

Beyond a Static Site

The Noborito Institute, Multiple Meanings, and Dynamic Memories

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Cover picture: The inside of the defunct Imperial Japanese Army
Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace

Picture taken by Aomi Mochida.
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Prologue

In a suburb of Tokyo, Japan stands a complex of a few buildings and objects that once belonged to 陸軍登戸研究所 (The imperial Japanese army Noborito institute; hereafter “Noborito institute”). The Noborito institute, located in the Tama district of Kawasaki city, Kanagawa prefecture, used to be one of the science institutes of the imperial Japanese army during the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945).¹ The origin of the institute dates back to 1919; after learning about the mobilization of scientific technology into World War I by the Western powers, the imperial Japanese army established the Japanese Army’s Science Research Institute (JASRI).² This institute was responsible for carrying out basic research on uses of science and technology for military purposes.³ In 1937, a field experiment site of JASRI opened in Noborito, where research on weapons using electromagnetic waves was conducted.⁴ It was during this year that Japan’s conflicts with China turned into a full-scale war. As the war with China dragged on, the Noborito experiment site was reorganized, restructured, and expanded as a separate branch of JASRI in 1939.⁵ This was the beginning of the so-called Noborito institute. The Noborito institute would later be renamed to the Army Ninth Technical Research Institute in 1941, and would be in operation until the end of the Asia-Pacific War in August 1945.⁶

At the Noborito institute, researchers specialized in four main fields: intelligence, counterintelligence, covert action, and propaganda.⁷ There were four main sections in the institute: section 1 mainly developed balloon weapons and death rays, section 2 researched and produced biological and chemical weapons, poisons, and tools for spying, section 3 developed and printed Chinese counterfeit money and other fake documents, and section 4 manufactured the various

¹ With the term ‘the Asia-Pacific War’, I refer to a series of battles, invasions, and wars that started with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and ended with the Japanese capitulation in 1945. In the following thesis, I often use the terms, ‘Japanese memories of the war’ or ‘Japanese war memories’. Here, ‘the war’ refers to the Asia-Pacific War.

² Akira Yamada, “登戸研究所は何のために設置されたのか (Why was the Noborito Institute Established?),” in 登戸研究所から考える戦争と平和(*Thinking about War and Peace through The Noborito Laboratory*), 23-34, ed. Akira Yamada, Kenji Watanabe, and Kazuharu Saito (Tokyo: 芙蓉書房出版 (Fuyo-Shobo Publishing), 2011), 23-24.

³ Stephen C. Mercado, “The Japanese Army’s Noborito Research Institute,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence* 17, no.2 (2004): 287, doi: 10.1080/08850600490274926.

⁴ Yamada, “登戸研究所は何のために… (Why was the...),” 24.

⁵ Ibid., 26.

⁶ The research fields of the Noborito branch of JASRI and the Army Ninth Technical Research Institute were the same. For the sake of coherence and clarity, I refer to the separate branch and the Army Ninth Technical Research Institute both as the ‘Noborito institute’.

⁷ Mercado, “The Japanese Army’s Noborito Research Institute,” 289.

products and weapons developed in section 1 and 2.⁸ The institute had ties with Japanese troops in China such as unit 1644 and the infamous unit 731 that developed biological and chemical weapons and conducted a number of human experimentations. In cooperation with those units, some top members of the institute conducted human experimentations with around 15 Chinese and Soviet POWs in Nanjing, China, in 1941.⁹

At its peak in 1944, the institute consisted of about 100 buildings and around 1,000 employees and researchers.¹⁰ Among the workers, around 250 were military officers and researchers, and the rest were regular workers, staff, and assistants coming from the local area.¹¹ Because the institute was responsible for the Japanese army's covert warfare, researchers and workers were sworn to utmost secrecy. The workers were not allowed to talk about their work to their families, friends, neighbors, and/or co-workers from other sections. Even within the military, the presence of Noborito was hidden; in most of the official army records, the Noborito institute does not appear. The institute was, therefore, a secret organization which was poorly documented.

At the end of the war in August 1945, nearly all documents and evidence of Noborito's research were burned.¹² Top researchers were given immunity from war responsibility by the American occupation forces in exchange for data and knowledge regarding chemical and biological weapons.¹³ The institute closed down in 1945, leaving the empty buildings behind. After 1945, the land that Noborito occupied continued to be owned by the state, and some institutes such as Keio University (a private university with its main campus in Tokyo), a science research institute, and a paper-manufacturing company rented the land and buildings for some

⁸ Ibid., 289.

⁹ Kazuharu Saito, “登戸研究所と他の研究機関との関係 (The Noborito Research Institute and its Connections to Other Research Institutes),” in 登戸研究所から考える戦争と平和(*Thinking about War and Peace through The Noborito Laboratory*), 107-115, ed. Akira Yamada, Kenji Watanabe, and Kazuharu Saito (Tokyo: 芙蓉書房出版 (Fuyo-Shobo Publishing), 2011), 110-111.

¹⁰ Akira Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と登戸研究所資料館の現代的意義 (Overview of the Japanese Imperial Army Institute at Noborito and the Significance of the Noborito Institute Museum for Education in Peace),” *Sundai Shigaku* (*Sundai Historical Review*) 141 (2011): 8, <https://m-repo.lib.meiji.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10291/15945>.

¹¹ The defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace [hereafter in footnotes (except for when used in titles), abbreviation: the Noborito Museum], Meiji University, *A Guide to the defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace*, pamphlet (Kawasaki: The Noborito Museum, published year unknown), 3, 11.

¹² Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 10.

¹³ Ibid., 10.

years.¹⁴ A few years after the end of the war, much of the state-owned land started to be sold off.¹⁵ In 1950, Meiji University, a private university whose main campus is located in Tokyo, bought the land and buildings which were occupied by the section 1, 2, and 3 of the Noborito institute, and established Ikuta campus in the following year.¹⁶ For the next several decades, many of the buildings from the Noborito era were taken down and rebuilt, and in the 1980s, only a few buildings and objects from the Noborito era remained on campus.¹⁷

For decades after the war, the Noborito institute was almost completely ‘forgotten’ in the local, national, and international memories, but from the 1980s onward, citizens in Kawasaki city, local high school students, ex-employees of the institute, and some university professors made efforts to uncover the ‘forgotten’ history, preserve the remaining buildings and objects, and establish a museum on the site.¹⁸ During the course of these postwar initiatives, various meanings and memories were attached to the Noborito buildings and remains by different people. Eventually and partly because of these initiatives, in 2008, Meiji University officially made a decision to use one of the remaining buildings and turn it into a museum. The museum opened in the spring of 2010, and few other remains from the Noborito era were preserved as well. As one of the very few sites in Japan that is directly connected to Japan’s wartime crimes and aggression during the Asia-Pacific War, the Noborito institute and its remains occupy a unique and significant position in the landscape of Japanese war memories.

¹⁴ Akira Yamada, “〈平和創造〉のために戦争を学ぶ意義—登戸研究所資料館からの視点 (Learning about the War for the Purpose of Peace Creation—A Case Study of the Noborito Institute),” in 登戸研究所から考える戦争と平和(*Thinking about War and Peace through The Noborito Laboratory*), 11-22, ed. Akira Yamada, Kenji Watanabe, and Kazuharu Saito (Tokyo: 芙蓉書房出版 (Fuyo-Shobo Publishing), 2011), 18; Akira Yamada, “8月15日以降の登戸研究所: 戦後の登戸研究所と所員たち (The Noborito Institute after August 15, 1945: The Institute and Workers in the Postwar Years),” 館報(*Museum Review; publication of the Noborito Museum, Meiji University*), no. 2 (2016): 123-124.

¹⁵Ibid., 124.

¹⁶ Yamada, “〈平和創造〉のために… (Learning about the War...),” 18.

¹⁷ Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 11.

¹⁸ Mitsuyoshi Himeda (editorial supervision), and 旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会 (Kawasaki Citizens’ Association for the Preservation of the Defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory) (edited), 学び・調べ・考えよう フィールドワーク 陸軍登戸研究所 (*The Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Fieldwork: Let’s Learn, Research, and Think Together*) (Tokyo: 平和文化 (Heiwa-Bunka Publishing), 2009), 45-52; Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 11.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Contested Landscape of Japanese Memories of the Asia-Pacific War

A literary critic and political activist, Makoto Oda once wrote in 1991 that:

The modern history of Japan that ended in the Japanese defeat of 1945 was, after all, a history of slaughtering, burning, and plundering, followed by a history of being slaughtered, burned, and plundered. In the unfolding of this history, Japanese people were not only victims; we were clearly perpetrators too.¹⁹

Indeed, in a series of events leading up to the Japanese surrender in 1945—for example, the annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910, Japan’s invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the escalation of the invasion into a full-scale war between China and Japan in 1937, the outbreak of the Pacific War, and the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asian countries—the people in Japan, in a collective sense, were clearly perpetrators, leaving unrecoverable pain, scars, and memories of loss and hardship all over the Pacific, East Asia, and Southeast Asia. At the same time, approximately 2 million Japanese soldiers and at least 700,000 civilians in Japan perished during and immediately after the war.²⁰ Many of the civilian population in Japan lost their lives in the American air raids on more than 60 Japanese cities, the destructive Battle of Okinawa, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These experiences left many people with vivid memories of suffering, loss, and misery.

In this situation where the experiences of people are marked with “a history of slaughtering, burning, and plundering, followed by a history of being slaughtered, burned, and plundered”, it is not difficult to assume that memories of the Asia-Pacific War are decisively controversial in Japan. The Asia-Pacific War remains a ‘difficult past’ that generates bitter debates and disagreements because the war and the series of events leading up to that war are inextricably connected to various legacies of modernization, militarization, colonialism, invasion, aggression, destruction, and suffering.²¹ In fact, memories of a difficult, painful, and controversial past—be it

¹⁹ Makoto Oda, 「難死」の思想(*Philosophy of “Difficult Deaths”*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008 [1991]), 306; The original sentences were written in Japanese: “1945年の「敗戦」に終わる日本の近代の歴史は、つまるところ、殺し、焼き、奪った果ての、殺され、焼かれ、奪われた歴史だった。その歴史の展開の中で、日本人はただ被害者であったのではなかった。明らかに加害者としてもあった。”

²⁰ John W. Dower, *Ways of Forgetting, Ways of Remembering: Japan in the Modern World* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 69.

²¹ This contrasts clearly against the U.S. memories regarding the Asia-Pacific War. In the U.S., there is a dominant interpretation of the war that rests on the comfortable, triumphant narrative of the good versus the evil, a singular war in which the unified, brave, and glorious Americans beat the united, fascist, and criminal Japanese (Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama,

wars, internal conflicts, genocides, and/or assassinations—are contested in many different regions around the globe, causing divisions, disunity, disputes, and discomfort.²² Japanese memories of the Asia-Pacific War are one such example. Similar to many nations and regions that experienced ‘difficult pasts’, people in Japan have not been able to find a common, dominant narrative of the war that they can comfortably rest on. Memories of the Asia-Pacific War have “become openly confrontational as groups struggle to turn their disparate versions of the past into the dominant cultural memory. War memories become an issue of national division rather than national unity.”²³ Since the end of the war in 1945, different groups of people have drawn on various experiences and have supported diverse, oftentimes confronting, interpretations and memories of the war, be it that of an invader, colonizer, perpetrator, victim, bystander, defender of Asia, or different mixtures of all those perspectives. As Philip A. Seaton, a British professor of media studies who has analyzed representations of the Asia-Pacific War in contemporary Japan, succinctly expressed, Japanese war memories have remained contested and diverse ever since the war’s end, and there has been no single way of remembering the war in Japan.²⁴ This ‘contested’ nature of Japanese war memories has also been pointed out by recent literature on the topic: for instance, expert on East Asian historical memories, Daniel Sneider wrote that “Japan does not present any such homogeneity of war memory” and historian Roger B. Jeans referred to “a divided Japan” with regard to war memories.²⁵

“Introduction,” in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, 1-29, ed. Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 6).

²² To name a few key works on the topic of contested memories of a difficult past, see: Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Barry Schwartz, “The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past,” *American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 2 (1991): 376-420, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781381>; James E. Young, “The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 2 (1992): 267-296, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343784>; Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Luis Roniger and Mario Szajner, *The Legacy of Human-Rights Violations in the Southern Cone* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, “Commemorating a Difficult Past: Yitzhak Rabin’s Memorials,” *American Sociological Review* 67, no. 1 (2002): 30-51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088932>. All these literature point out that remembering, commemorating, and passing down memories of difficult pasts often lead to controversies, debates, and disagreements.

²³ Philip A. Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories: The ‘Memory Rifts’ in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 15.

²⁴ Ibid., 3-4, 6-7, 35-36.

²⁵ Daniel Sneider, “Interrupted Memories: The Debate over Wartime Memory in Northeast Asia,” in *Confronting Memories of World War II: European and Asian Legacies*, 45-76, ed. Daniel Chirot, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daniel Sneider (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 68; Roger B. Jeans, “Victims or Victimizers? Museums, Textbooks, and the War Debate in Contemporary Japan,” *The Journal of Military History* 69, no. 1 (2005): 194, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3397046>.

The ‘contested’ nature of Japanese war memories suggests that a whole different range of interpretations and memories of the war exists in contemporary Japan. However, what has gained attention in much of the English media and literature so far are two things. Firstly, many of the English media reports tend to focus on the rise of nationalism, conservative politicians, and the revisionist views of the war that whitewash Japan’s past aggression and picture Japan in a heroic light as a savior of Asia from Western imperialism.²⁶ Secondly, academic works on Japanese war memories are usually more balanced, but they still tend to stress the prevalence of the victimhood memories that focus on the sense of suffering and victimhood experienced by many people in Japan.²⁷ Reporting the prevalence of the victimhood and nationalistic memories of the war is indeed very important. This is because it is generally acknowledged in historiography that the nationalistic view of the war promoted by many politicians and certain sections of the society remains politically powerful, and the memories of Japanese victimhood abound in museums, oral history testimonies, and commemorative events. At the same time, the contested nature of Japanese war memories implies that there are certain groups in Japan that attempt to remember episodes of Japan’s wartime aggression and perpetration. In contrast to the studies and reports that refer to the Japanese memories of victimhood and nationalism, however, how people in Japan remember and construct memories regarding Japan as a perpetrator has not gained much scholarly

²⁶ To give a few examples, see: “Mr. Abe’s Dangerous Revisionism,” *New York Times*, March 2, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/03/opinion/mr-abes-dangerous-revisionism.html?_r=0; Ernils Larsson, “Abe’s Cabinet Reshuffle Reflects Growing Influence of the Religious Right,” *East Asia Forum*, December 3, 2014, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2014/12/03/abes-cabinet-reshuffle-reflects-growing-influence-of-the-religious-right/>; and Barry Desker, “Rewriting History at the Yasukuni Shrine,” *The European*, May 13, 2015, <http://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/barry-desker/10114-japans-historical-revisionism>.

²⁷ For example, Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama addressed that “...in postwar Japan the dominant modes of remembering have produced a national victimology, with almost the entire population, including the emperor, equally figured as victims of military misdeeds” (Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, “Introduction,” in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, 1-29, ed. Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 7). Gi-Wook Shin pointed out that the strong sense of victimhood among the Japanese has been one of the predicaments in the efforts to come to terms with Japan’s wartime crimes and aggression (Gi-Wook Shin, “Historical Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: Past Efforts, Future Steps, and the U.S. Role,” in *Confronting Memories of World War II: European and Asian Legacies*, 157-185, ed. Daniel Chirot, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daniel Sneider (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 171-174).

and public attention on the international level.²⁸ This research attempts to fill in this gap by focusing on the remembrance and representations of Japanese aggression.²⁹

Researching how memories of Japan's war are expressed and remembered differently is appropriate and relevant because the memories and interpretations of the war continue to have significant, continuing influences: interpretations and memories of the war provide one of the major lenses through which people in Japan understand and think about such contemporary issues as their relations with the Asian neighbors, wars and conflicts in other regions, Japan's appropriate role in the world, and the emperor system.³⁰ Thus, the Asia-Pacific War is not yet a 'history' in Japan, but rather a 'current affairs' issue.³¹ In fact, the Asia-Pacific War remains a 'current affairs' issue not only in Japan, but also in the whole Northeast Asian region. By showing how war memories are still heavily contested in the three prominent countries in Northeast Asia—China, South Korea, and Japan—, Sneider concluded that “[i]n Asia today, the debates about the wartime past are not only ongoing. They also continue to influence relations among the three principal wartime actors, fueling tensions over the past that many fear could once again trigger conflict...The past in Northeast Asia is thus very much a part of the present.”³² Because the interpretations of the war have political stakes not only in Japan but also in the whole region, and the memories of the war continue to affect the postwar generations, it is highly relevant to study how Japanese war memories have been constructed and expressed.

'Turn to Sites', War-Related Sites, and the Noborito Institute

As will be discussed in detail later, since the 1990s, some groups and people in Japan have increasingly 'turned to sites' in order to preserve and pass down memories of Japan's past war.

²⁸ Exceptions are: Jung-Sun N. Han, "Conserving the Heritage of Shame: War Remembrance and War-related Sites in Contemporary Japan," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42, no. 3 (2012): 493-513, doi: 10.1080/00472336.2012.687634; Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "The Trajectory of Perpetrators' Trauma: Mnemonic Politics around the Asia-Pacific War in Japan," *Social Forces* 87, no. 3 (2009): 1389-1422, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40345165>; and Philip Seaton, "'Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?' Coming to Terms with Relatives' War Actions in Japan," *Oral History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 53-60, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179844>.

²⁹ In Japanese historiography, the issue of the remembrance of Japanese aggression has been addressed. See some articles in, for example, 戦争責任研究 (*Senso-sekinin kenkyū; The Journal of Japan's War Responsibility*). This is a scholarly journal published twice a year. However, as will be stated later on, scholarly works that explore the connection between war-related sites and memories of Japanese aggression, which is the focus of this study, have been scarce.

³⁰ Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories*, 7.

³¹ Ibid., 7, 85-106.

³² Sneider, "Interrupted Memories," 75.

These sites are usually called 戰爭遺跡(*senso iseki*) or 戰跡(*senseki*) in Japanese, and they refer to remains and buildings in and outside Japan that were created and used in the process of Japan's wars in the 20th century and which are connected to aspects of victimhood, aggression, and resistance.³³ Even before the 1990s, there were already movements to preserve war-related sites in some regions of Japan, most prominently in Hiroshima and Okinawa. Although these sites do have intricate connections to the aggression of imperial Japan and there have been efforts to promote and preserve memories related to the aggressive acts of the Japanese military, the main, powerful strands of memories generated and promoted at these sites are those of victimhood (of 'Japanese' in general in Hiroshima and of Okinawans in particular in Okinawa).³⁴ From the 1990s onward, grassroots efforts to preserve sites related to the Asia-Pacific War mushroomed, encouraged by the social and political contexts of that time. These were civic movements mainly led by normal citizens and not necessarily by academics.³⁵ Compared to earlier times when sites related to victimhood were mostly preserved, from the 1990s onward, groups and people started to ask for the preservation of various sites representing different experiences and memories. These sites included underground trenches dug and used by the military, remains of military bases and munition factories, and buildings and remnants related to Japan's aggression.³⁶

This 'turn to sites' had a generational aspect. As the 50th anniversary of the war approached in the 1990s, many citizens realized that the generations who directly experienced the war would soon be gone. With a pressing urgency that 'living witnesses' of Japan's war are quickly passing away, some people and groups turned to physical sites and remains as 'living witnesses' to tell stories of the war. As professor of Japanese war memories and postwar history,

³³ Shunbu Jubishi, "戦争遺跡とは何か (What are War-Related Sites?)," in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡(*Japan's War-Related Sites*), 23-29, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク(The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 23.

³⁴ See: Lisa Yoneyama, 広島：記憶のポリティクス (*Japanese translation of: Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*), translated by Hiroaki Ozawa, Sachiko Ozawa, and Katsuhiro Odajima (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005); Gerald Figal, "Waging Peace on Okinawa," *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 37-69, doi: 10.1080/14672710122914; and Yoshiaki Fukuma, 「戦跡」の戦後史：せめぎあう遺構とモニュメント (*Postwar History of "War-Related Sites": Competing Remains and Monuments*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015).

³⁵ The preservation movements were often led by citizens pushed by the socio-political context of the time. It does not seem that they were particularly influenced by the 'spatial turn' in academia.

³⁶ See: Jubishi, "戦争遺跡とは何か (What are War-Related Sites?)," 28-29; National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites (全国戦争遺跡保存ネットワーク), "参加団体一覧 (Participating Organizations)," last updated July 7, 2016, accessed June 2, 2017, <http://senseki-net.on.coocan.jp/>; and Jung-Sun N. Han, "Conserving the Heritage of Shame: War Remembrance and War-related Sites in Contemporary Japan," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42, no. 3 (2012): 493-513, doi: 10.1080/00472336.2012.687634.

Jung-Sun N. Han importantly noted, “the contemporary redrawing of Japanese war memories shows increasing dependency on material objects and built environments.”³⁷ The ‘turn to sites’ also had a political inclination. The mid-1990s was when conservative politicians and elites with revisionist views of Japan’s war became powerful. The civic movements ‘turned to sites’ out of the sense that the government might whitewash Japan’s aggressive past, glorify the war, and drag Japan into wars again. They made efforts to preserve war-related sites as reminders of war’s misery and destructiveness, and, in some cases, as physical evidence of Japan’s wartime wrongs.

As a result of civic preservation movements, a number of war-related sites have been designated as 文化財 (*bunka-zai*; cultural property; a term broadly synonymous with ‘cultural heritage’). In fact, in 2004, there were 96 sites with the official designation either by cities, prefectures, and/or the national government.³⁸ These are just the tip of the iceberg because it is generally acknowledged by people involved in the preservation movements that several tens of thousands of remains and remnants from the war years—including small and large, well preserved and not—still exist all over Japan. The presence of war-related sites has recently become more and more visible; since the 1990s, there has been a general rise in public’s attention on war-related sites. Also, many schools have included visits to war-related sites as part of their educational programs.³⁹ War-related sites have become an important aspect of and tools for learning about the war and remembering it.

In previous literature on Japanese war-related sites, there have been few studies that investigate the connection between war-related sites and war memories. Many of the books and articles on war-related sites have been written and published by regional or national preservation movements and organizations of teachers in history education. Most of the time, their contents tend to list and introduce war-related sites and explain how they were used in the war.⁴⁰ The little

³⁷ Jung-Sun N. Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame: War Remembrance and War-related Sites in Contemporary Japan,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42, no. 3 (2012): 494, doi: 10.1080/00472336.2012.687634.

³⁸ Jubishi, “戦争遺跡とは何か (What are War-Related Sites?),” 27-29.

³⁹ Hatsuhiro Arai, “戦争遺跡を歩くためのガイド (A Guide for Visiting War-Related Sites),” in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡 (*Japan’s War-Related Sites*), 47-51, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク (The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 47.

⁴⁰ For example, see: 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク (The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (edited), 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡 (*Japan’s War-Related Sites*) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004); 神奈川県歴史教育者協議会 (Association for Teachers of Historical Education in Kanagawa Prefecture), 神奈川の戦争遺跡 (*War-Related Sites in Kanagawa*) (Tokyo: Otsukishoten, 1996); 戦争遺跡に平和を学ぶ京都の会 (Kyoto Association for Studying Peace Through War-Related Sites), 語り継ぐ京都の戦争と平和 (*Passing Down Memories of Kyoto’s War and Peace*) (Kyoto: Tsumugi-Shuppan, 2010).

literature that does investigate the connection between war-related sites and war memories has mainly focused on Hiroshima and Okinawa.⁴¹ Even though some war-related sites have been used to preserve and pass down memories related to Japan's aggression, there has so far been scarce literature, both in Japanese and international historiography, that investigates the dynamics of war-related sites and memories of Japanese aggression.⁴²

To bridge the gap in literature, this study investigates a site that is linked to Japanese wartime aggression. This research uses the unique case study of the Noborito institute. The Noborito institute was chosen because it is one of the very few sites that remain in Japan that was inextricably and undeniably connected to Japan's wartime aggression and has been the subject of preservation efforts by various actors.⁴³ It is also an exceptional site that has both remains from the war years and a professional museum. Furthermore, it is also a site where diverse activities, such as site tours and special lectures, are organized. Among other sites that represent Japanese aggression, Noborito stands out for this combination of a war-related site, remains from the war years, a museum, and active events.⁴⁴ The Noborito site therefore forms a unique and dynamic

⁴¹ See: Lisa Yoneyama, 広島：記憶のポリティクス (*Japanese translation of Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*), translated by Hiroaki Ozawa, Sachiko Ozawa, and Katsuhiro Odajima (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2005); Gerald Figal, "Waging Peace on Okinawa," *Critical Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 37-69, doi: 10.1080/14672710122914; and Yoshiaki Fukuma, 「戦跡」の戦後史：せめぎあう遺構とモニュメント (*Postwar History of "War-Related Sites": Competing Remains and Monuments*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015).

