

The Enola Gay: The Transformation of an Airplane into an Icon and the Ownership of History

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Hiroshima is without light a white white city
---Shoji Tokie (Selden & Selden 1989: 143)

Out of the infernal fire
corpses in the summer river
---Ichiki Ryujoshi (Selden & Selden 1989: 141)

Peace Festival
none of my business
I shoeshine
---Numata Toshiyuki (Selden & Selden 1989: 147)

Introduction

The memory of the past is fading, even though the survivors shout that we must not forget. Even Peace Festivals in Hiroshima and Nagasaki have become a mere "empty routine," as Mr. Numata lamented in his Haiku poetry.

While people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki have tried to convey the message that we should not repeat the past, such a message may simply irritate some people in the world. What the Japanese government has done was not in accord with the effort for world peace as suggested by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The planned exhibit featuring the Enola Gay, stirred the emotions of many Japanese. It also helped to reveal Japan's contradictory attitudes toward nuclear issues. At the time of the 50th anniversary of World War II, various opinions were exchanged over this controversy in Japan.

The Smithsonian Institute did not expect the emotional reaction that it got from U.S. veterans' groups when it released the original exhibit plan of the Enola

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Gay. As a consequence, the Smithsonian Institute was forced to change its blue print several times in accord with the wishes of veterans and their politically powerful supporters in the United States Congress. However, not all Congressmen agreed with the veterans. The dispute between veterans' groups and members of Congress that did not agree with them, on one hand, and historians, on the other hand, escalated to the level where it was no longer possible to compromise. The pressure from both sides forced the Smithsonian Institute to greatly alter the exhibit of the Enola Gay. In the end, the Smithsonian Institute announced the cancellation of the original 50th anniversary Enola Gay exhibit. Instead it was decided that a vastly scaled back exhibit would be created which would include only the Enola Gay and a few items for display.

What was Japan's reaction to this? When the Smithsonian Institute first asked the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to lend items related to the atomic bomb attacks for display both cities promised their cooperation. However, after the alteration of the exhibit plan (according to the request of veterans' groups), Hiroshima city proposed that the exhibit should include a resolution for world peace. Nagasaki city requested that the Institute take victims' sentiments into consideration. Although both cities originally told the Institute that if these compromises were not included they would refuse to cooperate, they later announced that they would cooperate. However, the Smithsonian Institute decided to exclude all the items from Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

What does the Enola Gay mean to the Japanese people? What does it signify to them? The controversy over the Enola Gay exhibit stimulated some interesting questions in Japan. The issue of the Enola Gay exhibit even raised the question of Japan's responsibility for promoting world peace. In order to address this question, this paper draws on newspaper articles, editorials, editorial letters, and so forth in order to analyze people's voices in Japan. *The Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which are the three largest national newspapers in Japan in terms of the number of circulation, were scrutinized.

Moreover, the phenomenon partially explored in this paper is modern museum space. Modernity has invented museum space, which is rationally organized. What does exhibiting the Enola Gay in a museum mean? This paper attempts to reveal the essential meaning of the exhibition.

The Enola Gay is, after all, much more than merely aluminum, glass, and rubber. It expresses several modes of awareness simultaneously. Thus, its material presence-at-hand, magically evinces its identity as the "actual" machine that dropped the first atomic bomb on people. Mythically, it symbolizes hot war, cold war, national pride, evil, and many other potential adumbrations. Perspectively (in the modern sense) this weapons system demonstrated itself to be the most efficient machine of mass destruction yet used. Mythologically speaking, the Enola Gay presentiates "proof" that "god was on the side of the Americans." It also expresses technological prowess, mechanical ingenuity, and

unimaginable cruelty. It presentiates vengeance, just retribution, salvation, and over-kill. It is at once an idol, a symbol, and a sign.

Semiotics and Hermeneutics

The signification of the Enola Gay to the Japanese people cannot be delineated unless their shared hermeneutic horizon is understood. Idols, symbols and signs are, expressions of various motives, attitudes, and desires. They reflect various horizons which define identity. However, because horizons are in a state of constant change, so too is identity.

Hermeneutic/historical investigation is, according to Edmund Husserl (1954/1970), a process of self-understanding. It requires the deepest kind of self-reflection aimed at a self-understanding in terms of what we are truly seeking as the historical beings we are (Husserl 1954/1970: 72). In other words, understanding ourselves is a process of realizing our tradition -- the language we speak, the way we use language, the customs we follow, normative values, the sense of appropriateness or inappropriateness, and so forth. Through a process Husserl called "archaeology," and Nietzsche called "genealogy," the meaning of a phenomenon, including its historicity comes forward, and the way in which consciousness is unified or discontinuously fluctuating is clarified. Delineating the historicity of ourselves allows us to unfold the relationship between an idol, symbol, or sign, and ourselves.

The reaction of Japanese people to the Enola Gay, reveals the historicity of their own horizon -- Japan's nuclear policy, its role in the world, its experience of atomic attack, and other historically sedimented meanings that make up what it is to be Japanese in relation to the Enola Gay. The Enola Gay is not a mere warplane. It is a historical icon. The following section describes the historicity of Japanese people through the reaction to this icon.

Signification of the Enola Gay

The Enola Gay controversy stimulated the Japanese people. When the Smithsonian Institute modified the Enola Gay exhibit several times because of pressure from veterans' groups and members of the United States Congress, Japanese, especially those living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki expressed their disappointment or, what was even called, resentment. After the Senate passed the bill which asked the Smithsonian Institute to alter the blue print for the Enola Gay exhibit on September 23, 1994, a newspaper article reported the resentment of the people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki ("*Kashidashi Kyohi mo*" 1994: 30). The article included comments by Mr. Harada, the chief of the Hiroshima Peace

Museum, saying that "we repeatedly expressed our opinions about the Enola Gay exhibit and if the Smithsonian Institute does not pay any respect to them we may refuse to lend the items related to the event" (translated by Ikeda) ("Kashidashi Kyohi mo" 1994: 30).

