Museums for Peace in Japan and Other Asian Countries

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I. Introduction

When we talk about peace museums, we have to start with the problem of the definition of them. In this paper, I would like to tentatively define them as "facilities for social education functioning to dispatch values of peace to the community," and "peace" in this definition is understood not only as "absence of war" in its narrow sense of the word but also "absence of structural violence" in its wider sense including those issues of starvation, poverty, social discrimination, environmental destruction, retarded quality of education and hygiene that are the fundamental social factors preventing full-scale development of human ability. Therefore, I am referring to not only the social facilities which appeal to the people the agony of war and the significance of peace based on the fundamental stance of renouncing and/or opposing wars, but also those which appeal the importance of promoting international understanding and the significance of human rights.

II. Peace-related Museums in Japan

1. Classification of Peace-related Museums in Japan

Following are the peace-related social facilities in Japan. The classification here is a tentative one because it is difficult to simply and neatly categorize varieties of

relevant facilities all over the nation.

(1) Museums appealing agony of war and importance of peace based on wartime experiences in local community:

There are a number of peace-related museums which display hard experiences brought by atomic bombing (Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum), air raids by conventional weapons (Osaka Inter-national Peace Center, Peace Memorial Museum of the Takamatsu Civic Culture Center, Kawasaki Peace Museum, Peace Museum of Saitama, etc.), and land battle (Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, Himeyuri Peace Museum, Haebaru Culture Center, etc.). They usually exhibit citizens' life in wartime, agonies resulted from war, and the course of rehabilitation from the ruin of the local community in the postwar period.

The degree of reference to the aggressive acts of Japanese military forces varies from museum to museum.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is exhibiting some material which indicate that Hiroshima was one of the most important military cities where the Imperial Headquarters was once established. During the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the city was in reality the capital of Japan for 225 days with the Imperial Headquarters and the provisional National Diet Building where a special session was held in order to carry out the war.

Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum has a small corner which deals with so-called 15-year war¹ in prior to atomic bombing. It displays a chronological table of the course of that war, some relevant photographs and videos illustrating the acts of Japanese military forces.²

¹ "15-year war" means a series of wars commencing in 1931 by the Manchurian Incident and terminating in 1945 by Japan's unconditional surrender.

² The author of this paper supervised the renewal project of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum with Mr.Shuichi Kato, distinguished critic and visiting professor of Ritsumeikan University, yielding to the request of Nagasaki City. We thought it necessary to display, not only the damage and after-effects of atomic bombing, but also selected material describing historical situations in prior to atomic bombing including Japan's aggressive acts. So-called right wingers' organization went into detailed criticism of photographic display regarding Nanking Massacre Incident in 1937, and brought a case before the Nagasaki District Court. The plaintiff maintained that the honorarium paid to the supervisors should be restored to the city. The case was decided

Osaka International Peace Center, popularly called as Peace Osaka, displays much about Japanese aggression into Asian/Pacific regions.

(2) Museums dealing with various aspects of Japanese war fighting structure:

Some museums such as Okunoshima Poison Gas Museum in Takehara City (Hiroshima), Naval Flying Corps Trainee Museum in Oita, Wartime Children's' Room Museum in Nagasaki, and "Tamikusa" Museum of Wartime Life in Niimi City (Okayama), and Matsushiro Imperial Headquarters Peace Memorial Museum now being aimed at for establishment by the citizens in Nagano Prefecture, display varieties of aspects regarding the construction of war-fighting structure in Japan including facilities, weapons, soldiers and people behind the front. Tanba Manganese Memorial Museum was not a peace museum in its original nature, but became a social facility for dispatching a sense of peaceful value by sending a message about the Korean people forced to work at the Tanba mines in wartime.

(3) Museums with emphasis on the Japan's aggression:

Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum is a unique private facility which displays material and photographs with special emphasis on the hard experiences of Korean and Chinese people forced to work, compensation for them, and Japan's war responsibility. Some of the comprehensive peace museums such as Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, and Osaka International Peace Center also deals to a considerable extent with the aggressive aspects of Japan's militarism strengthened through so-called 15-year war.