⁴² One exception is Han's article, "Conserving the Heritage of Shame: War Remembrance and War-related Sites in Contemporary Japan." In this article, Han investigated the dynamics of memory-making processes that took place in the preservation efforts of Ichigaya Building No. 1 in Tokyo and the Matsushiro Underground Imperial General Headquarters Complex in Nagano, which are both connected to the war of aggression committed by Imperial Japan.

⁴³ Another significant example is the Matsushiro Underground Imperial General Headquarters Complex in the Nagano prefecture. It is an enormous underground shelter prepared in the final year of the war to accommodate the imperial family, top military leaders, and other state organs during the imminent 'Final Battle' on mainland Japan. It was constructed by about 7,000 Korean forced laborers, among which 1,000 died. See: Han, "Conserving the Heritage of Shame," 500.

⁴⁴ For example, at the Matsushiro Underground Complex, the underground shelter is preserved and site tours are organized. However, it lacks a professional museum. Another place that represents Japanese aggression is Hanaoka town in the Akita prefecture. In 1944, almost 1,000 Chinese forced laborers were brought there to work. Due to malnutrition and violence, 137 had died by June 1945. In June 1945, almost 800 forced laborers started an uprising and escaped from their camps. However, most of them were caught and around 420 were executed/killed/beaten to death. This uprising is called '花岡事件' (*Hanaoka-jiken*; Hanaoka incident). After this uprising, another 268 laborers died from ill-treatment. Currently, there is a memorial and a small exhibition in Hanaoka town. However, unlike the Noborito site, there are no professional museum and active events going on. See: Odate City Museum, "花岡事件 (Hanaoka Incident)," Odate City Museum Web, accessed June 11, 2017, http://odate-city.jp/museum/virtual/2f/hanaoka_incident.

case study in researching the relations between war-related sites and memories of Japanese aggression.

Studies on the Noborito institute started to emerge very recently in Japan in the 1990s, after the site was ‘discovered’ by local citizens and high school students in the 1980s. These books and articles were mostly written by those who were active in the preservation movements of the site or who are/were teaching at Meiji University. These studies have mostly focused on explaining what was being researched and developed at the institute during the war, or outlining the trajectory of the preservation movements and efforts.⁴⁵ Among the literature written in English, there are only a few that cover the Noborito institute. One notable example is an article by Seaton, “‘Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?’ Coming to Terms with Relatives’ War Actions in Japan.”⁴⁶ In this article, Seaton used a case study of a woman whose uncle used to work at the Noborito institute. He demonstrated the personal and familial dilemmas that emerged during her investigation of her uncle’s wartime conducts and legacy. Although this article mentioned the link between the Noborito site and memories of Japanese aggression, the focus remained on the ‘personal’ and ‘familial’ struggles to face and reveal a relative’s war history that might be related to Japan’s aggression. This study diverges from the previous Japanese and English literature as it explores the dynamics of and connections between the Noborito site and memories of Japanese aggression in the broader public.

⁴⁵ Examples include: Mitsuyoshi Himeda (editorial supervision), and 旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会 (Kawasaki Citizens’ Association for the Preservation of the Defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory) (edited), 学び・調べ・考えよう フィールドワーク 陸軍登戸研究所 (*The Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Fieldwork: Let's Learn, Research, and Think Together*) (Tokyo: 平和文化 (Heiwa-Bunka Publishing), 2009); Kenji Watanabe, “現存資料から見る陸軍登戸研究所の実相 (Nature of the Japanese Imperial Army Institute at Noborito based on the Surviving Sources),” *Sundai Shigaku* (*Sundai Historical Review*) 141 (2011): 17-34, <https://m-repo.lib.meiji.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10291/15944>; and Kenji Watanabe and Yuriko Tsukamoto, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相みつめて—明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館設置の意義—(Facing the Truth behind the Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory: The Significance of Establishing the Museum for Education in Peace),” in *博物館の未来を探る* (*Exploring the Future of Museums*), 112-121, ed. 神奈川県博物館協会 (Kanagawa Museum Association) (Tokyo: 東京堂出版 (Books Tokyodo), 2015).

⁴⁶ Philip Seaton, “‘Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?’ Coming to Terms with Relatives’ War Actions in Japan,” *Oral History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 53-60, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179844>. Another example is: Stephen C. Mercado, “The Japanese Army’s Noborito Research Institute,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence* 17, no.2 (2004): 289, doi: 10.1080/08850600490274926. In this article, Mercado explained the historical development and wartime research activities of the institute.

Constructions of Meanings and Transcultural Memories

In analyzing the Noborito institute, this study draws on two main ideas. First, this study builds on a simple, yet critically important, premise that ‘sites’ are not inherently meaningful and valuable in themselves, and it is the ‘people’ who find and attach significances to the sites. This insight has been pointed out especially in the literature of heritage studies. Laurajane Smith, a British expert in heritage studies, challenged the idea that ‘objects’ or ‘sites’ carry an innate value and instead argued that things and sites are not inherently valuable or meaningful. As Smith’s book, *Uses of Heritage*, makes clear, objects and sites, which can include war-relates sites, become ‘important’ and ‘worthy to preserve’ through often ambiguous cultural processes that take place in and around the sites in which different actors negotiate, communicate, and create meanings and values.⁴⁷ Because different people attach different meanings to a site, “heritage can represent countless meanings for limitless numbers of people.”⁴⁸ This insight developed out of the influence of the ‘cultural turn’ that brought attention to multiple meanings and representations.⁴⁹ It was also influenced by the ‘spatial turn’ that highlighted the notion of a dynamic and interactive space.⁵⁰

Further explaining the ‘cultural processes’ that people engage in at sites, Smith noted that “memories and remembering, as indeed is forgetting, are cultural processes of meaning making.”⁵¹ This means that people create and attach different meanings to a site through remembering and reminiscing certain aspects of the past. The memories that are recalled and addressed at the site, therefore, play an important role in the values and significances attached to the site. The second idea that this study builds upon thus concerns with the conceptualization of ‘memories’. In particular, this study builds on the idea that memories of the Noborito site can be framed and

⁴⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁸ Stephanie K. Hawke, “Heritage and Sense of Place: Amplifying Local Voice and Co-constructing Meaning,” in *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane, and Peter Davis, 235-245 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 235.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 235.

⁵⁰ In fact, academic developments such as post-colonialism, post-modernism, and post-structuralism encouraged the development of ‘heritage studies’. It was in the 1980s that the field became increasingly visible and defined, although there was attention on heritage before. One of the pioneering works is *The Past is a Foreign Country*, written by David Lowenthal and published in 1985. From the mid-1980s onward, the spatial turn in cultural history, combined with socio-political developments like the end of the Cold War and globalization, also contributed to the further development of the field and the conceptualization of heritage and space. On the development of heritage studies, see: John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, “Heritage Studies: An Outline,” in *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, eds. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, 11-28 (London: Routledge, 2009), especially pages 17-22. On the modern obsession with ‘heritage’ on a global level, the exponential growth of the ‘heritage industry’, and the problems and consequences that it has brought, see: David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁵¹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 64.

constructed in different ways, and people comprehend and remember the site in multiple ways. The fluidity and multi-directedness of memory have been pointed out in recent literature of memory studies. For instance, scholars of memory studies, Lucy Bond, Stef Craps, and Pieter Vermeulen noted that memory has “increasingly been considered a fluid and flexible affair.”⁵² According to them, memory is “conceptualized as something that does not stay put but circulates, migrates, travels; it is more and more perceived as a process, as work that is continually in progress, rather than as a reified object.”⁵³ Additionally, scholar of Holocaust studies, Michael Rothberg has brought attention to ‘multidirectional memory’ to highlight the dynamics of remembrance; as he wrote, memory “emerges from unexpected, multidirectional encounters—encounters between diverse pasts and a conflictual present, to be sure, but also between different agents or catalysts of memory.”⁵⁴ Bringing attention to the fluidity and movement of memory, scholar Astrid Erll also expressed that “all cultural memory must ‘travel’, be kept in motion, in order to ‘stay alive’, to have an impact both on individual minds and social formations.”⁵⁵ These scholars have contributed to what has been called the ‘transcultural turn’ in memory studies that highlights the processes, fluidity, fuzziness, and movements of memory.⁵⁶ Building on these insights developed in heritage studies and memory studies, therefore, this study explores the creation and attribution of various meanings and values to the Noborito site by different people, as well as the flexibility and multi-directedness of memories constructed and expressed at the site.

In books and articles written and published on Japanese war-related sites, the sites tend to be viewed as having an inherent value as ‘living witnesses’ and ‘storytellers for peace’. They are bestowed with an innate power to speak objectively about the past and educate people on the issues of war and peace.⁵⁷ They are seen as inherent containers of meanings and memories. Han

⁵² Lucy Bond, Stef Craps, and Pieter Vermeulen, “Introduction: Memory on the Move,” in *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies*, ed. Lucy Bond, Stef Craps, and Pieter Vermeulen, 1-26 (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 1.

⁵³ Ibid., 1.

⁵⁴ Michael Rothberg, “Introduction: Between Memory and Memory: From Lieux de Mémoire to Noeuds de Mémoire,” in *Noeuds de Mémoire: Multidirectional Memory in Postwar French and Francophone Culture*, ed. Michael Rothberg, Debarati Sanyal, and Max Silverman, 3-12 (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 9, retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41337077>. For a key literature on ‘multidirectional memory’, see: Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁵ Astrid Erll, “Travelling Memory,” *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 12, doi: 10.1080/13534645.2011.605570.

⁵⁶ Bond, Craps, and Vermeulen, “Introduction,” 4-5.

⁵⁷ For the most prominent examples expressing these views, see essays in 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク(The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (edited), 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡 (Japan’s War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004). Specifically, see: Shunbu Jubishi,

critically remarked that sites and physical remains are seen to have “the power...to convey past experiences to subsequent generations because places and things are perceived as somehow recreating “the past as it happened” in the here and now.”⁵⁸

Despite the hopes and expectations to have the sites ‘speak for itself’ about the ‘truth of the war’, the reality is, ‘sites’ and ‘things’, of course, do not actually speak. The ‘sites’ or ‘remains’, as explained by Smith, come to be seen ‘worthy’ and ‘significant’ through people who find those sites important and create and attach different meanings and memories to them. As Japanese professor of media studies who focuses on postwar Japanese history and memory, Yoshiaki Fukuma pointed out that the historical processes, social dynamics, and local and national politics through which war-related sites were found ‘worthy of preservation’ by different people, and the ways those sites have reflected and impacted war memories are an under-researched topic.⁵⁹

Research Questions, Chapters, and Methods

Filling in the gap in literature on different levels, this study aims to answer the following overall question: how has the Noborito site become ‘significant’ and ‘worthy to preserve’? This question is answered through two sub-questions: 1) what meanings and memories have been created and assigned to the site by various actors, both in the past and the present? and 2) how do visitors receive, understand and appropriate these meanings and memories?

These sub-questions are tackled in two main chapters that follow (chapter 2 and 3). Chapter 2 focuses on the pre-2010 era, which is before the museum opened at the Noborito site. It investigates the different ‘significances’ and memories attached to the Noborito site by different actors mainly from the 1980s. While investigating the various meanings and memories of the site, this chapter also details the postwar processes by which the Noborito site was ‘discovered’ and preserved, and puts them in context by referring to the backdrop of local, national, and international situations. This chapter shows that different groups of people, with different motivations and prompted by different social and political contexts, perceived and addressed the

“プロlogue (Prologue),” in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡(*Japan’s War-Related Sites*), 9-12, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク(The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 11-12; and Hatsuhiro Arai, “戦争遺跡を歩くためのガイド (Guide for Visiting War-Related Sites),” in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡(*Japan’s War-Related Sites*), 47-51, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク (The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 47-48.

⁵⁸ Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame,” 508.

⁵⁹ Yoshiaki Fukuma, 「戦跡」の戦後史：せめぎあう遺構とモニュメント (*Postwar History of “War-Related Sites”: Competing Remains and Monuments*), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015), 5-6.

Noborito site in multiple ways. Chapter 3 is divided into three parts and focuses on the post-2010 era. The first two parts explore how memories and meanings of the Noborito institute are currently created and expressed at the site by various actors. These parts focus on the museum displays and site tours. In the third part of the chapter, the focus is directed towards the visitors. It analyzes how they receive, understand and appropriate the meanings and memories addressed by the actors. Taken together, chapter 3 aims to show the multiple ways and different directions that memories and meanings of Noborito are constructed, expressed, and understood.

In both chapters, the method of discourse analysis is used. Undoubtedly, Michel Foucault is one of the most influential thinkers on discourse. One of his main ideas, in a broadest sense, is that discourse constructs knowledge and representations of reality.⁶⁰ At the same time, Foucauldian notion of discourse “not only reflects social meanings, relations, and entities, it also constitutes and governs them.”⁶¹ Discourses control what people can talk about, how they think, and how they act, thus producing both power and knowledge. Since this conceptualization of ‘discourse’, countless numbers of studies have used discourse analysis to explore such themes as how people perceive and talk about certain topics, how ‘truths’ and knowledge are constructed, and what power relations underlie the constructions of meanings. In this study, I will use discourse analysis to investigate the powerful messages made about the Noborito institute, its past activities, and Japan’s wartime aggression by various people on different occasions and in different outlets. In chapter 2, a wide range of sources such as newspaper articles, publications by preservation groups, private documents, event reports, interviews, books, and articles are analyzed to show what different actors have said about the Noborito site, what messages they conveyed to the public in relation to the site, and what meanings and memories they constructed and attached to the site. In chapter 3, museum displays, statements during site tours, and visitor surveys are used to investigate what is currently being said by the actors at the site, what messages are conveyed to the public, and how the visitors talk about the site. Throughout this study, discourse analysis is therefore used to extract the multi-layered meanings and messages made on different levels regarding the Noborito site.

Chapter 2 not only traces the development and construction of different meanings and memories, but it also details the postwar history of the preservation of the Noborito site. One important characteristic and limitation of the literature on the ‘discovery’ and preservation of the Noborito site is that most of them were written by Kenji Watanabe and Akira Yamada. Watanabe

⁶⁰ See: Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

⁶¹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 14.

was a high school teacher in Kawasaki and led the postwar ‘discovery’ in the 1980s and preservation movements in the 1990s and 2000s. He is now a part-time instructor of Meiji University. Yamada is a professor of modern Japanese history at Meiji University who also actively engaged in the preservation movements in the 1990s and 2000s. He is currently the director of the Noborito museum. Watanabe and Yamada both took the lead in the development of museum contents at Noborito. They are still actively engaged at the site, providing site tours and organizing events. They are the few people who are writing about the site, and they are the ones having firsthand experience of the ‘discovery’ and preservation. As a result, their writings are utilized in chapter 2 as the main sources on the postwar developments. Where information is lacking, oral history interviews were conducted with them.

Oral history is a unique source type in which experiences and events of the past are reflected and told from the perspectives of those in the contemporary era.⁶² With a growing interest in memory as a subject of historical research since the 1980s, oral history has been increasingly used to investigate how and why stories about the past are told and why people remember the way they do.⁶³ This study, however, takes the ‘recovery history’ approach that has been used since the 1970s.⁶⁴ In ‘recovery history’, oral history is used to uncover the voices of people who did not document their experiences, or to gain information about the past which does not appear in conventional historical sources.⁶⁵ The interviews conducted with Watanabe, Yamada, and others engaged in the preservation movements are, therefore, used to extract information about certain aspects of the postwar processes that have not been documented in existing literature. The reliability of oral history has been questioned in literature because oral history depends on memory, which is essentially fragile, subjective, and distorted. Keeping in mind that certain aspects of the interviewees’ memories of the postwar years might be altered or

⁶² Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, “Oral History: The Sound of Memory,” in *History Beyond the Text: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Barber, Sarah and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, 105-121 (London: Routledge, 2009), 105.

⁶³ One of the pioneers of this approach is historian Luisa Passerini. See: Luisa Passerini, “Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism,” *History Workshop*, no. 8 (1979): 82-108, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4288259>. See the works by Dutch historian Selma Leydesdorff for contemporary examples on the use of oral history in the context of memory: Selma S. Leydesdorff, “Stories from No Land: The Women of Srebrenica Speak Out,” *Human Rights Review* 8, no. 3 (2007): 187-198; and Selma S. Leydesdorff, “Oral History, Trauma and September 11, Comparative Oral History,” in *September 11th-12th: The Individual and The State Faced with Terrorism*, ed. Philippe Pierre, 141-159 (Paris: Hermann, 2013).

⁶⁴ For an example of a historical work that uses oral history with a recovery history approach, see: Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman’s Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1984).

⁶⁵ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 5; Peniston-Bird, “Oral History,” 106.

forgotten, I made sure to double-check the information with other interviewees whenever possible, and used the information from the interviews when there was no other sources available.

In chapter 3 that focuses on the current activities that take place at the site, the anthropological method of participatory observation was also used. One of the seminal works employing this method is “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” written by an American cultural anthropologist, Clifford Geertz. During his field research in Bali, he was accepted to the local community and had opportunities to observe the Balinese cockfights from the ‘inside’. This allowed him to see the meanings and symbolism of the cockfights: they reflect, manifest, represent, and sustain power relations, status hierarchy, and social allegiances and rivalries.⁶⁶ Like in Geertz’s research, participatory observation allows researchers to participate in the ongoing activities, experience them firsthand, and gain insights into their workings and meanings. Following this method, I conducted several field visits to the Noborito site, in which I participated in the site tours and took notes on what has been said by whom. A special attention has been paid on the tours guided by Watanabe and Yamada because they are the most influential people who have the ‘authority’ to talk about the site, produce and disseminate knowledge about the site, attribute meanings to the site, and convey them to the visitors. Additionally, in order to explore how visitors make sense of the site, I had informal conversations with tour participants and visitors, where I asked questions such as what they thought about the site and how they understood it.

This method of ‘observing while participating’, of course, has its downsides. As one of the participants in the tours, I am not an objective researcher; rather, I may be making observations based on my own subjectivity, interests, and bias, shaping, if not unintentionally controlling, what I saw and heard. Additionally, I have not been able to participate in all the events and tours that take place at the site. This means that what I saw and heard may not be representative of the whole. The fact that this thesis draws upon participatory observation also indicates that the outcomes of this thesis will be based on interpretations. Notwithstanding these downsides, the method of participatory observation was chosen. This is because it is the only and best way to collect firsthand information on what is going on at the site and to extract the fluidity and multi-directedness of the memory- and meaning-construction and expression that are taking place at the Noborito site. Keeping in mind the problems of the method, this study claims to provide a general impression, rather than fixed results, of the site tours, activities, and interactions that take place.

In light of the lack of studies that investigate war-related sites and memories of Japanese aggression, this study is an attempt to bring a spotlight to an aspect of Japanese war memories that

⁶⁶ Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,” *Daedalus* 134, no. 4 (2005 [1972]): 56-86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20028014>.

has not gained much attention. The focus on the Noborito site makes it possible to zoom in on the local actors and visitors that are often overlooked. While showing the multiple ‘significances’ and flexibility and multi-directedness of memories of the Noborito institute, this study also reveals the limits of representation concerning Japan’s wartime aggression and Noborito’s wrongdoings. By looking into how memories of the Noborito’s past and Japanese aggression have been understood and constructed by different people through the usage and preservation of the Noborito site, this study especially attempts to make the often intangible and invisible ‘memory work’ tangible and visible.

Chapter 2: Noborito Institute and Its Different ‘Significances’ in the Postwar Years

Although the Noborito site has existed since the 1930s, it was not very ‘visible’ to the general public until the 1990s. This chapter explores the processes through which the Noborito site was ‘discovered’ by the local population and was eventually preserved. The emphasis is on exploring the different meanings, memories, and significances that have been created and assigned to the site by various actors. This chapter is structured chronologically. It first starts with the meanings that were attached to the site during the war years up until the mid-1980s. Then it focuses on the 1980s, during which citizens, high school students, and veterans played a huge role in the ‘discovery’ of the site. The section on the 1990s follows next. During the 1990s, civic associations for the preservation of the Noborito site emerged, and different ‘significances’ started to be attached to the site. Then a section on the late 1990s to mid-2000s follows. It demonstrates how the National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites influenced the ways Noborito’s significances were framed and expressed. The chapter ends with a section on the mid-2000s to 2010 during which the official decision to preserve the site and establish a museum was made. Taken all together, this chapter provides a comprehensive view on the historical development of diverse meanings and memories attached to the Noborito site by different actors.

Secrecy and Taboo: The Noborito Institute in the Pre-1980s

As an institute involved in the research and development of various illegal tools and weapons, a web of silence surrounded the Noborito institute during the war years. People who worked at Noborito were not allowed to talk about their work to others, not even to families and friends.⁶⁷ Within the Japanese military, the institute was also treated with utmost confidentiality and its existence was not mentioned in official military records.⁶⁸ At the end of the war in August 1945, nearly all documents and evidence of Noborito’s research were burned and the institute closed down.⁶⁹ American occupation forces granted immunity from war responsibility to top researchers in exchange for data and knowledge regarding chemical and biological weapons.⁷⁰ The vast

⁶⁷ Kenji Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相をみつめて—明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館設置の意義— (Uncovering the History of the Japanese Imperial Army Institute in Noborito: The Establishment of the Defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace),” *Historical Journal* 772 (2014): 46.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁶⁹ Mercado, “The Japanese Army’s Noborito Research Institute,” 294-295.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 295; Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 10.

majority of employees became farmers, started their own business, returned to their family business, or found new jobs elsewhere.⁷¹ For years, they kept silent about the institute, mostly because of the strict secrecy during the war and because their work could be related to Japan's war crimes and aggression. Probably they also simply wanted to move on, as did the people in the local area. Hence, the topic almost completely disappeared from public war memories.⁷² For almost four decades after the war's end, 'silence', 'secrecy' and 'taboo' typified the Noborito institute.

Discovering Noborito: Citizens, High School Students, and Ex-Employees in the 1980s

A Brief History of the 'Discovery'

The decades-long 'silence' and 'taboo' surrounding the Noborito institute began to crack in the mid-1980s due to the activities of the Kawasaki citizens, especially through Peace Education Classrooms (平和教育学級; *Heiwa Kyoiku Gakkyu*), established in 1986 in each of the city's districts.⁷³ The classrooms were a joint initiative of the citizens and the city. They aimed to provide

⁷¹ Yamada, "8月15日以降の... (Noborito Institute after August 15, 1945)," 130-131.

⁷² Of course, in individual memories of ex-workers, the Noborito institute stayed vivid and alive. In familial memory too, some workers seemed to have spoken about their experience at Noborito to a certain extent. For instance, in the article, "Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?" Coming to Terms with Relatives' War Actions in Japan," Seaton interviewed a woman whose uncle used to work at the Noborito institute. She remembered that her uncle used to tell his family that he worked for the development of balloon weapons at Noborito. However, that was all that he had told, and when he passed away he took "his secrets to the grave" (Seaton, "Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?", 57). This indicates that even among those who mentioned that they worked at Noborito, 'secrecy' and 'taboo' were strongly evident.