Hiroshima Nagasaki no Shogen no kai [The Association for Witnesses in Hiroshima and Nagasaki] voiced their opposition against the modified plan of the Enola Gay exhibit as announced by the Smithsonian Institution on October 27, 1994 ("Bei Genbakuten" 1994: 14). They sent an urgent request to the Smithsonian and the United States Senate. The request included that "justification of the atomic attack disgraces the victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and may legitimize future nuclear wars" (translated by Ikeda) ("Bei Genbakuten" 1994: 14).

The resentment of the people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki reached its peak when, on January 31, 1995, the Smithsonian sent a message to Hiroshima and Nagasaki announcing the cancellation of the 50th anniversary exhibit of the attack. Such resentment was expressed in the headlines: "Hanpatsu Konwaku Muryokukan [Resentment, puzzlement, and helplessness]" (1995: 21) and "Zannen to Iuyori Ikari [Anger rather than disappointment]" (1995: 23). The former article included comments by Mr. Yamada, a secretary general of the Association for Atomic Bomb Victims in Nagasaki. He criticized the United States severely. He said: "The U.S. tried to hide what they did, because they did something shameful to the rest of the world and this is the same mentality as any criminal has" (translated by Ikeda) ("Hanpatsu Konwaku" 1995: 21). The frustration of the people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki about the cancellation turned into anger toward the United States as a nation.

Such emotional responses were also found in reactions against the mushroom cloud stamp. Its issue became a political struggle at the end of 1994. Japanese people strongly opposed the mushroom cloud stamp that the United States Postal Service had planned to issue as one of its 50th anniversary memorial stamps. Although the mushroom cloud stamp was cancelled, the Japanese media conveyed the anger of the Japanese people against the United States. For example, an editorial in the Mainichi Shimbun accused the United States of being insensitive (in a highly emotional tone) ("Genbaku Kitte" 1994: 5). It stated: "I wonder if the United States has no consideration for the atomic bomb victims in Japan" (translated by Ikeda) ("Genbaku Kitte" 1994: 5). The editorial further writes: "Why did the U.S., without any hesitation, drop atomic bombs twice in Japan which, by then, had no ability to continue the war? No one can say that there was no flavor of racism against Japanese in the decision to drop atomic bombs and the justification of such conduct expressed in the public opinion of the people in the United States" (translated by Ikeda) ("Genbaku Kitte" 1994: 5). Accusing the United States of being a racist nation is not a new phenomenon. This kind of emotional reaction against the United States has occurred repeatedly (e.g., in

the media reportage of Yoshihiro Hattori's murder case, see Kramer & Ikeda in press).

What one describes about the other reveals how the former thinks. In other words, it reveals his/her prejudices. The image that Japanese people have of the United States as a racist country reveals their own prejudices. Furthermore, this image is a reflection of their complex feelings toward the United States, more specifically, their "inferiority complex."

Japanese people have long felt inferior to Western "civilized" people both economically and even physically. This attitude can be traced back to the first frequent contacts with Western countries after the Meiji Restoration (1867). This inferiority complex has been manifested in a twisted way. One expression of such a complex has been attacks against Japanese women who have married Westerners. Since Japan's defeat in World War II, and following the occupation by the Allied Forces (which mainly consisted of the American army), Japanese people have tended to equate Westerners with Americans. Japanese people feel that Americans are physically "big" and economically "rich," which are valued as "better." This inferiority complex however, has to be compensated for in some way in order to maintain self-esteem. According to cognitive consistency theories, one must feel superior to others in some ways so as to maintain an emotional or psychological balance in him/herself (Festinger 1957). The one solution for this sense of inferiority has been the tendency of Japanese to see themselves as superior to other Asian people. The other solution is to blindly believe the image of the United States that commercial media have created. One of the images is that "the United States is racist." This is tied to the "old" prejudice that, "Americans are ugly and 'monstrous animals.'" This has been expressed in various texts including *Yama no Oto* (The Sound of the Mountain) by Yasunari Kawabata, Nobel Prize winning author, *America Hijiki* (American Hijiki) by Akiyuki Nosaka, and others (Tsuruta 1987). Negativity runs through both. The "new" but "old" image of Americans as ugly and racist has become popular in present Japan.

Images are emotional and magical/mythic (Gebser 1949/1985). It is not rational in the perspectival/modern sense. Emotionally charged images appeal directly to one's prejudices. Images are, according to Kramer (1993b), part of the "natural attitude." The natural attitude is the one that people live, without question, in the spatio-temporal fact-world. It is a prereflective attitude. Kramer (1993b) states that people believe that the image of another country is of a place that really exists the way they "imagine"/utterly believe it to be (253). Images are, thus, prior to reflection; they are not available for doubt (Kramer 1993b: 251). The image that the media "creates" is reality. The image that the United States is a racist country is reality. The image of the United States, as a racist nation, was further reinforced by the sensational media coverage of the O. J. Simpson murder trial as well as the Black Man's march in Washington D.C., in

October 1995. This is the one and only, completely real United States to the Japanese audience.

The other image that the news media has created is that the United States justifies the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by ignoring or distorting historical "facts." The following sensational titles of newspaper articles have helped to "create" such an image: "'Higaisha no Shiten' ni Doyoshita America [America disturbed by the 'victims point-of-view']" (1995: 4) and "'Seiikika' shita Genbakutoka [The drop of Atomic bombs as 'sacred' conduct]" (1995: 4). The former article affirmed that "the American government consistently promulgated the idea that the dropping of atomic bombs was right" (translated by Ikeda) ("Higaisha no Shiten" 1995: 4). These articles emotionally criticize the American people with regards to their presumed monolithic support for the use of atomic weapons during the Second World War, not even hinting at the raging debates occurring within the United States itself about those events, debates that still rage over fifty years later.

Some articles, however, include both opposing perspectives that exist in the United States. An example is, "Genbakutoka Toinaosu Beimasukomi [The American mass media questioning the meaning of dropping the atomic bomb]" (1995: 6). In relation to such a balanced article, some articles contain comments by American intellectuals about the Enola Gay controversy (e.g., Funabashi 1995: 4; "Genbakutoka Hitsuyoron wa" 1995: 25; "Reisen Owari" 1995: 6). The fact is that in general American intellectuals have reached the conclusion that these bombings warrant continued reexamination. And accordingly, a steady stream of scholarly books about the bombings continues to appear.

