

The Succession of Memory: Can we communicate something to someone in the future?

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I The Past, The Present, and The Future

“We will all probably end up walking into the future backwards.”

Yoshie Hotta wrote this sentence in his essay collection titled *Greetings from the Future*.

The people of ancient Greece thought that we can see the past and the present as they are right in front of our eyes, but we cannot see the future as it is beyond us.⁽¹⁾

Indeed, we can learn from the past, closely examine the society’s present shape, and consider how things came to be as they are and what it all means. Based on these activities, we attempt to predict the future. However, we can never do so with certainty. No one can be sure whether the future will really be as we have envisioned it.

Thus, although we can focus on the present and the past with reasonable accuracy, we have to face the future as if in a backward stance as we are unable to view it clearly.

The future is hard to grasp, and human predictions are uncertain.

In 1968, writer Arthur C. Clarke and movie director Stanley Kubrick presented a science fiction film in which spaceships of various shapes hovered above the earth and humans traveled to the distant planet Jupiter in a state of artificial hibernation. The name of the film was *2001: A Space Odyssey*.⁽²⁾

This film envisioned how the world would be 33 years after the movie was produced. Today, it is 2016 and 2001 has long since passed. Nevertheless, even with the most cutting-edge science and technology, exiting the earth’s atmosphere remains an extremely difficult challenge for humans. For all but a few explorers, space travel is still an unfulfilled dream.

In contrast, the computer, portrayed in the film as a very large piece of equipment, has rapidly been downsized to the extent that we can now conduct a simple conversation with a handheld smartphone. The differences between the year 2001 as depicted in this film and our present experience of the 21st century are fascinating in many ways.

We stand at the crossroads of the past and the future, attempting to consider a future that cannot be grasped. As we do not have eyes on our backs, we strain our eyes toward the present and the past and ruminate over our speculations. Clues to the future, which are concealed within the present and the past, are what Hotta called “greetings from the future.” The call from the future transcends time and space. The key will be how well we recognize it.

In other words, thinking about the future also involves thinking about what will continue into the future. To do that, we must understand how memory will continue to be passed on. Thus,

this paper will examine the succession of memory.

In this case, memory does not refer to the personal recollections of individuals; rather, it refers to a collective memory shared by regions, people, and nations.⁽³⁾ Collective memory is truly varied, communicating the origins and peculiar characteristics that typify a group or the shared experiences of calamities such as natural disasters. In every instance, it is maintained and continued owing to the determination that “this must be communicated to posterity.” The succession of memory, therefore, also indicates passing down the sense of a duty to leave memories behind to future generations.

II Across 800 Years

Krakow is in southern Poland, although its latitude is farther north than that of Hokkaido. This city, which has a population of about 760,000 people, was Poland’s capital for a long time until Warsaw became the capital city at the beginning of the 17th century. Its Old Town is a World Heritage site, featuring the royal palace, churches, and many historical buildings.

I visited Krakow in October 2014. Auschwitz-Birkenau, the former Nazi concentration camp where a million Jews were murdered, is only a few dozen kilometers from Krakow. The Polish government has preserved it as a public museum, which I visited to hear the testimonies of the staff and the Holocaust survivors. Although that was the main point of my trip, Krakow, the ancient capital of Eastern Europe, greatly moved me by its charm.

Like many European cities, Krakow has a church and a public square at its center. St. Mary’s Basilica is a Gothic building with two towering steeples that overlook the square. The two steeples vary slightly in height, with the taller being 80 meters high.

According to a guidebook that I bought during my visit, what is currently the main part of the church was built in the 14th century while the two steeples were erected in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the Middle Ages, a garrison overlooked the entire city from atop the towers, and it would sound the alarm if a fire broke out or an enemy invasion was approaching.⁽⁴⁾

Even today, firemen closely monitor for fires from the top of the tallest steeple. They also blow their horns from there to mark each hour. The distinctive feature of this performance is that the melody is interrupted in the middle.

