

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Jamie Elizabeth Farley entitled “A Costly Toll for Friendship: Material Rhetoric and the Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell.” I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in English.

Michael L. Keene
Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Russel Hirst

Mary Jo Reiff

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn Hodges
Vice Provost and Dean of the
Graduate School

A COSTLY TOLL FOR FRIENDSHIP:
MATERIAL RHETORIC AND THE OAK RIDGE INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP
BELL

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jamie Elizabeth Farley
May 2007

Abstract

This study presents a rhetorical analysis of the International Friendship Bell in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, with particular attention to how it relates to the World War II Manhattan Project. The rhetorical theories of identification, presence, and civic religion elucidated by Kenneth Burke, Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Gregory Clark, respectively, provide a theoretical amalgamation by which we can view and study the material object of the bell. As we use this combined theory to scaffold a rhetorical analysis of the bell, we discover several important ways in which the object of the bell, and its surrounding controversy, illustrate the theory. First, we discover that three distinct groups have experienced Burke's notion of alienation, or separation, because of the development of the nuclear weapon. Each group, in an attempt to regain a sense of solidarity, attempts to use identification as a means of rebuilding the broken relationship. Meanwhile, each group illustrates Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's idea of presence by including material that encourages identification, while omitting or underplaying information that might be harmful to the argument. Finally, each group exhibits Clark's civic religion by attaching religious significance to the bell for rhetorical purposes.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
Context.....	1
Rhetorical Significance of Landmarks	6
Purpose.....	8
Overview.....	9
Significance of the Study.....	9
CHAPTER ONE: RHETORICAL THEORY AND THE OBJECT OF THE BELL	12
Views of Rhetoric	12
Materiality of Rhetoric.....	12
Identification.....	15
Presence	18
Civic Religion	21
Theoretical Context for the Study.....	22
CHAPTER TWO: APPLICATION OF THEORY.....	29
Description of Views	31
American-Japanese Friendship	31
American Scientific Advancement	35
Japanese Victimage.....	37
Description of the Bell.....	43
Surroundings.....	43
Pagoda.....	47
Visual Aspects	51
Audio Aspects.....	55
Lasting Nature.....	56
CHAPTER THREE: AREAS OF FUTURE STUDY	60
Other Oak Ridge Landmarks	60
Oak Ridge Y-12 Electromagnetic Uranium Enrichment Plant.....	60
Oak Ridge Rotary Club Secret City Commemorative Walk	66
Implications for the Field of Material Rhetoric	71
Works Cited	73
Vita.....	77

Table of Figures

Side view of the Friendship Bell pavilion overlooking Alvin K. Bissell Park	44
Front view of bell, Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Energy in background	45
Metal placard on wooden pedestal outside the pavilion.	49
An angled view reveals Buddhist-inspired architecture	50
Engakuji Buddhist Temple bell	50
Japanese Buddhist bell	52
Present-day heavily-guarded gate of the Y-12 plant.....	62
One of the four Founders Walls that possess names of individuals and groups.....	68
Pedestals and historical signposts are placed along the walking path	69

INTRODUCTION

Context

With the early 1940s came the worst of World War II. Hitler's hegemony was both precarious and dangerous, and Americans nervously speculated that the *Führer* was concocting a nuclear weapon in an eleventh-hour attempt to salvage his regime. The horror of this potentiality caused American politicians and military personnel to work feverishly in a cooperative effort to beat Hitler to the punch. Interestingly, it was at the behest of scientists that political and military officials took this initiative; in 1939 scientists Leo Szilard and Eugene P. Wigner "persuaded Albert Einstein to sign a letter warning [President] Roosevelt of the possibility that Adolph Hitler's Nazi Germany could construct a revolutionary weapon" and urging the President to fund scientific research to construct a similar device" ("Oak Ridge" n.p.).¹ Roosevelt rubber-stamped the proposition, and the ensuing mission was formally christened the Manhattan Engineer District, later condensed to the Manhattan Project.²

The name *Manhattan*, however, was intentionally deceptive; far from being a group of workers physically consolidated in a single locale, the Project's geographical

¹ Although most scientists were eager to discover the capabilities of a nuclear weapon, quite a few were opposed to actually using that weapon. Indeed, 59 Manhattan Project scientists, led by Szilard, signed a petition *against* the use of atomic force in Japan. In his cover letter, Szilard states "however small the chance might be that our petition may influence the course of events, I personally feel that it would be a matter of importance if a large number of scientists who have worked in this field went clearly and unmistakably on the record as to their opposition on moral grounds to the use of these bombs in the present phase of war" (Szilard n.p.).

