

Tourism to Heritage Sites with a Controversial History: The Commemoration of War and Peace at Sites of the Pacific War

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Introduction

- There has been an increasing interest in the study of heritage sites with a shadowed past and/or a controversial history
- Frequently, such sites have received a lot of attention in the public and there are sites which have consistently received more than half a million of visitors per year, e.g. Auschwitz, Dachau or the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam
- Subsequently, new concepts and research traditions in the study of such sites have been proposed since the mid 1990s

Structure of my Talk

- First, I would like to introduce some of these new concepts and research traditions
- Secondly, I would like to focus on eight memorial sites of the Pacific War 1937 – 1945 in China, in the United States and in Japan
- Thirdly, I would like to place the eight chosen sites in the context of the conceptual discussion
- A few words about my personal background and my interest in the topic of memorial sites with a controversial past

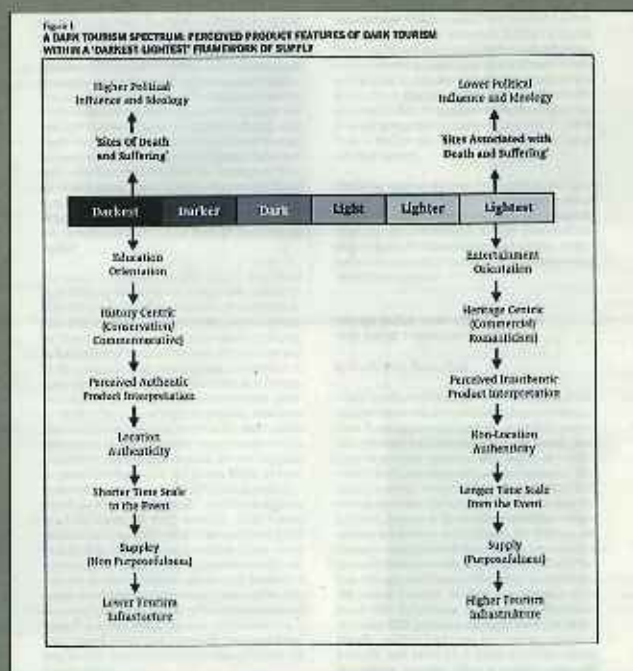
Heritage Sites with a Controversial History: New Concepts and Research Directions in Tourism Studies

- New concepts (since the mid 1990s/2000s) : **Dark tourism, Thanatourism, Dissonance in Heritage (Tourism) Management**
- **Dark Tourism:** “The act of travel and visitation of sites, attractions and exhibitions which have real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as a main theme” (Stone)
- **Thanatourists:** “motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death” (Seaton)
- **Dissonance** is – according to Ashworth and Tunbridge – intrinsic to all forms of heritage as the motives and strategies for the management of heritage sites differ, in particular, among the following three groups: victims, perpetrators, uninvolved/innocent bystanders
- There have been also a revived interest in a **Geography of Memory**

Conceptual Debate Over 'Dark tourism'

- The **dark tourism** term and research tradition has become very popular in tourism studies and in the media, with a multitude of applications
- First introduction of the term by Foley and Lennon in the mid 1990s/2000 (with a first book publication: "Dark Tourism")
- The **dark tourism** concept found further theoretical foundation at the University of Central Lancashire, where a new **Institute of Dark Tourism Research** was established with an ambitious research agenda and many publications in the field
- There is also considerable criticism directed to the new dark tourism research direction as the concept is not well defined (a frequent form of criticism is the difficulty of defining the term : what is 'dark tourism'?)
- Whereas Ashworth and others argue that there are no 'dark sites' (or 'dark tourism destinations') only 'dark tourists', Stone and others believe that there is a spectrum of sites

