Hiroshima as a Social Landscape: Bright Peace and Silenced Alternatives

YUASA Daisuke

Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

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INTRODUCTION

From Jean-Paul Sartre to Jacques Derrida, many have declared the atomic bombing of Hiroshima to be a decisive event in human history.[1] Combined with highly publicised commemoration practices, Hiroshima has positioned itself distinctively within a global narrative. Despite such world-wide interests, the studies of Hiroshima have been confined within strict boundaries of prevailing academic disciplines. In other words, the academic dialogues largely remain within what Karl Polanyi calls "dignity of secular religion"[2] and is need of alternative theoretical modes that are "capable of taking into account the multiplicity of forms of social organization and ways of being human in the world today."[3] None has more acutely illustrated this prevailing academic orthodoxy than in 1994, when Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum drafted *The Last Act*; the controversial exhibit to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the World War Two. While explosion of academic literatures in the aftermath of the exhibit's abrupt cancellation presented heightened awareness of Hiroshima, they rarely went beyond description of the controversy as one of conflicting historiographies or of diplomatic

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Japanese names are rendered surnames first, followed by given names. Japanese romanisation follows the modified Hepburn style. Long vowels are, for the most part, indicated by macrons but well-known place names such as "Tokyo" are given as they are conventionally written. Literatures are referenced in an original language form. Therefore, Japanese publications are cited and referenced in Japanese, followed by English translations in square brackets. All publications in English, even if the authors' are Japanese, are cited and referenced as presented in the original English publication.

[1] See, for example, Jacques Derrida, "NO APOCALYPSE, NOT NOW (full speed ahead, seven missiles, seven missives)," Trans. Catherine Porter and Philip Lewis, *Diacritics*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 20-31.

[2] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957): 102.

[3] Fuyuki Kurasawa, *The Ethnological Imagination: A Cross-Cultural Critique of Modernity* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004): 1-2.

issues between Japan and the United States.[4]   With some notable exceptions such as Lisa Yoneyama's *Hiroshima Traces*,[5] where she demonstrates enlightening interdisciplinary developments under the umbrella of cultural studies, and Yoshikuni Igarashi's *Bodies of Memory*[6] where the study of memory is injected to the study of history to increase human aspects of the endeavour, the studies of Hiroshima, to a large extent, remain either problems to be solved or 'truths' to be sought.

This study is, foremost, an attempt to move away from forms of academic endeavour described above.   In analysing Hiroshima as a landscape, or "a composition of man-made spaces on the land,"[7] it seeks to move beyond accounts that seek to reduce Hiroshima and all its components to something to be consumed, displaced and analysed.   The study addresses how the city of Hiroshima exists, both conceptually and geographically, the way it does.   Grounded on an assumption that both (re)construction and maintenance of the landscape are inherently a product of the existing power relationship between those with the ability to control and those who are subject to it, it describes how narratives of atrocity and sites of commemoration have been subject to both conceptual and spatial confinement.   The paper argues that through such confinements, landscape has been redefined and reconstructed from a place of atrocity in 1945 to an "International City of Peace and Culture,"[8] or of 'bright and cheerful peace' (   ) in the 1970s and 1980s.

Following a brief conceptual discussion on the notion of landscape in relation to Hiroshima, the paper illustrates how the narratives of *hibakusha* – literally, those subjected to the atomic bomb or radiation – was conceptually confined to uphold Hiroshima's reconstruction

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[4] See collection of essays in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, eds. Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt (New York: Metropolitan, 1996), and Martin Harwit, *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of the Enola Gay* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1996).   Collections of essays in "Special Sections: The Enola Gay," *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (1998): 457-498 and *Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (December 1995) are also useful sources in illustrating their academic focus.
[5] Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999).
[6] Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[7] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984): 7.
[8]   [Hiroshima City Planning Bureau],   *[Town Planning in Hiroshima]* (Hiroshima: [Planning and Coordination Department], 2006): 1.

as a 'Mecca' of peace. *Hibakusha*'s narratives, predominantly focused on atrocity of their experience and often engaged in acts of subtle resistance against narratives of peace, were placed within constructed boundaries. The third section focuses on periods when the city underwent various urban developments under national government's advocacy of the 'age of localism' (   ) in the 1970s and the 'age of culture' (   ) in the 1980s. These periods were characterised by the height of national economy, growth in the theories of Japanology (   ) and Hiroshima's renewal as prosperous and modern metropolis. During these decades, city officials and urban planners engaged in spatial confinement of dark peace and development of bright and cheerful peace. The latter two sections, therefore, provide accounts of Hiroshima's construction and reconstruction of its landscape with an aim of highlighting the increasing marginalisation of what Lisa Yoneyama calls the "memoryscape,"[9] and heightened emphasis on progress and prosperity.