⁷³ Kenji Watanabe, *近現代日本をどう学ぶか：平和で公正な世界を創るために* (*How Modern Japanese History Should be Learned: Creating World of Peace and Fairness*) (Tokyo: Kyoiku Shiryo Shuppan-kai, 2006), 101. Kawasaki city, located in Kanagawa prefecture and close to Tokyo, has developed as an industrial city. In the age of rapid modernization and industrialization in the early 20th century, people from poor regions of Japan moved to the city in search of jobs, forming a huge working class population. Additionally, in relation to Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula in 1910, a number of Korean populations moved to/were forced to move to Kawasaki in order to work in the industries, which led to the creation of multicultural and multiethnic neighborhoods. In the postwar years, there were many civic movements that focused on the elimination of ethnic and economic discrimination, promotion of a multicultural society, and enhancement of working conditions. In this background, citizens in Kawasaki started to harbor interests in the issues of peace and human rights from the mid-1970s. In response to that, Kawasaki city organized open lectures in different districts. These lectures eventually led to the foundation of the Peace Education Classrooms in the 1980s. See: Junichi Tsukajima, "日立闘争を発端とする川崎教会・青丘社に集まった市民による民間企業に対する民族差別撤廃運動 (Hitachi Incidents and the Movements by Kawasaki Citizens to Abolish Ethnic Discrimination)," *Ibunka, Bulletin of the Faculty of Intercultural Communication, Hosei University* 17 (2016): 73-102, <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/120005850409/>; Kim Yunjeong, "地域社会における多文化共生の生成と展

opportunities for the citizens to ‘learn about wars and think about peace’.⁷⁴ They were financed by the city and encompassed interested citizens.⁷⁵ In the classrooms, the participants chose a topic related to the issues of wars and peace.⁷⁶ Together with a city staff, they organized various study projects.⁷⁷ In the Peace Education Classroom in the Nakahara district in 1986 (consisting of 7 members from different age groups, including two school teachers, one city staff member, and one high school student), the members initially focused on world peace and wanted to learn about different global wars and conflicts.⁷⁸ Gradually, however, they decided to put a spotlight on their own local area and research about what had been happening in their region during the war.⁷⁹ After hearing from a journalist that there used to be a secret research institute in Kawasaki during the war, in 1987 the Nakahara classroom members set their focus on the Noborito institute.⁸⁰

From the very beginning, their research was challenged because they could not find any official documents in the archives of the Ministry of Defense and the National Library.⁸¹ The members then decided to organize a site tour of the remaining buildings and objects of Noborito on the Ikuta Campus of Meiji University, and advertised it on local newspapers.⁸² In this site tour an elderly man who used to work at the institute participated, who handed the classroom members a list of names and addresses of Noborito ex-employees who still lived in Kawasaki.⁸³ Using the list, the members conducted a survey on 99 ex-employees, 27 of whom replied.⁸⁴ With these responses, the members started to have a grasp on what had been going on at the Noborito institute during the war.⁸⁵

The activities of the Nakahara Peace Education Classroom were the first step of the ‘discovery’ of Noborito. The excavation of the local history would start to accelerate after the

開、そして、課題 (A Study of the Formation and Problems of Multicultural Co-living in Japan—Focusing on the Multicultural Education in Kawasaki)," *Monthly review of local government (The Japan Research Institute for Local Government)* 392 (2011): 62-76,
<http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110008454121>; and Watanabe, 近現代日本をどう学ぶか (*How Modern Japanese History Should be Learned*), 101.

⁷⁴ Kenji Watanabe, interview by Aomi Mochida, personal interview, video recording, Meiji University Ikuta Campus, Kawasaki, March 8, 2017, personal archive of Aomi Mochida, 01:43-02:52.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 01:43-02:52.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 01:43-02:52.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 01:43-02:52.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 02:53-06:10.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 02:53-03:40.

⁸⁰ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を… (Uncovering the History of...)," 38.

⁸¹ Ibid., 38.

⁸² Ibid., 38.

⁸³ Ibid., 38-39.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 38-39.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 39.

participation of more high school students. One of the members, Kenji Watanabe, was a high school history teacher in Kawasaki. In 1988, he told about the activities of the Nakahara Peace Education Classroom to his students in the ‘Peace Study Club’, after which the students joined for the research on the Noborito institute.⁸⁶ Around this time, the classroom members were facing a huge challenge: some of the ex-employees were becoming open to be interviewed, but they continued to keep their mouths shut on many aspects.⁸⁷ The surveys were helpful in understanding what the Noborito institute was about, but because the ex-employees did not speak up about their experiences, the details of their work were not revealed. When the high school students started to join the interviews, however, these ex-employees who kept their silence gradually started to open up. They told the students that “I do not want to talk about this to adults. But for you, young high school students, I will talk to you.”⁸⁸ They slowly started to provide details of their work at Noborito and gave the students some documents and objects from the Noborito era.⁸⁹ With the interviews and objects, the whole nature and activities of the Noborito institute started to be revealed.⁹⁰ As Watanabe reflected, this ‘digging out’ of history of Noborito was based on the desire to learn about what happened in the local area during the war.⁹¹ This implies that citizen members and high school students viewed Noborito as a tool and opportunity to learn about their local history.

Reminiscing about the Past, Talking about the Past

Around the same time, some ex-employees of Noborito also started to attach meanings and functions to the Noborito site. Many of the ex-employees who commuted from the Kawasaki area

⁸⁶ Ibid., 39-40.

⁸⁷ Kenji Watanabe, “明治大学平和教育登戸研究所—資料で考える戦争と平和— (The defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace: Thinking about War and Peace through Documents),” 9,
http://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUKEwiRsJie_fXQAhUJSRoKHUZnB0MQFggqMAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.jikkyo.co.jp%2Fcontents%2Fdownload%2F9992655581&usg=AFQjCNEzggWW1DLignQw75HeMcOG-70MiA&sig2=LtLehHuVzcz38IVDqx467Q.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁹ There are no tapes available from high school students’ interviews with ex-workers. Their interview notes are accessible at the Noborito museum archive, but they are not too detailed and sometimes difficult to read. However, from different sources (interviews with Watanabe, museum panels, and site tours), it has become clear that the ex-workers talked to high school students about the structure/organization of the institute, the research aims and activities of Noborito, Noborito’s connections with other organizations, and even about the human experiments conducted in China, among others.

⁹⁰ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を…(Uncovering the History of...),” 40-41.

⁹¹ Watanabe, interview, 19:28-20:00.

were in their late teens and twenties during the war.⁹² By the mid-1980s, they were in their late fifties and sixties, which is a time when their children had become independent, some people had retired from work, and they had gotten more time to reflect on their lives. In 1982, some ex-employees organized the first reunion of Noborito ex-workers.⁹³ The letter of invitation stated that “...It has already been more than 30 years since we have parted. The memories from the Noborito era have been flashing back in our minds day and night. We have long hoped for an opportunity to reunite and reminisce about those days, and with this letter we would like to invite you to our very first reunion...”⁹⁴ Seventy people participated in this first reunion, and they decided to organize reunions every two years.⁹⁵ The letter and the biennial reunions signify that by the mid-1980s, some of the ex-employees were feeling nostalgic about their youthful days at Noborito, and were ready to talk about their experiences and memories among each other.

The ‘nostalgia’ felt by the ex-employees was also evident in the monument that the ex-employees established on the Ikuta campus. In 1986, during the third reunion, the ex-employees decided to establish a memorial on the Noborito site.⁹⁶ They decided to have the inscription ‘The Noborito Research Institute’ on the front of the memorial, and in the back, they engraved a poem: “Those days that have passed by...We now come together and reunite again on this hill” (Image 1 and 2).⁹⁷ The veterans gained permission from Meiji University, and established the memorial in 1988 on the ground of a shrine located inside the Ikuta campus (the shrine has existed since the war years).⁹⁸ For many ex-employees, therefore, Noborito was an opportunity to reunite and reminisce about the youthful days. Moreover, the foundation of the memorial tells an important point. There is currently no available document that proves the university knew, at the time of purchase, that the land they bought was used by the Noborito institute during the war. However, the fact that the university allowed the veterans to establish the memorial on its ground in 1988 means that at least since the late 1980s, the university has been aware of the wartime usages of its land. As it becomes clear later in this chapter, despite this knowledge, the university would remain for a long time rather distanced and ambivalent on the issue of preservation of the Noborito site.

⁹² Watanabe, *近現代日本をどう学ぶか* (*How Modern Japanese History Should be Learned*), 104.

⁹³ Letter of invitation for Noborito alumni group, personal letter to Noborito ex-employees, 1982, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 971.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Personal letter from Toshiichiro Nakamoto to Takeo Kuriyama, letter asking for participation in the Noborito ex-employees name list, April 26, 1982, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 970.

⁹⁶ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を...(Uncovering the History of...),” 44.

⁹⁷ The original Japanese poem goes: “すぎし日は この丘に立ち めぐり逢う”.

⁹⁸ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を...(Uncovering the History of...),” 45.



Image 1 and 2: The memorial established by the veterans [front and back] (All pictures in this thesis were taken by Aomi Mochida and inserted in the text by courtesy of the defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace)

In addition to reuniting and reminiscing, some of the ex-employees saw values in disclosing and publicly talking about the Noborito institute. In the mid-1980s, some ex-workers started to write down what they had been doing at Noborito, including those aspects related to the development of chemical and biological weapons and the human experimentations. One of the prominent examples is Shigeo Ban, who occupied one of the top positions of section 2 where researchers developed chemical and biological weapons. In his memoir, he wrote about the human experimentations he conducted with some of his colleagues in Nanjing. In the end, he stated that “These inhumane experiments have been buried in history as one of the darkest sides of the war. I have written them down now because I want to disclose and reveal them. I now wish that the gaps in history would be filled, pray that the spirits of the victims of the experiments would rest in peace, and sincerely long for peace.”⁹⁹ Examples such as this indicate that some ex-employees were willing to break the silence and disclose to the public what they had done at Noborito.

This ‘disclosure’ was not unique to the Noborito veterans. In fact, since the mid-1980s, some veterans in Japan had started to publicly speak about their wartime experiences.¹⁰⁰ Many of

⁹⁹ Shigeo Ban, 陸軍登戸研究所の真実 (*The Truths of Noborito Research Institute*) (Tokyo: Fuyou-shobo, 2001), 82.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (London: Atlantic Books, 2009 [1994]), ProQuest e-book), 186. Even though it was not until the mid-1980s that a

them had been junior officers during the war, and around the mid-1980s, they were in their seventies and eighties.¹⁰¹ Realizing that they would not live much longer, these veterans started to talk in order to pass down their experiences to the postwar generations.¹⁰² Furthermore, most of their superior officers had passed away and “there was less pressure to keep quiet, less face to be preserved.”¹⁰³ The developments in the 1980s also played a role in this ‘speaking out’ by veterans, especially about their experiences related to Japanese aggression. Most prominently, the textbook controversy in 1982 served as a key event. In 1982, reports came out that the Japanese Ministry of Education, in its new textbook authorization process, required textbooks to describe Japan’s war in Asia as ‘advancement’, rather than ‘invasion’.¹⁰⁴ The media and governments of China and South Korea condemned this move, leading to a crisis in diplomacy and an international controversy.¹⁰⁵ The textbook crisis opened the era of “the internationalization of Japanese war memory,”¹⁰⁶ in which Japanese war memories became a topic of debate on regional and global levels. In the wake of the controversy and in response to the growing domestic and international debates on how Japan’s war should be portrayed and remembered, a growing number of veterans started to tell stories about the war crimes and atrocities they committed during the war.¹⁰⁷

Like these veterans, some Noborito ex-employees acknowledged that they had contributed to Japanese wartime aggression and hoped to pass down their experiences to younger generations by speaking up. As Watanabe (who led the interviews with the high school students)

number of veterans started to share their wartime experiences, there was a small number of veterans speaking about their wartime experiences since the late 1950s. One of the most prominent veterans’ groups that was active in telling their experiences was formed by those who returned from Chinese detention camps. In 1957, around a thousand veterans returned to Japan after being detained in Chinese POW camps. These soldiers had been dispatched to China and Manchuria during the war, sent to Siberian POW camps after the end of the war, and transferred to Chinese camps. After returning to Japan, some of these soldiers formed an organization called the Association of Returnees from China. Through this organization, they started to publicly confess war crimes they committed in China during the war. These veterans’ stories about Japan’s wartime aggression and war crimes, however, were not welcomed by much of the Japanese society in the 1950s and 1960s. The Japanese media labeled them as communists and looked down on those veterans with suspicion. As a result, although members of the Association of Returnees from China were active and willing to tell their wartime experiences, they were not necessarily a prominent force in the landscape of Japanese war memories.

¹⁰¹ Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt*, 187.

¹⁰² Ibid., 187.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 187.

¹⁰⁴ Kiyoteru Tsutsui, “The Trajectory of Perpetrators’ Trauma: Mnemonic Politics around the Asia-Pacific War in Japan,” *Social Forces* 87, no. 3 (2009):1404, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40345165>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 1404; Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories*, 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 51.

¹⁰⁷ Hirofumi Hayashi, “Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women’ System and Its Perception in History,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 126, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098017>.

and Akira Yamada (the director of the Noborito museum who also conducted interviews with ex-employees in the 1990s) both reflected, some of the ex-employees spoke about their experiences to students not only out of nostalgia, but also out of the conviction that what they did at Noborito was immoral and evil and should never happen again, and that young people should never lose their youthful days to wars.¹⁰⁸ These ex-employees, then, acknowledged their part in Japan's wartime aggression, while at the same time regret, or even feel victimized, that their youth had been lost in the war years. It is then natural to think that they started to open up to the high school students who can build a peaceful future with no more 'Noborito', and who can still live their youth to the fullest. As seen, by the end of the 1980s, some meanings and memories were being attached to the Noborito site. For citizens and students, Noborito was a way to learn about their local history. For some ex-employees, it was a nostalgic past that they reminisced about. For some others, Noborito was used to disclose the 'dark' aspects of their pasts, and to tell the importance of peace and youth to the younger generation.

Finding Meanings in the Site of Aggression: The Birth of Preservation Movements in the 1990s

The Landscape of Japanese War Memories in the 1990s

In the early to mid-1990s, civic preservation movements on the Noborito site would start to emerge that assigned various meanings to the site. The attention on the 'site of aggression' took place in the context of a significant shift in the landscape of Japanese war memories; it is generally acknowledged in historiography that from the end of the 1980s into the mid-1990s, there was an increasing public interest in the issue of war memory and legacies in Japan.¹⁰⁹ Notably, this shift included a growing acknowledgement and awareness that Japan's war in Asia was a war of aggression and invasion. One catalyst for this significant shift was the death of the Showa emperor in 1989, "in whose name all Japan's military actions were carried out, but who was never held

¹⁰⁸ Watanabe, interview, 17:03-17:55; Akira Yamada, interview by Aomi Mochida, personal interview, video recording, Meiji University Ikuta Campus, Kawasaki, March 8, 2017, personal archive of Aomi Mochida, 12:58-13:10.

¹⁰⁹ Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories*, 53-56; Sebastian Conrad, "Entangled Memories: Versions of the Past in Germany and Japan, 1945-2001," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (2003): 94-98, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180698>; Franziska Seraphim, "Negotiating War Legacies and Postwar Democracy in Japan," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 9, no. 2-3 (2008): 221-222, doi: 10.1080/1469076080209484; and Laura Hein and Akiko Takenaka, "Exhibiting World War II in Japan and the United States since 1995," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (2007): 63-64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/phr.2007.76.1.61>.

accountable.”¹¹⁰ After the passing of the emperor, heated public debates emerged on his responsibility for the war and aggression.¹¹¹ The end of the Cold War also played a huge role in the growing public awareness of Japan’s aggressive past. In the post-Cold War world, more and more economic, political, and cultural exchanges and contacts took place between Japan and its Asian neighbors.¹¹² As Japan sought new possibilities of alignments and integration on regional levels, people (especially business leaders and elites as well as tourists) encountered continuing tensions and bitterness in other Asian countries that were caused by Japan’s wartime aggression.¹¹³ As Asian countries became more salient in the post-Cold War era, “the voices of Asian victims of Japan’s wartime expansion were given an importance that they had not had in the decades before.”¹¹⁴ Victims of Japan’s wartime aggression, such as forced laborers and comfort women (women and girls forced into sexual slavery by the imperial Japanese military), became the subjects of huge public attention and debates. Historian Sebastian Conrad termed this phenomenon in which the Asian countries and people became more prominent in the Japanese minds and memory landscapes, the “return of ‘Asia.’”¹¹⁵ With a growing public acknowledgement of Japan’s past wrongdoings, Prime Minister Hosokawa issued a statement referring to Japan’s war as an “aggressive war and a mistake” in 1993.¹¹⁶ As the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War approached in 1995, public awareness of Japan’s wartime aggression continued to grow.

Citizens’ Preservation Movements

It was in this context that civic preservation movements on Noborito started to emerge. Since Meiji University opened Ikuta campus in 1951, many buildings from the Noborito era had been torn down and rebuilt due to the campus development project.¹¹⁷ By the late 1980s, only four buildings, a shrine, and some objects (two fire extinguishers, a memorial for animals used in the experiments, and a store house for ammunition and chemicals) remained on campus.¹¹⁸ In 1990, plans of Meiji University to tear down the main building from the Noborito era were announced.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁰ Seraphim, “Negotiating War Legacies,” 221; Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories*, 53.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 53.

¹¹² Conrad, “Entangled Memories,” 96.

¹¹³ Tsutsui, “The Trajectory of Perpetrators’ Trauma,” 1404.

¹¹⁴ Conrad, “Entangled Memories,” 96.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 97.

¹¹⁶ Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories*, 56.

¹¹⁷ Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と…(Overview of the...),” 11.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁹ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を…(Uncovering the History of...),” 47.

In response, a preservation movement of the main building emerged, led by civic associations active in peace movements in Kawasaki city.¹²⁰ They established the ‘Citizens’ Association for the Preservation of Noborito Buildings (旧陸軍登戸研究所の建物を保存する市民の会; *Kyurikugun Noborito-kenkyujyo no tatemono wo hozonsuru shimin no kai*) [hereafter Citizens’ Association]’ in 1990.¹²¹

In the process of working for the preservation of the Noborito building, the Citizens’ Association was well aware of the connection between Noborito and Japan’s aggression. In fact, they found a value in Noborito because it was related to Japan’s aggression. As one local newspaper article reported, the association organized petitions so that other Kawasaki citizens would learn about and cooperate in the preservation of the “valuable war-related site that tells the story of Japan as a perpetrator in the aggressive war.”¹²² Watanabe (after working with citizens and high school students on the ‘discovery’ of Noborito, he cooperated with the Citizens’ Association), expressed in 1993 that:

¹²⁰ “明大生田校舎に残る旧陸軍の謀略戦研究基地 登戸研究所を平和資料館に (Remains of the Imperial Japanese Military’s Secret Research Institute on Ikuta Campus, Meiji University: Make Noborito Institute into a Peace Museum),” *Kurashi-no-mado* (local newspaper for the Tama district, Kawasaki city), August 25, 1990, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 979. Kawasaki is a city where active peace movements have existed for decades. For example, in the 1970s, grassroots peace movements succeeded in retrieving the land that had been occupied and used by the American military since the end of the war. A new high school was established on part of the retrieved land, and another part of the land was turned into a park named ‘Nakahara district Peace Park’. Moreover, in response to the growing peace movements and anti-nuclear movements within the city, Kawasaki issued the ‘Declaration for Peace and the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons’ as one of the first Japanese cities in 1982. One of those associations that submitted petitions to Kawasaki city government to issue the declaration was the ‘Tama/Aso District Association for Disarmament and Abolition of Nuclear Weapons (核兵器廃絶・軍縮を進める多摩・麻生区民の会)’. This anti-nuclear association took the initiative in forming the civic association for the preservation of Noborito in 1990. See: Kenji Watanabe, “地域から見る戦争と平和 (War and Peace through the Local Lens),” in *平和をきずく市民のつどい30年のあゆみ* (Citizens’ Meeting for Peace: 30 Years of History), 2-5, ed. Board of Citizens’ Meeting for Peace, 30-Year Anniversary Publication (not sold; given to Aomi Mochida by Tadamasa Morita) (Kawasaki: Publishing company unknown, published year unknown (most likely 2013, 2014, 2015, or 2016)), 4-5; and Toshiatsu Yoshida, “「核兵器廃絶平和都市宣言」の成立と意義 (The Issuing of the “Declaration for Peace and the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons” by Kawasaki City and Its Significance),” in *平和をきずく市民のつどい30年のあゆみ* (Citizens’ Meeting for Peace: 30 Years of History), 6-8, ed. Board of Citizens’ Meeting for Peace, 30-Year Anniversary Publication (not sold; given to Aomi Mochida by Tadamasa Morita) (Kawasaki: Publishing company unknown, published year unknown (most likely 2013, 2014, 2015, or 2016)), 6-7.

¹²¹ “旧陸軍建物保存を 「登戸研究所」跡で市民グループ 「戦争の記憶とどめたい」 (Citizens’ Groups at the Noborito Site; Preservation of the Noborito Buildings),” *Asahi Shimbun Newspaper* (Yokohama region page), August 26, 1990, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹²² “明大生田校舎に残る… (Remains of the...).”

The buildings of Noborito are living witnesses of the war. In Japan, buildings related to Japanese victimhood like the A-bomb Dome are preserved, but remains related to Japan's aggression are not usually preserved. That is why we think it is important to preserve the Noborito buildings.¹²³

The Noborito site was acknowledged among interested citizens as a unique site related to Japan's wartime aggression and crimes, and was important to preserve because of it.

It was also significant that peace activists led the preservation efforts: with their solid focus on 'peace', the Noborito site and 'peace' started to be strongly, yet paradoxically, connected. For instance, the Citizens' Association perceived Noborito as "a local monument that prompts people to think about issues of war and peace."¹²⁴ According to the preservation plans of the association, the main building was to be moved to a different place so it would not be subject to campus maintenance plans. Then it was to be renovated and turned into a 'peace museum' where documents related to the Noborito institute were displayed.¹²⁵ This 'peace museum' was to become "Kawasaki's symbol of peace."¹²⁶ In order to have their plan realized, the Citizens' Association collected around 3,300 signatures and submitted a petition to the Kawasaki city council in 1990.¹²⁷ The petition was approved in 1992, but the city government could not find an appropriate place to move the building.¹²⁸ As a result, the main building was eventually torn down, after the Kawasaki city documented it with pictures and videos in 1993.¹²⁹

Noborito, 'Peace' and 'Aggression'

In this initial stage of Noborito's civic preservation efforts, two keywords emerge: 'Japanese aggression' and 'peace'. The Noborito building was to be preserved as one of the rare war-related sites connected to Japanese aggression and was to be turned into a peace museum. This plan of the association actually reflects the general trend in the early 1990s; there was a boom in construction and establishment of a number of regional/municipal 'peace museums' in different parts of Japan, such as Kyoto, Osaka, and Saitama. In fact, by the late 1990s, 113 peace museums

¹²³ “消えゆく謀略の証人 老朽化ひどく取り壊し 川崎市ビデオで記録保存 (Living Witness of Japan's Covert War Disappearing: Kawasaki City Video-Recording One of the Noborito Buildings),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper*, September 29, 1993, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹²⁴ “明大生田校舎に残る… (Remains of the...).”

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ “消すな“昭和の暗黒” 平和資料館に (Don't Erase the Site of Showa's Dark History: Establishment of a Peace Museum),” *Mainichi Shimbun Newspaper (Yokohama region page)*, May 29, 1994, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹²⁸ “消えゆく謀略の証人… (Living Witness of ...).”

¹²⁹ Ibid.

and exhibitions existed in 32 out of Japan's 47 prefectures.¹³⁰ In the context of growing public awareness of Japanese aggression, many of these regional museums were critical about Japan's war conducts in Asia. At the same time, as regional museums serving the local population, they aimed at documenting and displaying local memories of the war such as air raids.¹³¹ As Seaton pointed out, this combination of 'Japanese aggression' and 'localism' found in many regional/municipal peace museums provides a local narrative that conveys a message that "while the nation aggressed the local people suffered, and identification at the local rather than national level underpins victim mentality."¹³² Local narratives are 'comfortable' narratives because they can focus on the victimhood of the local population while putting the blame on the military leaders for the country's aggression in Asia.¹³³ By presenting both local sufferings and sufferings of people in Asia that were caused by the Japanese military, these regional/municipal peace museums "base[d] their call for peace on how the suffering...must not be repeated."¹³⁴ This rhetoric of 'peace' is also significant because it works to neutralize the atrocities and aggression of the Japanese troops.

In Kawasaki, the Kawasaki Peace Museum opened in 1992 after petitions by civic peace movements in the 1980s.¹³⁵ In fact, it was the civic peace associations that formed the Citizens' Association for Noborito in 1990 that made the petitions.¹³⁶ In the early 1990s, these peace associations participated in the city council to prepare for the museum. They also took the lead in the discussion, decisions, and preparation of the contents of the museum.¹³⁷ Like other peace museums that opened in the early 1990s, Kawasaki Peace Museum had (and still has) displays on local war experiences such as air raids and wartime suffering by its citizens, while at the same time portrayed Japan as an aggressor in Asia.¹³⁸ Through these exhibitions, visitors were/are to identify with victims of Japanese aggression and local victims of the war. Similar to other local peace museums, the Kawasaki museum has also had a strong focus on 'peace': the museum has

¹³⁰ Kerry Smith, "The Showa Hall: Memorializing Japan's War at Home," *The Public Historian* 24, no. 4 (2002): 36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2002.24.4.35>.

¹³¹ Hein and Takenaka, "Exhibiting World War II," 65.

¹³² Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories*, 171.

¹³³ Ibid., 171.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 180.