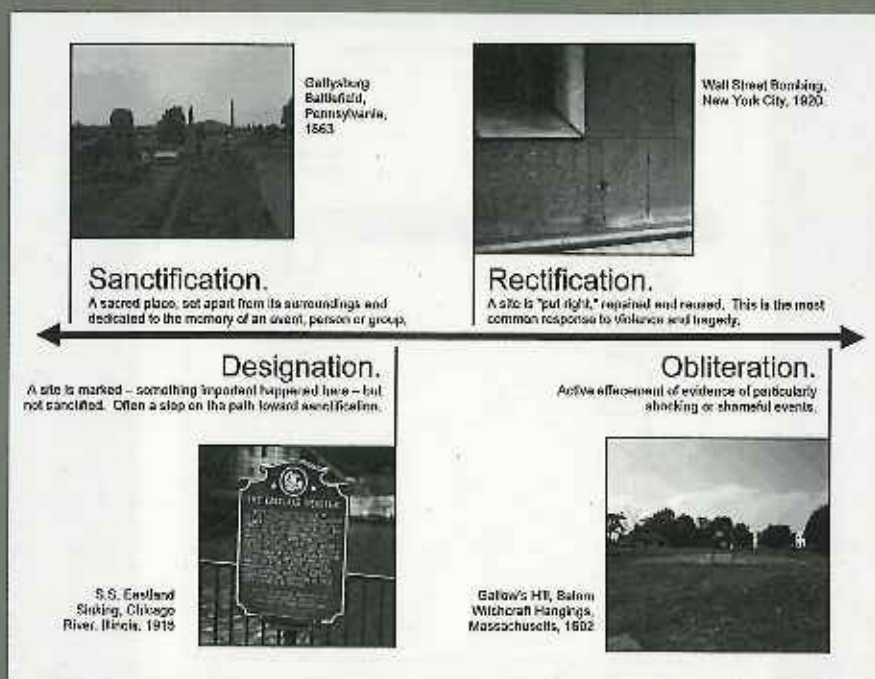
Dark Tourism Spectrum (after Stone)



Geography of Memory: An Approach of Examining Places where Violence and Tragedy Occurred

- The beginnings of a **geography of memory** go back to early expressions of a cultural/historical geography (David Lowenthal: "The Past is a Foreign Country")
- Revival by Kenneth Foote who examined sites of "*America's landscapes of violence and tragedy*" (from Civil War sites to the Ground Zero/September 11th Site in New York) and by Owen & Alderman who applied the geography of memory approach to *places associated with slavery and the civil rights movement* in Southern States of the U.S.A.
- Foote proposed a continuum, from the designation of sites where a tragedy occurred to the sanctification of this site or the repair and re-use of sites (rectification) and eventually the obliteration of the tragic events

Common Outcomes for Places Associated with Violence and Tragedy (after Foote)



Changing Outcomes

Kenneth Foote argues

- *"... no one outcome is ever final. Sanctification, rectification, and obliteration are no static outcomes, but only steps in a process. Almost all of the historical sites I have studied change through time, sometimes quite dramatically, and even outcomes like sanctification may take years, decades or centuries to occur. Sanctified or designated sites might be vandalized or destroyed to protest the value they embody. Obliterated sites may be rediscovered and marked, again as protest, but sometimes to acknowledge the victims of a long-past tragedy"*

War & Peace Monuments: A Continued Interest in Memorials Marking War and Peace

- Valene Smith argues that there is a high number of monuments and markers associated with war and conflict and she ascertains that *"war-related tourism attractions are the largest single category known"* (1998)
- War monuments and peace memorials are present in many cultures, societies and regions
- Complex relationships between war and tourism: sites of war and conflict attract (as well as detract) tourists
- Richard Butler maintains that *"war-related heritage has become a highly valued tourism commodity"* (2012)
- In my talk I will focus on a number of heritage sites associated with the Pacific War 1937 - 45