While the city had commenced modern city planning as early as 1923 with the introduction of Town Planning Law, followed by Town Planning Jurisdiction in 1925 and Zones for Certain Uses in 1927, I begin my analysis in 1945, the year of the atomic destruction. Fully acknowledging the artificiality of my choice, aspects of neglected continuity as well as the relevance of earlier city planning attempts on the topic at hand, the city's near-total destruction by the atomic-bomb provides a useful disjuncture in analysing city's reconstruction.

LANDSCAPE AND HIROSHIMA

The concept of 'landscape' operationalised here is indebted to John Brinckerhoff Jackson, who defines it as a "space deliberately created to speed up or slow down the process of nature."[10] The landscape is an altered environment with assigned socio-political meanings. Jackson further argues that a landscape is:

> [N]ot a natural feature of the environment but a *synthetic* space, a man-made

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[9] Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces,* 43.
[10] Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 8.

> system of spaces superimposed on the face of the land, functioning and evolving not according to natural laws but to serve a community (emphasis original).[11]

It is this anthropological characteristic of an altered environment that distinguishes the notion of landscape from notions of environment or space. Denis Cosgrove's conception of landscape concurs with Jackson's focus on human aspects of the space, but is more explicit on inherent forms of power in constructing a landscape. Cosgrove first argues that "[h]uman subjectivity provides the totality of holism, the synthetic quality, of landscape."[12] He then provides more explicit description of power within construction of landscape by further stating that:

> [L]andscape represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature.[13]

For Cosgrove, therefore, it is this ability, or power, to signify and communicate their social role that is of particular interest. This element of control – the ability to place one's self outside of the landscape to observe, externalise and consume – that distinguishes the powerful from the powerless. Cosgrove employs the concept of 'insider' and 'outsider' to further clarify the inherent power relationship, whereby the insiders, or occupiers of the space, become a part of outsiders' landscape.[14] While the distinction between the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is not as clear or simple as Cosgrove makes it sound, since the boundary between insiders and outsiders is also of a discursive construct that is subject to continual negotiation, his emphasis on one's ability to control is important in the case of Hiroshima. When Hiroshima is placed within notions of insiders and outsiders, it becomes clear that the conceptual distinction between insiders and outsiders could not be placed in binary opposition to separate those who have the control over the construction of landscape. For example, city officials and urban planners, those who are of particular interest for the purpose of this paper, could be seen as insiders from a wider global narrative, while they exist outside the boundaries of *hibakusha*'s narratives of

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998): 14.
[13] Ibid., 15.
[14] Ibid., 19.

atrocity.   Three is a necessity, therefore, to move beyond Cosgrove's dichotomous distinction that, at least conceptually, places insiders in binary opposition to the outsiders, while maintaining aspects of power, or ability to control, presented by both Jackson and Cosgrove.

In confronting the proposed dilemma above, it is useful here to introduce Arjun Appadurai's notions of locality and neighbourhood.   He introduces the concept of 'locality' to represent a complex phenomenological quality, "constituted by a series of links between the sense of immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts."[15]   The phenomenological quality, in turn, working within the discourse of Hiroshima, reproduces or maintains various aspects of the landscape of Hiroshima through context-producing activities. The landscape itself falls under Appadurai's conception of 'neighbourhood,' which refers to "actually existing social forms in which locality, as a dimension or value, is variable realized."[16] By placing the landscape of Hiroshima in juxtaposition to Appadurai's notions locality and neighbourhood, it moves beyond man's alteration of the physical environment, as described by Jackson and Cosgrove, to include conceptual, or definitional, (re)construction of the landscape. Simultaneously, it also allows for hierarchical relationship between those who have the means to control and define and those who are subject to such acts of representation.