Japanese intellectuals also propose the necessity of rational, not emotional, arguments over the issue of atomic bombs. For example, Mr. Sumiya, a member of the world Peace Seven Committee, and a member of the Japan Academic Society, warns that the peace movement can lose its power if it only emphasizes the emotional aspect ("Genbakutoka wa Machigaida" 1995: 4). An editorial in *the Asahi Shimbun* on August 6, 1995 stressed that one must reconsider the meaning of the war and atomic bombs rationally, not emotionally ("Rakusa' o Nakusutameniwa" 1995: 5).

Whenever Japanese people emphasize that Japan is the only country which experienced atomic bomb attack, such a statement inevitably gives an impression that they are completely innocent victims. The use of such emotional rhetoric is an attempt to impose the "logic" of victimage onto the overall discourse about the war in general. It is true that many Japanese people suffered from the horrible experience of the attack. It is also significant to appeal to the world that we should not repeat such "foolish" conduct based on this experience. However, they should not forget that Japan also did horrible things to people in other countries, especially those in other Asian countries. Politicians pay respect for the war dead enshrined in the Yasukuni shrine every year, which still annoys

other Asian countries. Kunihiko Hase, a reporter of *the Mainichi Shimbun* said that he was disturbed when he saw a group of Japanese people who visited Tenian in order to pray for the deceased soldiers there (Hase 1995: 4). Hase lamented that they probably had no consideration for the feelings of the islanders. Tenian was a battle field during World War II, and the place where the Enola Gay took off for Hiroshima from. Elevating war dead to the status of heroes, may avert Japan from taking its share of the responsibility for the war.

Some articles call for a reconsideration of Japan's responsibility for the war. For instance, an editorial of *the Mainichi Shimbun* on August 6, 1995 criticized Japan for "failing to reflect on one's responsibility for the war while emphasizing its ground as a victim of an atomic air raid" (translated by Ikeda) ("Hinan to Nikushimi" 1995: 5). By ignoring or deemphasizing what Japan did to other Asian countries, Japan cannot play a role as a "peace promoter" effectively. "What Japan is" is constituted by what it did, what it does, and what it will do.

When Japanese people comment about the war, they seem to forget what Japan did before and during the war -- the "Nanking Massacre," the brutal occupation of Korea and Taiwan, the enslavement of Koreans and Chinese to work and/or fight for Japan, the forced enslavement of women in other Asian countries to comfort Japanese soldiers, experimentation on human subjects, and so forth.

The Japanese government has only indirectly expressed a pseudo-official position concerning responsibility for the war. For instance, in 1993, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono publicly admitted that there was a practice of sex slavery during the war. For years Saburo Ienaga fought in the Japanese courts to stop official censorship of history textbooks which prevented the inclusion of information about Japanese war crimes. The practice only served to make foreign observers suspicious of Japanese motives and to aid in Japan bashing abroad. The various "Ienaga textbook lawsuits" were not settled until August 29, 1997, thirty two years after the first one was filed in 1965. Students around the globe have been learning more about Japan's activities during the Second World War than were Japanese students who were being kept ignorant about their own history. It would appear that the Japanese were only deluding themselves and fooling no one else, but certainly angering several of their Asian neighbors. Yutaka Yoshida, a major opponent of conservatives such as Kanji Nishio and Nobukatsu Fujioka, has pointed out that it was not until the 1980s that any significant information about the war crimes committed by Japanese began to appear in Japanese textbooks. In the face of growing conservative reaction against disclosing negative aspects of the war in textbooks, the Education Minister Takashi Kosugi refused to delete references to "comfort women." A year later on September 18, 1997, Education Minister Nobutaka Machimura publicly backed the decision of the Textbook Authorization Research Council's decision

to include the issue of comfort women in junior high school texts.

But it was not until the Enola Gay controversy that some intellectuals began to react to the liberalizing attitude toward Japanese history. Notably, in 1995, Fujioka formed *Jiyushugi Shikan* (A Liberal View of History). In 1996 Nishio formed *Atarashii Rekishikyokasho o Tsukurukai* (The Association to Create New History Textbooks). Also in 1996, Nishio and Fujioka joined forces and demanded that the Ministry of Education return to previous censorship standards. They also demanded that textbooks refer to the Second World War as "The Sacred War." Furthermore, in their effort to stop what they have called the "masochistic view of Japanese history," they are publishing a series of textbooks that revive mythological justifications for Emperor-centered historiography which stimulated nationalists sentiments before and during the war. Their rhetoric is instructive for they have attempted to coopt the notion that Japanese students were not being taught the history of Japan, but rather a censored version of it and that it is they, the reactionaries, who are "liberal," and that it is their texts that tell the whole history of Japan, "the history that isn't taught in Japan."

While the textbook debate within Japan is not new, it would seem that the controversy over the Enola Gay exhibit may have been a motivation for the pronounced and recent conservative backlash in Japan. While Fujioka has claimed to have been a "leftist" until the Gulf War, the authors of this paper believe that there is an intertextual connection between the Smithsonian controversy and a heightened conservative reaction in Japan to history about the Second World War generally.

Some newspaper articles have discussed Japan's ambiguity concerning how to remember the Second World War. An article of *the Yomiuri Shimbun* on February 1, 1995 included comments by Dr. Bernstein, a professor of Stanford University, criticizing Japan. He said: "Japan has not cleared the past yet even after half a century has passed" (translated by Ikeda) (Masui 1995: 4). In the article of *the Mainichi Shimbun* on August 7, 1995, Mr. Kim, a Korean author, pointed out that the Japanese government has not expressed its official apology in relation to the hostile reaction against the exhibit of the atomic bombing held in Korea ("Umaranu Ishiki no" 1995: 22). An editorial of *the Asahi Shimbun* on November 3, 1995 questioned whether Japanese people have the right to criticize the Enola Gay controversy considering the ambiguous attitude of the Japanese government in terms of the war ("Enola Gay wa" 1994: 5).

Criticism toward the Japanese government has also emerged due to its ambivalent nuclear policy. By supporting, and being protected by the nuclear power of the United States, the Japanese government has failed to make an effort to promote world peace. Chizuko Ueno, a professor at the University of Tokyo, criticized the attitude of the Japanese government, saying: "The Japanese government should have protested that every country should not make or use inhumane weapons, not just stating Japan's principle of denuclearization called

hikaku sangensoku (not making nuclear weapons, possessing them, or letting them into Japan)" (translated by Ikeda) (Ueno 1994: 4).