(4) History museums/folk material museum partly displaying peace issues:

There are a number of history museums and folk material museums throughout the nation that are dealing with the peace-related matters as an important part of their exhibits. They usually display damage of air raids experienced at the final stage of the Pacific War, documents of wartime life of the citizens, and the postwar rehabilitation of the community from the ruin.

against the plaintiff in March 1999.

(5) Peace-oriented art museums:

One of the typical art museums with strong peace orientation is the Maruki Gallery in Saitama. Other examples are Mirasaka Peace Museum of Art in Hiroshima, Wakayama Prefectural Modern Art Museum, Nishimura Isaku Memorial Museum (Wakayama), Teranaka Art Museum (Wakayama), Ishigaki Memorial Museum (Wakayama) and Peace Museum "Grass Roots House" (Kochi), which are sending peace messages by displaying the works produced by the artists who have special connection with the region. Mugonkan (Silence Museum) which was opened in 1997 in Nagano prefecture exhibits paintings and articles left behind by the student artists in wartime who were sent to the front, thereby gently dispatching peace messages. Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, also exhibits art works by Masamu Yanase, who was a progressive painter in wartime, and, in the entrance hall of the museum, there stood a very famous statue of Wadatsumi which was sculptured by Shin Hongo in 1950 in commemoration of the students who had been drafted for war and died on the battlefields.³

(6) Museums describing the life of war resisters:

Examples of this type of museums are Oka Masaharu Memorial Nagasaki Peace Museum, Katayama Sen Memorial Museum in Okayama, Yama-Sen Museum in Kyoto and Ishigaki Memorial Museum in Wakayama, displaying photos and material illustrating the thoughts and activities of war resisters. Again Kyoto Museum for World Peace is also exhibiting way of life of the people such as Yuyu Kiryu who did not cooperate with governmental war policy in addition to the works of war resisters such as Senji Yamamoto (Yama-Sen) and Ayako Ishigaki.

(7) Museums exhibiting war-related material without clear position against war:

There are not a few museums that are exhibiting a number of war-related materials without their clear position against war, thus failing to convey their message

³ In the lobby of the Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, there are 3 small sculptures of Shin Hongo entitled Muko-no-tami (Innocent People), two big ceramic wall relieves of phoenix originally designed by a famous Japanese cartoonist named Osamu Tezuka, and a well-known anti-war poem of Akiko Yosano carved on a copper sheet.

for peace efficiently.4

(8) Holocaust museums:

Holocaust Education Center in Fukuyama is a unique facility where visitors can learn intensively about the whole aspects of holocaust experienced by Jewish people. In addition, Auschwitz Exhibitions have been organized repeatedly throughout Japan by joint efforts of citizens of different walks of life. Holocaust is also exhibited in the museums such as Kyoto Museum for World Peace which covers wide range of peace-related issues from transnational viewpoint. ⁵

(9) Comprehensive peace museums:

Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, a private institution, comprehensively displays peace-related issues including realities and casualties of Japan's 15-year war; general mobilization structure; Japanese anti-war activities; aggressive acts of Japanese military forces in colonies and occupied areas; air-raids, the battle of Okinawa and the atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; World War 2 and war responsibilities; war and peace since 1945; nuclear arms race; Vietnam war, and the steps toward peace with some reference to the question of structural violence including environmental destruction. Kawasaki Peace Museum also deals with varieties of peace-related issues including nuclear armament, starvation, poverty and human rights. International Peace Exhibition Room of Kanagawa Plaza for Global Citizenship opened in 1998 displays, not only the wartime artifact, but also the material regarding present-day issues from global point of view to stimulate people to consider these issues and to act from the regional level for creating an international society where people can live together peacefully.

⁴ Maizuru Repatriation Museum, Kyoto Prefecture, displays atrocities experienced by Japanese soldiers taken prisoners of war in Siberia, but does not much deal with historical situations why such POW's came into existence, which gives visitors an impression that the museum exhibitions are not well-balanced. Chiran "Special Attack Unit (Suicide Unit)" Museum exhibits articles including testamentary letters left by the soldiers, but it is not clear what kind of message the museum is intending to convey to the society.