From brief discussion of study's theoretical orientations, Hiroshima, as a landscape, is operationalised as discursively constructed conceptual reality that exists in relation to physical environments.   Subsequently, the landscape is constructed and maintained through inherent power relationship between those who do the act of controlling, or defining, and those who are subject to it.   The aspect of power relationship prevalent in the landscape of Hiroshima, and the primary focus of this study, is of conceptual and spatial confinement.   The study proposes and argues, that the city officials and urban planners, manifested both by national and transnational structural forces, engage in continuous boundary-producing activities that confine the subaltern and, thereby, transforming the landscape of atrocity into one of opulence,

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[15] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000): 178
[16] Ibid., 179.

seductiveness and comfort.

The study of Hiroshima stands independent from other studies of Japanese landscapes such as Isozaki Arata's *Of City, Nation, and Style*, where he retraces the landscape of Tsukuba Science City project in relation to the economic and political conditions of the Japanese society.[17]   While all Japanese cities underwent various urban development projects under national government's advocacy of the 'age of localism' and the 'age of culture' in the 1970s and 1980s respectively, expressions of localism and culture were more challenging and problematic for the planners of Hiroshima because government officials and city planners had to negotiate the signs of peace and capitalist prosperity with the memories of atrocity.   This unique challenge, or duality, is portrayed in the dual use of Hiroshima (   ) to contextualise narratives of peace and atrocity, and Hiroshima (   ) – dating from post-war era – to suggest a departure from an old castle town of late-nineteenth century Hiroshima (   ). Yoneyama argues that the use of Hiroshima (   ) conveys "a sense of urgency and shattering disintegration, of something outside the everyday … it conjures up such powerful visual images of the past [and it] effects alienation."[18]   In this sense, this study could be explained as an attempt to illustrate how the landscape of Hiroshima (   ) alienates Hiroshima (   ) through conceptual and spatial confinements.

HIBAKUSHA WRITERS AND CONCEPTUAL CONFINEMENT

In the immediate aftermath of the atomic destructions and the war's end, the Japanese national government established War Damage Reconstruction Institute (   ) and enacted the Special Town Planning Law (   ).   In October of 1946, Hiroshima was designated as a city eligible under Special Town Planning Law to receive national aid for its reconstruction.   In August 1949, the national government further enacted a special law, the first

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[17] Isozaki Arata, "Of City, Nation, and Style," *Postmodernism and Japan*, eds. Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian (London: Duke University Press, 1989); 47-62.
[18] Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 49.

special legislation in Japan, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law (

) to place responsibility on both national and city governments to construct

Hiroshima as a "peace memorial city to symbolize the human ideal of the sincere pursuit of

genuine and lasing peace."[19]   Following the enactments of these laws, the city officials

developed Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Plan (   ) in

1952 to designate the Peace Memorial Park and the Atomic Bomb Dome as a memorial to world

peace.   These legal developments, combined with the annual 6 August Peace Memorial

Ceremony, or 'Peace Festival' (   ), the landscape of Hiroshima, under direction and

facilitation of the city officials, began to signify the narrative of peace.   Simultaneously,

however, these were the years when the memories of the atrocity were still vivid to its citizens

and *hibakusha* writers, as they were later categorised, continually produced resistance literatures

against increasing portrayal of their landscape as a Mecca of peace.   The nation and city's

reconstruction of the landscape of Hiroshima as a city of peace was not consistent, or reflective

of, those who were victim of the atrocity.   Borrowing an excerpt from a poem titled *Peace*

Park / Laughter, Matsuo Shizuaki writes:

> Incredible laughter heard
> the invisible seen
> the forest of horror sitting in the farthest corner of the eye
> we quickly covered our white chests ...
> .....
> Now from the restaurant across the river a burst of laughter rises to the night sky
> now the fountain powerfully spouting up in the square suddenly stops.
>
> How much can words sustain space–
> when we sit facing fresh laughter again
> it becomes an incredible peal, more sharply whetted
> and splits us in two
> the funnier the laughter, the harder for us to laugh.[20]