¹³⁵ Katsuyoshi Tanabe, "私たちの平和館づくりの経過 (Establishment of Our Kawasaki Peace Museum)," in *平和をきずく市民のつどい 30 年のあゆみ (Citizens' Meeting for Peace: 30 Years of History)*, 14-15, ed. Board of Citizens' Meeting for Peace, 30-year anniversary publication (not sold; given to Aomi Mochida by Tadamasa Morita) (Kawasaki: Publishing company unknown, published year unknown (most likely 2013, 2014, 2015, or 2016)), 14.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 15; Hein and Takenaka, "Exhibiting World War II," 65.

aimed to “deepen citizens’ understandings of peace, support activities and interactions of citizens interested in the issue of peace, and contribute to the creation of a community of peace.”¹³⁹ Considering that the civic peace associations taking the lead in the development and conceptualization of the Kawasaki Peace Museum were also the ones calling for the establishment of a peace museum in Noborito, it can be assumed that the supposed ‘peace museum’ at Noborito would have had similar messages as the Kawasaki Peace Museum: to think about wars and peace through Japanese military aggression in Asia that Noborito contributed to, as well as through local war experiences in Kawasaki and Noborito. The Noborito peace museum, however, was not realized in this initial stage because the main building was demolished in 1993. However, the rhetoric of ‘Japanese aggression’ and ‘peace’ would continue to appear in the later years.

Academics and Noborito

The civic preservation movement in the early 1990s prompted scholarly interests on the Noborito site. In 1994, students and a professor from the Department of Architecture conducted scientific research on the remaining three Noborito buildings.¹⁴⁰ They made accurate measurements of the buildings, researched materials used in the buildings, and analyzed the composition of stains on the walls and floors in order to reveal what types of research were conducted inside the buildings.¹⁴¹ In 1995, a two-year research project was launched by professors of the Faculty of Humanities that aimed for conducting a comprehensive academic research on the institute.¹⁴² The project was funded by the university, and six professors from Meiji University with various specializations (such as modern Japanese history, French literature, philosophy, and economics) participated.¹⁴³ Yamada was one of those members, and Watanabe was also invited as an outside researcher to join the project.¹⁴⁴ Academic research on Noborito institute was necessary to make a comprehensive and professional assessment on the value of Noborito buildings and to decide whether to preserve them or not. As one local newspaper reported, Meiji University was ‘confused’

¹³⁹ Kawasaki city government, “川崎市平和館条例 (Regulations on Kawasaki Peace Museum),” accessed April 19, 2017, http://www.reiki.city.kawasaki.jp/cgi-bin/kawasaki/D1W_resdata.exe?PROCID=327023304&CALLTYPE=1&RESNO=30&UKEY=1492634998750.

¹⁴⁰ “陸軍登戸研究所 全容解明へ本格調査 (Revealing Noborito Institute: Academic Research Starts),” *Mainichi Shimbun Newspaper (Yokohama region page)*, August 5, 1994, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 11; Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を… (Uncovering the History of...),” 41.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 41; “陸軍登戸研究所…(Revealing Noborito Institute).”

¹⁴⁴ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を… (Uncovering the History of...),” 41.

by the sudden interest in their buildings.¹⁴⁵ As Yamada reflected, buildings from the Noborito era were seen by many university professors and staff as merely ‘old buildings needing to be rebuilt’ rather than ‘important war-related heritages.’¹⁴⁶ There was no official policy in the university on how to view and assess the Noborito buildings, nor did many of the staff see any value in preserving the ‘old buildings’.¹⁴⁷ The academic projects initiated by Meiji University professors were not only a response to the growing civic interests, but were also intended to provide comprehensive and professional reports on the values of Noborito.

One year before the research project of the Faculty of Humanities was launched, in 1994, four professors (all from the research project) also formed an organization called the ‘Association to Oppose the Demolition of Noborito Buildings and Ask for Their Preservation (旧陸軍登戸研究所の解体に反対し保存を求める会; *Kyurikugun Noborito-kenkyujyo no kaitai ni hantaishi hozon wo motomeru-kai*) [hereafter Academics’ Association].’¹⁴⁸ For the next few years, this association of academics would cooperate with the Citizens’ Association, organize site tours and collect signatures, and make petitions to Meiji University to preserve the remaining buildings and establish a peace museum on the site.¹⁴⁹ The Academics’ Association attached three main significances in preserving the site. First, coming from an academic background, they perceived Noborito buildings and objects as important sources of Japanese wartime history. For instance, they expressed to a newspaper reporter that the remains and objects at the site are “first-class sources of the history of the Showa era (1926-1989).”¹⁵⁰ They also stated that the Noborito institute was responsible for the covert warfare of the Japanese military, and there was little chance that other sources and objects of covert warfare would be discovered elsewhere.¹⁵¹ This, they claimed, means that if the buildings and remains would not be preserved at the Noborito site, it would be more and more difficult to study and reveal the history of Japan’s covert warfare.¹⁵² The second significance attached to the Noborito site by the Academics’ Association corresponded with the opinions of the Citizens’ Association: Noborito was important because it was connected to Japan’s wartime aggression. The Academics’ Association addressed that “Noborito is

¹⁴⁵ “消えゆく謀略の証人… (Living Witness of...).”

¹⁴⁶ Yamada, interview, 04:27-06:36.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 04:27-06:36.

¹⁴⁸ “消すな … (Don’t Erase...).”

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Association to Oppose the Demolition of Noborito Buildings and Ask for Their Preservation (旧陸軍登戸研究所の解体に反対し保存を求める会), *Report by the Association*, published on October 22, 1999, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 1016, 6.

¹⁵² Ibid., 6.

extremely valuable because it is a site of Japan as a perpetrator, whereas most war-related sites in Japan are that of Japan as a victim.”¹⁵³

Lastly, the Academics’ Association expressed that the value of Noborito lied in the fact that it was located inside and used by an educational, research institute. The chairman of the association expressed, “Depending on the contexts and conditions, science will be used for war purposes. As a research university, we should preserve the buildings to make a statement that we will never cooperate with wars and will not let science and scientists be mobilized for the purpose of wars.”¹⁵⁴ This statement indicates that the Noborito site can be used to provide lessons for educational institutions and their scientific research. Moreover, this statement is built on the university’s uncomfortable past; Meiji University is said to have sent several thousand students to the war front towards the end of the war as part of the military’s student mobilization plan.¹⁵⁵ The chairman’s words imply that as a research institute that had sent students to wars, Meiji University has a moral responsibility to preserve the site. This statement is significant because it clearly shows the reason why Meiji University should care about and preserve the site.

As shown, in the 1990s, the citizens’ and academics’ associations began to attach different, yet overlapping, significances to Noborito: the buildings and remains were seen as important sources of the Showa era, as a rare site directly related to Japanese aggression, as a site suitable for a ‘peace museum’, and as a site to provide a lesson for the university and for future scientific research. As a result of the efforts by citizens and academics, then-president of Meiji University, Mitsunori Tozawa, called for the preservation of the remaining buildings in 1998.¹⁵⁶ However, due to the need to rebuild the Noborito buildings as part of the campus maintenance project, the university decided in 1999 to tear down the remaining buildings.¹⁵⁷ An additional blow hit the preservation movements in early 2000 when Tozawa lost the presidential election in which he

¹⁵³ “「貴重な資料」保存を 明大生ら“最後の訴え”旧陸軍登戸研究所解体で (Preserve the Valuable Source: On the Demolition of the Noborito Institute),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper (region page)*, July 28, 1999, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹⁵⁴ Association to Oppose, *Report*, 6.

¹⁵⁵ Meiji University, “明治大学戦没学徒忠靈殿 (Memorial Altar for Meiji University Students Mobilized and Died in the War),” website of the Niigata Prefecture Gokoku Shrine (新潟県護国神社), uploaded June 2007, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.niigata-gokoku.or.jp/history/>. The exact number of Meiji University students mobilized and died in the war is unknown because the list of mobilized students’ names was lost in the final years of the war. The latest research, however, indicates that between 2,000 to 3,700 students were sent to the war front and perished (Meiji University, “明治大学戦没学徒忠靈殿 (Memorial Altar...)”).

¹⁵⁶ Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と… (Overview of the...),” 11.

¹⁵⁷ “「謀略秘密基地」を見学 (Site Tour of Imperial Japanese Military’s Secret Facilities),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper*, May 30, 1999, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

aimed for a second term.¹⁵⁸ The next president, Yuichi Yamada, was not interested in the issues of preservation, and Meiji University did not make any official move to preserve the buildings in the following four years.¹⁵⁹

'Turn to Sites': The Noborito Site, the National Network, and the Shared 'Significances' of War-Related Sites in the Late 1990s to Mid-2000s

Even though Meiji University stopped considering the preservation of the remaining Noborito buildings in the late 1990s, civic preservation movements continued to grow. Since the Citizens' Association for Noborito was created in the early 1990s, they had cooperated with other preservation movements in the region.¹⁶⁰ From the mid-1990s on, Noborito civic movements would extend their network and start to cooperate with other preservation movements beyond the local area. The interaction with other movements affected the way Noborito preservation actors viewed the site.

Pioneering Initiatives and the Rise of Preservation Movements

In the world of war-related sites in Japan, people in Hiroshima and Okinawa were the pioneers. In Hiroshima, the A-bomb Dome used to remind people of their horrific nuclear experiences, and strong opinions for its demolition existed in the first two decades after the end of the war.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Yamada, interview, 11:01-11:30.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 11:01-11:30.

¹⁶⁰ Most prominently, the Noborito Citizens' Association cooperated with the preservation association of Hiyoshi underground complex in Yokohama, a city next to Kawasaki. Hiyoshi underground complex was used by the Headquarters of Imperial Japanese Navy in 1944 and 1945. From this underground complex, orders for operations in the final year of the war, such as for the Battle of Okinawa and the Kamikaze pilot missions, were sent to fleets in the battle field. Similar to the Noborito site, the Hiyoshi underground complex is located inside one of the campuses of Keio University, a private university with the main campus in Tokyo. The association for the preservation of the Hiyoshi underground complex was founded by professors of Keio University and local citizens in 1989. Watanabe was one of the founding members of the Hiyoshi preservation association, and through him, Noborito and Hiyoshi civic associations got into touch. These associations have cooperated with each other and have organized events and study gatherings together. See: Association for the Preservation of Hiyoshi Underground Complex (日吉台地下壕保存の会), “日吉台地下壕保存の会の紹介 (Brief History of the Association),” accessed April 18, 2017, <http://hiyoshidai-chikagou.net/hozonnokai.htm>; and “戦争の実態に迫る きょう、あす調査団が展示会 登戸研究所 日吉台地下壕 (Zooming in on the Nature of the War: Joint Exhibition to be Held by Associations for Noborito Institute and Hiyoshi Underground Complex),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper (Kawasaki region page)*, December 12, 1992, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library).

¹⁶¹ Akiyoshi Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory and Contemporary Issues of Preservation of War-Related Sites),” *Historical Journal* 772 (2014): 5; Takeshi Hamada,

However, in the mid-1960s, the A-bomb Dome was increasingly seen by citizens as a unique monument in the history of humanity.¹⁶² The Dome was to be preserved to tell a universal lesson that nuclear bombs should never be dropped again.¹⁶³ Realizing the growing voice among citizens for the preservation of the Dome, the Hiroshima city government decided to repair and preserve it in 1966.¹⁶⁴ In Okinawa, as the only Japanese home island that experienced ground battle during which one-third of the local population perished, scholars and interested citizens had used trenches and sites to pass down stories of local victimhood, suffering, and misery.¹⁶⁵ These Okinawans perceived the trenches and remains as “valuable sources for history and peace education that speak to the horrible local experiences of the Battle of Okinawa.”¹⁶⁶ The attention on war-related sites in Okinawa led the Okinawan scholar Shiichi Toma to coin the term ‘戦跡 (*senseki*; war-related sites)’ in 1984 and propose archeological researches on those sites.¹⁶⁷ These initiatives eventually led to the preservation of the underground trenches in Haeburu town in 1990 that were used as a hospital by the imperial army.¹⁶⁸ The trenches were designated as a ‘cultural property’ of the town, and it was the first war-related site in Japan to become so.¹⁶⁹ With Hiroshima and Okinawa pioneering the initiative on war-related sites, local preservation efforts started to take place in many regions of Japan from the early 1990s on, with Noborito being one of them.

These preservation movements mushroomed in the mid-1990s. One of the most influential catalysts of this development was the amendment of the National Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (文化財保護法; *Bunkazai hogoho*) in 1995. The Agency for Cultural Affairs defines ‘tangible cultural properties’ as “cultural products with a tangible form that possess high historic, artistic, and academic value to Japan.”¹⁷⁰ Before the law was amended in 1995, the Agency had insisted that for an object or a site to be designated as a ‘cultural property’

“戦争遺産の保存と平和空間の生産 一原爆ドームの保存過程を通じて— (Preservation of War-Related Heritages and Creation of Space for Peace: Through the Preservation Processes of the A-Bomb Dome).” *Historical Journal* 772 (2014): 23.

¹⁶² Fukuma, 「戦跡」の戦後史 (*Postwar History of “War-Related Sites”*), 64-66.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 64-66.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 66.

¹⁶⁵ Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 8-9.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 8-9.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 9; Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame,” 496-497.

¹⁶⁸ Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 9. People can now visit the underground trenches in Haeburu town and participate in the guided tours.

¹⁶⁹ Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame,” 497.

¹⁷⁰ Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, “Tangible Cultural Properties (Structures),” accessed April 21, 2017, http://www.bunka.go.jp/english/policy/cultural_properties/introduction/buildings/. The Agency for Cultural Affairs is one of the government’s branches responsible for matters related to culture in general.

and to be protected, more than 100 years must pass.¹⁷¹ Because war-related sites were no older than 100 years, they were not seen as an important property to protect by the government. Therefore, towns and cities wishing to preserve their war-related sites had to establish their own local ‘cultural property act’ to preserve the sites, such as in Haebaru town in Okinawa.

In 1995, however, the Agency for Cultural Affairs amended the law and announced that it would include objects, artefacts, and sites created during the Asia-Pacific War in their consideration for designating the status of cultural properties.¹⁷² The amendment of the law, combined with the inscription of the A-bomb Dome to the World Heritage list in 1996, empowered people involved in the preservation movements of war-related sites.¹⁷³ From 1996 onward, these movements would ask their local towns, prefectures, and/or the government to designate war-related sites as cultural properties. In fact, there were only 7 war-related sites designated as such by towns, prefectures, or the national government in 1997, but by 2004, 96 sites received the designation and were preserved as cultural properties.¹⁷⁴

The Foundation of the National Network

With the growing number of preservation associations, the ‘National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites (全国戦争遺跡保存ネットワーク; Zenkoku senso-iseki hozon nettowaku) [hereafter the National Network]’ was established in 1997 by 22 local preservation associations

¹⁷¹ Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 6.

¹⁷² Ibid., 6.

¹⁷³ In fact, Akiyoshi Murakami, who has been engaged in the preservation movements of Okinawan war-related sites, speculated that the move by the government to amend the law was deeply connected to the movement to nominate the Hiroshima A-bomb Dome for the World Heritage list (Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 6). As Han wrote, since the A-bomb Dome was preserved by the Hiroshima city government in 1966, the Agency for Cultural Affairs had declined the appeals by the local and national movements that asked for the designation of the Dome as a cultural property (Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame,” 498). As the 50th anniversary of the end of the war approached, these local and national movements gained more support by the public (Ibid., 498). The public saw the A-bomb Dome as having a universal value and pressured the government to nominate the dome as a world heritage “to make the place a monument to world peace” (Ibid., 498-499). Faced with growing civic movements and public support, the government eventually decided to nominate the Dome, but the Dome had to become a cultural property of Japan before doing so (Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 6). That was why, as Murakami wrote, the temporal range of the national law was amended. After the amendment, the A-bomb Dome was designated as a national cultural property, was nominated for the inscription on the World Heritage list in 1995, and was approved in 1996 (Han, “Conserving the Heritage of Shame,” 499).

¹⁷⁴ “もう一つの語り部 戦争遺跡を守る 上 (Protecting War-Related Sites: 1),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper*, August 12, 2009, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 701; Jubishi, “戦争遺跡とは何か (What are War-Related Sites?),” 27.

in different regions that had been working on the preservation of war-related sites that represent aspects of both local victimhood and Japanese aggression.¹⁷⁵ The aim of the National Network has been “to research the truth of Japan’s wars in modern history, to preserve war-related sites as cultural properties, and to promote interaction and cooperation among organizations and individuals that pursue peace.”¹⁷⁶ Through this National Network, local preservation associations that were previously isolated or worked only in the local areas were brought together and connected. Since the establishment in 1997, the National Network has organized annual symposiums in different regions every year. During these symposiums, member associations report on their activities and research results, exchange knowledge and information, and organize events to raise public awareness towards war-related sites.¹⁷⁷

The establishment of the National Network was significant because, for the first time, values and significances that had been attached to war-related sites by different local actors were shared among each other. The National Network has provided opportunities for these local associations to together discuss, refine, and share the meanings and values of war-related sites. In particular, through the National Network, the reasons for preserving war-related sites started to be elaborated in connection to social and political developments. For example, the prologue of a book published by the National Network in 2004 stated that:

Every year, there are less and less people in Japan who directly experienced the Asia-Pacific War. As the generation that experienced the war quickly passes away, memories of the war are moving from ‘people’ to ‘objects’. If we lose war-related sites and documents that are witnesses of the war, we would also lose the value of peace and the direction for the future. We will be able to contribute to the creation of tomorrow’s peace through researching and preserving local war-related sites, revealing the truths and reality of the war, and turning the war-related sites into ‘speakers for peace’.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Akiyoshi Murakami, “戦争遺跡は平和の語り部 (War-Related Sites are Speakers for Peace),” in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡(*Japan’s War-Related Sites*), 40-46, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク(The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 41. Some of the founding associations were: the preservation association for the Matsushiro Underground Imperial General Headquarters Complex in Nagano, the preservation association for the Hiyoshi underground complex in Yokohama, and the Okinawa Peace Network (Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 10).

¹⁷⁶ National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites (全国戦争遺跡保存ネットワーク), “「戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク」規約 (Regulations of the National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites),” effective since July 27, 1997, accessed April 21, 2017, <http://senseki-net.on.coocan.jp/>.

¹⁷⁷ Murakami, “戦跡保存の取り組みと課題 (Historical Trajectory...),” 10.

¹⁷⁸ Shunbu Jubishi, “プロローグ(Prologue),” in 保存版 日本の戦争遺跡(*Japan’s War-Related Sites*), 9-12, ed. 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク(The National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites) (Tokyo: 平凡社 (Heibonsha), 2004), 10-11.

Their idea that ‘war memories are moving from people to objects’ sounds naïve because ‘objects’ are not an innate container of memories. It is still ‘people’ who see ‘objects’ as representing some aspects of the memories of the war and thus attach meanings to them. As different meanings attached to the Noborito site so far make it clear, these meanings are shaped by personal interests, experiences, and positions in the society. They are also influenced by socio-political contexts and discourses, reflecting power relations as well. In fact, what can be seen in the statement of the National Network is that they view war-related sites as becoming ever more important as people who experienced the war pass away, which reflects the social context of the time. In the age when there are less and less people with direct war experience, war-related sites were to become ‘witnesses of the war’ and ‘speakers for peace’ to provide ‘direction for the future.’

Additionally, the National Network viewed it important to preserve war-related sites because of the political trend from the mid-1990s onward. Until around 1995, political and public trends were moving towards increasing acknowledgment of Japanese wartime aggression. However, from the mid-1990s on, conservative and nationalistic groups started to backlash. Most famously, the Society for New School Textbooks in History (新しい歴史教科書をつくる会; *Atarashii rekishi-kyokasho wo tsukuru-kai*), led by a Tokyo University professor Fujioka Nobukatsu, was formed in 1996. This group actively called for removing mentions of ‘comfort women’ from school history textbooks, and published a nationalistic textbook that whitewashed Japan’s war crimes and portrayed Japan in a heroic light.¹⁷⁹ This and other nationalistic groups also attacked some of the peace museums on their contents regarding Japanese aggression in Asia.¹⁸⁰ In the political field, the conservative Liberal Democratic Party regained control of the political office in 1996. As historians Laura Hein and Akiko Takenaka stated, “Japanese political culture, which seemed to have moved far toward acknowledging many aspects of war responsibility in the early 1990s...suddenly seemed very much up in the air in the late 1990s.”¹⁸¹

The social and political developments since the mid-1990s led those in the National Network to harbor a sense of peril that the conservatives might suppress memories of Japanese aggression, glorify the war, and lead the country into another war. For instance, a report on the 3rd annual symposium of the National Network stated that there had recently been people who deny and whitewash Japan’s wartime invasion and aggression in Asia, glorify and justify the war, and

¹⁷⁹ Seraphim, “Negotiating War Legacies,” 222.

¹⁸⁰ Hein and Takenaka, “Exhibiting World War II,” 65.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 65.

prepare Japan to enter another war.¹⁸² In this situation, the National Network continued on, war-related sites were to be preserved as witnesses of Japan's war and wartime aggression, to pass down the truths of Japan's war to the next generations, and to prevent another war.¹⁸³ The 'significances' of the war-related sites as expressed by the National Network thus reflect the power dynamics and relations between the conservative political elites and non-elites with a progressive mindset. The 'turn to sites' was therefore made in a socio-political backdrop of the decreasing war generation and a conservative backlash. People turned to war-related sites out of the urgency that people with direct experiences of the war are passing away, and memories of Japan's wartime aggression might be suppressed by politically powerful elites and groups.

The Influence of the National Network on the 'Significance' of Noborito

The foundation of the National Network and their ideas on war-related sites greatly influenced the Noborito preservation movements. The citizens' and academics' preservation associations for Noborito were part of the initial members of the National Network, and Watanabe has been on its executive council for several times since then.¹⁸⁴ As both Watanabe and Yamada reflected, the interactions and connections with other preservation movements in the National Network have been influential to the Noborito preservation movements in terms of exchanging knowledge, co-organizing events and exhibitions, and developing ideas about war-related sites.¹⁸⁵

In fact, the rhetoric that was used by the National Network on why war-related sites have to be preserved started to be reflected in the statements by the Noborito preservation actors as well. For instance, in a book Watanabe published in 2006 titled *How Modern Japanese History Should be Learned: Creating World of Peace and Fairness*, there is a section named 'From the Age of People to the Age of Objects.' In the section, Watanabe wrote that there are less and less people with direct experience of the war, and we are facing the problem of how to pass down memories of the war to younger generations.¹⁸⁶ He then stated that "How should we pass down memories of the war? The answer is through war-related sites."¹⁸⁷ This expression that war-related

¹⁸² National Network to Preserve War-Related Sites (全国戦争遺跡保存ネットワーク), "Report on the 3rd Annual Symposium in Kyoto," in *保存運動(Preservation Movements; periodical)*, vol. 106, October 10, 1999, 2, ed. 松代大本營の保存をすすめる会 (the Association for the Preservation of Matsushiro Underground Complex), courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 241, 2.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 2.

¹⁸⁴ Watanabe, interview, 35:40-35:52.

¹⁸⁵ Yamada, interview, 37:23-39:42; Watanabe, interview, 31:00-35:51.

¹⁸⁶ Watanabe, *近現代日本をどう学ぶか (How Modern Japanese History Should be Learned)*, 131.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 131.

sites are important as the war generation passes away was evident in the publication of the National Network. In addition, on an advertisement for a panel discussion organized by the Academics' Association in 1999, the association claimed that we are in the 'turning point of history' and mentioned the political developments in the late 1990s that they saw as contributing to historical revisionism and denial of Japanese war responsibility.¹⁸⁸ The association then emphasized the need to preserve Noborito to expose Japan's war responsibility, to prevent people from denying Japan's wartime aggression, and to prevent another war.¹⁸⁹ This rhetoric was also seen in the rhetoric of the National Network. Through the participation in the National Network, it can be argued, the Noborito preservation actors started to express the significances of Noborito anchored to the social and political developments taking place. The references to the political and social developments would make the call for the preservation of Noborito sound more relevant and urgent.