Commemoration of War Related Events in the Pacific Region 1937 -1945

- In my talk I will examine eight events/sites which are considered important historic events during the 1937 – 1945 period and have become memorial sites with significant forms of heritage tourism in China, the U.S. and Japan:
- Two sites/events and their memorialization in China
- Four sites/events and their memorialization in the U.S.
- Two sites/events and their memorialization in Japan
- All eight memorial sites have a controversial history and the management of the sites is problematic
- Most of the sites receive millions of visitors and are widely recognized places where tragedy occurred

Two Outstanding Heritage Sites in China

- The Lu Gou Qiao Incident at the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing on 7 July, 1937 (usually considered the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War)
- The Nanjing Massacre in December 1937/January 1938 (occupation of Nanjing by Japanese forces; with close to 300,000 Chinese fatalities, among soldiers and civilians)
- At both sites nationally recognized memorials & museums: The **Memorial Hall of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War**, a museum with exhibits established near the bridge/site of the incident in 1987 (at the 50th anniversary of the events) and The **Memorial Hall for the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders to China** in Jiangdongmen in the Western suburbs of Nanjing in 1985

Lu Gou Qiao (Marco Polo Bridge)



Memorial Hall of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War

- On 7 July, 1987, 50 years after the Lu Gou Qiao Incident, the Memorial Hall of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War was inaugurated in the presence of Chinese Leader Deng Xia Ping
- It consists of three halls: atrocities of the Japanese army, the People's war and a hall for honored anti-Japanese heroes
- The Memorial Hall has received more than 16 million visitors
- In 1995, Japanese Prime Minister Murayama paid a visit to the site (and apologized for the Japanese atrocities)



Nanjing Massacre Dec 1937/Jan 1938

- The Sino-Japanese War saw the advance of the Japanese Imperial forces in Eastern China (occupation of Shanghai and Nanjing)
- On December 13, 1937 Japanese forces took Nanjing (then, the capital of China) and suppressed any resistance in brutal ways in the following six weeks
- More than 300,000 victims: soldiers and many more civilians (according to a Military Tribunal in March 1947)
- Corpses buried in 13 mass graves
- Reconstruction of the events in "The Rape of Nanjing: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II" (Iris Chang)
- In 1985, a "Memorial Hall for the Victims of the Nanjing Massacre" established in Jiangdongmen, at the site of one of the mass graves ("a pit of ten thousand corpses")
- Disagreements among Chinese and Japanese historians and the public over the events
- Revisionists in Japan argue that - if the Nanjing Massacre ever happened - the atrocities were minimal
- Many circumstances of the events remain still unresolved
- More than 10 million visitors

A Japanese Assessment of the Nanking Atrocity 1937-38

- In 2007, a scholarly volume edited by Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi makes the efforts of addressing the dispute over the war events in the winter of 37/38
- About two dozens Japanese historians carefully review the events, their perceptions (and distortions in "The Rape of Nanking") and facts laid out by this group of researchers
- The number of 300,000 fatalities (as established by the Military Tribunal 1947/by Chinese government officials in the 1980s) is questioned for a number of reasons
- It is a serious effort of getting to more clarity into the dispute
- Though, in my opinion: 300 thousand or 30 thousand or 3 thousand fatalities still make the historic events a massacre

Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall



Chinese Domestic Tourism to the Lu Gou Qiao Memorial Hall at Wanping Fortress and to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

- Mostly domestic tourism at both sites
- Mostly tourism in form of organized group visits (tours of both Memorial Halls with official guides)
- Educational state tourism: both sites have been developed as CCP communist heritage sites, with a patriotic education campaign starting in 2005
- A strengthening of "National Red Tourism Development" is one of the goals (see Wall and Zhao 2009)



Chinese Victims of the Pacific War and the Commemoration of the War events

- It has been estimated that close to 20 million Chinese people (3.8 million military casualties and millions of fatalities among civilians) died in the 'Anti-Japanese war of resistance' 1937 - 1945
- The commemoration of the tragic war events started largely in the 1980s, at the beginning of the reform period (under the leadership of Deng Xia Ping)
- It was partially a response to the 1982 'textbook controversy' - an attempt made by Japanese authorities to clean textbook sections from the crimes that were committed by the Japanese forces 1937 - 1945 which resulted in protests from the Chinese side and a crisis in the Sino-Japanese relationships (formally re-established in 1972)
- The Chinese commemoration of the war events has been frequently framed in a wider context: the humiliation of the Chinese people/civilization in the 1800s/1900s, from the Opium War and the signing of unequal treaties to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the later return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 (ending a 'period of shame')