⁵ Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University, has a small corner exhibiting some important aspects of World War II in Europe including holocaust. Clothes, washbasin and some other things used in concentration camps are displayed which were offered by the museums in

(10) Museums appealing abolition of nuclear weapons based on the damage brought by nuclear arms:

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum are the two of the strongest museums appealing the agony of nuclear war and the vital importance of the total abolition of nuclear weaponry system based on the inhuman experience of unprecedented atomic bombing more than half a century ago. These museums are renewed recently and displaying not only what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the atomic bombing, but also some historical situations prior to atomic bombing and the nuclear arms race in postwar global society. Both museums are visited by more than a million people every year including children and young students, thereby steadily playing an important role in peace education. Another important facility is the Display House of the Fifth Lucky Dragon in Tokyo, which is exhibiting the hull of a Japanese tuna fishing boat that was heavily exposed to radiation due to a huge U.S. nuclear explosion test conducted at Bikini Atolls on 1 March 1954. ⁶

(11) Museums dealing with human rights issues:

There exist some facilities placing focus on human rights issues such as Kochi Liberty and People's Right Museum, Sakai City Peace and Human Rights Museum (Phoenix Museum) and Fukuyama City Human Rights & Peace Museum. Other museums such as Kyoto Museum for World Peace and the Grass Roots House in Kochi also put in perspective a viewpoint to overcome structural violence.

(12) Facilities for promoting international understanding:

There are a few social facilities that are functioning to promote international understanding such as the Naruto City's German House (Tokushima Prefecture) and the

Auschwitz and Majdanek.

⁶ Yield of the hydrogen bomb used in this nuclear test was estimated to be 15-17Mt, which is about 5 times greater than the total yield of explosives used in World War 2. The Fifth Lucky Dragon fell a victim to radioactive fallout produced by the nuclear explosion at the distance of 160 kilometers from the test site, which drove Mr.Aikichi Kuboyama, radio operator, to death about half a year later. After this nuclear test, falls of rain heavily contaminated with radioactivity were observed in Japan frequently, and there arose a strong anti-nuclear movement. 1 March is the commemorative day of this historical event, and, even today, thousands of people take part in

Children's International Understanding Exhibition Room of the Kanagawa Plaza for Global Citizenship. The former facility displays warm friendship between people of Naruto and about 1,000 German POW's in the prison camp of Bando during World War 1. Due to the humanitarian administration by a Japanese commander, the POW's came into contact with the local residents, teaching German culture and skills like baking bread, growing vegetables, raising cattle, etc. Prisoners even had an orchestra, holding more than 100 concerts performing Ludwig van Beethoven's Symphony No.9 for the first time in Japan. The latter facility is a very recent one which enables children to understand different life-styles and cultures of the world by touching actual daily commodities and tools from various countries.

(13) Facility for promoting human development:

Children's Fantasy Room of the Kanagawa Plaza for Global Citizenship has a special space where children can freely play and express themselves with varieties of fixtures and devices which helps them develop imagination and creativity in the fantasy world through motions such as creeping, jumping and peeping. 7

2. Some distinctive character of the peace-related museums in Japan

Japan abounds with peace-related social facilities as seen in the previous paragraph. The founders of such museums are diverse, i.e., local governments, private institutions, citizens, individuals, etc. Among them, there are many facilities established by local governments, which seems to be characteristic of Japan. I would like to discuss several points about this feature and introduce a problem that Japanese peace museums founded by local governments now confront.

Most of the Japanese municipal peace museums appeal inhumanity of war and invaluableness of peace by displaying photos and artifacts which testify the ravages of war. Why are there so many municipal war-renouncing facilities in Japan?

The first reason is that the war experiences of the Japanese people especially in

the anti-nuclear actions throughout the country on this day.

⁷ There seems to be no firm consensus of evaluation among the peace educationalists about the relationship between development of imagination and upbringing of peace-oriented mind.

the final stage of the Pacific War were so miserable and intolerable that there was formed a nationwide consensus beyond the wide differences in political belief that war experiences must be handed down to the generations to come in order not to repeat the hardship of war.