Preserving the 'Valuable' Site: Veterans, Civic Movements, and Meiji University in the Mid-2000s to 2010

The Veterans' Letter

Since 2000 when the new university president was elected, Meiji University had not taken any initiatives to preserve the remaining three Noborito buildings (two wooden buildings and one made of concrete). From 2005, however, the situation starts to change very quickly, with the university eventually making an official decision in 2008 to preserve the building made with concrete and turn it into a museum. The catalyst for this policy change, as noted by Watanabe and Yamada, was a letter sent from the Noborito veterans to the president of Meiji University in 2005.¹⁹⁰ The letter was sent to Hiromi Naya, a professor of law who was elected as the new university president in 2004. The letter from the veterans asked the university to take measures to preserve the remaining buildings and objects and to establish a museum where documents on Noborito were exhibited.¹⁹¹ The letter stated that:

Sixty years after the end of the war, memories of the war are fading quickly. The research we conducted and the weapons we developed during the war are about to be buried in history. Our own history is almost going to be erased and forgotten. We firmly believe

¹⁸⁸ Association to Oppose, *Report*, 1-3.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁹⁰ Watanabe, "陸軍登戸研究所の実相を...(Uncovering the History of...)," 46-47; Yamada, interview, 06:37-07:22.

¹⁹¹ Watanabe, "陸軍登戸研究所の実相を...(Uncovering the History of...)," 46.

that even though Noborito was a secret institute, what had been done should be known and the institute should be subject to the judgement of history.¹⁹²

From this letter, a sense of urgency can be extracted. The veterans realized that there is little time for them, and once they are gone, there will be no one to pass down the memories of Noborito. As Yamada told in the interview, these veterans were inspired by the civic preservation movements in the 1990s and started to think that Noborito should be preserved.¹⁹³ The veterans also expressed that Noborito should serve as a lesson for young students engaged in scientific research at the university.¹⁹⁴ Meiji University, as Yamada stated, resonated with this viewpoint, and established a council in 2006 to discuss plans for preserving the concrete building and turning it into a museum.¹⁹⁵ As Yamada and Watanabe both reflected, the fact that people who used to work at Noborito made direct requests to the university was the big turning point.¹⁹⁶

A New Civic Preservation Movement

Around the same time in 2006, a new civic association for the preservation of Noborito buildings was established. This new association named ‘Kawasaki Citizens’ Association for the Preservation of the Noborito Institute (旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会; *Kyurikugun Noborito-kenkyujyo no hozon wo motomeru Kawasaki-shimin no kai*) [hereafter Kawasaki Citizens’ Association]’ was founded in October 2006 in response to the planned demolition of the two wooden buildings.¹⁹⁷ By this time, Meiji University had ideas to preserve the concrete building and turn it into a museum. However, for the two old wooden buildings, the university planned to tear them down and build new facilities.¹⁹⁸ Also, by this time, the previous Citizens’ and Academics’ Associations had disbanded, although some professors such as Yamada and Watanabe continued their research on Noborito. According to Tadamasa Morita, who was one of the founding members of the Kawasaki Citizens’ Association and has been actively involved in the association, there were about 40 members at the time of the establishment of the

¹⁹² Ibid., 46.

¹⁹³ Yamada, interview, 12:24-13:35.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 13:50-14:10.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 13:50-14:10; “戦争加害の歴史、来月公開 (The History of Wartime Aggression to be Exhibited in a Museum Opening Next Month),” *Tokyo Shimbun Newspaper (Yokohama/Kawasaki region page)*, March 9, 2010, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹⁹⁶ Yamada, interview, 08:10-08:21; Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を… (Uncovering the History of...),” 46.

¹⁹⁷ “戦争の記憶語り継ぐ一部取り壊し検討に 保存へ市民の会結成 (Passing Down Memories of the War: Establishment of a Kawasaki Citizens’ Association),” *Kanagawa Shimbun Newspaper*, November 5, 2006, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

¹⁹⁸ Watanabe, “陸軍登戸研究所の実相を… (Uncovering the History of...),” 47.

association.¹⁹⁹ The founding members included retired elementary school teachers, members of the New Japan Women's Association (新日本婦人の会; *Shin-nihon fujin no kai*), members of the Japan Pensioners' Association (全日本年金者組合; *Zen-nihon nenkinsya kumiai*), and local amateur historians.²⁰⁰

The members of the Kawasaki Citizens' Association started various activities to preserve the two wooden buildings. For example, they collected signatures from Kawasaki citizens and submitted a petition to the city government asking for assistance in the preservation of the buildings.²⁰¹ Within 3 months, they collected 9,803 signatures, which shows the extent of interests among the Kawasaki citizens.²⁰² They also held meetings with Meiji University and expressed their opinions and wishes.²⁰³ Since September 2007, they have also organized a monthly site tour of the Noborito buildings and remains so that more citizens would know about the site.²⁰⁴ The association also collaborated with other organizations in the city, such as preservation associations of other war-related sites in the city, peace movements, anti-nuclear organizations, labor unions, and associations for the improvement of children's lives.²⁰⁵ They have co-organized events and study meetings together.²⁰⁶ In 2008, the Kawasaki Citizens' Association joined the National Network and started to expand its network as well.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁹ “戦争の記憶語り継ぐ… (Passing Down...).”.

²⁰⁰ Tadamasa Morita, interview by Aomi Mochida, personal interview, video recording, Morita's house, Kawasaki, March 20, 2017, personal archive of Aomi Mochida, 19:10-20:06. These groups of people had been organizing ‘Peace Study Gatherings’ in Kawasaki city where they discussed topics related to the issue of peace in general. In the Peace Study Gathering in June and September of 2006, the topic was about the Noborito institute. During those study gatherings, Watanabe was invited to talk about the Noborito institute, during which he told people that two wooden buildings were about to be demolished. It was out of these study gatherings that the Kawasaki Citizens' Association was formed (Morita, interview, 13:15-15:00). New Japan Women's Association and Japan Pensioners' Association are both large-scale national associations with over 110,000 members. Broadly speaking, they both work towards the improvement of the lives of women (for New Japan Women's Association) and pensioners (for Japan Pensioners' Association). At the same time, they both view peace and abolition of nuclear weapons as necessities for a society where women and elderly can thrive. See their websites for more information and background on the two associations: New Japan Women's Association (新日本婦人の会): http://www.shinfujin.gr.jp/english/whats_njwa.html (English); and Japan Pensioners' Association (全日本年金者組合): <http://www.nenkinsha-u.org/02-nenkinkumiaitoha.htm> (Japanese).

²⁰¹ Kawasaki Citizens' Association for the Preservation of the Noborito Institute (旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会), *Five Years of History of Our Association*, chronological table, 2011, private document given to Aomi Mochida by Tadamasa Morita.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Morita, interview, 18:42-19:00.

²⁰⁴ Kawasaki Citizens' Association, *Five Years of History*; Morita, interview, 24:04-24:29.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 45:57-49:38.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 45:57-49:38.

²⁰⁷ Kawasaki Citizens' Association, *Five Years of History*; Morita, interview, 53:45-55:40.

In organizing events and spreading the word on Noborito, the Kawasaki Citizens' Association conveyed what they perceived as the importance of Noborito. Similar to previous preservation movements, the Kawasaki Citizens' Association viewed Noborito as important for 'peace'. Morita stated that for children to learn the importance of peace, they need to see materials.²⁰⁸ The buildings at Noborito, as the association expressed, "tell the horrors of the war and thus need to be preserved as witnesses of history."²⁰⁹ The association was created, as Morita stated, to make the Noborito buildings a site for history and peace education where citizens and younger generations learn the reality of Japan's wartime conducts.²¹⁰ The issue of the preservation of Noborito buildings is the issue of either "burying Noborito in history as a thing in the past, or using it to build a society of peace."²¹¹ The connection between 'Noborito' and 'peace' was again established and expressed by the civic association.

The Noborito Museum

Despite the movements to preserve the wooden buildings, they were eventually demolished (one in 2009 and another in 2011).²¹² This was because Meiji University needed to update their campus facilities.²¹³ Also, those buildings were getting very old and concerns for safety started to be voiced among the university staff.²¹⁴ However, there was also a good news. In 2008, the university made an official decision to fully fund the establishment of a museum using the concrete building that used to belong to section 2 of the institute. These decisions about the demolition of the

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 15:37-16:25

²⁰⁹ Kawasaki Citizens' Association for the Preservation of the Noborito Institute (旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会), "旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を求める川崎市民の会 (Kawasaki Citizens' Association for the Preservation of the Noborito Institute)," in *市民活動のひろば(Shimin-Katsudo no Hiroba; a regional periodical of Tama region, Tokyo)*, 5-6, no. 63, September 1, 2008, courtesy of Tama Citizens' Archive, 5.

²¹⁰ Tadamasa Morita, "「つどい」に支えられた登戸研究所の保存運動 (Preservation Movements on Noborito Supported by the Citizens' Meeting for Peace)," in *平和をきずく市民のつどい 30年のあゆみ(Citizens' Meeting for Peace: 30 Years of History)*, 17, ed. Board of Citizens' Meeting for Peace, 30-Year Anniversary Publication (not sold; given to Aomi Mochida by Tadamasa Morita) (Kawasaki: Publishing company unknown, published year unknown (most likely 2013, 2014, 2015, or 2016)), 17.

²¹¹ Kawasaki Citizens' Association, "旧陸軍登戸研究所の保存を... (Kawasaki Citizens' Association for...)," 6.

²¹² Watanabe, "陸軍登戸研究所の実相を... (Uncovering the History of)," 47.

²¹³ "「戦争遺跡」保存、正念場 (The Crucial Moment: Preservation of Noborito Buildings)," *Asahi Shimbun Newspaper (Yokohama region page)*, May 17, 2008, archive of the Kanagawa Prefectural Library.

²¹⁴ Letter from Tsuneo Sakamoto to Takao Abe, letter asking to move the wooden buildings to a city-owned land, February 20, 2008, courtesy of the Noborito Museum, archive source number 746.

wooden buildings and the preservation of the concrete building illustrate the standpoint of the university regarding what is ‘worthy’ to preserve and what not. In fact in 2008, the head of the administration office of the university sent a letter to then-mayor of Kawasaki city saying that some citizens want the two wooden buildings to be preserved.²¹⁵ The letter then asked the Kawasaki city to move the wooden buildings to a city-owned land somewhere and preserve them there.²¹⁶ The letter also stated that the establishment of a museum would be a sufficient measure for the preservation of the Noborito war-related site.²¹⁷ The letter suggests that, even though it was true that the campus facilities had to be updated and safety had become a concern, the university saw no importance in preserving the wooden buildings on its campus.

After the official decision was made, the university established a council responsible for deciding the contents and direction of the museum.²¹⁸ This council was led by Watanabe and Yamada, and consisted of graduate students from Yamada’s seminar.²¹⁹ Upon deciding the direction of the museum, the council members drew on the idea of ‘Noborito as a site to provide a lesson for future scientific research’ that had been previously expressed. The members decided that the Noborito museum should not only tell what had been going on at Noborito during the war, but also to provide a lesson on what happens when scientific research is mobilized for the purpose of wars.²²⁰ In addition, the council members also drew on the rhetoric of ‘peace’: considering the fact that the museum would be established on a university campus, the members envisioned it to be a place for peace education.²²¹ The museum on Noborito was to “re-examine and re-assess history for the purpose of peace creation”, which was, as Yamada expressed, the most important objective of the museum.²²² The attention on ‘peace’ was reflected in the naming of the museum as well; the museum was named ‘The defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace’, which, Yamada stated, was a result of a “very careful consideration.”²²³ The deliberation on the direction of the museum crystallized in the form of a ‘purpose of establishment’ revealed to the public when the museum opened in April 2010. It is written on the museum website and on a free detailed-guide of the museum (a shorter version of the statement also appears on the museum pamphlet and on a board outside the museum). It states:

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Yamada, “陸軍登戸研究所の概要と…(Overview of the...),” 11.

²¹⁹ Yamada, interview, 14:30-14:43, 22:53-25:27.

²²⁰ Ibid., 17:18-19:22.

²²¹ Ibid., 17:18-19:22.

²²² Ibid., 17:18-19:22.

²²³ Ibid., 18:33-19:22.

The defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace is one of the most important sites for studying Japanese military history before and during World War II. The Noborito institute was responsible for the military's covert warfare, which is the 'hidden' aspects of the war.

Some of the Noborito's research and weapons were/are highly problematic from the standpoint of morality and international laws. However, we think it is necessary to face this 'dark' side of the war and pass down the true nature of wars and conducts of the Japanese military to the future generations. This is also to continuously remind ourselves that under wars, scientific research institute such as ours can be used to destroy sense and humanity.

As part of Meiji University, the museum functions as a center of education about history, about peace, and about science. The museum is also intended to be a place for collaboration with the local community, with educators, and with all those who have worked for many years to preserve and utilize the site as an important reminder of war.²²⁴

The purpose of establishment seems to have drawn upon many of the 'significances' and 'meanings' attached to the Noborito site by preservation movements: Noborito as an important source in studying the Showa era, a site connected to the immoral conducts of the Japanese military, a site suitable for education in peace, and a site to provide a lesson for the university and for scientific research. It is understandable that the purpose of establishment resembled what had previously been said about Noborito's value by different preservation associations because two of the main actors in the preservation efforts since the 1990s—Watanabe and Yamada—were indeed the ones leading the council on the creation of a museum. It is also natural to think that the museum was to become a place for the local population, educators, and people engaged in the preservation movements given the fact that Watanabe and Yamada are both educators who were deeply involved in the local preservation movements.

Conclusion

This chapter showed the historical development of various meanings and memories attached to the Noborito site, investigating part of the first sub-question: what meanings and memories have been created and assigned to the site by various actors in the past? As the chapter demonstrated, during the war years and up until several decades after the war's end, the Noborito institute was surrounded by 'silence', 'taboo', and 'secrecy'. This started to change in the 1980s. Citizens and high school students engaged in the 'discovery' of the Noborito institute saw the site as a place to learn about their local history. Some ex-employees started to view it as a nostalgic past that they

²²⁴ The Noborito Museum, *A Guide*, 4.

reminisced about, and some other ex-workers disclosed their ‘wrongdoings’ and used Noborito to tell the importance of peace and youth to the younger generation. In the 1990s, preservation associations on Noborito emerged and the site was increasingly seen as something important enough to be preserved. The preservation associations attached different—yet overlapping—significances to the buildings and remains of Noborito: they were valuable sources of the Showa era, a rare site related to Japanese aggression, a site suitable for peace education, and a site to provide a lesson for young scientists and the university. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, these ‘significances’ were expressed in relation to the social and political developments, such as the passing away of the wartime generation and the conservative backlash in the political sphere. The different meanings that were attached to Noborito continued to play a role in the 2000s and in the process of establishing a museum. This was mostly because two of the main actors involved in the preservation movements since the 1990s, Watanabe and Yamada, took the lead on deciding the content and directions of the museum that opened in 2010. In these postwar processes of meaning-making, different memories were recalled and addressed. These included memories of the ex-workers’ youthful days at Noborito, memories of the wrongdoings of Noborito workers, memories of the university’s role in the war, memories of the uses of science in the war, memories of Japanese aggression in Asia, and memories of the war years in general.

This chapter also revealed the ups and downs of the preservation movements of Noborito, and how these movements were sometimes empowered and sometimes hampered by institutional, local, national, and international politics and developments. In particular, the role of the university was sometimes vague and ambivalent, and some other times assertive and decisive. It was shown that depending on the university presidents, the preservation of Noborito buildings stagnated or accelerated. Although some of the professors raised voice in the Academics’ Association, they were not bestowed with the authority to make a decision. In the same vein, students did not seem to have a say in decisions regarding their own campus facilities. The history of the Noborito preservation, therefore, illustrated the power relations and institutional politics within Meiji University. Furthermore, this chapter demonstrated that even though civic associations were important, the veterans were influential in critical moments; they were the ones making the ‘discovery’ of Noborito possible by speaking out, and their letter to the university in 2005 has been considered as the ‘catalyst’ for the university’s decision to preserve the site. The history of the preservation of Noborito indeed unfolded out of a complex dynamics in which different individuals and groups with different views of the site taking the lead in different moments, being influenced by the social and political contexts and power relations of the time.

Chapter 3: Constructions of Memories and Meanings at the Current Noborito Site

On the current-day Ikuta campus of Meiji University, some remains and objects from the Noborito era are preserved and opened to the public. They include the defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace [hereafter ‘the Noborito museum’], a small shrine (Ikuta shrine), a memorial for animals used and killed by Noborito researchers in their experiments (such as pigs, horses, and monkeys), two fire extinguishers with the imperial Japanese army’s sign caved on, and a remain of what used to be an ammunition warehouse (see Image 3-7). The museum, shrine, and memorial are located on the edge of the campus, and the fire extinguishers are located where main, important buildings of the institute used to stand (Image 8). According to Yamada (the museum director), all buildings in the central part of the campus were taken down earlier to be rebuilt, and only those on the edge or in places less prioritized for campus development remained.²²⁵ In addition to these remains from the Noborito era, there is a memorial established by the ex-workers on the ground of the Ikuta shrine (as introduced in the previous chapter). This memorial was erected in 1988, not during the war years. The current ‘Noborito site’ therefore consists of remains and objects mainly from the war years, but also from the postwar year.



Image 3: Noborito Museum



Image 4: Ikuta shrine

²²⁵ Yamada, interview, second tape 30:38-31:29.



Image 5: Memorial for animals



Image 6: One of the fire extinguishers



Image 7: Remains of the ammunition warehouse

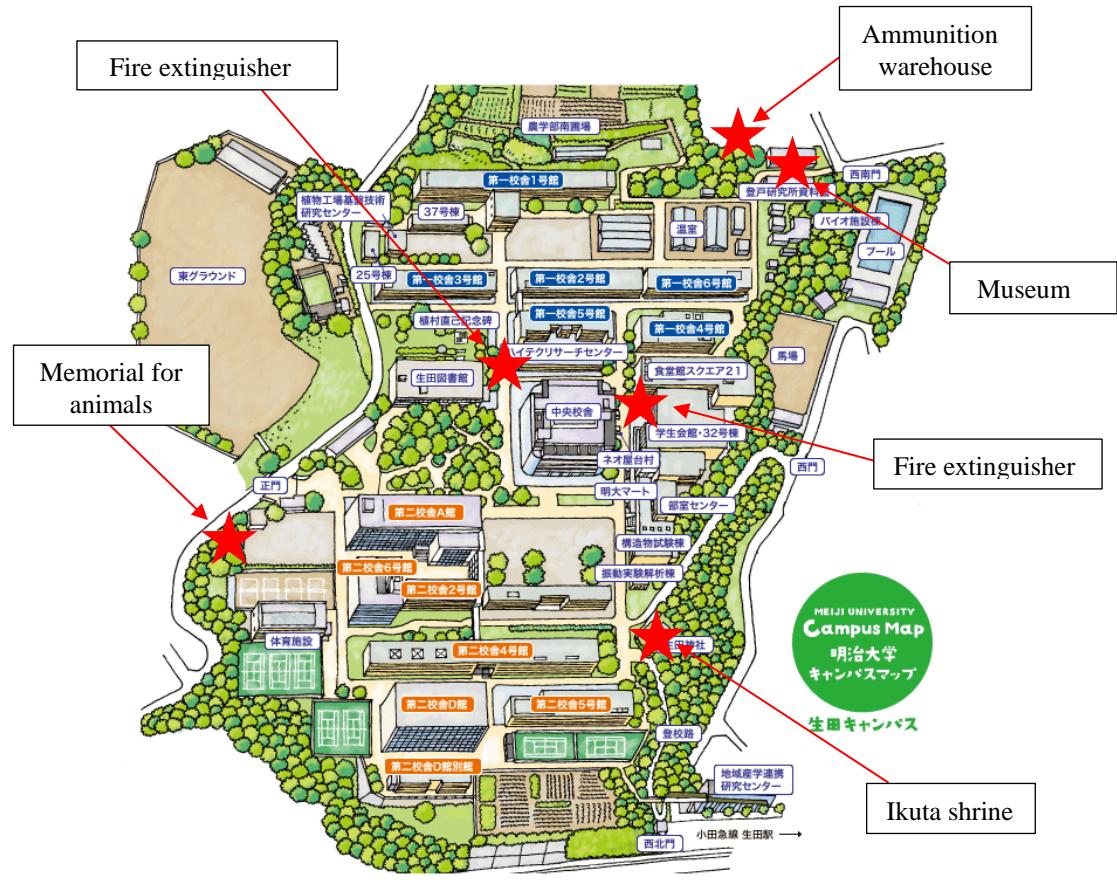


Image 8: Map of Ikuta campus and the locations of the remains.

The image retrieved from: Meiji University,
“生田キャンパス キャンパスマップ (Ikuta Campus: Map),”
Meiji University Website, accessed May 5, 2017,
http://www.meiji.ac.jp/koho/campus_guide/ikuta/campus.html.

This chapter focuses on this contemporary Noborito site and explores the memories and meanings constructed and expressed at the site by different actors and visitors. This chapter has three main parts. The first two parts investigate part of the first sub-question: what meanings and memories have been created and assigned to the site by various actors in the present? The first part focuses on the museum and explores how it tells the history of the Noborito site and Japan’s wartime aggression. The sources analyzed in this part are display panels in the museum. Using discourse analysis, this part investigates what is said and unsaid in the panels, and extracts the strong themes and messages that are sent to the visitors. The second part focuses on the site tours that are organized at the Noborito site. The site tours account for more than half of the visitors to Noborito every year. It first describes who the tour guides and participants are, and then zooms in

on what is said by the guides during the tours. This part employs the anthropological method of participatory observation and analyzes the tours given by Watanabe (ex-high school teacher) and Yamada (the museum director). Among different site tours that take place at the site, their tours were chosen because they are the most influential people at the site. However, because this part only focuses on two tours, what I saw and heard may not be representative of the whole. As a result, this second part on site tours claims to provide a general indication and impression of what takes place during the tours. Taken together, the first two parts—on the museum displays and on the site tours—focus on the ‘actors’ who send messages to the visitors.

The third part of this chapter turns attention to the visitors and explores the second sub-question: how do visitors receive, understand and appropriate the meanings and memories expressed by the actors? This part utilizes discourse analysis and shows the main types of reactions and comments that are made by the visitors. In analyzing visitors’ reception, newsletters and internal reports published by the museum since 2010 are used. They list some of the people’s comments made on museum surveys and on the ‘visitors’ note’. The museum staff members hand out surveys to every museum visitors and tour/event participants. The surveys ask the visitors to provide such information as their age, gender, home prefecture/country, and reflections on their experiences.²²⁶ The collection rate of the surveys has been somewhere between 19 to 25 percent every year since 2011.²²⁷ Every year, the museum staff publishes public newsletters and internal reports that describe the data regarding the visitors/participants and list some of the comments made by them.

There are some limitations with these newsletters and reports. For example, they do not always state on what occasions those answers and comments were made, such as if someone came for the site tour or if s/he came only for the museum. It is therefore difficult to categorize the reception of the visitors according to the occasions and events. Thus, in this section, the comments from different events are all taken together and treated as equal (although whenever the information is available, I will mention the occasion that the comments were made, as well as the gender and age of the people who made the comments). Another limitation is that the newsletters and reports do not represent the whole because they do not list all the comments written by the

²²⁶ The Noborito Museum, 登戸研究所資料館来館者アンケート (*Noborito Museum: Visitor Survey*), survey sheet (Kawasaki: the Noborito Museum, published year unknown).

²²⁷ The percentage was calculated by the author using the annual reports of the museum. The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度 明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館活動報告 (2014 Annual Report), annual report of the museum, 2015, internal report given to Aomi Mochida by the Noborito museum staff, 3; The Noborito Museum, “明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 2015 年度年次報告 (2015 Annual Report),” 館報 (*Museum Review*), no. 2 (2016): 199.

visitors, but instead list comments that were selected by the museum staff. This also raises the issue of the subjectivity of the staff members. The comments were also, in the first place, made only by visitors who were willing to write something down.

In addition to newsletters and internal reports, some of the informal conversations I had with some of the participants during Noborito events are also used to study the reception of the visitors. Similar to the newsletters and reports, the informal conversations are not representative because I did not talk to all of the visitors and event participants. The issue of inter-subjectivity should also be acknowledged: by talking with them, I might have shaped their responses and reactions in certain ways and they might have said what they thought was appropriate and desired. Despite the weaknesses and limitations of newsletters, reports, and informal conversation, they are the only and best sources available that provide access to the reactions and reception of the visitors.²²⁸ Taking into consideration the downsides of the sources, therefore, this third part does not claim to cover the whole scope of the reception of all the visitors. Instead, the main aim is to offer a general impression of the reception of visitors who came to the Noborito site and were willing to talk and write about their experiences. Taken all together, through the analysis of a wide variety of sources, this chapter aims to demonstrate the multiple ways and different directions that meanings and memories of Noborito are constructed, expressed, and received.