This horn-blowing ritual has continued since the Middle Ages. It is convenient for the locals as it announces the time. But why did such a ritual begin in the first place?⁽⁵⁾

Let us go back to the 13th century. In 1240, the forces of the Mongol Empire invaded Poland in large numbers. According to the Oriental Library’s *History of the Mongol Empire* written by a historian d’Ohsson, the Mongolian army attacked and conquered the eastern province of Lublin. It then temporarily withdrew, only to return in 1241 and repeatedly advance on various surrounding cities. After crushing the forces of the Polish princes, the Mongol army gathered its strength and marched on the capital city of Krakow, setting fire to the empty city after its king, the Archduke, and the townspeople had escaped.⁽⁶⁾

The Mongol Empire’s campaign against Europe took place after Genghis Khan’s death and was spearheaded by his grandson, Batu, who eventually also brought Russia, including Moscow and Kiev, and parts of Eastern Europe under his control. Batu’s grandchildren would reign over this

expansive territory for nearly 250 years.

However, the forces led by Batu's cousin Baidar advanced on Poland, rather than his main forces. Baidar, who had already captured Krakow, among other cities, clashed with the European allied forces near Legnica in the east. The allied forces comprised elites, including the Polish army led by the Polish Archduke and the Teutonic Order, who had made a name for themselves during the Crusades.

The resulting Battle of Legnica saw the European forces suffering a major defeat. The Mongol army continued its forward momentum, invading Hungary and even the Balkan Peninsula. The Europeans referred to the Mongols as Tartars, from the Greek word *Tartarus*, meaning hell. Even today, some books use the word *Tartar* to refer to the Mongols and the Turkic peoples who were under their control.

The Mongolian plains of East Asia adjoin Europe while vast grassland spreads out over the heart of Eurasia. At the time, Eurasia was fractured by many ruling dynasties, each defending its own territory. However, with the sudden appearance of the Mongol forces, the area became largely united. It is very significant that an expansive area, including lands in both the East and West, the Middle Eastern region, and North Africa, came to be perceived by humans as a single world for the first time. ⁽⁷⁾

This is believed to be the period when the first world map that depicted Japan together with Western Europe. Moreover, around this time, *The Travels of Marco Polo* was published. In this book, Venetian merchant Marco Polo had recounted his travels to the distant lands of Mongolia and China.

However, in surveys of Polish history such as Stefan Kieniewicz's *History of Poland* (Hippocrene Books, 1982), one can find only incredibly simplistic accounts of the Mongol invasion of Poland. Even the Krakow guidebook limits its historical narration to the brief comment, "When, in 1241, the Tartar armies invaded southern Poland, Krakow suffered serious damage." ⁽⁸⁾

I believe that the reason for this is that the Mongol invasion is now seen not as a national ordeal but only a temporary calamity in Poland. It appears that the severity of the Mongol invasion was different for Poland to begin with than for Russia, which remained under the control of the Mongol Empire for a long time after Batu invaded the country; it continued to be exploited under the tyrannical rule referred to as the "Tatar yoke."

Even so, the damage to Polish cities was extensive. For Krakow and other similar cities, the Mongol attack was a very serious matter. In fact, the ceremony at the top of the church steeple that I mentioned earlier preserves a memory from the Mongol invasion. The medieval soldiers on lookout blew their horns to communicate the approach of the Mongol army.

Once they saw the enemy nearing the city, the horn blowers began to blow their horns to communicate danger to the townspeople. But the abovementioned legend tells us that a horn blower died when he was pierced by the Mongol soldiers' arrows; thus, the trumpets' tune is cut off midway. This anecdote has been passed down for centuries without being forgotten because, for Krakow, the interrupted tune of the horns indicates the beginning of hardships that were difficult to forget.

Thus, the ceremony of blowing horns at every hour from the top of the steeple is believed to

be based on this legend.⁽⁹⁾ It not only reminds people of a tragic incident from the city's past but also carries a warning: "Don't let your guard down. Be ready for the invasion of a foreign foe!"

Memories are not simply passed down through written words but are also communicated through speech and performance. Through the scheduled blowing of horns, memory becomes a ritual, protected and passed down through the generations. At the same time, it continues to convey its origins. Through this transmission across generations, the subsequent household



Photo 1

becomes aware of this painful history and the instructions "Don't let your guard down against a foreign foe" are passed down like a baton. Ritualization can be considered as wisdom that prevents the fading of memory. Krakow has transmitted its memory for nearly 800 years through the horn ceremony.

The present-day St. Mary's Basilica in Krakow was built after the Mongol invasion. Before that, there is believed to have been an old, Romanesque church in the same location. Perhaps the horn ceremony already existed even during the time of that old church or it could have been introduced much later when, for some reason, the memory of that earlier experience of suffering was uncovered. Either way, this traditional, culturally infused ceremony fulfills the function of providing succession of memory powerfully.