The second reason lies in the fact that, in the last stage of the Pacific War, Japan underwent tremendous catastrophe almost all over the nation through uncountable number of air raids including atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the land battle in Okinawa, thereby tragic war experiences were widely dispersed throughout the nation.

Thirdly, the central government of Japan has not made vigorous efforts to establish any peace museum characterized by a distinctive position of renunciation of war based on a sincere consideration of war responsibility of the government, which seems to drive general public to aim to build such a facility in local community.

Fourthly, it can be said that, in the postwar society, control of central government over the local government became weaker compared with the situations in wartime, and it became easier for the local government to carry out its own region-based policies backed up by the Local Government Act, although it has often been said that the autonomous governability of the local government is only 30%. For example, the city of Kobe issued a local regulation as to the use of port Kobe, which imposed duty on all ships to show that the vessel does not carry nuclear weapons. In wartime, ports were put under the control of central government and were mobilized for war, but they were put under the control of local government after the war, which enabled the city of Kobe to issue such a local regulation. Therefore, the local government became freer from intervention in establishing a facility for social education.

The fifth reason is that citizens' anti-war and anti-nuclear movement became very active especially in 1980s stimulated by a worldwide enhancement of anti-nuclear movement, and developed vigorous activities to urge local government to issue a peace and/or non-nuclear declaration. The number of local governments that issued such a declaration to date has exceeded 2,340, which is 67% of the total number of local governments. Due to this development of nationwide grass roots movement, it became possible for the wider range of citizens to join peace-oriented social activities lightheartedly without being regarded as exceptional persons with specific political

creed. After issuance of peace declaration, citizens in many parts of Japan demanded their local governments to implement the spirit of the peace/non-nuclear declaration in cooperation with the people in various walks of life including Hibakusha or A-bomb survivors. Thus, the project to build a peace-related facility was supported by wideranging people.

The sixth reason is that Japan's war was not fought only by professional soldiers but by the people drafted from every corner of Japan by the National Mobilization Law, which resultantly left lots of war-related materials such as draft cards, flags, guns, helmets, photos, post cards, paintings, etc. in every local district throughout the nation. Therefore, people can set up a definite and practicable project to collect such things in cooperation with local residents and can organize exhibitions such as "War Exhibition for Peace". It may also be important that the outcome of such movement is visible and cumulative, thereby encouraging citizens to carry out the project durably.

The seventh reason is related to the important role of the preceding museums such as Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki International Culture Center (now Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum) which were originally established based on the special legal measures to aid the cities to recover from the ruins. These facilities were effectively made use of in the school education and peace movement, and many people were shocked by the exhibits of nuclear holocaust which deeply implanted in people's mind the effectiveness of peace exhibition. These museums played an important role to teach citizens that collecting and exhibiting war-related material for appealing agonies of war and invaluableness of peace have peculiar significance in educating people.

The eighth and the last element not to be forgotten is the role of peace educationalists and researchers in Japan. Primary, junior-high and senior-high school teachers made enormous efforts to activate peace education in Japan by developing teaching material and exchanging experiences each other under the severe situations that peace education has been rather disregarded by the Ministry of Education which even picked flaws in history textbooks through censorship system especially about the descriptions of the fact of Japan's aggression. In addition, a number of researchers in the fields of peace studies and historical sciences have been playing an important part in encouraging people's grass roots movement by supplying effective information,

throwing an objective light on the controversial issues and giving theoretical ground to the peace movements.

In September 1994, Japanese Association of Museums for Peace (provisional English name abbreviated to JAMP) was established affiliated by 7 peace museums, i.e., Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, Osaka International Peace Center, Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Kawasaki Peace Museum and Peace Museum of Saitama, and they have been planning to develop cooperative projects. A nationwide network was formed to integrate dispersed efforts to preserve war-related buildings and relics. Another important network was created during the Third International Conference of Peace Museums held in Japan in November 1998, which is an individual base organization for information exchange, aiming at strengthening cooperative activities among the people who are interested in managing, improving, utilizing and/or newly building peace-oriented museums.