Even Japan's principle of denuclearization has been questioned. There has been much suspicion, especially about the third point of the denuclearization policy, which is to not allow nuclear weapons into Japan. The Japanese government has allowed American battleships, which may have had nuclear weapons, to enter Japanese territory several times. An example is the show of force in September of 1997. During that month the nuclear powered and armed aircraft carriers Independence, Constellation, and Nimitz made port calls at Otaru, Hokkaido, Nagasaki, and Yokosuka respectively. Their visit was a complex message and in so far as the Japanese authorities agreed to allow them to use the ports, it is a message sent by the Japanese authorities as much as the United States government. There has long been some suspicion among Japanese people that Prime Minister Yoshida and President Nixon had a secret agreement allowing the United States to bring nuclear weapons to Okinawa if necessary, after the restoration of Japan's sovereignty of Okinawa (NHK). World "peace" during the Cold War was barely maintained through the balance of nuclear power. Under such circumstances Japan was protected by the nuclear power of the United States.

After the Cold War, however, the definition of world "peace" has changed. The world has realized that world "peace" can be achieved not through the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction ("MAD"), but through disarmament of nuclear weapons. Although the world has shifted from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era, the Japanese government has not expressed their definition of world peace. Therefore, when Japanese politicians expressed their disappointment about the plan to issue the mushroom cloud stamp and the cancellation of the 50th anniversary of the Enola Gay exhibit emphasizing Japan's standpoint as an atomic bomb victim, they, as a result, offered the domestic media an opportunity to criticize their ambiguous attitudes toward their nuclear policy and world peace (e.g., Masui 1995: 4; "Nihongawa Rekishikan Shimesazu" 1994: 2).

The following tone of argument was also noticeable: The issue of the Enola Gay exhibit highlighted the unfortunate relationship, between Japan and the United States (e.g., Otsuka 1995: 4; "Tenseijingo" 1995: 1). But even more, it presents the mass media's willingness to generate patently false claims. An article of *the Asahi Shimbun* on May 1, 1995, for example, writes:

The milieu of the United States does not allow people to argue over the moral issue of the dropping of the atomic bomb even after 50 years have already past since the war, which disappointed Japanese people. However, Japan also avoids examining what they did during the war by emphasizing the aspect that Japan was a victim of atomic bombing. The Smithsonian, thus, had a limitation of speaking for Japan's standpoint. The cancellation of the 50th anniversary Enola Gay exhibit seems to symbolize the unfortunate situation of the two countries which failed to contemplate the meaning of

the war seriously (translated by Ikeda). (Otsuka 1995: 4)

Some articles further propose the need to reexamine the meaning of the war (e.g., "'Hibaku' kara 'Hikaku' e" 1994: 5; "Kaku Jidai o Ikiru" 1994: 5; Katsube 1994: 4). The interpretation of the war is changing. History is continually reconstituted by interpretation. It reflects what we think of the phenomenon at the time of history writing and not at the time of the events. The interpretation of the phenomenon is, in other words, historically conditioned. At the same time it makes history. Historical consciousness is both a product and a producer, simultaneously (*Wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewusstsein*). Hoy (1978) explains the concept, *Wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewusstsein*, as "the consciousness of standing within a still operant history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*)" (63). The meaning of nuclear war is shifting. The nuclear experiment conducted by the French in September 1995, may not have disturbed the people in the world in the same magnitude if it had occurred during the Cold War period. The Enola Gay exhibit may have had different meanings in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, or 1980s. Moreover, it may add some other meanings in the future. A museum is a modern, perspectival product. It displays historical objects. It confirms the linearity of time, and offers a perspective, or way to interpret the object. When the museum stops imposing a particular point of view on people, it may be able to generate various meanings and become more integral.

The Modern Museum and Truth

Modernity has invented museum space, along with the menagerie, the park, and the zoo. Museum space is expensive. It presumes the modern bifurcation between the private and the public or, the individual and the modern mass. Modernization and Westernization are synonymous.

The modern West is not identical with a single epoch on a historical timeline. In fact, the linear notion of history, which causal determinism and progress both presume, is itself a product of modernity. Rather, modernity, defined as a world which articulates three dimensional depth-space and identity as ego-perspective (dissociated spectacle and objective logic), has been dominant twice in Europe, according to linear history; once, during the classical period of the Socratic attitude (which lasted until the assassination of Cicero in 44 B.C.), and again 1200 years later with the rebirth (Renaissance) of that same attitude.

Modernity is recognizable by a preoccupation with physical, as compared with spiritual or psychic, control. Hence, modern punishment is articulated by restricting criminals ("inmates") to a particular space ("correctional" facility) without touching them. It stresses the value of the individual subject, which is manifested by the modern faith in direct, personal experience, otherwise known as empirical observation. This particular metaphysic is expressed by empirically

based measurement and prediction. Modernity stresses singularities such as a unified identity and a uni-, rather than, a polyverse. Modernity establishes the single and unifying great chain of causation, which is very narrow, and which extends inexorably toward a single eschatological goal. Unity rather than polity, simplicity rather than complexity, are values of modern thinking (i.e. Einstein's obsession with a single unifying, all knowing theory). Nuclear war is also a product of this world view. That is why the idea of "limited" engagement with nuclear weapons has been widely regarded as being utterly irresponsible if not insane. Nuclear "exchange" is ironically a nihilizing form of communication.

The goal of grasping the one-and-only truth has led to a transcendental stress on absoluteness and purification, as in the formulation of constants in physical sciences, and the articulation of pure (apodectic) mathematics. While Einstein relativized time because he took a subjective point of view into account, he still balked at the randomness presented by postmodern quantum physics. This preoccupation with the transcendental (as opposed to the contingent), including law, evinces a temporal anxiety. This anxiety is expressed as synchronic scientific statements that attempt to transcend contingent space/time, thus promoting transtemporal preservation generally. Such statements are made in the form of philosophemes and spatially prejudiced systems thinking.