The Mongol attack is also, fascinatingly, commemorated during an annual festival in Krakow. Every year around June, eight days after the Catholic Feast of Corpus Christi, the Lajkonik Festival is held. A personage called "Lajkonik" appears riding a papier-maché horse and proceeds through the city. He wears a pointed hat and a black beard on his face to represent the imagined figure of a Mongol soldier riding a horse (Photo 1).

However, the modern Lajkonik image does not represent anything demonic. Unlike the soldiers of the fearsome Mongol army that overran Europe, "Uncle Lajkonik" is believed to bring good fortune to the city and is popular with tourists as well; at some point in Krakow's long history, the figure of the detestable foreign enemy transformed into that of a lovable character who brings good luck.

Thus, the transformation in the image of the Mongol soldier as someone who brings good fortune heals the trauma. In the end, this also becomes a way of offering forgiveness to a former enemy. By sublimating an ancient calamity into a festival of peace and good fortune, this ceremony can be said to have revived Poland's national pride, which was wounded by the invasion.

III Post-war Germany's Effort

I'd like to shift my attention to Germany.

Before going to Krakow, I had the opportunity to visit Berlin and understand Germany's efforts to preserve and pass down its memory.

The Tiergarten district is a public park in central Berlin; its lushly green, expansive grounds contain a zoo and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra concert hall, one of Germany's greatest cultural treasures. A small monument was erected in the open space in front of the hall in September 2014, about a month before my visit.

Placed outside is a long, thin concrete display panel with a glass cover. Visitors glance at pictures, video images, the information panels, and maps as they walk alongside it. The glass surface maintains its brand-new gloss.

Information about the T4 Program (*Aktion T4*) that the Nazis conducted before World War II is displayed on this panel. In this program, based on the eugenic concept of protecting the superior Aryan bloodline, the disabled were involuntarily given a "merciful death" by using poison gas and carbon monoxide. This program is believed to be a prototype for the mass killings later carried out at concentration camps such as Auschwitz. ⁽¹⁰⁾

The distinct feature of the T4 Program was that not only the disabled but also patients with serious and apparently incurable illnesses, homosexuals, juvenile delinquents, social activists who resisted the Nazi regime, deserters, and others were killed. Although the records state that 70,000 people died, the number may have been as high as 200,000. Either way, this elimination of those deemed "unnecessary" by the Nazis was a criminal act grounded in discriminatory ideology. ⁽¹¹⁾

After the war, Germany took it upon itself to investigate war crimes committed by the Nazis. Researchers also conducted an investigation of the T4 Program. However, T4 was largely unknown among German citizens and eventually became part of forgotten history.

In 2014, the year before the 70th anniversary of the end of the World War II, the T4 monument was erected after a woman who learned that her aunt had been a T4 victim raised her voice, demanding that the truth about the program be made public. The monument is



Photo 2

situated in Tiergarten because that is where the headquarters of the program was located. The program's name, "T4," comes from the address of it, 4 Tiergarten Road.

While I was visiting the monument, a woman, a Swiss tourist (Photo 2) was gazing at the display. She is an elementary school teacher who had been unaware of the "merciful deaths" forced on the disabled and others. While, on one hand, she said that "These truths must be shared," she also revealed her confusion by stating, "I feel uneasy about teaching this to my students." She added, "If I'm going to teach them, it would be better to wait until they're a little older and have discernment."

In Berlin, there is no shortage of institutions and museums that provide information regarding

the Nazi era. The determination of accurately communicating the truth about German history, irrespective of how hateful and horrifying that historical period was, comes through clearly in Berlin. Even the T4 Program monument has been set up in an eye-catching form, right in front of the Berlin Philharmonic concert hall that Germany is so proud of. The monument's existence itself could be called an engraving for future generations, placed there to teach lessons from history.

In other locations, the truth is accurately shared by displaying pictures and information that represent an intentional effort to protect and pass down memory. Thousands of people come to the city as tourists and learn important historical truths while sightseeing. As long as these monuments endure, this device of remembrance will continue to live on as a part of the city. ⁽¹²⁾

Another type of remembrance effort visible in Berlin and across Europe is the “stumbling stones” art project.

The total number of Jewish victims of the Nazi holocaust across Europe is believed to be approximately six million. Auschwitz and other concentration camps have been preserved to ensure that we face this reality head-on and learn from the past. At institutions such as the Jewish Museum Berlin, people can see tangible artifacts and listen to a guide's explanation as they view photos and videos from the places where these massacres were actually carried out.