The Noborito Museum

Museum Visitors

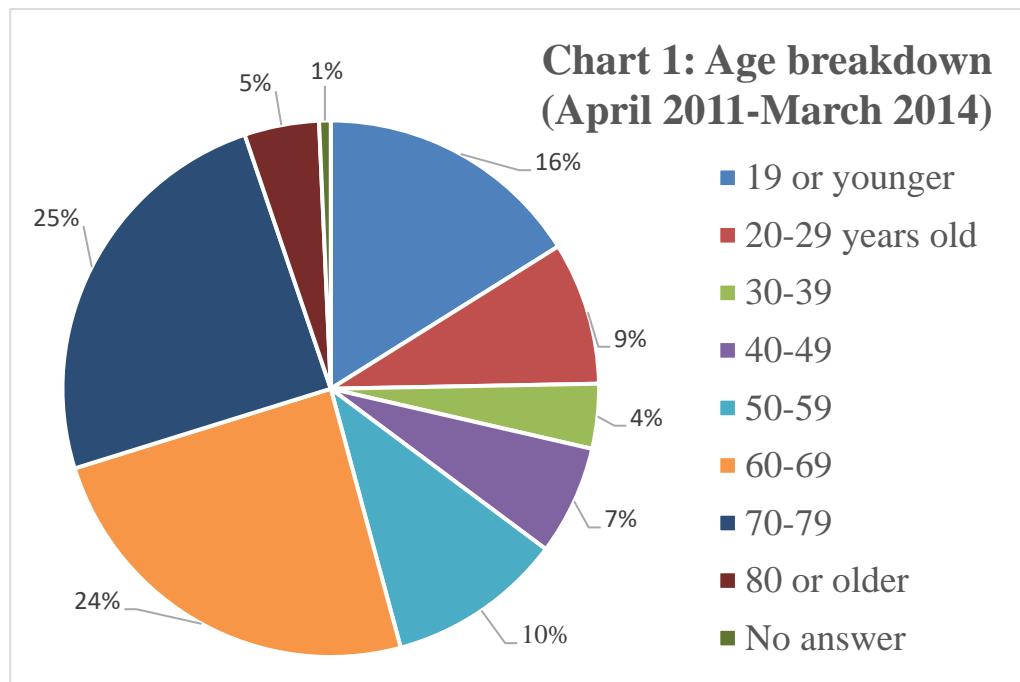
The Noborito museum is funded by Meiji University, free of charge, and operated by curators and staff affiliated with the university (Yamada, Watanabe, 4 curators, and a few graduate students). The museum is one of the main highlights for the visitors to the Noborito site (along with the remaining objects on campus), hosting 48,753 visitors between April 2010 and March 2016.²²⁹ Using the internal reports of the museum between April 2011 and March 2014, I will provide a general data regarding the breakdown of the visitors.²³⁰ As Chart 1 below demonstrates, almost

²²⁸ The raw survey replies do exist, but visitors are not allowed to have access to them. Instead of the actual replies, the museum staff gave me the internal reports.

²²⁹ The Noborito Museum, “2015 年度年次報告 (2015 Annual Report),” 199.

²³⁰ In fact, the internal reports between April 2011 and March 2014 are the only ones providing data on the visitors. These data are based on visitor surveys. The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度 明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 年次報告書(2011 Annual Report), annual report of the museum, 2012, internal report given to Aomi Mochida by the Noborito museum staff, 44; The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 年次報告書(2012 Annual Report), annual report of the museum, 2013, internal report given to Aomi Mochida by the Noborito museum

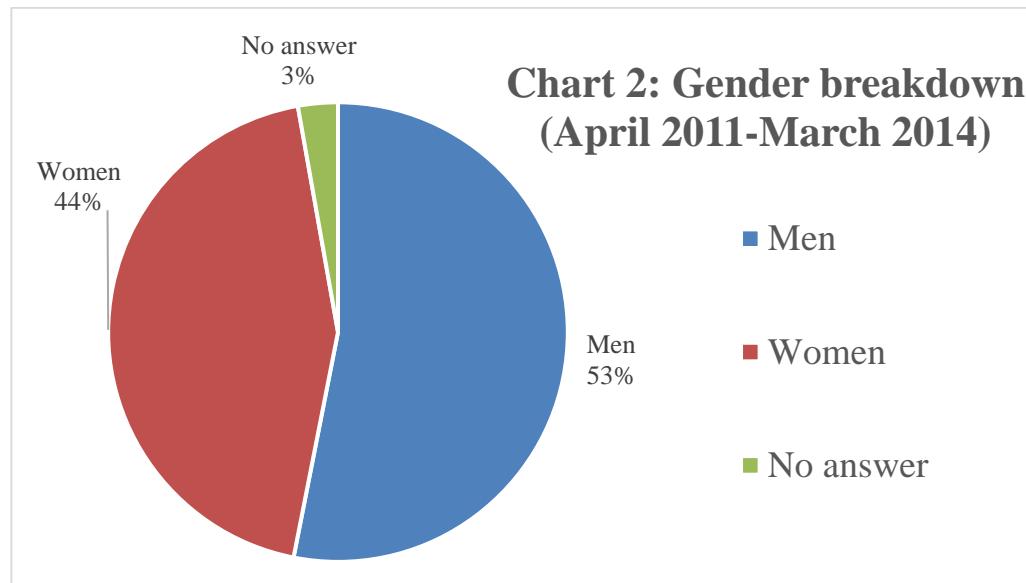
half of the visitors (54%) were 60 years or older. After the age groups ‘60-69’ and ‘70-79’, ‘19 or younger’ is the third largest group (16%). This most likely has to do with the school visits. The museum staff is very open to having visits by schools, and between April 2011 and March 2014, 3074 students (from all range of schools from elementary schools up to universities) visited the museum as part of their educational programs.²³¹ In terms of the gender breakdown, as Chart 2 shows, there were more male visitors than female visitors. However, a newsletter of the museum and Yamada stated that the gender balance has been getting more balanced every year.²³²



staff, 54; The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度 明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 年次報告書 (2013 Annual Report), annual report of the museum, 2014, internal report given to Aomi Mochida by the Noborito museum staff, no page number.

²³¹ The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 4; The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 (2012 Annual Report), 4; The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度(2013 Annual Report), 4.

²³² The Noborito Museum, 平和教育登戸研究所資料館だより (Newsletter from the Noborito Museum), newsletter, issue 5, June 20, 2012, retrieved from <http://www.meiji.ac.jp/noborito/report/index.html>; Yamada, interview, 33:43-33:56.



With regard to where the visitors came from, the majority of them came either from the Kanagawa prefecture (where Noborito is located) or its neighboring prefectures (93%). There were only four respondents who came from abroad. These figures contrast clearly against nationally and internationally well-known museums on the war; for example, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum accommodated 1,495,065 visitors in 2015, of which 338,891 were foreign.²³³ Domestic visitors to the Hiroshima museum also came from different regions.²³⁴ The Noborito museum, in contrast, is not yet canonized nationally as well as internationally. However, it should be acknowledged that the number of foreign visitors indicated by the Noborito internal reports should not be taken as reflecting the reality, since the visitor surveys that are used to gather data on visitors are only available in Japanese, which limits the pool of respondents. As Watanabe and Yamada both mentioned in the interviews, there has been a constant flow of visits by foreign individuals, groups, researchers, exchange students, and media, especially from South Korea and China.²³⁵ The museum actually has an English guide ready for foreign visitors, although it is very simple and shortened compared to the Japanese one. As noted earlier, the numbers and percentages

²³³ City of Hiroshima, “広島平和記念資料館の入館者数等の概況について (Data Regarding the Visitors to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum),” The City of Hiroshima Web, uploaded April 20, 2016, http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1461150515582/simple/01_02.pdf.

²³⁴ City of Hiroshima, “修学旅行等団体の地域別入館者数 (Data on the School/Group Visits to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum: Regions),” The City of Hiroshima Web, uploaded April 20, 2016, <http://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/www/contents/1461150515582/simple/03.pdf>.

²³⁵ Watanabe, interview, second tape 08:12-08:28; Yamada, interview, second tape 23:05-23:15.

provided here about the museum visitors are based on the internal reports between April 2011 and March 2014. This means that they might not be an accurate reflection of the actual visitors since the museum opened in 2010. However, they do show general, yet important, characteristics of the museum visitors.

Organization of the Museum

As mentioned earlier, the museum is located where Noborito researchers of section 2 used to research and develop chemical and biological weapons (the picture on the front cover is the inside of the building). The building was never renovated during the postwar period, so the number of rooms and their sizes have remained the same since the Noborito era (except for dividing up one room to make bathrooms when establishing the museum). Inside the museum, there are five exhibition rooms, a space called ‘rest area’, an archive, a staff room, bathrooms, and a darkroom which was used during the Noborito era for experiments and photo developments (Figure 1).

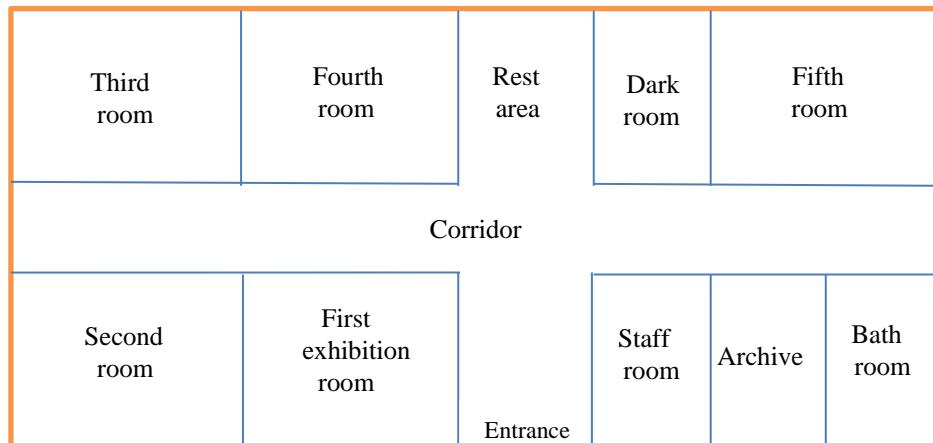


Figure 1: Spatial organization of the museum

In each of the exhibition rooms, there are panel boards that provide information. The panels in the first exhibition room give an overview of the Noborito institute, such as its establishment history, number of workers, and the organizational structure of the institute. The second room focuses on section 1 of the institute, especially the balloon bombs that were developed and launched. The next room is about section 2 and introduces the various responsibilities assigned to the section and different tools and weapons that were developed by the researchers. The displays explain that biological weapons, poisons, and spying tools were the main research fields of section 2, and show the processes of their development, including the

human experiments conducted in Nanjing by the top researchers of section 2. The fourth exhibition room focuses on section 3, where workers produced counterfeit Chinese currency. It explains how counterfeit money was produced, disseminated, and used. The last exhibition room describes how and why the Noborito institute was moved to the inland prefectures towards the end of the war and how some top researchers were given immunity from the U.S. occupation force after the war and cooperated with them. It also explains the postwar ‘discovery’ and preservation of the Noborito site. In addition to panel boards, all of the exhibition rooms display objects, such as experiment materials, counterfeit money, a few remaining documents of Noborito, and remains of the buildings already torn down. In the ‘rest area’, the background context of the 1920s through 1951 is explained on panels using texts and pictures. There are chairs and a television in this space, and visitors can watch a 20-minute video made by the museum. The video simply introduces the research that was conducted at the institute, broadly outlines the postwar activities by citizens and high school students, and ends with a message inviting people to learn about Noborito and think about wars and peace. There is no display panel in the darkroom, but visitors can go inside, turn off the light, and experience firsthand the darkness of the room where some Noborito researchers used to work.

Museum Panels: Noborito Institute, War, and Japanese Aggression

How does the museum tell the stories of the Noborito institute, the war, and Japan’s wartime aggression? It does so by panels displayed in the exhibition rooms. This section explores the main messages and themes that emerge from those panels. It is divided into three parts, each dealing with distinct themes: 1) the lack of background contexts; 2) focus on science and technology, and limits of representing Japanese aggression; and 3) emphasis on peace education.

1. Background Contexts of the Noborito Institute

As the structures of the museum and its exhibition rooms indicate, the main emphasis of the museum is the Noborito institute during the war, focusing on its different sections. However, there is a considerable lack of background contexts. On the panels in the first exhibition room, the establishment history of Noborito is explained (Image 9). To summarize the panels and the accompanying texts from a 30-page detailed guide of the museum given free of charge to the visitors:

The emperor ordered the establishment of Japanese Army Scientific Research Laboratory [JASRL] in 1919 after the military realized that they had entered the age of total war, in which latest scientific technology was fully mobilized. In 1937 when the war with China started, a field experiment site of JASRI opened in Noborito that focused on developing

radio wave weapons. In 1939, the facilities and research subjects of the experiment site were greatly expanded, and the site was turned into a separate branch of JASRI. This was the beginning of the so-called Noborito institute. The institute conducted research on areas such as poisons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, and counterfeit currency. The expansion of Noborito's function took place as the war in China intensified. Noborito's research activities, its facilities, and responsibilities would continue to expand as the war with China dragged on, and as the imperial army increasingly counted on the institute to make a breakthrough in the stalemated war.²³⁶



Image 9: The first exhibition room

As the panels and the guide explain, Noborito's establishment and research activities were closely affected by and connected to the war with China. This means that in order to understand why Noborito was created and how its facilities and research activities developed, it is essential to know the background contexts about the war with China. However, the museum only spares small parts of the 'rest area' for explaining the background historical contexts on the war with China. In the 'rest area', there are two horizontally-long panels (Image 10). They explain the historical contexts through the 1920s to 1951. There are 12 small parts in total on those panels, each dealing with some aspects of the 1920s to 1951. Each of the parts contain a title, a heading(s) from newspaper articles of that time, a few lines of text, and a picture(s) in the background. Among the 12 parts, there are only two that are related to Japan's war with China, despite the importance of the war for the Noborito institute. The lack of information about the war with China becomes even more apparent and alarming when the texts accompanying the parts are looked at. The explanation texts for the war in China simply state that:

Japan experienced a severe economic recession due to the financial crisis in 1927 and the Great Depression in 1929. Particularly, the huge drop in crop prices led to widespread poverty in the countryside. The imperial military gained power in this context, and they saw the invasion of China as the way to get out of the recession. In 1931, the military

²³⁶ About the panels: the author visited the Noborito museum for about 10 times between September 2016 and March 2017 for archival research and field research. During my visits, I took pictures of all the panels and objects. The texts about the panels in this thesis therefore come from those pictures I took during the visits. About the guide: The Noborito Museum, *A Guide*, 3.

carried out the Manchurian Incident. In 1937, Japan entered into a full-blown war with China. Japanese troops occupied major cities like Shanghai and Nanking. During those years, Japanese people celebrated their military's achievements. However, many Chinese people's lives were taken away during the war, leaving huge scars in history.

According to historical analyses, this explanation of Japan's war with China is an overly simplified version. Although the financial crisis and the Great Depression did play a role in Japan's invasion of China, the text makes it sound as if the invasion was caused only because of those events. There is no reference to, for example, Japan's modernization and militarization in the late 19th century, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the Xinhai Revolution (1911), and the imperialist and colonialist ambitions of other nations that all contributed to the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and the following war. In addition, there is no explanation on what the Manchurian Incident was. Moreover, the text does not go over such aspects as what the estimated number of deaths on the Chinese (and Japanese) side is, or what happened in the occupied cities. The text is also vague in a sense that it states "many Chinese people's lives were taken away", but keeps silent on 'who' took away their lives and how. The detailed guide of the museum has even less explanation on the war with China.



Image 10: Rest area and its panels

What is also striking in addition to the lack of context regarding the war with China is the general historical contexts provided in the 'rest area' and the accompanying guide: they put emphasis on how Japanese children, students, and other civilian populations suffered during the war. For example, other parts of the panels outline such developments as school education controlled by the military, suppression of freedom of speech, mobilization of students as soldiers and munitions factory workers, air raids in Kawasaki, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and

Nagasaki.²³⁷ They focus on the home front and do not mention anything about the forefront, such as the battles the Japanese military engaged in and the areas they occupied. There is no reference to, for instance, the invasion and occupation of the Dutch East Indies and the Bataan Death March. When discussing the events that took place in Japan, the panels and the guide do not mention anything about, for example, forced laborers brought to Japan most massively from the Korean Peninsula (but also from other regions, including the Dutch East Indies), as well as POWs who were transferred to Japan and were put into forced labor. Neither do they describe how ordinary citizens actively participated in the war effort. The panels and the guide provide a single story of the Asia-Pacific War that focuses on the wartime suffering and hardships of the civilian population in Japan. They provide a unifying narrative that says all people in Japan had similar experiences and were equally victimized. Importantly, however, they remain silent on ‘by whom’ people in Japan were victimized, such as the Allied Forces, the Japanese imperial military, or by the war in general. The ‘actorship’, therefore, remains opaque.

The emphasis on the home front, the focus on victimhood, and the vagueness on the responsibility for victimization shown by the panels and the guide indicate that even in the Noborito museum that intends to become a place for the visitors to learn about the history of Japan’s war and bring light to aspects related to Japan’s inhumane war conducts, the representation of the war years still tends to be victimhood-leaning and ambiguous. This vague and victimhood-leaning historical context is actually seen in other war museums too, such as 昭和館 (*Showa-kan*), located in the center of Tokyo.²³⁸ As Seaton expressed, in a society of contested war memories, any narrative that clearly addresses Japan’s war years “risks being vehemently opposed by a significant section of Japanese society.”²³⁹ The ‘safe’ option is, therefore, to portray “oneself as a passive victim.”²⁴⁰ The Noborito museum shows that even in a progressive-minded museum, the victimhood narrative is strongly present in the panels on historical backgrounds.

The fact that the background context is explained in the ‘rest area’ and not assigned a room for itself is quite telling as well. As Yamada told in the interview, in the initial floor plan of the museum developed by the council, there was actually no section that provided the historical

²³⁷ The Noborito Museum, *A Guide*, 7-8.

²³⁸ For a detailed analysis on the displays of 昭和館 (*Showa-kan*), see: Kerry Smith, “The Showa Hall: Memorializing Japan’s War at Home,” *The Public Historian* 24, no. 4 (2002): 35-64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2002.24.4.35>.

²³⁹ Seaton, “‘Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?’”, 54-55.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 55.

background of the 1920s to 1950s.²⁴¹ The council decided to explain the historical contexts in the ‘rest area’ after being pointed out by one university staff member who had no background in history that the visitors would not be able to fully understand the Noborito institute unless there were some explanations about its background.²⁴² This means that from the beginning, the historical context was not seen as truly integral for the exhibition on Noborito. This might partly explain the current lack of background contexts and details.

Critics might argue that it would be too complicated and space-consuming to explain Japan’s war with China and other historical developments in more detail. However, as the museum is intended to be a place for ‘studying Japanese military history before and during World War II’ and ‘a center of education about history’ as stated in the purpose of establishment, it seems logical to provide more sophisticated, detailed, and balanced explanations on the background contexts. Moreover, providing historical background is important especially because the museum accommodates children and students who often lack prior knowledge on modern Japanese history.²⁴³

2. *Science, Technology, and Responsibility*

In the rest of the exhibition rooms, the focus shifts to the different sections of the Noborito institute. In the first to fourth exhibition rooms, the panels and the guide place emphasis on science and technology, explaining what types of research the workers engaged in and what was developed at the institute. Among the displays in those rooms, a common pattern emerges: the panels first remind the visitors that Noborito’s research was supported by a network of academia, industry, and military, and then provide the impression that Noborito workers possessed high technology and scientific knowledge. For example, in the second exhibition room that focuses on the balloon bombs developed by section 1 using *washi* paper, the traditional paper of Japan, the panels and guide stress how the balloon bombs were developed by the researchers and military and massively produced through the mobilization of students and *washi* paper producers (Image 11). Then the

²⁴¹ Yamada, interview, 29:28-30:20.

²⁴² Ibid., 29:28-30:20.

²⁴³ It is generally acknowledged in literature and by much of the Japanese public that history education in Japanese schools up until high school does not allocate much time on the modern period when modernization, colonialism, imperialism, and wars took place. The main reason for this is lack of time; towards the end of the school year, due to time pressure, teachers have to hastily go over the remaining areas, which is usually the modern period. Also, it probably has to do with the fact that how to assess the modern era and how to teach it to children remain contested. Compared to other periods such as the medieval and early modern era, therefore, the teachers do not invite students to take time and study the modern era with critical eyes, but instead simply teach them dates and names to remember.

panels explain the mechanism of the balloon bombs that made the balloons adjust to the changing atmospheric pressure, ride on the jet stream, and eventually reach the mainland U.S. (Image 12). The texts from one panel state that the balloon bombs developed by the institute were the antecedents of the intercontinental ballistic missiles. These displays provide the impression that the brightest minds and latest technology were brought to Noborito. The other rooms on section 2 and 3 also largely follow this pattern of explanation.



Image 11: The second exhibition room



Image 12: Panel on the mechanism of the balloon bombs

As the museum intends to be a place to learn about the consequences of mobilization of science into wars and provide lessons for future scientific research as stated in the purpose of establishment, the museum panels touch upon the harm and damage the research and weapons of Noborito caused. As Yamada stated in a book on the Noborito institute, the policy of the museum is to show Noborito's history 'as it was', including the inhumane and unlawful conducts of the Japanese imperial military.²⁴⁴ Exemplifying this policy, the museum panels mention the damage and casualties caused by the balloon weapons in the mainland U.S., the field experiments on chemical weapons done in China and Korea, the human experiments done on Chinese and Russian POWs in Nanjing in the process of developing poisons, and the development and usage of counterfeit currency. These activities did have direct impact on people in the U.S., Korea, and

²⁴⁴ Akira Yamada, “明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館の紹介 (Introduction to the defunct Imperial Japanese Army Noborito Laboratory Museum for Education in Peace, Meiji University),” in 登戸研究所から考える戦争と平和 (*Thinking about War and Peace through The Noborito Laboratory*), 35-52, ed. Akira Yamada, Kenji Watanabe, and Kazuharu Saito (Tokyo: 芙蓉書房出版 (Fuyo-Shobo Publishing), 2011), 41.

China, and many of them were problematic from the standpoint of the international law. There are war museums in Japan that display aspects of Japanese aggression in Asia, but the Noborito museum stands out by exhibiting episodes of Japanese aggression and inhumanity that were actually committed by the people and institute that the museum presents.²⁴⁵ As Yamada told in the interview, the museum is funded almost entirely by Meiji University, and this has made it possible to develop contents solely based on the policy of the council members (led by Yamada and Watanabe), without being influenced by any national/municipal agenda.²⁴⁶ I would also add that the displays on Japanese aggression have been possible due to the postwar preservation efforts that saw Noborito as a significant site connected to Japan's wartime aggression and promoted it as such.

Even though the Noborito museum does provide information on Japanese aggression and inhumanity related to the activities of the researchers, it still shows certain limits in the representations of those aspects. The panels and the guide, for example, do not explicitly criticize these weapons and activities as inhumane, morally problematic, or against the international law (except for the production of counterfeit currency). They also do not assess the individual responsibility of researchers involved in the experiments and research. Nor do they mention how some of the researchers should have been tried in the tribunals for war crimes. The panels in the third room on section 2 best exemplify this point. The texts explain the features of poisons, biological weapons, and chemical weapons developed by the researchers, and mention that human experiments and field experiments were conducted in the processes of their development. However, they do not provide further explanations about those experiments. Instead, the panels cite and highlight parts of the testimonies by ex-workers and make those testimonies explain what they did in the experiments (Image 13 and 14).

²⁴⁵ One example of a museum that shows aspects of Japanese aggression in Asia is the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace in Tokyo that is focused on the 'comfort women' issue.

²⁴⁶ Yamada, interview, second tape 13:27-14:49.