The poem indirectly portrays the pain of living within Hiroshima's newly constructed 'peace'

and feeling of alienation from those who are able to laugh.   The imposed narrative of peace

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[19] Hiroshima City Planning Bureau, *Town Planning in Hiroshima*, 17.
[20] Matsuo Shizuaki, "Peace Park/Laughter," *The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, eds. Kyoko and Mark Selden (New York: An East Gate Book, 1989): 126-127.

then, is an illusionary concept that could only be realised by those who are capable of having control over the meanings of the landscape.   Akiya Yutaka is more explicit in his rejection of the imposed notion of peace when he writes:

> What is this age to be called now?
> An age when all is only black?
> One word,
> one dream,
> one poem that is utterly gone.
> In my heart I feel like a soldier of silence.
> *All you who speak so much,*
> *you call the illusions of this city "peace"?*
> All that I believe in
> are the words within silence,
> words full of danger (emphasis added).[21]

Here, Akiya places 'peace' as illusion in the era of darkness.   His description of the age as 'only black' contextualises the gap between landscape's departure from the atrocity and his inability to move away from it as such.

Another distinct characteristic of literatures by the *hibakusha* is their use of fiction, or forms of imaginative art, to convey their words of resistance and narratives of atrocity. Numata Toshiyuki, for example, in a form of Japanese traditional *haiku*, writes:

Peace Festival, none of my business, I shoeshine[22]

Numata's *haiku* illustrates his alienation from the annual Peace Festival that commemorates and celebrates the landscape of peace, or in other words, poem suggests his dislocation from the landscape.   Post-war literatures by Ōta Yōko, a distinguished *hibakusha* writer who was later commemorated in Hiroshima for her contributions, suggest, above all, her continual attempts to keep her work within the boundary of fiction.   Her use of terms such as 'H City' to represent Hiroshima or inexplicit introduction of fellow atomic-bomb writer Hara Tamiki as 'a poet' in

[21]   [Akiya Yutaka], "   [Winter, the Assigned Theme],"   *[Collection of Japanese Atomic-Bomb Poems]*, eds.   [Kihara Misao],   [Kinoshita Junji] and   [Hotta Yoshie] ([Taiyō Shuppansha], 1982): 219-220.

[22] *Haiku* is a form of traditional Japanese poetry.   It is a 17-syllable verse form consisting of three metrical units of 5, 7, and 5 syllables.   This *haiku* is by Numata Yoshiyuki in *The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, eds. Kyoko and Mark Selden (New York: An East Gate Book, 1989): 147.   *Haiku* is presented here in original Japanese as well as an English translation for effects lost in the process of translation.

her famous *Residues of Squalor*, resemble her commitment to fiction.[23] Ōta's blurring of

fiction and non-fiction world perhaps comes closest in *Half-Human (   )* where she uses a

heroin named Oda Atsuko (   ) to represent her life and Hara Tamiki (   ) to

represent the real-life poet Hara Tamiki (   ).   The distinction she uses between the reality

and her world of fiction is so subtle that, for Hara Tamiki, the fictious character is only

distinguished by replacement of the last symbol, or *kanji*, by another.   Even the replaced *kanji*

is carefully selected –   to   – so that the pronunciation remains consistent with

Hara Tamiki himself.   These obvious attempts to reflect materiality of her life in the world of

her fiction siginify Ōta's commitment to fiction and further strengthens her faith in fiction's

ability to engage the imagination of the readers.   Under the belief that only forms of imaginary

art could come close to portraying the realities of her everyday life and experiences, her writings,

however close they are to the reality, are kept within the boundaries of fiction.