U.S Sites Honoring Death, Tragedy and Disaster associated with the Pacific War 1941 - 1945

- In my talk I focus on the main U.S. memorial site of the Pacific War: the **USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii**
- In addition, three more sites are examined which are closely associated with the worsening relationships between the U.S. and Japan but less directly tied to the Pacific War events: the **memorial sites at Japanese internment camps** (established in response to the Pearl Harbor attack 7 Dec, 1941)
- The domestic reaction to the surprise strike was deep shock and war hysteria in the general public which fueled Anti-Japanese feelings including hate and suspicions against American citizens of Japanese descent
- On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 (exclusion of people of Japanese ancestry from the entire Pacific coast and the subsequent internment of about 110,000 persons in 10 camps)
- Despite their rights as American citizens, Japanese-Americans were forced to leave their residences, to sell their properties & to live in confined space
- In 1988, President Reagan apologized to the affected Japanese-Americans and the 10 internment camps became protected heritage sites

The Commemoration of the Pearl Harbor Attack: The USS Arizona Memorial

- The leading memorial of the Pacific War in the United States is the USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, Hawaii
- It marks the resting place of 1,102 of the 1,177 sailors and marines killed during the surprise military on December 7, 1941
- Totally, 2,402 Americans were killed and 1,282 wounded
- The memorial was dedicated in 1962 and was declared a National Historic Landmark in 1989 (managed by the National Park Service)
- The memorial is accessible only by boat and it straddles the sunken hull of the battleship
- Over one million people annually visit the memorial
- Every President of the United States since Franklin D. Roosevelt, and both Emperors Hirohito and Akihito have visited the site
- Nearby is another historic site, the USS Missouri where the Japanese surrendered to U.S. General Douglas MacArthur on September 5, 1945

The USS Arizona Memorial



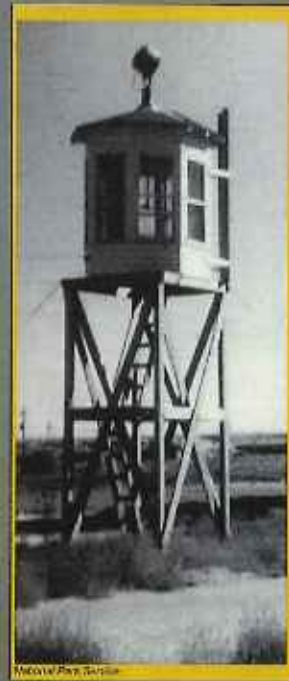
Manzanar – Heart Mountain – Amache

- The 'relocation center' at Manzanar in the Owens Valley was closest to where most Japanese Americans had lived before their internment (L.A. & Southern California, in or near the San Francisco Bay Area)
- It was also one of the internment camps where Japanese Americans had protested against the behavior of the guards
- It was the first camp which saw organized commemoration services
- In 2002, it became a National Historic Site administered by the National Park Service
- The Manzanar NHS receives about 70,000 visitors annually
- The National Historic Landmark at Heart Mountain in Wyoming has a Visitor Center, with many exhibits from the internment period
- The Granada Relocation Center (most commonly called Amache) in Southeast Colorado became a National Historic Landmark
- It has several kiosks with information but no visitor center
- A watch tower and a water tower was recently brought back to the grounds