Image 13: The third exhibition room

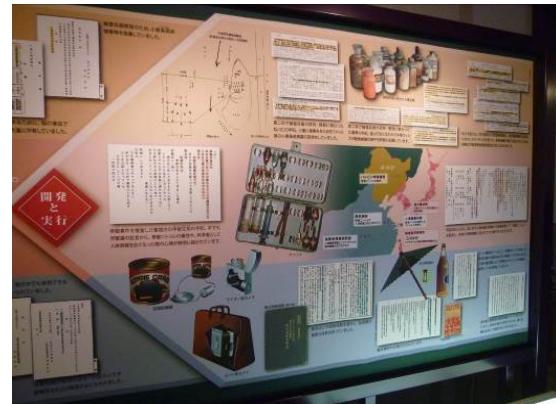


Image 14: Panel on the processes of development of poisons, chemical weapons, and biological weapons (The white parts are extracts of testimonies by ex-workers)

This way of displaying can be interpreted as the effort of the museum to use actual sources in the displays, but it can also be interpreted as a strategy to avoid offering any official judgment on the researchers and their activities. In fact, Yamada noted that as a museum, they have refrained from pursuing the responsibility of individual researchers so as not to alienate the veterans who have spoken to them and given materials.²⁴⁷ The main role of the museum is, Yamada continued, to reveal the truth and reality of the Noborito institute, not to pursue war responsibility, and the museum intends to show how ‘ordinary’ researchers gradually became desensitized in the age of war.²⁴⁸ Yamada also wrote in a book that the museum does not accuse individuals because its policy is to view the activities and research of Noborito as acts committed by the nation and the military, not by individual workers.²⁴⁹ Ultimately, therefore, the blame is put on the imperial military for ordering the scientists to conduct inhumane research. Thus, the Noborito museum, although being open to displaying episodes of wartime violence and cruelty, still shows limits in its representation of wartime Japanese aggression.

3. Noborito and Peace Education

The Noborito museum is also unique in the sense that it includes the postwar ‘discovery’ and preservation processes of the Noborito site. For example, the 20-minute video that visitors can watch in the ‘rest area’ tells about the postwar activities and provides an anti-war message at the

²⁴⁷ Ibid., second tape 16:11-18:36.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., second tape 16:11-18:36.

²⁴⁹ Yamada, “登戸研究所資料館の紹介 (Introduction to...),” 41-42.

end. This characteristic becomes more evident in the last panel in the fifth exhibition room, which is the last panel in the whole exhibition. It describes such developments as the activities of the high school students, their interactions with the veterans, the speaking out of the veterans, and the establishment of the museum (Image 15). Similar to the panel on the weapon development processes of section 2, the panel on the postwar development uses and highlights parts of written testimonies and memoirs of the students and veterans to show what they were thinking and how they felt during the process. Overall, these testimonies and memoirs show how high school students learned the misery and destructiveness of the war through their ‘peace’ activities, how veterans thought it was their mission to pass down memories of Noborito, and how citizens worked hard to preserve the site and establish a museum for the purpose of peace education. The whole exhibition, therefore, ends with a strong note on peace and civic engagement.



Image 15: Panel on the postwar ‘discovery’ and preservation
(The white parts are extracts of testimonies and memoirs)

Noborito Site Tours

Activities and Tours at the Noborito Site

In addition to the museum exhibits that are displayed all throughout the year, there are a number of activities taking place at the Noborito site. For example, there are special exhibitions organized every year on specific aspects of the Noborito institute, open lectures and panel discussions, public events in which ex-workers are invited to talk about their experiences at Noborito, a biannual course on the history of Noborito opened by the university, and activities where local elementary school children, university students, and the museum staff work together and learn about the

Noborito institute.²⁵⁰ These activities are usually planned and carried out by Watanabe, Yamada, the curators, and a few graduate students. In this regard, they play a huge role in shaping the usage of the Noborito site. Yamada told in the interview that the museum staff tries to provide as many opportunities as possible to have ‘people’ tell stories about Noborito using the displays and objects.²⁵¹ The museum staff, in this sense, has made efforts to make the site not a static place with objects and displays, but rather an interactive space.

Among the different ranges of activities that take place at the Noborito site where ‘people’ tell stories about the institute, the site tours are the most popular. The remains and objects on the Ikuta campus are the highlights of the Noborito site in addition to the museum exhibits, and numerous site tours are organized every year. There are three types of site tours organized by the museum: 1. ‘regular tours’ organized twice every month on Saturdays where individual visitors can sign up and join; 2. ‘group visits’ where the museum staff guides groups and organizations on request; and 3. ‘school visits’ in which the staff gives tours to students who come as part of their educational programs.²⁵² The tours usually consist of a guided visit to the remaining objects on campus, followed by a guided tour of the museum. The site tours are important for the museum because every year, about 50 to 60 percent of the museum visitors are tour participants.²⁵³

Tour Participants and Guides

The participants come from varied backgrounds. In the school visits, all range of schools from elementary schools up to universities participate. For instance, in the academic year 2014-2015, one elementary school, 9 junior high schools, 13 high schools, and 9 universities participated in the tours.²⁵⁴ They are usually from the Kanagawa prefecture (where the Noborito site is located)

²⁵⁰ The Noborito Museum, “2015 年度年次報告 (2015 Annual Report),” 200. For reports on the previous events held at the Noborito site, see ‘Noborito newsletter’, a periodical published by the museum: <http://www.meiji.ac.jp/noborito/report/index.html>.

²⁵¹ Yamada, interview, 42:50-44:50.

²⁵² There are also tours given by the ‘Preservation Association for the Noborito Institute (登戸研究所保存の会; *Noborito-kenkyujyo hozon no kai*) [the Kawasaki Citizens’ Association renamed in 2011].’ They started the tours in 2006, 4 years before the museum opened. The number of tours given in a year has been decreasing recently due to the aging of the members, but they have provided about 500 tours and guided about 6,000 people since 2006 (Preservation Association for the Noborito Institute (登戸研究所保存の会), *陸軍登戸研究所見学のしおり* (A Guide for the Noborito Institute Site Tours), pamphlet (published city unknown: Preservation Association for the Noborito Institute, 2016), 8).

²⁵³ The detailed statistics is as follows: in the academic year 2011-2012, 65.5 percent of museum visitors were tour participants; in 2012-2013: 60.6 percent; in 2013-2014: 53.4 percent; in 2014-2015: 59.3 percent; and in 2015-2016: 53.2 percent. The numbers were calculated using the internal reports of the museum published between 2012 and 2016.

²⁵⁴ The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度(2014 Annual Report), 4.

and its surrounding prefectures.²⁵⁵ The organizations that have participated in the group tours include labor unions, peace organizations, local law firms, war-related sites preservation associations, Japan Mothers' Association, and various citizens' groups.²⁵⁶ In terms of participants in the regular tours, Watanabe and Yamada both told in the interview that during the first two years, most of the participants were elderly men who came in groups.²⁵⁷ Since the third year, there has been an increase in individual participants who register through the internet.²⁵⁸ In the past few years, the age and gender distributions have become more balanced, with participants such as families with children, ex-workers, and foreign visitors.²⁵⁹

Yamada and Watanabe each lead the regular site tours once every month. They also guide groups and schools, but the museum curators and graduate students sometimes guide them as well. According to Yamada, he and Watanabe each know what the other is talking about in the tours, but they do not have a common manual that they follow.²⁶⁰ This is because he believes that there are different characteristics, strengths, and values in each of their explanations.²⁶¹ Every tour is also slightly different because the guides change the routes, emphasis, and explanations depending on, for example, time-restraints and the interests of the participants. For example, Yamada stated that when a group can only be there for less than the normal touring time, he spontaneously cuts some contents.²⁶² Also, when a group of elderly women who were mobilized during the war to make the balloon bombs visited, Yamada spared more time and emphasis than usual on the second room that exhibits the balloon bombs.²⁶³ Yamada also stated that he has several patterns of explanations ready for the site tours, and he chooses one after seeing the makeup of the participating group.²⁶⁴ The tour guides thus try to be flexible and adjustable to the participants' requests and interests.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 4.

²⁵⁶ The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 4; The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度(2012 Annual Report), 4; The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度(2013 Annual Report), 4; The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度(2014 Annual Report), 5.

²⁵⁷ Watanabe, interview, second tape 05:53-06:25; Yamada, interview, 33:43-35:16.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 33:43-35:16; Watanabe, interview, second tape 05:53-06:25.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., second tape 08:12-09:08; Yamada, interview, 45:00-45:20.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., second tape 24:39-25:44.

²⁶¹ Ibid., second tape 24:39-25:44.

²⁶² Ibid., second tape 25:59-27:44.

²⁶³ Ibid., second tape 25:59-27:44.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., second tape 23:26-24:22.

The Site Tours, Noborito Institute, and Japanese Aggression

In this section, some themes that emerge during the site tours, especially regarding the Noborito institute and Japan's history of aggression are explored. I will use two regular site tours in which I participated in February 2017 as examples. As recognized earlier, every tour is different; depending on who the participants are, what is being said and how can be quite different. Therefore, the two examples are intended only to provide an indication of what is being said in the regular site tours organized by the museum and led by Yamada and Watanabe.

The first site tour took place on the afternoon of the 4th of February, and was guided by Watanabe. There were 18 participants, and their age ranged from a teenager to a 70 years old, the majority being people in their forties and fifties. There were slightly more men than women, but the gender balance was almost equal. Almost all of them were Japanese, except for one female Russian student in her twenties who came with her friends (she could understand Japanese fairly well). The participants seemed to have come either individually or with a small group of friends. The second tour was organized in the morning of the 25th of February, and was guided by Yamada. There were 23 participants and most of them seemed to be in their fifties and sixties. There were only several people who seemed to be younger than fifty years old. The gender balance was almost equal. About half of the participants seemed to have come individually, and the other half with groups of friends or as couples. In both tours, the participants were guided around the remaining objects for about an hour, followed by a tour inside the museum for another one and half hour.

1. Background Context of the Noborito Institute

Similar to the museum displays, Watanabe and Yamada, when telling the stories of the Noborito institute, did not mention much about the background contexts, such as Japan's war with China. Watanabe's tour started in front of the library of the Ikuta campus, where the main building of the institute used to stand. There, Watanabe explained that the main building used to be a school to prepare people to immigrate to Brazil, and then talked about the establishment and expansion of the institute using aerial photographs and maps. He did mention that the full-scale war between China and Japan started in 1937. He told the participants that "the Japanese imperial military thought they could beat China without taking much time, but they failed. Needs for special weapons and spying tools emerged as the war with China prolonged." This was all the 'background information' given related to the establishment and expansion of the institute. Yamada's tour also started at where the main building used to stand. Yamada explained the historical transformation of the main building, from being a school to the main building of the Noborito institute, to finally being rebuilt as the library of Meiji University. The historical contexts

of the Noborito institute, however, were not explained at all. There was also no question by the participants regarding the background contexts in both tours. This lack of background contexts can be explained by the fact that the main aim of the site tours is to see the objects and the site and learn about how they were used, how the site looked like during the Noborito era, and how it transformed in the postwar years. This focus on the objects and material side of the Noborito institute might be contributing to the lack of historical contexts.

The inside tours of the museum also did not go into the background contexts. In fact, although both Watanabe and Yamada made the participants watch the documentary video in the ‘rest area’, they skipped the actual panels and started their museum tour with the first exhibition room. Yamada told in the interview that he and Watanabe do not go over the panels in the ‘rest area’ due to time pressure.²⁶⁵ He said that the tour outside the museum is supposed to be finished within 30 minutes, but they have never been able to accomplish that.²⁶⁶ Therefore, in order to fit the rest of the tour within the time limit, they have to leave out some contents. The logic here is that the main focus of the whole tour is to explain the Noborito institute and its postwar transformation, so if they have to cut something, it would be the background historical contexts. This lack of historical contexts is a striking common theme of both the museum displays and the site tours.

2. *Noborito’s Inhumane History*

Among the various activities that are related to Japanese military’s aggression and cruelty, the human experiments in Nanjing were the topic that was most explained during Yamada’s and Watanabe’s tours. They both mentioned the human experiments when they guided the participants to the memorial for animals used and killed in experiments for developing poisons, death rays, and chemical and biological weapons. They both explained that Noborito researchers conducted human experiments in Nanjing in 1941 using Chinese and Soviet POWs and studied the effects of a poison that they developed. For their work, they said, the researchers were awarded a prize by the Japanese imperial army. In March 1943, the memorial for animals was established using part of the prize. Compared to other remaining memorials for animals used in the war (for example, memorial statues for animals used by the military established in Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo), it is very large. In the tour given by Watanabe, he then told the participants that even though the memorial has an inscription, ‘Memorial for Animals’, the size of the memorial and the fact that it was built using the prize money for conducting human experiments make him suspect that the

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 30:53-31:32.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., second tape 32:36-32:48.

memorial was intended not only to remember the animals, but also to remember the murdered POWs. He suggests a possibility that some people at Noborito who conducted the human experiments might have felt distressed or guilty for the murdered POWs, and decided to establish the memorial. This is still Watanabe's guess and there is no document or testimony that proves the story. Nonetheless, by inserting this information, Watanabe provides mixed messages about the memorial and shows that there are more layers to it than what it actually says.

Similar to the museum displays, the explanations given by Yamada and Watanabe do not explicitly state that some of the Noborito's activities were cruel, immoral, and against the international law, nor do they mention the responsibility of the individual researchers. This parallel is understandable since they were the ones who led the development of the museum contents. Instead of questioning the morality and responsibility of the researchers, both Yamada and Watanabe emphasized how the war changed the researchers. When explaining the human experiments in the third exhibition room, both Yamada and Watanabe read out loud the testimony of Shigeo Ban, one of the top researchers who conducted the human experiments. Ban's testimony, which is displayed on the panel, describes how he first felt distressed by the experiments, but as he got used to them, they became one of his 'hobbies'. After reading the testimony to the participants, Watanabe stated that the war made the scientists 'go mad'. Yamada also said that the war made the Noborito researchers desensitized to people's pain. Here, the blame is put on the 'war' in general, and the scientists even appear as victims of the war who lost their senses. Yamada then states that the human experiments point to the danger that the mobilization of science into war efforts brings. Here, the main focus is switched from the specific episodes of Japanese aggression into a general message of war and science. The examples from the two tours indicate that explanations regarding Japan's aggression during the tours do not go deep into the Noborito researchers' unlawful and immoral acts; instead, they show the consequences of the mobilization of scientists and provide anti-war messages.

3. Guides' Personal Priorities

Although the main content and structures of Yamada's and Watanabe's tours are mostly the same, both of the tours were greatly influenced by their personal interests. For instance, as one of the main actors of the postwar 'discovery' and preservation movements, Watanabe emphasized the postwar processes during the tours. Understandably, as an ex-high school teacher who led the high school students during the 1980s, Watanabe frequently talked about the role of the high school students. In front of the memorial for animals, Watanabe told the participants how he and others in the Nakahara Peace Education Classroom found the memorial in the 1980s when they organized

a field tour, how they got in touch with the ex-employees, and how high school students played a huge role in the ‘speaking out’ of the ex-workers. When talking about how the war made the scientists ‘go mad’ and conduct human experiments, Watanabe said those ex-workers were able to ‘liberate’ their dark pasts through talking to the high school students. He continued saying that in order to reveal the dark aspects of Japan’s history, we need to ‘liberate’ the past in the way the ex-workers did. In the fifth room, Watanabe also stated that the participation of high school students was the turning point of the postwar history of the Noborito site.

In contrast to Watanabe, Yamada did not stress the role of the high school students. Instead, during the outside tour, he talked more about matters related to Meiji University, such as how the Ikuta campus transformed over time from being filled with Noborito buildings to being a campus full of latest facilities, how the attitudes and stances of Meiji University changed over time regarding the preservation of the site, and how the university currently preserves the objects and remains. Even in the fifth exhibition room about the postwar ‘discovery’ and preservation of the site, Yamada did not really mention the high school students; instead he talked about the academic research project on Noborito that was funded by the university and started in the mid-1990s, as well as the efforts by the university to preserve the site in the 2000s. As a current professor of Meiji University and as a person who was a member of the research project and the Academics’ Association that negotiated with Meiji University in the 1990s and 2000s, his focus on Meiji University is also understandable. As these episodes demonstrate, Watanabe and Yamada both put a personal touch upon the tours, inserting their own preferences, interests, and priorities drawn from their experiences. This means that the tour guides and their intentions shape how the objects and remains are presented and explained to the participants.

4. Participants’ Influence

The guides shape the tours in certain ways, but simultaneously, the participants also have a certain influence in the tours. For instance, in the tour given by Watanabe, there was a female participant whose father had worked in the Epidemic Prevention and Water Purification Department of the Japanese imperial military that collaborated with Noborito researchers on various field experiments and weapon developments. After knowing her background, Watanabe spent time explaining the connection between Noborito and the department. In addition, after learning that there was a Russian student in the tour, Watanabe explained how some of Noborito’s weapons and tools were targeted towards the Soviet Union, and how section 3 of Noborito used to produce fake Soviet passports in addition to counterfeit currency. He specifically told the participants that he does not usually go over these subjects in the regular site tours. During Yamada’s tour inside

the museum, one elderly male participant told the group that he used to work at the institute during the war. For some minutes after that, the tour turned from Yamada explaining the content to participants interacting and asking questions to the ex-worker, such as how old he was during the war and what he did at the Noborito institute. Throughout the rest of the tour and even after the tour ended, there were people asking questions and interacting with the ex-worker. These examples show that the presence of the participants and what they bring to the tour are very relevant to what will and will not be said, and how the tour will be structured. Although the objects and the main contents are the same in every tour, the tours and the explanations are never ‘fixed’ or ‘frozen’.



Image 16 and 17: Images from Watanabe’s and Yamada’s site tours

Reception of the Visitors

The first two parts focused on the ‘actors’ who send messages about the site. In this section, the focus is on the visitors. It investigates how the visitors reflected on their visits and how they made sense of the Noborito site. As previous sections on the museum displays and site tours indicated, the museum visitors and tour participants are from a diverse range of age groups, fairly balanced in gender breakdown, and come for different events. These visitors also come to the Noborito site for various reasons and personal interests. For instance, during the events on the 25th of February, 2017, and 11th of March, 2017 (regular site tour, guided tour of the special exhibition, and an event in which ex-workers talked about their Noborito experiences), I had informal conversations with some of the participants. A male ex-worker in his eighties told me that he came to the site to reflect on his past and recollect memories of the old days. Another male participant in his sixties told me that he is interested in the issue of technology and war, and had been following recent debates in

Japan regarding the usages of academic knowledge for weapon development. A female participant in her seventies said that she came to the event because she had been engaged in and interested in peace movements and abolition of chemical and nuclear weapons. There were also participants (both male, one in his seventies and another in his twenties) who were interested in modern Japanese history and wanted to know more about it. A local female participant in her eighties came to the events out of pure curiosity. The Noborito site, therefore, has attracted and accommodated people with various interests. Of course, some did not have any choice but to come to the site, especially those who came through school and group visits. However, they also reinforce the idea that different people with different interests and levels of enthusiasm visit the site.

This section attempts to show how these diverse visitors understood Noborito's and Japan's wartime history and reflected on their experiences, using newsletters and internal reports published by the museum since 2010, as well as some of the informal conversations I had with some of the participants during Noborito events. The visitors' responses are divided into five categories. One striking aspect of these different categories of visitors' reaction is that they are made by people of different age and gender. There are not many 'common reactions' that are seen in specific age groups or gender groups. This section therefore offers a general impression of the reception of visitors that are evident throughout different ages and gender.

Types of Reception and Comments

1. Science and Technology in the Age of Wars

One of the recurring themes that appear in the visitors' comments is the reflection on science, technology, and the use of science for war purposes. This reaction is apprehensible because one of the main focuses of the museum exhibits is indeed on science and technology during the Noborito era. Some of the comments show how the visitors were simply impressed by the high level of technology of Noborito's researchers.²⁶⁷ In addition to comments that simply describe the 'greatness' of Noborito's technology, some other visitors saw the exhibitions with a more critical eye and reflected on the relationship between science and wars:

²⁶⁷ For instance, one visitor wrote that "I was very impressed and moved by the process through which thin sheets of *washi* paper became grand balloons" (40-49 years old, female, guided tour of the special exhibition on balloon bombs, November 20, 2011). Another visitor wrote that "I realized that Japan's technology was not inferior [to other countries]. Rather, we possessed an advanced technology" (19 or younger, male, May 26, 2012). The first comment from: The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 43. The second comment from: The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度(2012 Annual Report), 50.

I learned that wars are possible because of the development and sophistication of scientific technology. I realized that when we use science in a wrong way, we end up in wars (13 or 14 years old, male, school visit, May 20, 2010).²⁶⁸

I was shocked to learn how science and technology, which should be used for peace and progress of the humanity, were used to destroy the world...(14 or 15 years old, August 1, 2012).²⁶⁹

Listening to the stories about the balloon bombs, I honestly felt impressed by the high level of technology. At the same time, I got keenly aware that wars bring scientific breakthroughs (20-29 years old, male, special exhibition on balloon bombs and counterfeit currency, 2014 or 2015).²⁷⁰

These comments by young visitors demonstrate that they realized science and technology are an essential aspects of wars, and wars have brought advancement in science and technology. These comments were limited to their reflections on what they learned during their visits. There were some visitors who went beyond simple reflections and thought about the present and the future—what people in the present day should do and how science should be used in the future—:

Depending on who use them, science and technology serve different purposes. We need to remember this and make sure that we will never use science and technology to create misery and unhappiness (19 or younger, male, June 23, 2012).²⁷¹

Uses of science for peace purposes decisively shape our future. At the same time, the advancement of science and technology also led to ‘dark history’ (負の歴史; *fu no rekishi*). This antimony of science is a very important issue we need to think about (60-69 years old, male, 2014 or 2015).²⁷²

...I sincerely hope that science and academic knowledge will be used for the purpose of peace and happiness of humanity (60-69 years old, female, 2014 or 2015).²⁷³

Taken together, all the comments above indicate that there are different reactions by the visitors on the issue of science, technology, and wars. Some visitors are simply impressed by the technology of Noborito, some express the relationship between wars and science, and some others

²⁶⁸ The Noborito Museum, 平和教育登戸研究所資料館だより (*Newsletter from the Noborito Museum*), newsletter, issue 1, July 21, 2010, retrieved from <http://www.meiji.ac.jp/noborito/report/index.html>.

²⁶⁹ The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 (2012 Annual Report), 53.

²⁷⁰ The Noborito Museum, 平和教育登戸研究所資料館だより (*Newsletter from the Noborito Museum*), newsletter, issue 11, January 22, 2015, retrieved from <http://www.meiji.ac.jp/noborito/report/index.html>.

²⁷¹ The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 (2012 Annual Report), 53.

²⁷² The Noborito Museum, “明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 2014 年度年次報告 (2014 Annual Report),” 館報 (*Museum Review*), no. 1 (2016): 133, retrieved from <http://www.meiji.ac.jp/noborito/report/index.html>.

²⁷³ The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度 (2014 Annual Report), no page number.

reflect on their own roles and the future direction of science. What is remarkable is that many of these comments talk about ‘science and wars’, but they, like the museum exhibits and tour explanations, do not question the responsibility of the researchers or even the military for mobilizing science into the war. One visitor even wrote that “The Noborito researchers worked hard for the nation, family, and friends, so we can never accuse them. It was the war that forced and drove sane, diligent people into such weapon developments” (20-29 years old, male, April 9, 2011).²⁷⁴ This is an epitome remark that expresses how the war is to be blamed, not the individual researchers, which actually echoes one of the messages of the museum panels and the site tours.

2. *War and Peace*

In addition to the reflections on science, technology, and wars, there were a number of comments that reflected on the misery, destructiveness, and cruelty of wars.²⁷⁵ These comments were often combined with anti-war and/or pro-peace messages:

...It made me feel sad and painful to see how war makes immoral and cruel acts seem normal. We need to keep pursuing peace (40-49 years old, female, July 1, 2011).²⁷⁶

Wars change ordinary people. They make cruel and immoral acts appear not so evil. They lead to horrible consequences...We need to think about wars not as other people's affairs, but as our own problem...Wars should not take place (October 19, 2013).²⁷⁷

Through learning about the forced mobilization of scientific research and labor force, I learned how meaningless and horrific the war was. At the same time, my feelings for peace got stronger (70-79 years old, female, 2014 or 2015).²⁷⁸

Similar to the comments on science and technology, these comments often take what they saw or heard at the Noborito site and turn them into general reflections about wars and peace. These comments vividly demonstrate that memories of Japan’s war often trigger pacifist sentiments and reactions.

²⁷⁴ The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 42.

²⁷⁵ For instance, one visitor wrote that “Learning about the horrifying reality of wars in which researchers lose sanity and respect for other humans, I realized the brutality and misery of wars” (60-69 years old, male, September 29, 2011). Another visitor commented that “Through the visit, I understood what covert warfare is. People who were mobilized into the warfare and those who were victims of it both did not have any human rights. Wars ruin humanity (70-79 years old, female, 2014 or 2015). First comment from: The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 42; Second comment from: The Noborito Museum, “2014 年度年次報告 (2014 Annual Report),” 132.

²⁷⁶ The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 42.

²⁷⁷ The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度(2013 Annual Report), 64.

²⁷⁸ The Noborito Museum, “2014 年度年次報告 (2014 Annual Report),” 132.