These works of fictions collectively recounted the narratives of atrocity in the

landscape that told the narratives of peace.   These tensions between the two were relieved first

by attacks on the genre's fictious characteristics and, later, by more direct conceptual

confinements.   The attack on writers' reliance on forms of imaginative art came indirectly by

the publication of Ōe Kenzaburō's *Hiroshima Notes*, where Ōe attempted to provide a humanist

and intellectual project through compilation of journalistic observations.   Upon its publication,

Ōe was critiqued by Ibuse Masuji, an author of widely-read *Black Rain (   )*, for being "too

rational."[24]   While Ōe claims that *Hiroshima Notes* is his attempt to confirm himself as a

Japanese writer,[25] Ibuse's critique echoed other writers' faith in the world of fiction and

imaginative art.   *Hiroshima Notes* was, after all, a collection of journalistic essays that went

beyond boundaries of 'art' to intellectualise Hiroshima, *hibakusha* and their place within the

landscape of Hiroshima.   In this sense, the intellectualisation of Hiroshima by Ōe was an

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[23] Ōta Yōko, "Residues of Squalor," *The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, eds. Kyoko and Mark Selden (New York: An East Gate Book, 1989): 58.
[24] Ibuse Masuji in Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 230.
[25] Kenzaburo, Oe, *Hiroshima Notes*, trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa (New York: Grove Press, 1965): 180.

indirect attack on the genre and the resistance literatures. Ōe's journalism and style of presentation were, therefore, regarded as a dangerous objectification of *hibakusha*'s experiences as 'truths' grounded on academic investigation.

The conceptual confinement came much more directly as the responses to writers' became more institutionalised. These confinements could first be seen in a vast fifteen-volume compilation of works of Japanese literatures dealing with the atomic bombs.[26] Such act of compilation suggests the power of those with control to reduce the memories and textures, if I may call it that, of each writers and writings into a categorically organised product. Stories were, therefore, placed outside of the context and labels were provided purely for the purpose of more convenient consumption, or organisation, of literatures. The title of the volumes *Japan's Atomic Bomb Literature (   )* further suggests reduction of each literature's uniqueness, contexts and writers' memories under the unified label of 'atomic bomb literature.' These categorisations and compilations are acts that require serious investigation, since all writers compiled in the volumes are now subject to the externally imposed label. This precisely is what Ōta had feared when she explicitly stated her wish to not categorise herself, and her writings, under the label of 'atomic bomb literature.'[27] The conceptual confinement into universal category and label, therefore, collectively alienated the genre from the landscape predominated by narrative of peace. The writings of atrocities were contained within fifteen-volume works that were to be consumed, but not made alive. In other words, humanism existent within their writings were deprived, to a great extent, by stripping away their context and uniqueness in the name of organisation and consumption.

Of course, the compilation allows for easier access and further intellectualisation of the genre. In seeing all such writings as a whole, subsequent academics in the field of literature develop further taxonomies. Both Kawanishi Masaaki and John Whittier Treat,

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[26]   [Japan's Atomic Bomb Literature], 15 Volumes (Tokyo: [Horupu Shuppan], 1983).
[27]   [Ōta Yōko], "   [Half-Human],"   :   *[Ōta Yōko Collection: Volume 1, City of Corpses]*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: [Sanichi Shobō], 1982): 269.

although done separately, argue that atomic bomb literatures can be categorised into three distinct generations.[28]   While the details of their categorisations are not within the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that development of further categories only separates already too-simplified and over generalised category.   These exercises as a whole provide a conceptual confinement, thereby allowing landscape's departure away from it.   By constructing boundaries, through imposition of labels and conceptual confinement, it freezes all that remain within it and restricts their influence on the landscape itself.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND SPATIAL CONFINEMENT

As I have briefly described in the introductory paragraphs, the decades of 1970s and 1980s were periods of redefining Hiroshima's landscape.   The renewal of the landscape was largely influenced by national advocacy of 'age of localism' and 'age of culture,' tightly in conjunction with notion of Japanology and characteristics of post-industrial or post-Fordist society. Landscape was no longer defined as much by upholding the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law by conceptually displacing the narratives of atrocity, but was actively engaged in redefinition of 'peace' as something not related to its 'dark' past, but with 'bright and cheerful' prosperity.   The City Planning Bureau's vision of Hiroshima echoes the above in stressing the need for "increasing internationalization, movement towards a more information-oriented society … [and developments of] urban infrastructure and fostering amenable living environment – to achieve the goal of becoming an "International City of Peace and Culture"."[29]   These renewed vision of Hiroshima is objectified through completion of New Bullet Tran (   ) in 1980, hosting the twelfth Asian Games in 1994, and hosting a Sea & Island Expo in 1989.   The city official who was centrally involved in the production of the Sea & Island Expo elaborated on the role of exhibition in Hiroshima by bluntly stating:

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[28]   [Kawanishi Masaaki], "   [History of Post-war Literature]," *   :
[Collected Works of Shōwa Literatures: Supplement]* ([Shōgakukan], 1986): 404-406, and John Whittier
Treat, "Atomic Bomb Literature and the Documentary Fallacy," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Winter
1988): 27.
[29] Hiroshima City Planning Bureau, *Town Planning in Hiroshima*, 1.

> Peace is too often associated with the atomic bomb, and the Expo should not offer an uptight (*katai*) image – it must be a festive occasion, a *matsuri* … We cannot forever rely on the Atom Bomb Dome or Peace Memorial Park. We are aiming to get rid of the gloominess (*kurasa*). It is not desirable to bring in any political color; for people are allergic to it.[30]

The statement illustrates official's departure from dark, or gloomy, narratives of peace present in the Atom Bomb Dome and the Peace Memorial Park. Furthermore, the part is conceptualised as something that is political and uptight. The importance of the conception of peace still remains in the statement, however, more festive, or bright, notion of peace and landscape is preferred by the official. In both this statement and City Planning Bureau's vision for Hiroshima, the analogies of peace remain integral part of landscape's future. However, as the statement above illustrates, commemorative sites and monuments that introduce dark peace are increasingly in conflict with the contemporary landscape.

Figure 1: Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art (HCMCA, 2006).

One of the most interesting illustrations of renewed landscape of Hiroshima is city's Museum of Contemporary Art (HCMCA). It was established in May 1989 to deliberately to represent the future of Hiroshima, bright and full of potential, not the dark and ghastly past.[31] Its architectural design – see Figure 1 – reflects a combination of European-style arch-plaza and Japanese roof-tops, characterising both Hiroshima's internationalisation and multiculturalism. On the design of the main building, HCMCA describes that "as the building rises from its foundations the natural fabric of stone gives way to man-made tiles and aluminium, reflecting

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[30] City official quoted in Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 46.
[31] Ibid., 47.

the development of civilization from the past to the future."[32]   The statement and the architectural design presents Hiroshima's attempt to objectify the modern landscape. Furthermore, by placing the development of civilisation, or their conception of it, in juxtaposition to its vision to represent Hiroshima that is bright and full of potential, it equates city's notion of human progress with departure from dark and ghastly past.   HCMCA's architectural design and museum's vision illustrate Hiroshima's conception of civilisation, development and progress.

Figure 2: New Train System named 'Astramline' (left) and a part of Motmomachi Urban Development Plan completed in 1978 (right) (City of Hiroshima, 2006).

Urban development projects such as HCMCA that aim to objectify the newly defined landscape of Hiroshima could be seen all over the city.   The design of the city and recently erected buildings resemble those of many other metropolises.   As the Figure 2 visually clarifies, photographs represent Hiroshima's renewed definition of its landscape objectified in architectural designs.

In the midst of these redefinitions and objectifications of them, however, the Peace Memorial Park and the surrounding commemoration sites continue to play a dominant role in Hiroshima's internationalisation.   The question, therefore, becomes one of how newly constructed landscape controls, and thus confines, places where dark peace still prevails.   Such confinement of the commemoration sites that hold the legacy of the previous landscape, and therefore exist outside the definitional boundary of the contemporary landscape of Hiroshima, is

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[32] Hiroshima City Museum of Contemporary Art (HCMCA), *Outline* [document online]; available from http://www.hcmca.cf.city.hiroshima.jp/web/main_e/outline.html; Internet; Accessed 12 November 2006.

