nagasaki no Kioku*, Kaichosha, 2005, pp. 47–49.
- Nagasaki Minyū Shinbun, *Urakami Cathedral Eikyūni Hozon, Tasho ni Itenshitemo, Nagasakishi ga Hyoumei, Kyoukaigawa e sarani Kousyō*, February 26, 1958, p. 5.
- Nihon Heiwa Gakkai (ed.), *Okinawa: Heiwa to Jiritsu no Tenbou*, Heiwa Kenkyū Sōsho 2, 1980, p. 280.

- Hamai, Shinzō, *Genbaku Sicho: Hiroshima to Tomoni 20nen*, Toppan Insatsu, 1967, p. 317.
- Dungen, Peter van den, translated by Tsuboi, Chikara, *International Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne (1)*, in *Sapporo Gakuin University Jinbungakukai Kiyou* 68, 2000, pp. 91–101.
- Dungen, Peter van den, translated by Tsuboi, Chikara, *International Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne (2)*, in *Sapporo Gakuin University Jinbungakukai Kiyou* 69, 2001, pp. 91–102.
- Hiroshima Prefecture, *Hiroshima Kenshi: Gendai, Tsuushi VII*, Toppan Insatsu, 1983, p. 1199.
- Hiroshima City, *Dome wa Yobikakeru: Genbaku Dome Hozon Kinenshi*, Nakamoto Insatsu, 1967, p. 88.
- Hiroshima City, *Hibaku 50 syunen, Hirowhima no Hibaku Kouzoubutsu wa Kataru: Mirai eno Kiroku*, Daigaku Insatsu, 1996a, p. 399.
- Hiroshima City, *Hibaku 50 syunen, Zusetsu Sengo Hiroshima shi: Machi to Kurashino 50nen*, Hiroshima City Plan and General Affairs Division, Document Library, 1996b, p. 382.
- Hiroshima City Council, *History of Hiroshima City Council: Record Material II*, Daigaku Insatsu, 1987, p. 1151.
- Hiroshima City Shiminkyoku Heiwa Suishin Division, *Genbaku Dome Sekai Isan Touroku Kinenshi*, Sankou, 1997.
- Hiroshima City Hall, *Bulletin of Hiroshima City Memorial Volume for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law*, Showa 24th edition, Hiroshima City General Affairs Department, Survey Division, 1950, p. 140.
- Hiroshima City Hall, *Bulletin of Hiroshima City*, Showa 33rd edition, Hiroshima City, General Affairs Department, General Affairs Division, 1958, p. 140.
- Hiroshima City Hall, *Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi*, Hiroshima City Hall, 1971, pp. 1–320.
- Hiroshima City Hall, *History of Hiroshima City* vol. 4, Meicho Syuppan, 1972, p. 765.
- Fujiwara, Kiichi, *Sensou wo Kiokusuru*, Kodansya Gendai Shinsyo, 2001, p. 204.

- Fuchinokami, Hideki and Matsuoka, Shunji, *Koukateki Enjo no Kenkyūshi*, 広島大学 連携融合事業「平和構築に向けた社会的能力の形成と国際協力のあり方に関する調査研究」, in *Discussion Paper Series* Vol. 1, 2006a, p. 14.
- Fuchinokami, Hideki, *Indonesia/Ache no Funsou Hyouka: Buryoku Funsou Yobou no tameno Kaihatsu Enjo towa*, in *Collected Papers of Reports on the 17th National Convention of International Development Institute*, 2006b, pp. 60–63.
- Matsuo, Masatsugu, *Anzen Hoshou to Heiwa*, in *Ningen no Anzen Hoshou no Saikentou: IPSHU Kenkyū Houkoku Series No. 31*, 2003, pp. 1–23.
- Yamada, Ichitarō, *Anjeras no Kane to Tomoni*, in *Shougen: Hiroshima, Nagasaki no Koe*, Nagasaki no Shougen no Kai, 1990, pp. 96–99.
- Yamane, Kazuyo, *Heiwa Hakubutsukan, Heiwa Hakubutsukan Kensetsu Undou no Genjouto Kadai*, in *Ritsumeikan Heiwa Kenkyū*, 2003, pp. 3–14.
- Galtung, J., Fujita, Akifumi (translated), *Galtung Heiwagaku Nyūmon*, Houritsu Bunkasya, 2003, p. 227.
- Galtung, J., *Peace Theory of Galtung: Globalization and Peace Creation*, Houritsu Bunkasya, 2006, p. 258.

<English>

- Bar-Tal, D. and Bennink, G.H. (2004) “The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process,” *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, Oxford University Press, pp. 11–38.
- Cousin, N. (1949) “Hiroshima—Four Years Later,” *The Saturday Review*, Vol. 32, No. 38, pp. 8–11, 30–31.
- Galtung, J. (1969) “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 167–191.
- Hersey, J. (1946) *Hiroshima*, Borzoi Books, p. 118.
- Stead, W.T. (1902) “Object Lessons in War and Peace. Opening of the Bloch Museum in Lucerne,” *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. 26, pp. 37–40.
- Tanimoto, K. (1949) “Hiroshima’s Idea” *The Saturday Review*, Vol. 32, No. 10, pp. 20–21.

Wechs, L. (1995) *Peace Museums Worldwide*, United Nations Publications on Peace, p. 72.

Wiberg, H. (1993), *European Peace Research in the 1990s*, BALAZs and Wiberg (eds.), pp. 9–25.