3. Episodes of Japanese Aggression

As a site where visitors can read and hear about episodes of Japanese aggression, a number of visitors reflected on that aspect. Particularly, some young visitors wrote about how their visits changed their perspectives of the war:

Because Japan experienced the atomic bombings, I used to think that other nations did far worse things than Japan did in the war. But coming here, I realized that Japan was as cruel and merciless as other nations. Today's visit changed my views (13 or 14 years old, female, school visit, May 20, 2010).²⁷⁹

I am from Hiroshima. In peace education programs in Hiroshima, I have been taught from the position of 'victims'. I had never reflected on the war from the perspective of 'weapon development' and 'active participation'. I realized that I did not know much about the war except for the atomic bombings...When I go back to Hiroshima this summer, I will suggest people to provide peace education programs from the perspective of the 'active participation in the war' (19 or younger, female, May 25, 2013).²⁸⁰

We learn about the suffering and damage Japan experienced during the war, but I had rarely had opportunities to learn about the damage Japan caused. So it was very intriguing to hear about stories of Japan's covert warfare (20-29 years old, male, 2014 or 2015).²⁸¹

These comments point to a larger issue; they indicate that in contemporary Japanese education, there are not many opportunities where students are taught about Japanese actorship: what Japan did to other nations during the war. The first two comments also suggest that the atomic bombings have played a huge role in shaping the perception of Japan as a victim in the war. In a society where victimhood of Japan is emphasized, many other visitors (both young and old) mentioned the importance to clarify Japan's war responsibility, teach children about Japan's role as a perpetrator, and to pass down memories of aggression:

We should not stress too much about our victimhood when talking about war's misery. In order to prevent wars, we need to clarify perpetrator's war responsibilities (60-69 years old, male, October 27, 2012).²⁸²

Japanese people usually mention the atomic bombs and say they were the victims. I am half Korean, and in Korean museums, Japanese aggression is displayed in detail. We need to teach children that we were also perpetrators and that we should never commit such acts again (20-29 years old, November 27, 2013).²⁸³

Japan committed inhumane acts to win the war. I studied Chinese literature and history during my college years, and I really like China. It is just painful for me to see how Japan hurt China in the war. This 'pain' has made my feelings against wars much stronger. We

²⁷⁹ The Noborito Museum, 資料館だより (*Newsletter*), issue 1.

²⁸⁰ The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度 (*2013 Annual Report*), 62.

²⁸¹ The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度 (*2014 Annual Report*), no page number.

²⁸² The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 (*2012 Annual Report*), 52.

²⁸³ The Noborito Museum, 2013 年度 (*2013 Annual Report*), 64.

should never conduct wars again. In order to do that, we need to keep passing down this dark heritage site and keep facing episodes of the past that we do not want to face (30-39 years old, female, guided tour for the special exhibition, February 25, 2017, informal conversation).

One striking and surprising aspect related to how visitors reflected on the aspects of Noborito's and Japan's aggressive behaviors is that revisionist and nationalistic comments are virtually nonexistent. There are no comments that deny or attack the displays on Noborito's cruelty, although there are comments by visitors that show a desire for contextualization and comparisons. For example, one male visitor in his sixties expressed in a survey that:

The displays here should continue to be accessible in the future. In addition, I hope that they would mention what other nations have done too, such as the use of chemical weapons by German troops in World War I and the atomic bombings by the American forces in World War II. Without reference to these aspects, people who are unfamiliar with history might think our ancestors were the only evils.²⁸⁴

Yamada also mentioned in the interview that some elderly visitors express their worries that the displays might enrage Chinese people and prompt anti-Japanese demonstrations.²⁸⁵ Concerned reactions like these do exist, but responses that deny or confront the facts are not evident in newsletters and internal reports. This is a very intriguing aspect because, as Seaton stated, in a contested landscape of war memories in Japan, any narrative that clearly addresses the war and Japanese war conducts risks causing political and social controversies.²⁸⁶

The lack of nationalistic responses directed towards Noborito might have to do with the selection process of the museum staff: they might have intentionally avoided those comments to put in the newsletters and reports. However, as Yamada and Watanabe both told in the interviews, the museum staff does not actually get any pressure, complaints, or aggressive comments by the national government, political organizations, and right-leaning groups.²⁸⁷ Yamada even mentioned that when right-leaning groups visit the museum, they often get impressed by the displays and leave the museum saying they were ‘satisfied’ to learn what was going on at the Noborito site.²⁸⁸ Yamada attributes the lack of aggressive comments to how the museum shows ‘facts’, not ‘interpretations’, as well as to how they have actual objects and remains that prove their ‘facts’.²⁸⁹ These might well be the reason, but I would also add that the lack of pressure and complaints most likely has to do with the fact that the main emphasis of the museum remains on

²⁸⁴ The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度(*2014 Annual Report*), no page number.

²⁸⁵ Yamada, interview, second tape 21:28-21:58.

²⁸⁶ Seaton, ““Do You Really Want to Know What Your Uncle Did?””, 54-55.

²⁸⁷ Yamada, interview, second tape 14:54-15:57; Watanabe, interview, second tape 23:56-24:26.

²⁸⁸ Yamada, interview, second tape 14:54-15:57.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., second tape 14:54-15:57.

Noborito's research, technology, science, and peace. The museum displays and site tours do not mention much about Japan's imperial and colonial history, nor do they explicitly accuse individuals and military as inhumane and immoral. In a sense then, it might well be said that there is not much that revisionists and nationalists can attack and deny, although the museum is very explicit about the active role of the Japanese military and researchers in the war. The lack of pressure might also have to do with the fact that the Noborito museum still remains very local. It has not yet gained a national publicity, and revisionists and nationalists might simply be unaware of the site or think it is not very important. These are still 'speculations', and why the Noborito museum, which displays, to some extent, the perpetration and actorship of the Japanese military, does not evoke nationalist backlash is a question that still remains.

4. Noborito as a 'Valuable' Place

Another recurring theme that comes up in the comments by the visitors is the importance of the Noborito site. A number of visitors expressed why they think the museum and objects are unique and valuable. Some of the comments are:

...The presence of the museum is important because it shows both the bright and dark aspects of science and technology (40-49 years old, male, special exhibition on balloon bombs and counterfeit currency, 2014 or 2015).²⁹⁰

I think they [the museum and objects] are important records of Japanese war history, as well as world history (80 or older, male, April 13, 2012).²⁹¹

The Noborito site is a very valuable site because there are not many places where people can learn about facts related to Japanese aggression (50-59 years old, female, August 8, 2012).²⁹²

Recently, there have been revisionist remarks that gloss over Japan's wartime aggression. In this backdrop, we need to once again reflect on what Japan has done in the war. In that respect, the museum exhibitions are very meaningful and important (20-29 years old, male, 2014 or 2015).²⁹³

I would like every elementary and junior high schools in Kawasaki to teach about Noborito for peace education...I admire people who have made efforts to protect and pass down this precious site (40-49 years old, female, 2014 or 2015).²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ The Noborito Museum, 資料館だより (*Newsletter*), issue 11.

²⁹¹ The Noborito Museum, 2012 年度 (*2012 Annual Report*), 50.

²⁹² Ibid., 52.

²⁹³ The Noborito Museum, "2014 年度年次報告 (2014 Annual Report)," 133.

²⁹⁴ The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度 (*2014 Annual Report*), no page number.

These comments demonstrate the different ‘significances’ attached to the site by different visitors. Many of these comments mirrored the ‘significances’ that were attached to the Noborito site in the postwar years: a site to provide a lesson about wars and science, sources of the Showa era, a rare site directly connected to Japanese aggression, and a site for peace education. This means that the Noborito site has continued to be seen important and valuable from various perspectives. A number of comments also noted that they would like more and more people to come visit the Noborito site and would like to see the site passed down to future generations.²⁹⁵

5. *Others*

In addition to the recurring themes, a number of different reactions and expressions have been made by the visitors. For example, there were some visitors who wrote how surprised they were to learn about the Noborito site and its wartime research.²⁹⁶ Some comments also reflected on the role of the high school students.²⁹⁷ There were comments that asked the staff to advertise the museum and objects to people in other cities, prefectures, and countries.²⁹⁸ As a person with direct connections to the site, an ex-worker that I talked to expressed that his visit ‘brought back his memories’ and that he felt ‘nostalgic’. Another person I talked to stated that she realized how Noborito has left a number of legacies in our contemporary society. She said she also realized the role of the U.S. in the postwar years, giving immunity to top researchers and using the knowledge

²⁹⁵ For instance, one visitor wrote that “I would like to express my respect for preserving this historical site. I want many people, especially young people, to come and see this place” (70-79 years old, April 29, 2010). Another visitor expressed, “The visit made me think about how much people suffered during the war and what those people would want the younger generations to know. Please keep preserving this site and making it accessible for the future” (20-29 years old, October 22, 2010). Both comments from: The Noborito Museum, 2010 年度 明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館 年次報告書(2010 Annual Report), annual report of the museum, 2011, internal report given to Aomi Mochida by the Noborito museum staff, 38.

²⁹⁶ An example of the comments that express visitors’ surprise includes: “I am an alumni of Meiji University who studied at this campus. During my years here, I never heard about the institute and its wartime purposes. Today’s visit was full of facts I did not know, and I was very surprised” (50-59 years old, May 7, 2010) (The Noborito Museum, 2010 年度(2010 Annual Report), 38).

²⁹⁷ For example, one visitor noted that “...I would like to express my greatest respect and appreciation for the high school students who initiated the postwar developments of Noborito” (70-79 years old, April 29, 2010). Another visitor wrote that “It is remarkable and iconic how ex-workers finally started to speak about their experiences through interactions with high school students. When I was conducting interviews with atomic bomb victims as a student, I also experienced an occasion where the interviewee spoke to me about something that [s/he] had never told anyone else. As a duty of ‘those who heard’, we have to keep protecting peace (50-59 years old, female, 2014 or 2015). The first comment from: The Noborito Museum, 2010 年度(2010 Annual Report), 38. The second comment from: The Noborito Museum, “2014 年度年次報告 (2014 Annual Report),” 133.

²⁹⁸ See comments on: The Noborito Museum, 2011 年度(2011 Annual Report), 42; and The Noborito Museum, 2014 年度(2014 Annual Report), no page number (last page).

and technology of Noborito in other wars. These comments illustrate the diverse range of reactions and reflections the visitors made at the Noborito site.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the post-2010 era and explored the different meanings and memories currently constructed and expressed at the Noborito site by different actors and visitors. The first two parts on the museum displays and site tours investigated part of the first sub-question: what meanings and memories have been created and assigned to the site by various actors in the present? The analysis of the museum displays showed that they recall and address various aspects of Noborito's and Japan's past. In particular, they focus on aspects such as Noborito's technology, science and wars, peace, and activism. This way of framing the memories of Noborito's and Japan's past reflects the staff's intention to make the museum into a place that provides lessons for future scientists and a place for peace education. At the same time, although the Noborito site has been seen as an important source of Japan's wartime history and a unique place directly related to Japan's wartime aggression, there are lack of context, contents, and critical assessment on the background historical developments such as the war with China and on episodes of Noborito's inhumane and immoral acts.

Similar to museum displays, the site tours also showed lack of contents, contexts, and critical assessment with regard to the background history and Noborito's cruel conducts. At the same time, the site tours were of course fundamentally different from the museum displays for their involvement of guides and participants. As demonstrated, both the guides and the participants have an impact on where the emphasis will be placed and what will be said (or remain unsaid) during the tours. This suggests a possibility that certain tours can actually focus on the historical contexts and aggression. Although there are certain common themes, messages, and memories, the emphasis of the tours can vary every time and the way the site and its history are presented might differ in each tours. This means that every site tour is a product of interaction and co-creation between the guides and the participants, and what and how the participants remember about the Noborito site would therefore be slightly different in every tours. There are a number of different possibilities and directions that the site tours can spontaneously take, which result in different experiences, memories, and meanings of the Noborito site.

The third part on the visitors explored the second sub-question: how do visitors receive, understand and appropriate meanings and memories addressed by the actors? The different types of comments made by the visitors prove that visitors make sense of the Noborito site in multiple

ways, directions, and emphases. Their reactions illustrate that they are not passive visitors at all; rather, they actively process the messages sent by the actors, prioritize information, reflect on their experiences with different focus, and create and attach different meanings and memories to the site. Taken all together, this chapter on the current Noborito site demonstrated that the dynamic and ever-changing interactions between the site, remains, museum displays, actors, and visitors continuously shape the memories and significances that are attached to the Noborito site. These memories and significances are expressed and understood in various, flexible, and open-ended ways.

Conclusion: Making Sense of the Noborito Site

In a society that is fraught with fault lines of war memories, the Noborito site stands as a unique and insightful place. The site is unique not only because of what it used to be during the war, but also because of its postwar transformation and the dynamic interactions and activities that currently take place there. Noborito is also exceptional for its combination of a war-related site with connections to Japanese aggression, remains from the war years, a museum, and active contemporary events. Focusing on this remarkable site, this study investigated the following overall question: how has the Noborito site become ‘significant’ and ‘worthy to preserve’?

Combining the findings from chapter 2 and 3, three conclusions are drawn. First, the Noborito site has become ‘significant’ and ‘worthy to preserve’ through the cultural processes in which different individuals and groups created and attached different meanings to the site through recalling, remembering, and expressing certain aspects of Noborito’s and Japan’s past. As chapter 2 on the historical development of the meanings and memories of the Noborito site demonstrated, from the 1980s onward, various actors such as the citizens in the Peace Education Classroom, ex-workers, peace activists, and academics increasingly started to attach different meanings to Noborito: a place to learn about local history, a place to reminisce about the nostalgic past, valuable sources of the Showa era, a rare site related to Japanese aggression, a site suitable for peace education, and a site to provide a lesson for young scientists and the university. In these processes of meaning-making, different memories were recalled and addressed. These included memories of the ex-workers’ youthful days, of the university’s role in the war, of the uses of science in the war, of the Japanese aggression in Asia, and of the war years in general. These different meanings and memories all played a role in how the Noborito site was perceived as ‘significant’ and ‘worthy to preserve’. Many of these meanings and memories attached to the site in the postwar years have continued to be expressed and addressed at the current site, as chapter 3 demonstrated.

Second, the meanings and memories attached to the site that have made Noborito ‘significant’ have been shaped by various factors. Both chapters illustrated that different people have perceived and appropriated the site in various ways, and the meanings and memories created and addressed by them have often been influenced by personal factors such as their interests, experiences, and positions in the society. This point was strongly pointed out in the section on how the tour guides’ personal priorities and experiences shape what is said and unsaid during the tours, and what meanings and memories are attached to the site. These meanings and memories have also been strongly influenced by socio-political contexts, discourses, and power relations of

the time. This was especially true in the 1990s and mid-2000s when Noborito's meanings and significances were expressed in connection to the socio-political contexts of the time.

Lastly, Noborito's 'significances,' 'worth', and 'reasons for preserving' created in the past are not 'fixed'. As chapter 3 on the current Noborito site illustrated, meanings and memories recalled, addressed, and constructed at the Noborito site are fluid, flexible, open-ended, and diverse. These meanings and memories continue to develop at the current Noborito site through the dynamic and ever-changing interactions between the site, remains, museum displays, actors, and visitors. As these memories and meanings develop and change, the 'significances' and 'reasons for preserving' the Noborito site will also evolve.

The findings of this study contribute to the concepts explained in the introduction. First, they reinforce the insight developed in heritage studies and expressed by Smith that 'sites' become meaningful and valuable through often ambiguous cultural processes in which different actors negotiate, communicate, and create meanings while engaging with acts of remembering.²⁹⁹ The Noborito site indeed did not have fixed meanings and values from the beginning; its significances have changed and diversified through the activities and interactions of different people who remembered various aspects of the past. Second, this thesis raises an important point that when studying the various 'meanings', it is crucial to look into the actors, why they create and assign certain meanings at a certain point of time, and what the background contexts are. Studying these aspects enables researchers to gain deep insights into the dynamics and workings behind the meaning-making activities. Third, this thesis has proved that while studying the actors is important, it is also critical to explore how normal audience/visitors engage in the meaning-making processes because they are also active agents in the construction and attribution of meanings. Lastly, this study reinforces the concept of transcultural memories that has gained attention in recent literature in memory studies: that memories are fluid, flexible, work-in-progress, and multidirectional. This thesis demonstrated that there is no uniform, one-type memory constructed at the Noborito site; instead, the memories constructed and expressed at the site are fluid, flexible, open-ended, and diverse.

In terms of methodology, it should be re-acknowledged here that the findings of this study, in particular of chapter 3, are mainly based on interpretation. The fact that every site tour is different and that visitors' surveys and informal conversations are not representative of the whole means that on different occasion and with different visitors, what emerge as the main themes and reactions can be different from the ones found in this study. However, this possibility does not

²⁹⁹ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

undermine—rather, it strengthens—the conclusion of this study: that memories and meanings created and expressed at the Noborito site are fluid and always changing.

This study further contributes to the existing literature on three levels. First, with regard to literature on Japanese war memories, most of the reports and literature in English have focused on nationalism, revisionist views, and Japanese victimhood. Filling in the gap in literature, this study focused on how people in Japan remember the Japanese wartime aggression. It showed that even though the Noborito site was directly connected to Japan's wartime wrongdoings, and museum panels and site tours do mention those aspects, limitations exist when it comes to critically engaging with the aggressive past. It also illustrated that 'peace' has continuously functioned as a key concept in making the site of aggression relevant, important, and meaningful, while at the same time neutralizing the episodes of aggression. The Noborito site is definitely open towards showing the active role played by the military and the researches during the war. Despite this, the site does not provoke any nationalist/revisionist backlash. The museum's emphasis on technology and science, its lack of critical assessments on Japan's imperial history and responsibilities of individual researchers, and its locality were pointed out as possible explanations. Further investigations on this aspect in a follow-up study might open new insights into the remembrance of Japanese wartime aggression.

Second, this study contributes to the literature on war-related sites. There have been few studies that analyze how war-related sites were found 'significant' by different people and how those sites reflect and shape war memories. This is what this study has aimed to accomplish. This thesis is also innovative because it has included 'normal visitors' in the analysis and showed their agencies and active roles. It demonstrated that different significances and memories of the Noborito site have not only been constructed by the visible and powerful actors, but also by normal visitors with diverse personal backgrounds, interests, and positions in the society. These visitors actively process and prioritize what they saw and heard, and understand the site in multiple ways. They are not passive; quite the contrary, they are active agents in shaping the meanings and memories of war-related sites.

Lastly, this study diverged from the previous literature on the Noborito site that focuses on the wartime activities at the institute and/or outlines the postwar developments. This study provided one new possibility in the research of Noborito by focusing on the meanings and memories. In follow-up studies, a comparison of Noborito with other war-related sites in and outside Japan would be interesting. Especially, an international comparison with, for example, a site in Europe that represents Nazi perpetration and/or a site in Asia that represents Japan's aggression would open new themes and offer interesting similarities and differences.

The Noborito institute and its remains—with their unique history, postwar trajectory, and contemporary usages—offer intriguing insights into the dynamics of war-related sites, civic activism, and constructions and expressions of meanings and memories. The Noborito site still remains a local attraction; however, as the public interests in war memories continue to grow, war-related sites gain more public attention as physical evidence of the past, and the museum staff continues to carry out diverse on-site activities encompassing broad visitors, it will not be long before the site becomes more nationally and internationally acknowledged. The Noborito site will continue to be a relevant and important site, with its multi-layered and diverse significances and memories constantly changing, developing, and evolving.

Epilogue

The current Noborito site would not exist if it were not for the dedicated efforts by citizens and academics in the preservation movements, ex-workers, and those in the university who made the official decision. Despite some obstructing influences and challenges at certain times, there were always local associations and people who never changed their commitment and conviction in preserving the site. In light of the lack of studies that investigate memories of Japan as a perpetrator, these people who engage in preserving sites and memories of Japanese aggression do not often receive due acknowledgment. This study attempted to bring a spotlight to those people.

It is sincerely hoped that the fruit of the efforts by various people who have been engaged in the Noborito site will be widely acknowledged and will continue to be open and accessible for the future generations.

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Appendices

Before conducting interviews with Yamada, Watanabe, and others engaged in the preservation movements, I asked them to read a document regarding the content of my intended research and the issues of copyright. After agreeing to all the terms, the interviewees were asked to sign an interview agreement form. Due to concerns for privacy, I will not attach the signed contracts. However, I attach the document and form prepared by myself to indicate what the interviewees knew about my research and what they agreed to (everything was written in Japanese, and the English translations were provided just for the purpose of these appendices).

1. Document regarding my intended research and copyright issues

「登戸研究所：記憶の生成、記憶の継承」 インタビュー同意書

(“The Noborito Institute: Constructions of Memories, Passing down Memories”)

1) 研究の内容

登戸研究所の戦後の変遷、保存運動、登戸研究所内外で行われている活動やイベントについての研究です。登戸研究所という「空間」「場」を通して、日本の近代の戦争に関する記憶が誰によってどのように生成され、誰にどう伝えられ、どのように継承されているのかに重点を置いて調べています。

(1. About the research

This is a research on the postwar trajectory of the Noborito institute, preservation movements, and the current activities taking place in and around the site. The emphasis is on researching how memories of Japan's war are constructed, expressed, and understood by various people at the Noborito site.)

2) インタビューの目的

明治大学平和教育登戸研究所資料館やその他のアーカイブにある資料だけではなかなか分からぬような点について、保存運動や資料館設立に携わった方々に直接お話を伺えればと思います。

(2. The aim of the research

I would like to ask about certain aspects of Noborito's history that are not available in the Noborito museum archive and others.)

3) インタビュー形式

約一時間から二時間ほどのインタビューで、登戸研究所の保存運動や資料館設立の経緯、インタビューにご協力いただける方々が登戸研究所に関して行っている活動、登戸研究所に見出す現代的意義などについて質問させていただきます。お話を聞く内容を正確に理解・記録させていただくために音声の録音とビデオでの録画をさせていただきます。このプロジェクトはご協力いただく皆様の自由な意思と参加によるものであり、インタビューの質問の答えなどを強要することはありません。様々な理由で話せないことがある場合は、話さないでいただいて大丈夫です。

(3. Interview format

In an interview ranging from one hour to two hours, I would like to ask about questions regarding the preservation movements, establishment of the museum, your activities related to the Noborito site, and your views on the Noborito site. In order to accurately record the interview, I will use video recording. The participation in this project is entirely based on your choice and decision, and I will not force anyone to participate in the interview or to provide certain answers. If there are aspects and answers you do not want to provide or talk about, that is completely fine.)

4) インタビュー参加同意にあたって

本プロジェクトへのインタビュー参加に同意していただいた場合、すべてのインタビュー音声、動画、メモ、写真はインタビュア一個人のアーカイブの所有物となります。参加者はインタビュー音声、動画、メモ、写真などがインタビュアによって使用されることを承認します。使用する用途としましては、主に修士論文での引用、国内外の学術誌・学会誌の論文内での引用、学会での発表などがあります。インタビュアが学習目的やアカデミックな用途以外でインタビュー資料を使うことはありません。また、同意にあたってインタビュー参加者は、インタビュアに対し、名誉毀損、中傷、プライバシーの侵害などを含むいかなる訴えを起こすことはありません。

(4. On agreeing to the interview

On agreeing to the interview, all the interview tapes, records, notes, and pictures will be in the possession of the interviewer. By signing the contract, the interviewee allows the interviewer to use the interview tapes, records, notes, and pictures in her research. These sources will be used for, but not limited to, master thesis, articles for journals and conferences, and presentations in conferences. The interviewer will not use the interview documents for purposes other than research and academic uses. On signing the contract, the interviewee agrees to not charge against the interviewer for, for example, libel, defamation, and/or privacy violation.)

2. Interview Agreement Form

私_____は、「登戸研究所：記憶の生成、記憶の継承」プロジェクトについての説明を受け、理解し了解しました。よってインタビューに協力することに同意いたします。

(I, _____, have been informed about the research and copyright issues, and have agreed to be interviewed.)

署名(interviewee signature) : _____ 日付(date) : 年 月 日

住所(address) : _____ 電話番号(phone no.) : _____

生年月日(date of birth) : 年 月 日

説明者・インタビュアー署名(interviewer signature) : _____

住所(address) : _____ 電話番号(phone no.) : _____

生年月日(date of birth) : 年 月 日

Radboud University Nijmegen (ラドバウド大学ナイメヘン [オランダ])

Research Master in Historical Studies (研究修士課程：歴史学科)

「登戸研究所：記憶の生成、記憶の継承」プロジェクト

("The Noborito Institute: Constructions of Memories, Passing down Memories" project)