However, such means of communicating information tend to become one-way streets. To engrave the things we have learned in our minds, impressions should be expressed in our own words and accompanied by self-motivated action. Therefore, it is important that a display leaves room for those receiving the information to freely consider its significance. Art galleries and museums do not merely present displays but also offer participatory workshops and other chances to learn.

Art does not entail the imposition of a single, fixed perspective; interpretation is left up to the viewer. When a work is capable of multiple interpretations, it tends to stand out more in one's mind and leaves a deeper impression.

The “stumbling stones” are an experiment in preserving and passing down memory, which was proposed with this conception of art in mind (Photo 3).



Photo 3

An article printed in the evening edition of the *Kobe Shimbun* on June 20, 2014 began with this description:

A name and a year of birth, the year of forcible removal, and the person's eventual end are engraved on a brass plate covering a cobblestone. When two “stumbling stones” were embedded in the road in front of some Berlin apartments, students came one by one to place white roses on them.

This was the fourth in a series of articles reported by Kyodo News called “Where did our peaceful country go? Postwar Germany.” The article's headline was “Stones of Mourning for the Persecuted.” Its writer was Toshihisa Ohnishi, the news service's senior Berlin correspondent at the time.

The enormity of the Nazi holocaust, with its approximately six million victims, is enough to make one shiver. But each victim was a unique individual with a name, family members, and friends. Highlighting the fact that this outrageous act was an assault on innocent, individual human beings forces people to reflect profoundly on the cruelty of the concentration camps and of mass extermination; this is the main goal.

The “stumbling stones” project began with the work of artist Gunter Demnig. Participants gather the names of and relevant facts about victims from their various towns and inscribe this information on brass plates, which are attached to cobblestones that are then embedded in roads near the victims’ original places of residence.

The victim’s birthday, the day they were taken away, the day they were murdered and where... Participants have to find out a lot about the person who died. If any of these victims had died at Auschwitz, this fact is also stated on the plate. Then, as they mourn the deceased in a ceremony, all the participants place their cobblestones in the road. Witnessing such an event makes one think about the existence of that individual who once lived and also wonder about how something like this could have happened.

“History is not something you learn by spreading books out on a desk. It is something that should be learned through daily life,” Demnig says. Both students and adults participate in the project and it is used in school history classes and even in anti-discrimination training. It is an experiment in engraving history in people’s minds through experiential learning.

This effort has spread to 16 European countries, and stumbling stones recalling about 45,000 people have been installed. The project is intended to mourn not only the Jews but also Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and others massacred by the Nazis.

Many forms of experiential learning can be used to teach history. For instance, in Germany’s gymnasiums (equivalent to middle and high school in Japan), students who have taken a field trip to Auschwitz are assigned the task of becoming narrators and explaining a topic to other students.

The “stumbling stones” have different characteristics from the other forms of experiential learning. It is important that the accumulation of small acts through which the result of what each person has learned are placed on their cities’ streets in the form of plates on cobblestones. As the number of

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平和国家どこへ

ドイツの戦後

④

真ちゆうのアレートが、二ヒさん66が90年代半付いた敷石は氏名と生ばに始めた活動だ。「歴史は机の上で本を年、強制退去せられた「歴史は机の上で本を、その後の運命が刻まら、広げて学ぶものではな、ベルリンのデ、日常生活から学んで、パート前の路上に二つのい、いくべきだ」

「つまきの石が埋め込アウンロッツ強制取られると、学生らが白い容所跡には、ガス室に送バラを次々手向けた。られた被害者の髪の手、1933年にナチスが靴が履き、訪れる人イツを告げ16カ国、約への迫害は依然した。も追悼碑は、さんある、強制収容所に送られたが、首段の書きしの中で、亡命を余儀なくされ、ナチスの横暴に思いを、道行人に石が踏またりした人数を数え切れなはせる機会はいくつか、こい。つまきの石は、こうした人たちがかつて住んでいた家の前にある。芸術家のグンター・デム

街を歩いていて、つまきの石に気付く。そこではナチスの絶滅政策の対象となったユダヤ人や少数民族、同性愛者が生活していた。ユダヤ人だけで600万人といわれ、一人一人を悼みたい。デムニヒさんはどう話す。