In essence, modernity is a very conservative attempt to arrest "criminal" time, to formulate the once-and-for-all truth about the universe. Alternative polyverses are denied meaning/existence. Thus, modernity is at war with flux. This conflict can be traced back to Plato's animosity toward Heraklitus (and one might add Aristotle who was denied the leadership position at the Academy after Plato's death, an event which sent him looking for another job back in his home of Macedonia). The modern transcendental attitude is articulated culturally by, clocks, universal (or apodectic) scientific proclamations, concerns with purity of all sorts of phenomenon (including mathematics and breeds, or races), and the preservation of orders and structures including religious "orders." Western modernity (a redundant phrase) is articulated by phenomena like game preserves, parks, anti-aging surgery, museums, sperm banks, time capsules, preoccupation with all sort of recording technologies, futurism, history as a discipline, and other forms of fixing permanence (control). The modern will-to-control is even reflexive so that human breeding, according to certain interests, has been systematically carried out by eugenicists.

Modern interests have been inscribed upon the nondistinction of mythical and magical worlds. In other words, modern space is characterized by an incessant creation of spaces by "man-made" boundary conditions. Modern space arose with cartography, global exploration, and an explosion of colonization. The modern conquest of space has been achieved by means of fragmentation. The unidimensional world of the magic person has been dissociated and subdivided. The first division that enabled more subdivisions was the dissociative

shift which separated magic person from the rest of his/her environment. Thus "nature" and "culture" came into being as did what is currently called "virtual" and "actual" worlds. A new kind of space was created by the bold concept of dividing the world into the actual and the virtual, the outer and the inner. Division, and subdivision, has been carried out in the name of rationality, as if this project had no emotional motivation, as if Ptolemy and later Descartes felt no want or need to organize the world geometrically.

For instance, surveying took the place of tribal and/or spiritual boundaries that were often imprecise, ambiguous -- fuzzy. The modern world is characterized by the desire to bring everything into sharp focus. For example, as one moves from East to West with the conquest/organizational domestication of the United States (the first nation on Earth founded on "rational principles" in the form of constitutional objective laws), what becomes clear, is that the very shape of the states becomes increasingly dissociated from natural geological formations like mountains, lakes, and rivers. Indeed, seemingly nondistinct and indivisible geographical phenomena like the Great Lakes between Canada and the United States have been bisected by such ideal lines. The shape of the original colonies still expressed the geological imperatives of tangible (actual) nongeometric boundaries. The Western states however, are laid-out at arbitrary (virtual) right angles irregardless of naturally occurring geological phenomena.

Modern space is organized space. It is an identifying trait of the modern mind to see space as a constant thing-in-itself. The same mentality sees time as a universal constant. Another revealing comparison is that between Medieval libraries, that were comprised of stacks of anonymous manuscripts lying about in accidental pell-mell fashion, and the modern preoccupation with information management. Enumeration is the transcendental key to a dissociated simulacrum that is under the control of its maker. Modern science is essentially a means to create a second-order copy of everything, thus making it available for manipulation, at will (the technological prowess characteristic of Western and Westernization/modernization). Everything is translated into a coordinate system, such as longitude and latitude, which enables one to disregard contingencies like actual mountain ranges and oceans. Such transcendental (virtual) systems manifest great power because they enable manipulation and orientation, including empire-building and commercial trade. However, complete control requires the conquest of time.

Modern museum space equals the purposeful arrangement of objects in categorical and physical proximity. It also enables a unique kind of gaze that is related to rapture as well as, and paradoxically, detachment. An excellent example of this rapture in the face of technological wizardry is described by Carl Sagan (1996) in his recent book *The Demon-Haunted World* wherein he repeatedly recounts how the glitz and glitter of commercial futurism at the 1939 New York World's Fair (a kind of commercial Disney Land sponsored by mega-

corporations and governments to promote themselves and their vision of a futurist utopia organized by corporate paternalism) captured his imagination for the rest of his life. Museums create both a visual and a historical perspective. Modern technology museums also promote technology and a future purified of human, all too human, error.

Museum space exists for the rational, meaning proportioned (ratio-ed), display of objects in "suspended animation" (an oxymoron). Museum space creates histories. But at the same time, it claims an innocence for itself. It is claimed that history, as a category of knowledge (including the museum itself) is transcendental, objective; timeless. It is with critiques of objectivity launched by scholars like; Friedrich Nietzsche, Wilhelm Dilthey, Edmund Husserl, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Gebser, that (linear) history itself is radically historicized, or shown to be a *human* artifact, and thus, after all, fallibly contingent.

Things as they really were (or will be), are not a given. History is made by historians who are constantly recreating the past in their future writings. Each new history, just like each new scientific creation, changes our perception of the past, and our expectations of the future. Things to come, are already present as expectations. The selection of facts, and the subsequent integration of them, opens up into horizons of meaning. By attending to some things and ignoring others, the status of the virtually real (truth) is conferred and denied. Attention is always changing. Some horizons are articulated, while others are allowed to sink. But a second future historian may reclaim and trace the neglected (invisible) horizon, which will, in turn, initiate a reassessment of previously articulated horizons. Neither the first nor second historian is wrong, because they are not subjects facing an object. Rather, each is engaged in creation and recreation.

The privileged and the sublimated are perpetually reversed and abandoned. Objectivists would presume to stop the "turnstyle," as Roland Barthes (1957/1972) calls intentionality, and escape time and responsibility, but this has never been achieved. Each selected option, each choice, each horizon one privileges, opens up into more options. Dissemination and grafting, as Jacques Derrida (1972/1981) in *Dissemination* has recognized, continually unfolds. There is no final, permanent integration. The past, as for example the Constitution of the United States, requires not only that the Supreme Court continually reinterpret it, but that laws be created in the future. The past is transparent to the future. The past and future are co-present -- integrating. This is the fundamental decoherence and incommensurate quality of life.

For conservatives this is a great worry. The end is coming, but it is also good because the threat of radical change will finally be arrested. However, and contrary to the many authors of "the end," such as David Lindley's (1997) *The End of Physics*, Francis Fukuyama's (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, Bill McKibben's (1989) *The End of Nature*, John Horgan's (1996) *The End of Science*, Richard Rorty's (1991) claims about the end of philosophy, and so

forth and so on (endlessly), constant dissemination and integration assures the impossibility of any "final end" to history or anything else no matter how popular that sentiment may be and how many books it sells.