One of the important features of the peace museums in Japan is that not a few museums have been trying to exhibit not only the damage experienced by the Japanese people in wartime but also the acts of aggression by the Japanese forces in Asian/Pacific countries. Such new tendency has generally been understood favorably by the foreign people with an evaluation that the balance of exhibition was much improved. I am convinced that this is an important step to promote mutual understanding between the Japanese and the foreign citizens.

But some people do not think it favorable to exhibit Japan's aggression and war responsibility. They include the people who admire the glory of war, those who are negative or reluctant to admit Japan's war responsibility, those who think that not only Japan was responsible, and those who experienced hardship while having been held prisoner of war. Not a few A-bomb survivors are also reluctant to exhibit Japan's aggression, because they feel, based on their inhuman experience of atomic bombing, that the use of nuclear weapons can never be justified irrespective of the history prior to atomic bombing.

Those who glorify Japan's war stress that the public peace museum should not take a specific position in consideration of diversity of historical views and value systems among the residents, and criticize that existing peace museums are

ideologically prejudiced. They usually pose a question about the credibility of some photographs, and attack the museum with special attention to their doubts about the historical facts such as Nanking massacre and so-called "comfort women" mobilization. The political wing of such movement is a group of conservative Diet members whose historical views have been criticized repeatedly in the international community. The movement has been ideologically backed by a group of scholars including Professor Nobukatsu Fujioka (University of Tokyo), who vigorously advocate so-called "liberalistic historical view" and abuse the postwar historical education in Japan as "masochistic". The movement has a group of supporters in the field of mass culture including Mr.Yoshinori Kobayashi, a cartoonist whose works are popular among young people. The movement has been enthusiastically pursued by so-called right-wing organizations with patriotic nationalism characterized by Emperor worship. The movement has supporters in veterans organizations and the bereaved families of the war dead. And the movement has sympathizers in local assemblies who play a direct role of attacking peace museums sponsored by the local government.

Peace museums must exhibit truth. But it depends on the historical view of the museum to select which facts are to be exhibited and which facts are to be excluded. Then how is it possible to set up a criterion for such selection for the people who are engaged in the administration of local peace museums in consideration of diversity of historical views among the residents?

The following three unquestionable facts can be used as righteous criteria, i.e., (1) Renunciation of war is expressly stipulated in the Constitute of Japan, the supreme law, based on the pacifism; (2) The Prime Minister of Japan, the highest executive, expressed that Japan conducted aggressive wars in the past and that Japan reproaches herself for her acts bringing intolerable agony and grief to the peoples of Asian/Pacific countries; and (3) History textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education for use in schools describe historical facts such as Nanking massacre and comfort women. It is undoubtedly rightful for the municipal peace museums to exhibit past facts of wars based on these criteria. On the other hand, it is important for us to improve the correctness of the exhibits by our joint efforts throughout the globe.

III. Peace-related Museums in Asia

Comprehensive information of peace-related museums in Asia is not available. In addition to the fact that there are a number of social facilities that aim to dispatch the value of peace in Korea, China, Malaysia, Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam, India, etc., peace and/or anti-nuclear exhibitions have been organized by the efforts of NGOs and individuals in India and Pakistan that conducted nuclear explosion tests last May. On the other hand, there are not a few facilities that glorify the victory and display the powerfulness of military forces. It is crucially important for the peace museum to offer an opportunity to the visitors to develop sympathy for creating peace hand in hand, rather than to function as a facility to recall a grudge experienced in the past.

In Korea, there are some museums exhibiting the lives of resisters against Japan's colonial rule such as the Ahn Joong-Kun Memorial Museum. Independence Memorial Museum of Korea is a big facility mainly displaying the inhuman realities experienced by the Korean people under the domination by Japanese imperialism.