活動は共感を呼び、ドイツの首都ベルリンで、新たに埋められた「つまきの石」を手向ける生徒たち(共同)

3月

ベルリンではつまきの石(死者の歴史、反省別教育)に役立っている。3月に行われた石埋め込行事には、中学・高校に相当するキムナジムの生徒20人が出席した。

「この日埋められた石の名前が刻まれているのは、アルゼンチンに亡命したユダヤ人のジャズ音楽家夫妻だった。生徒たちはその人の経歴を丹念に調べ発表し、ギターを弾き、歌をきけた。その場には親族の姿もあった。2人のおいの息子に当たるカルロス・シユベラ(さん)は「本当に感謝している。こんな素晴らしい活動はない」と目を潤ませていた。(ベルリン共同)

追害受けた個人悼む敷石

共感呼び、教育にも一役

ドイツの首都ベルリンで、新たに埋められた「つまきの石」を手向ける生徒たち(共同)

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participants increases and the activity spreads, the number of stones engraved in memory will increase on every street corner.

People encounter these stumbling stones in various places throughout Europe, and they stimulate the imagination. They make one think about the life of the individual whose name has been engraved. They can also create an opportunity to enter into a discussion with family and friends. This is a gateway to thinking deeply about the past.

As long as redevelopment or other activities do not alter the city's shape, these stones will continue to communicate something to the future as a large aggregation of memories. Their interpretation must be left to future generations.⁽¹³⁾

Germany has squarely faced its history of inflictions it caused, and its various efforts to record and preserve evidence of the damage caused both at home and abroad have enhanced the country's status. For instance, the German people and the government cooperated to provide reparations to foreigners conscripted into forced labor during the war. At the government's request, private enterprises made donations to a fund that has paid the equivalent of 700 billion yen to nearly 1.6 million people.⁽¹⁴⁾ The foundation that manages the fund is called "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future." Recognizing their own responsibility for the past, they have created a link between remembrance and the future. This is the national stance that postwar Germany continues to put forward in the world.

Nonetheless, memories are always in danger of eventually fading and disappearing, however important it may seem at the time for them to be passed down. Twenty years have passed since the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, the inland quake that hit urban districts in Kobe and the Hanshin region as well as its adjacent areas. In the affected areas, worried voices have been raised about the decay of memory in spite of victims' hard disaster experiences. Similarly, just five and a half years after the Great East Japan Earthquake and a major tsunami battered the coastal region of Tohoku, several people are loudly declaring the importance of efforts to pass down those experiences.

Seventy years after the end of World War II, the situation is the same with regard to the atomic bomb sites of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as in Okinawa where a fierce ground battle occurred. Even where exceptional efforts have been taken to ensure the succession of memory, with the thought that "This must never happen again," many people have started to think that "If we don't do something, nothing will be passed on," as the number of living eyewitnesses becomes fewer.⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus, the succession of memory is a constant battle against decay.

IV A New "Oral Tradition"

The Great East Japan Earthquake triggered tsunamis that caused severe damage. Those who could quickly be evacuated to high ground were saved, whereas many who could not escape quickly perished.

One of the local newspaper reporters heard the earthquake and tsunami alarms and immediately ran to the coast to try to take pictures of locals gazing anxiously at the ocean. When the reporter saw the advancing tsunami, he ditched their cars and scrambled uphill,

escaping the danger. The seaside town that had existed moments before was immediately swallowed by the waves.

In “Tsunami tendenko,” a saying in the local dialect, the word “tendenko” implies “it’s every man for himself.” The media presented this saying as a traditional warning from Tohoku’s Sanriku coast. It was intended to communicate the message, “If a tsunami comes, don’t worry about the people around you. Run for your life.” This interpretation has been widely circulated.

However, in actuality, no such traditional saying existed, regardless of what has been claimed. Rather, tsunami researcher Fumio Yamashita appears to have been the original author and popularizer of this saying.

Yamashita was born in Sanriku in 1924 (Taisho 13), and nine members of his family had died in the Sanriku tsunami, following the Meiji Sanriku Earthquake of 1896. Deeply affected by that experience, he carefully researched the history of tsunamis nationwide and became the foremost civilian tsunami researcher. During the Great East Japan Earthquake, he encountered a threat to his own life when his hospital room filled with sea water. Perhaps because of that experience, his health deteriorated not long afterwards and he died.