Heart Mountain



Amache (Granada Relocation Center) : Then



Amache (National Historic Landmark): Now



Two Sites in Japan where the Pacific War ended in 1945

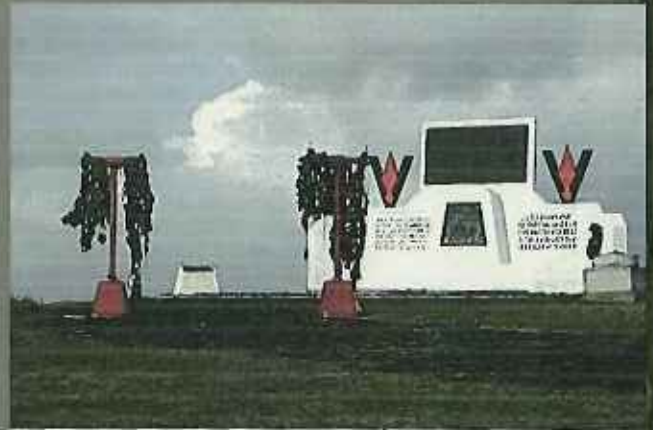
- In my studies I focus on two heritage sites in Japan which mark the end of the Pacific War: Iwo Jima and Hiroshima
- The two historic sites, with memorials, are very different in nature
- Whereas **Iwo Jima** was the site of a bitter fought battle on an island far out in the Pacific, **Hiroshima**, a major city in Southern Japan, was the site of a first A Bomb with catastrophic impact
- Both sites have memorials which commemorate the war events on the island and a peace memorial park in the center of the city
- On August 4, 1945, 70,000 people were killed instantly in the center of the city, more than 70,000 were fatally injured and died later
- The **Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park** was established 1950-1964 and has become a United Nations World Heritage Site in 1996
- Center of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park is the Genbaku (A-Bomb) Dome, the only structure surviving the atomic bombing
- On August 6 of each year (A-Bomb Day) one of three bells is rang

Iwo Jima

- The battle for the island – some 750 miles south of Tokyo - ended after six weeks on March 26, 1945
- More than 19,000 Japanese and 6,800 American soldiers died
- American forces stayed there till 1968 when the island was turned over to the Japanese
- In 1985 a joint memorial service was performed which is repeated every five years
- On top of Mount Suribachi is a memorial with inscriptions in English and Japanese
- At the occasion of the (second) raising of the American Flag an iconic picture of six marines was taken (won Pulitzer Prize)
- It became the 'Marine Corps War Memorial'



Iwo Jima Memorialization



Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park



Dissonance at Heritage Sites

- The **Gu Lou Qiao** and the **Nanjing Massacre Sites**: There is continued disagreement and dissonance between the Chinese government/visitors and the Japanese public over the two sites
- Japanese frequently disagree with the way the war events are generally portrayed (at the Gu Lou Qiao site) and the scope and extent of the atrocities shown at the Nanjing site in particular
- For the Chinese it is important to fully expose the war crimes of the Japanese Imperial Forces during the Pacific War 1937-1945 war including biological weapons warfare and atrocities committed to the civilian population
- There was also significant dissonance over the establishment of heritage sites at the **Japanese American Internment Camps** in the U.S. in the 1970s/80s/90s and over the treatment of this group 1942-45 in the U.S. public

Dark Tourism

- From Pearl Harbor to Iwo Jima to Hiroshima: Tourists willingly encounter death and destruction (minor and major motivation for the visit)

Landscapes of Violence, Tragedy and Disaster (Geography of Memory)

- Nanjing Massacre Site,
from rectification/obliteration of the sites & of the events
in the 1950s/60s/70s
to designation and sanctification of the sites/events in the
1980s/90s : now a sacred site

The Victims of the War: How to Honor them?

- About 20 million Chinese people (soldiers and civilians) died
- Close to four million Japanese soldiers and civilians died in the war events 1937-1945
- 106 thousand American soldiers died 1941-45
- How to honor them?
- How to reconstruct the events that led to tragedy and disaster?
- How to include some of the threads in heritage tourism and how to manage such sensitive heritage sites as shown in my presentation?
- Thank you very much!