The modern museum presumes to not create, but to objectively present The History, The Truth, in the conventional perspectival/modern sense. The museum confers upon itself the privileged position of objective, transcendental, knowledge. However, since Nietzsche, history, like everything else, is seen to be a discontinuous process. While the doctrine of systems can only offer momentary validity, synaeresis recognizes that despite the conservative effort of systems to become institutionalized through self-monitoring and self-maintenance, the very rules of system maintenance are in flux. Thus, systems fail, including systems of knowledge -- power. Systems are challenged, disappear, and are constantly created. The world has many times and spaces. Though we may try to be, we are not stuck in "suspended animation."

However, the conventional concept of history attempts to resist flux and difference by denying the reality of alternative interpretations. Consequently, this naive arrogance is controversial because it forms the discursive battle-ground of competing realities. For this reason, Foucault (1969/1972) in *Archaeology of Knowledge* called the modern ideology of history a delusional fiction in the fullest sense of the term, which, as it has been practiced by positivists, liberals, fascists, and Marxists, alike, produces a discourse with a set of meanings that acts upon everyone who comes into contact with it. The effect is to erase the difference of the past, and justify a certain version of the present, and perhaps more ominously, the future. Nietzsche (1882/1974) also attacked the mask of "innocent objectivity" (trans-perspectivism) that historians claim, as a tactic to camouflage their perspectivism and interests (including Marxian causal fatalists). He exposed how they were convinced of their special status that allowed them to escape history (as they continually wrote it), ideology, the figurality of language, and thus achieve a transcendental perspective "atop" all the conflicts of interpretation. Likewise, according to Foucault, power is no longer, "...a question of judging the past in the name of truth which only we can possess in the present" (Foucault 1977: 164).

Originally, only art objects were included in museum space. The visitor was expected to enter the Cartesian space as both a critic and admirer. Now, however, dinosaur bones, recreations of primitive settlements, embalmed animals, clothing, and machines are also included. These phenomenon claim the right to represent Reality sui generis.

The museum creates a space that is paradoxical. For an object to be included in this virtual graveyard of timeless and collective memories, it must manifest History, which claims to be transhistorical. Museum time is objective, timeless. The museum manifests the positivist gaze of the disinterested, value-free, unaffected outsider. The objects themselves, these specimens of scientific

selection, their presence-at-hand, undeniably form a virtually impregnable master narrative, untouched by the vicissitudes of time or ideology. In their immediacy, it is assumed, that interpretation is circumvented, defeated. Like data that supposedly "speaks for itself," so that human intelligence is irrelevant, the presence of museum objects is self-evident. Such a metaphysics presumes that truth is synonymous with the mere physical presence of museum objects. The technical museum, unlike the art museum presumes to need no interpretation, no interactivity or participation beyond sheer astonishment at the power of industrialization.

Modernity stresses spatial relationships which are dependent on sight. By comparison, mythic and magic worlds are based on spiritual relationships which are reflected in their graphic arts. Modern geometry is of the mind not the heart. In *Of Grammatology*, Derrida is incorrect when he claims modernity to be phonocentric (Derrida 1967/1976). Rather, modernity is "visiocentric" (Kramer 1988, 1993a, 1997). Writing is a visual medium. While music and other phonemic phenomena establish mood, vision establishes logical space (sequence), the localized individual, and empirical truth. As Gadamer has noted (1960/1975) one can look away but not hear away. Music fuses a group awareness while vision establishes an isolated, private "point-of-view." Vision establishes the physical human as a discrete object in space where the pyramidal lines of perspective converge (egocentric individualism). What is true, is what is "brought to light," present to the eyes. Thus, museums, like modern empirical science, and "eyewitness" television news, create spectacles and spectators in such a way (visually) that a powerful faith in their validity occurs (Kramer 1988, 1993a, 1997). "I saw it with my own eyes," is the ground of modern truth. Dreams, hunches, and intuitions from the magic and mythic worlds of oracles and soothsayers, are invalidated. Magic incantations are marginalized by deeds (motions in space). Although oath-taking and pledges of various transformative sorts persist (as in gang initiations, marriage vows, and the christening of machines like nuclear submarines), their former sacral quality has largely been reduced to secular legality.

In modernity, proxemics is a necessary condition for empirical observation and truth. Proxemics are enhanced by bringing things "closer" via instruments, including scopes. But in a postmodern, syncretic sense, things are more complex. Immediacy evokes difference. Paintings, and other museum pieces, generate intertextual flux. Systatic awareness always compares and contrasts, differentiates and integrates. Contrasts and similarities emerge and submerge. The same is true of data, and everything else. The permanence of objects is not self-evident.

Modern museum curators preside like funeral home directors. They are counter-revolutionaries in a war over the metaphysical status of facts. Like writing in Plato's *Pharmakon*, they are there to cure us of forgetfulness, and to

sterilize confused and polluted thinking about perfection, beauty, and truth. The curator works in the space where things, objects, come to their final rest, beyond the pollution of flux.

Often, such timeless "treasures" have already been cycled through the so-called private sphere and have been donated or, in some other way, "collected." While the private is contingent, the public is transcendental. Once interred, such objects presumably leave the temporal world of commerce, and enter the timeless world of modern immortality. To be deemed worthy of rare and expensive museum space, the object must be seen as being no longer a mere private asset, but a public, even national, or world treasure. Such objects exist above and beyond the vagaries of market fluctuations...they are "priceless."

Nationalism, feeds off of public holdings, or trophies, accumulated in museum space. Nationalism too, desires immortality. The bigger and more varied a nation's museums, the more culture it has stored up -- warehoused as so much ballast against the brutish gravity of mundane events. The paradox about museum space, however, is that once interred into its crypt, the object does not die, but is decontextualized and elevated, so that its use-value is eclipsed by its historical and cultural importance. Thus, the object becomes a sort of vampire, a thing which is defined by this space as being drained of its contingent history, but yet radiating a transhistorical principle of truth and/or beauty. Museum "pieces" manifest beauty, or genius, or history, all of which are presumably timeless. History is timeless.