present in city's Plans for Preservation of the Peace Memorial Sites (

).   In the document, the city introduces a 'buffer zone,' or a geographical boundary, around the Peace Memorial Park, including Atom Bomb Dome and strips of Peace Avenue, to protect and preserve the Mecca from the external influences – see Figure 3.   In reality, however, the buffer zone acted not only as a protective boundary of the sites within, but further alienated the sites from the external landscape.   The methodology of preservation, for example, differed significantly from the sites within and outside; thereby objectifying the landscape of newly constructed bright peace in relation to the sites inside the buffer zone.   The preservation methodology of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, or what is now known as the Atomic Bomb Dome, was to preserve its original state, as much as possible, to remember the impact of the atrocity.   Other buildings that remained standing in the aftermath of the bombing and exist outside the buffer zone, were treated quite differently than the Atomic Bomb Dome. Shōno Naomi recollects that among 135 buildings, including 11 wooden ones that remained standing in the aftermath of the bombing, surviving structures have reduced in number to 10 wooden buildings and 32 non-wooden buildings.[33]   Among those that still exists, many have undergone significant structural alterations so that, at first glance, one could hardly recognise them as preserved buildings.   A former military building, for example, has been preserved by the city and now exists as Fukuya Department Store almost a kilometre outside the buffer zone. As evident in Figure 5, the store signifies a "posh symbol of prosperity and peace"[34] that is always flocked with affluent shoppers.   The contrast between the Atom Bomb Dome and Fukuya Department Store is quite startling and yet, Fukuya Department Store is far from exception.   Hiroshima City Hospital and Motomachi High School – see Figure 4 – were both former military buildings that were reconstructed, not preserved, as symbols of Hiroshima's progress and prosperity.

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[33] Shōno Naomi, "Mute Reminders of Hiroshima's Atomic Bombing," *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (July-September 1993): 269.
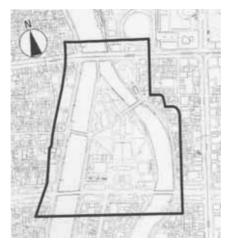[34] Ibid.

Figure 3: Buffer Zone around the Peace Memorial Park and other related commemoration sites (Plans for Preservation of the Peace Memorial Sites, 2006).

In all these cases, therefore, the buffer zone constructed to preserve and protect the sites within acted more as a barrier between the sites of dark peace and Hiroshima's bright and cheerful peace. While acts of preservation were carried out both inside and outside the boundary, the methodology and represented landscapes differ significantly. Development of such boundary placed Peace Memorial Park and other related commemoration sites in a geographical confinement, where components of the zone are alienated from ongoing redefinition and re-conceptualisation of landscape. In the process of redefining 'peace' as bright and cheerful, in midst of national and transnational socio-economic changes, memory-scape was constructed in the name of protection to confine and freeze outside Hiroshima's landscape. Such violent dislocation and spatial confinement renders the content of the buffer zone as something to be appropriated and consumed, but not experienced.

Figure 4: Fukuya Department Store (left) and Motomachi High School (right) (City of Hiroshima, 2006).

CONCLUSION

In employing the notion of landscape developed by Jackson and Cosgrove to Hiroshima, the study has attempted to illustrate how conceptual and spatial confinement has constructed and reconstructed the landscape of Hiroshima. Two aspects of the study require emphases and clarifications. First, from the beginning of the discussion of the landscape of Hiroshima in 1945, the landscape has undergone significant negotiations with external structural forces. As a result, Hiroshima has moved from landscape of atrocity to one of peace and then again from landscape of peace to one of bright and cheerful peace. These changes reconfirms that a landscape is indeed a socially constructed reality that undergoes continual negotiation with both internal and external structures.

Secondly, in both analysis of *hibakusha*'s narratives and Hiroshima's urban developments, the narratives that fall outside of the existing definition of its landscape were frozen, marginalised and alienated by conceptual and spatial confinement. In doing so, the landscape has maintained its dominant status through reduction of alternative modes of defining into mere products to be appropriated and consumed. These confinements, whether it is in the name of progress or preservation, flattens out history through reduction of memory and personality into objects. Such static contextualisation of history, memory and narratives, in turn, deprive the landscape of its humanism in the makings of Hiroshima. While I concur with Shōno's argument that "what people cannot see, they eventually forget,"[35] I believe that the contextualisation of what and how people remember remain one of the pressing issues. Strict focus on ability to deter forgetfulness may keep our eyes away from more important and indeed, more interesting issues.

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