Yamashita would tell others how, in 1933, when the Showa Sanriku Tsunami hit, his father ran away for dear life, not even taking Yamashita’s hand, even though he was his youngest child. Later, when reproached by his wife, Yamashita’s father defended himself fiercely, saying, “What? It’s every man for himself! When a tsunami comes, whether you are family or not, you scatter and run.”

After Yamashita shared this anecdote in a lecture, the “every man for himself” tradition came to be considered regional in origin, probably because a scholar who attended the lecture then shared the story all over Japan.⁽¹⁶⁾

Yamashita’s father believed that when a tsunami occurs, one should hurry and run, even if one is running alone. However, this is not what we could call a regional tradition as it involved only one individual’s experience. In fact, considering the impact of the more recent tsunami, it is all too apparent that even in Sanriku the lesson of “just hurry and run, even if it’s by yourself” was not effectively passed down from person to person.

Now that this major disaster has highlighted Yamashita’s story anew, the “tradition” of emphasizing the importance of a quick escape from a tsunami and of prudent personal judgment is emerging.

Human memory is indeed shaky and hard to grasp, but somewhere in memories that have long been handed down, the power to capture the human mind still exists. Most of these long lasting memories take familiar, recognizable forms, such as fairytales and legends. Such memories, passed down through the generations, preserve key truths about conditions that remain unchanged between the past and the present.

This time, a strong possibility exists that the “every man for himself” lesson will be passed down regionally for a long time to our children’s children, their children’s children, and even their children’s children. I would like to believe that.

V A Never-ending Journey

We live within time as it flows from the past into the future. Human history is a relay of memory from generation to generation. Festivals celebrating local legends, languages, and food—that is culture received from the past and maintained through the present; it could even be called proof that provides evidence about who we are.

However, how much do we know about the past? In particular, when it comes to the distant past, we know and understand nothing.

We understand, at least to some extent, those eras from which written language, pictures, and other such records remain. Even without formal records, we can get close to the lives of people from the past through relics and ruins. We can trace the past through legends, fairytales, other oral literature, and the songs and dances of traditional culture. But without endeavoring to study history, we can never appreciate it in any depth.

Right now, human society is facing a succession-of-memory problem in anticipation of a future perhaps 10,000 or 100,000 years away. It is the problem of disposing the radioactive wastes that have been thrust upon us by the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster, which was a result of the Great East Japan Earthquake. People all over the world are racking their brains to discern how we can communicate the danger of nuclear waste buried deep within the earth to people in the distant future; however, no solution has as yet been proposed. Next time, I would like to consider the problem of passing down memory thousands of years into the future.

In this article, I have considered humanity's collective succession of memory based on my experiences of gathering information. Although we do not know much about the past, we also cannot run away from our responsibility to the future. All we can do is continue our journey and look for "greetings from the future" as we learn from both the past and the present.

We are trying to pass something down to someone in the future, but I wonder if it will really get across.

(Honorifics omitted)

⁽¹⁾ Hotta, Yoshie. *Greetings from the Future*. Chikuma Shobo, 1995, pp. 201–206. Here, Hotta expresses his interest in the concept underlying the title of the Hollywood movie *Back to the Future* (1985). As a foundation for his essay, he touches on the ancient Greeks' way of grasping the past, present, and future.

⁽²⁾ *2001: A Space Odyssey* was considered a milestone in science fiction films. In the movie, humanity, whose civilization has been awakened through the use of technology, leaves on a spaceship to explore Jupiter at the beginning of the 21st century. A mysterious item discovered on the surface of the moon, the "monolith," has led humanity to Jupiter. There are several aspects of the film's story that are relevant to our current era, such as the rebellion of artificial intelligence.

⁽³⁾ With regard to the concept of collective memory, I am refereeing to French sociologist Maurice Halbwach's *The Collective Memory* (Kohrosha, 2015). Halbwach asserted that individual memory and social memory must be kept separate (p. 48).

⁽⁴⁾ *The Golden Book: Krakow* (Bonech-Galakyta, 2013).

⁽⁵⁾ Poland's Ministry of Tourism website is a useful resource for information on Krakow's traditional events and cultural assets, which are also described in detail in various guidebooks.

⁽⁶⁾ The Oriental Library, *History of the Mongol Empire*. Heibonsha, 6 volumes, 1968–1979. The Mongol invasion

of Poland is described in Vol. 2, pp. 162–171. Author Abraham Constantin Mouradgea d’Ohsson was a Swedish scholar and diplomat of Armenian descent born in Turkey.