For (the one-and-only real) History to maintain its privileged position as master narrative, it must claim a categorical status beyond mere contingencies. Because the object constitutes History, it is beyond being merely historical. A museum object both marks an epoch, and transcends episodic time. Contingent style articulates a timeless aesthetic or import. Like the vampire, it lives forever, but is dead to the light of mundane life (flux). Also, like the vampire, the seduction of the museum piece is an articulation of romanticism, with its preoccupation with time and mortality. The objects are bits of preserved "flesh of the world" (Merleau-Ponty 1960/1964: 64), bits of time, like the dates that we are compelled to memorize and organize into a line (Gebser 1949/1985). Just as we worship at the alter of the clock, so too, fixated dates organize us, and give us our false sense of permanent identity.

To be "objectively selected" as the highest standard of human achievement, and placed in the reverent space of the museum, is to be immortalized. "Objective selection" is an oxymoron however. The responsibility of judgement stubbornly persists like a stain. It fosters ostrich logic, the invisible hand of causal history working, as if by automation, like clockwork and "market mechanisms." Such is the methodical automation, where the embarrassment of being human pathetically tries to hide itself by sticking its head in the sand, or blindfolding itself like "lady justice." The museum object is supposed to be "sedimented" in

a "place" that is beyond human, and even geologic scale such as, logical, aesthetic transcendence. To be in, is to be important, and to be important is to be in.

The faces of the visitors signify the kind of rapt adoration Medievals must have expressed after a long pilgrimage to behold a shrivelled bit of preserved saint or a sliver of the cross (or other holy relic) embedded in a golden cavernous sepulcher; the first time capsule. To behold the eternal numinosum (Absolute), as the Moravian Pietist Zinzendorf (1745), and later Rudolph Otto (1917/1923) described, is to experience the "pious shiver" that accompanies the mystery and fascination of that which completely overwhelms mortal understanding and judgement. This is to look into the face of eternity.

But, unlike the Medieval space created for holy relics, which is typically reminiscent of the depths of the womb (the inner-most sanctum of Notre Dame -- Mother church), the modern space of worship and pilgrimage is light and open, and dedicated to mortal power. People journey to modern museum space in order to marvel at human ingenuity. The museum manifests the same attitude that is expressed in the "new overman" promised by both the left and right Hegelians.

It is the anti-Hegelian Nietzsche (1882/1974) however, who noted that the New modern Man (that was supposed to finally subjugate, meaning to systematize, supernature, nature, and history), only impoverishes himself. Total control turns out to be eternally boring, nihilistic. The New Man has eclipsed the gods, but the need to worship remains, so that new idols have replaced the ancient ones who have faded into the twilight. Since Man is self-made, nothing unexpectedly new occurs. Temporal phenomena like serendipity are purged from the system. The Fates are banished as Reason and order prevail. Systems achieve the cosmic quality of self-perpetual motion machines, running in place. Rebellion is made genetically impossible. No one can make a difference. According to the machinery of reason, there can be only one best way. Regardless of who does the path analysis, if it is done properly the results must always be the same. The line of reason cannot be derailed. It is painting by numbers. The victory of dumb sameness, the herd mentality.

At its moment of greatest glory and mastery, modernity achieves suspended animation. The modern individual has stepped out from the shadow of the titans to worship himself. This is the ultimate closed system of the cyborg who is obsessed with the care and feeding of the self (feedback). Modern facticity (history) has presumed to supersede mythical and magical truths.

But the oceanic feeling of reverence remains. The "Old Man" (as opposed to the "New Man") has not been defeated. Instead, modern humanity's sites have shifted so that human creation has ascended to become the measure of all things. We marvel before our own magical powers to create from nothing. Semiosis is overdetermined. Magical identity (emotion), and mythical mood (dramaticisms) is created by the museum environment which promotes a sense of

closeness with the "genuine article" and, at the same time, the distance required for adoration and worship. Seen synaesthetically, the museum cannot completely escape "past" modes of being. But in this instance, magic is integrated by the perspectival mind so that we identify with ourselves. The danger of perspectivism is that it inflates to be mistaken for the totality of being. For the modern, that which is not present within the narrow horizon of my empirical experience, does not exist.

Museum space, like the "house of god," or other sacred spaces, brings the mortal into contact with the immortal. Standing before a REAL Van Gogh or Rembrandt or African mask generates this supernatural feeling. However, the modern museum transforms mythic and magic objects, more than expressions of modernity (which is conceived as "art for its own sake"). For instance, the genuineness and authentic power of the African mask is bled dry. It does not strike fear or bliss in the heart of the dissociated spectators that stroll past. It is domesticated by this modern space, which reduces it to a physical artifact. Rather than emanating power, its vitality, its "story," is neatly arranged beside it on a card. It has been dissociated from its ritual environment and hung on a wall, objectified. It has been taken out of vital ritual "space" (emotion) and displayed in museum space, which is a very different kind of showing, so that its awesome powers to defeat evil demons have become explained out of existence by a caption. The mask becomes a valuable curiosity redefined in western terms as "art object." Ignorance alone cannot explain this transformation. The highly educated expert may know more empirical facts about the mask than its creators, but, for the same reasons, be unable to perceive its magical affectivity and identity with cosmic forces. Reason too, can be a blinding prejudice (Gadamer 1960/1975).

The Aero-Space Space

The aero-space museum at the Smithsonian complex in Washington D.C. is the most frequently visited museum space on Earth. More than the Vatican, the Louvre, or Cairo's museum of Egyptian artifacts, people from around the world flow toward this mecca to embrace, not only a manufactured history (of flight among other things) but also, to imagine a future techno-utopia where humanity can conquer and control everything including the skies. This museum is distinctly "New World," in that while it displays a particular version of the past, at the same time, it promises endless progress, endless colonial adventurism -- neo-positive romanticism (the sky's the nonlimit). Nationalistic pride abounds. The future is American and definitely American-made. Its military themes, which are coextensive with the technology of flight, also promote nationalistic pride in victories over others, including nature (gravity). These victories are kept alive

in museum transcendence.

The museum of the future is stainless steel and glass. Light and the creation of empty space are stressed. The mood is positively "Enlightening." "Landmarks" of history are boldly displayed in their immediacy. As soon as one enters this space, it is evident that it is big space. The spatial accent of the modern world is powerfully signified by the expansion of the great central hall. What could be more modern than flight, and a museum dedicated to it? Aspiration combines the aeronautical escape from terra firma with the future itself. Leaving the ground is synonymous with leaving the past behind including all earthly, contingent worries. To be futuristic is to fly, to play freely in space itself, in all its empty vastness.