In China, there are the facilities exhibiting scars brought by the aggressive acts of the Japanese imperialism such as Nanjing Massacre Memorial Museum and Ping Dingshan Victims Skeletal Remains Museum. There also are some museums which exhibit not only the damage brought by Japanese invasion but also the resistance of the Chinese people against Japan such as Museum of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japan and Dongbei Patriot Memorial Museum. There also exist a number of ruins such as Lukou-Chiao Bridge (Marco Polo Bridge) which was the ignition point of the full-scale Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and the buildings used by the Unit 731, a germ warfare corps. In Taiwan, too, there is a monument of resisters against Japan, and a monument of a drafted Taiwanese girl who died on the march which was abused by Japanese militarism as a patriotic heroine. In 1997, Taipei 228 Memorial Museum was founded to display whole story of so-called "228 Incident" took place in 1947. These facilities are also expected to be substantialized so as to be effectively used for learning peace, not for enhancing hostility. Late Professor Paul Smoker, former Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association, said "I can forgive, but I can't forget" calling his hard experience in wartime England to mind. The words seem to be important for the question of what peace museums should be.

In the Southeast Asian countries, people experienced European colonialism before Japan's aggression and, in some countries, they experienced military conflicts after the World War II. Therefore, topics taken up in the museums are diverse.

In Singapore which was the colony of Britain and later Japan, there exist peace-related museums such as "Room of Surrender - Explorers of Singapore" and "War Museum of Sentosa", which exhibit not only the realities of British military bases and Japanese colonial control, but also the efforts of the people who cleared the land. A military museum in Vietnam deals with the problem of French and American military intervention after the termination of Japanese colonization. "Son my" Memorial Museum displays photos and dioramas about "Son my" Incident. Underground tunnels dug by the soldiers of liberation front also functions as a museum conveying the memories of war by exhibiting maps and bombs. Toul Sleng Museum in Cambodia is one of the facilities dealing with the reality of massacre experienced under the rule of Pol Poto. Kanchanaburi War Museum displays the artifacts and dioramas concerning the construction of railroad between Thailand and Burma in which many people were victimized through the severe labor forced by Japanese military force. The name of JEATH War Museum originates in the capital letters of the name of 6 nations involved in the construction of this railroad, i.e., Japan, England, America, Australia, Thailand and Holland. There is an indication "Forgive but not forget" at the gate of the museum which describes hard experiences in those days with photos and paintings.

In India, there are a number of non-violence museums which are descended from the thought of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. These museums seem to dispatch independent values that are different from other peace-related museums in Asia including Japan.

IV. Conclusion

Looking over the peace-related museums in Asian countries including Japan, we can find that the majority of them are exhibiting painful experiences of wars and conflicts, thereby appealing the importance of liberation from such agonies. Ms Ursula-Maria Ruser wrote in the preface of "Peace Museums Worldwide" published

this year by the United Nations that the majority of peace museums and related institutions have been set up in the "tradition" of the Anti-war Museum of Ernst Friedrich in the 1920s whose most common approach is that of "deterrence" by revitalizing and reconstructing local or national historical events such as wars, violence, terror, genocide and others, thereby paradoxically continuing an act of mental violence against visitors who do not necessarily expect to watch such scenes.⁸ Professor Johan Gultung also indicates that peace museums should be different from anti-war museums. From such point of view, most of the so-called peace-related museums in Asian countries belong to the category of "anti-war museums".

Ms Ruser suggested that the visitor to a peace museum should leave with a smile on his/her face and the conviction that his/her cooperation and contribution are of utmost importance in the process. I feel that some of the peace-related facilities recently established are putting forth buds in that direction, although yet in a germinal stage. I hope that a network of peace-related museums is strengthened through global cooperation, and that the knowledge extracted from hard experiences of wars and structural violence is crystallized into human wisdom for peaceful living in the century to come, expecting to realize a society where peace museums are liberated from the spell of war.

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⁸ To avoid misunderstanding, it seems necessary to add some words about the signification of Ms. Ruser's view. I do never mean that the material concerning tragic facts resulted from Japan's aggression should be removed from peace museums, but I think we need a thoughtful consideration when we select photographs to be exhibited not to cause distrust in human nature especially among young visitors. Distrust in humanity may prevent visitors from developing their mind to create peace in cooperation with other nation's people. For example, a photograph showing a soldier's brutal act such as cutting the enemy's head off with his sword should be carefully avoided however true the photograph is.