⁽⁷⁾ Before the Age of Exploration, which would occur in Western Europe, the union of East and West under the Mongol Empire meaningfully represents the dawn of “world history.” This is the view offered by Hidehiro Okada in “Sekaishi no Tanjo—Mongoru no Hatten to Dento” (Chikuma Bunko, 1999) and Masaaki Sugiyama in “Sekaishi wo Henbosaseta Mongoru” (Kadokawa Soshō, 2000).

⁽⁸⁾ *The Golden Book: Krakow*, p. 4.

⁽⁹⁾ This is according to British author Robert Marshall’s “Storm from the East: From Genghis Khan to Khubilai Khan” (Toyo Shorin, 2001, trans. Toshikuni Endo). When the Mongol scouting party arrived at the city gates and heard the horns, they released their arrows. His throat pierced, the horn blower fell from the steeple. The townspeople then began to withdraw, and the city was already empty when the main Mongol unit arrived.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The T4 Program was featured in a November 7, 2015 ETV special aired by NHK called *So This Was a Rehearsal of the Holocaust: The Massacre of the Disabled, The Truth 70 Years after the War*, and it caused a sensation. I also wrote a Sunday essay titled “Germany: Facing the Past Even Now” in *Kobe Shimbun* on October 19, 2014 on this topic.

⁽¹¹⁾ In July 2016, at a facility for the handicapped in Sagami-hara, Kanagawa Prefecture, 19 disabled residents were murdered by a former male employee of the facility. The suspect confessed by rationalizing, “The disabled bring bad luck” and “I had to do it because the government won’t allow euthanasia for the disabled.” He expressed an affinity for Nazi beliefs. This incident reflects the persistence of views similar to those held by the T4 Program.

⁽¹²⁾ While in Berlin, in addition to the T4 Program monument, I visited the Holocaust Memorial, also called the Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe. It opened in May 2005 and is located south of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, right where the Nazi SS headquarters had once stood. The grounds are about 20,000 square meters in size, larger than the playground of the Hanshin Koshien Stadium. In the monument, 2,711 concrete stones are lined up in a grid and arranged such that one walks through the grid’s center as if passing through a maze. Underground is a Holocaust Information Center.

⁽¹³⁾ Another example of art that inscribes traces of memory within Berlin is French artist Christian Boltanski’s installation named “The Missing House.” The names, periods of residence, and occupations of people whose homes were destroyed in air raids toward the end of the war are inscribed on plates and displayed on the walls of nearby buildings. Also listed are the names of Jews forcibly sent to concentration camps. Kagawa, Mayumi. *Soki No Katachi: Kioku Ato No Rekishi Ishiki*. N.p.: Suiseisha., 2012. Print. Pp. 93-105.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Many of the victims of the Nazis’ forced labor program, recruited from the former Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe, emigrated to the United States and to other countries throughout the world after the war. Although reparations made to these victims through the fund are not legal compensations, they are considered a humanitarian measure. However, approximately 6,500 corporations such as Volkswagen, Daimler, and Siemens have contributed to the fund. “Tsuzuku wakai puroseshu” (Jan. 19, 2015), an article written by Yasuhiro Mori, senior staff writer for Kyodo News, gives a concise summary of the details.

⁽¹⁵⁾ For instance, according to NHK’s June 2015 survey on awareness regarding the nuclear bomb attacks, more than 70 percent of Japanese respondents could not give the dates on which the atomic bombs were dropped (Hiroshima: August 6; Nagasaki: August 9). Even in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 30 to 40 percent respondents gave the wrong answer or responded “Don’t know” or “Not sure.” When residents of Hiroshima were asked for the date of the Nagasaki bombing or vice versa, the percentages were even lower.

Similarly, in an Okinawa Prefecture public opinion poll, reported by *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Ryukyu Times* and conducted in June 2015, more than 68 percent of the respondents indicated that memories of the Battle of Okinawa were “fading.”

⁽¹⁶⁾ Yamashita, Fumio. *Tsunami Tendenko*. Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 2008, pp. 231–233.

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Illustrations

- Photo 1. A Lajkonik making an entrance at the Krakow Festival, Polish Ministry of Tourism HP, Publicity Photo Gallery
Photo 2. Mikami, Kimio. A Swiss woman viewing the T4 Program monument, 2014.
Photo 3. Ohnishi, Toshihisa. *Stumbling Stones*. 2014.

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