While other cultures believe that the universe is full and alive, full of Manna, chi, spirit, even "ether," the modern West posits a universe that is essentially, literally, dead and empty. A profound consequence has been that while other cultures have felt compelled to step lightly on the web of being, to strive to harmonize with vital cosmic forces, the West has had no such moral or spiritual compunctions against boldly reorganizing the dead stuff of atoms and molecules in empty space at will. Thus, we have a museum of the future, which is articulated by the final dream -- the conquest not merely of terrestrial inner space, but the outer space of the celestial vault. Gazers of all ages mill and flow. Cameras click and whirl. Tourists revel in machine magic, technological prowess. What great magicians are these engineers that defy gravity?

The simulated lunar module is impressive as is the Spirit of Saint Louis. But, this cathedral also enshrines the Enola Gay. Here, one finds the power of authenticity working overtime. The intention is to create a place of awe. This is a piece -- the fuselage -- of the actual -- real plane that dropped the very first atomic bomb on real people. Spectators gawk at the weapon. Some cry, some pray. But in this sanitary emptiness where the stench of death and rotting blood is unknown, such terrible weapons are sterilized and purified. Their well buffed sheens under perfectly arranged lighting present a pure physicality that belies their motive and intent. They are dissociated from their purpose just as a nice steak dinner seems to have nothing to do with terrified bovine eyes beholding the slaughter house. The well designed thoroughfare and air conditioned comfort present an atmosphere made for the leisurely and mildly curious who flow along preestablished pedestrian paths. The crowds on holiday file past the great achievements of mass destruction to end in the museum restaurant where their appetites can be satiated and their tired feet rested. Next stop the gift shop. Not a drop of blood is in sight.

However, for a few "tender souls" being in the same space -- in the presence of the real (although mass produced) one-and-only, overpowers them, striking them mute. As a symbol of war generally, of the first enumerated war called "Two" (which necessitated retroactively renaming the "Great War" number

"One"), and the atomic age, the Enola Gay outruns secondary articulation. Its meaning is so overdetermined, so "full," that like no other museum display in history, its mode of showing has become a political and emotional vortex. It foregrounds the provisional, political nature of history-writing, and the power to control the face of the past in the future.

In this bricolage of machines, the curators have tried to make a coherent history at all costs -- to create a coherent identity for America. But, this particular machine, the Enola Gay, disturbs the desired self-image as a people and a nation. Are Americans a warrior race to excess? The solution to this unease is minimalism. The display has been radically abbreviated so that semantic tyranny is both imposed and avoided. What does it mean? -- is the same as asking who were these people who bombed, and were bombed; these people who are inextricably identified with this machine and entangled with each other in the act of war? This disturbing question is not answered. The minimalist approach does not tell us what it should, or does mean. Without parameters, symbolic semiosis inflates and deflates at once. Not unlike much modern art, the object defies identification. So, its presence offers an uncanny quagmire.

At the same time that the object offers simple facticity as naked presence, it also, as Paul Ricoeur (in *The Conflict of Interpretations*, 1969/1974; and *History and Truth*, 1955/1965) would say, "hemorrhages meaning," and so much so that it has no boundary conditions. It's not just an airplane. It's not just a museum piece. It's not just a weapon. It's not just a World War II relic. It's always more. It's "all out," like nuclear war itself. It signifies, out-of-control unthinkable violence, where the actual of technological magic, finally outruns the virtual (imagination).

Conclusion

Facts are not necessarily justifications. Judgement (consciousness) intervenes between cause and effect. Likewise, the empirical dimensions of an airplane cannot always (if ever) exhaust its meaning. The Enola Gay represents chaos in the defense of order. It also represents the abolition of time, time to fight, run, or pray. The suddenness and ferocity of this weapons system, which extends from the bomb to the smelters that created the plane, defies our comprehension. In the book *Imaginal Memory and the Place of Hiroshima*, Michael Perlman (1988) missed one important point, and that is that, while Hiroshima is an imaginal memory for nearly all of us, none of us can imagine it, and it may be a very dangerous error to believe we can. It would be a mistake to assume that any method can comprehend nuclear war.

The Enola Gay controversy, however, gave the Japanese people at least an opportunity to reconsider Japan's responsibility for the war and world peace. It

was a precious opportunity since it is said that less and less Japanese pay special attention to the Second World War. The survey that *the Mainichi Shimbun* conducted in September 1994, showed that one out of three answered that they had no, or little, special feeling about the fiftieth anniversary of the war ("Sengo 50nen" 1994: 3). Especially, younger generations exhibited a strong tendency to ignore the anniversary: a nonchalant attitude toward the war ("Sengo 50nen" 1994: 3). Under such circumstances, the Enola Gay controversy has helped to heighten the awareness of the Second World War, and to reveal Japan's contradictory attitudes toward the war and nuclear policy. The Japanese government has emphasized that Japan is the only victim of atomic bombs, while it also admitted the necessity of nuclear weapons for world peace during the Cold War. Now the Japanese government has changed its attitude, but still has not admitted that the use of atomic bombs was against international law, which is inconsistent with the interpretation of atomic warfare held by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Enola Gay controversy has also highlighted the discrepancy between the attitudes of the Japanese government and the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The session in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) held in November 1995, further exposed their differences ("Hibakuchi to Kasumigaseki" 1995: 5).

Concerning the 50th anniversary of the Second World War, various issues about the war were discussed. Especially, Japan's responsibility for the war and postwar situation was compared and contrasted with that of Germany. The general opinion of Japanese intellectuals is that, Japan did not reflect upon its own responsibility toward the war as thoroughly as Germany has done and that Japan, as a victim of nuclear weapons, has blurred its responsibility for the war (e.g., Yamaguchi 1994). The 50th anniversary of the Second World War, along with the Enola Gay controversy, has made us realize that what happened in the "past," is still effective and constitutive of us, and we of it. The realization that we are in a sense self-made makers exposes the political dimension of all truth-saying, including historical truth. Whoever controls Reality, has great power.

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