² The District's chief founders, Colonel James C. Marshall (the first District engineer), and General Leslie R. Groves (the Project's director) considered naming the endeavor after the city of Knoxville. They decided, however, that this would draw too much attention to the Project and settled on Manhattan as the Project's namesake.

scope was vast. This diffusion served a twofold purpose: it was more convenient for individual scientists to work closer to home, and it afforded a superior level of security (indeed, even many scientists and engineers had no suspicions of what they were creating). Peter Bacon Hales, author of *Atomic Spaces: Living on the Manhattan Project*, tells us that “The Manhattan Engineer District—the formal term for the wartime Manhattan Project—occupied three main sites and more than a hundred smaller ones, from Alamogordo, New Mexico, to Trail, in British Columbia” (1-2). The three primary sites were located in Los Alamos, New Mexico; Hanford, Washington; and, most importantly for our purposes, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. In a shockingly brief time, the project stretched its massive arms to embrace a vast portion of North America.

Though its physical proportions reveal something of its incredible size and scope, the Project’s colossal expenditures and man-hours are even more impressive. In *The Manhattan Project: Big Science and the Atom Bomb*, Jeff Hughes tells us that “at its height the Project employed 130,000 people and was equivalent in size to the entire automobile industry. Its ultimate cost was \$2 billion. All of this effort was directed to one overriding goal: the production of nuclear weapons” (9). The American government shuddered at the notion of losing the war to the Axis powers, and was bent on victory at any cost.

Because of their terror of defeat, the United States mustered its resources, which sometimes came from unlikely locations. Alvin Weinberg, former director of Oak Ridge National Laboratories, was involved in Manhattan Project endeavors in Chicago in his younger years. In a 1986 guest lecture at the University of Tennessee, Weinberg illustrates the liberality with which government entities funded the Project.

There wasn't enough copper [to fuel the Oak Ridge Y-12 electromagnetic uranium separation plant]. Copper was...a scarce material during the war. So what they did...was they raided Fort Knox for all the silver in Fort Knox (actually, silver is a better conductor than copper), and these magnets [in the plant] were energized with several thousand tons of silver.... [President Roosevelt] said "do that" and, sure enough, they did that. (*Manhattan Project* n.p. sic)

In short, a gargantuan amount of funding and effort was funneled into the project; desperate to regain international control, hungry for technological development, and persuaded by the scientific pursuit of discovery, government entities fueled the project with a steady flow of cash that swiftly reached colossal proportions.

As suggested by its extravagant expenditures, the Manhattan Project ushered in a new echelon of scientific achievement and the era of what Weinberg called "Big Science"—scientific endeavors characterized by big money, big politics, and (physically and intellectually) big projects. Hughes asserts that Big Science was inevitable in a burgeoning post-industrial society. "The process by which Big Science came to prominence in the twentieth century," he explains, "was a long and complex one. [It] did not spring fully formed into being after the Manhattan Project" (151). Because the American culture was already steeped in the notion of fast-paced, big-money technological advancement, Big Science was fast reaching maturity even before the Second World War. Hughes continues to add that the Manhattan Project lent force to the American push for advanced technology, thereby accelerating the growth of Big Science. "If Big Science was neither monolithic nor always successful, its various incarnations

nevertheless did share certain key characteristics, many of them consolidated or developed in the Manhattan Project” (153). Even though (and probably because) the rise of Big Science was not begun by the Manhattan Project efforts, the Project caused formerly tentative notions of Big Science to solidify. While the Manhattan Project was not the sole patron of Big Science’s development, it certainly hosted the debutante ball for this up-and-coming age of scientific achievement.

The fervor for technological conquest demonstrated in the rise of Big Science was not limited to scientific and political realms, however; the zeal with which scientists greeted these new advances just barely exceeded that of commercial entities; factories saw the war effort as a moneymaking opportunity. Historian Michael J. Lyons tells us that during the war,

American industry saw to it that [the] armed forces were equipped with enormous amounts of weapons and other material. Automobile plants soon converted their facilities to produce tanks, trucks, jeeps, and aircraft.

Shipyards turned out staggering numbers of vessels of all kinds, from aircraft carriers and battleships to transports and merchantmen. (244)

This emphasis on production allowed America to become the foremost technological power during the war. Lyons explains that America displayed superior technology during this time. “Of all the belligerent powers,” he claims, “America was to perform the most prodigious feats in producing implements of war” (243). Because of its full industrial participation in producing war technologies, the United States became known as a nation of industrial achievement.

Whether created by industrial, political, or military forces, technological advancement came to the forefront of American society, helping the Allied nations win the war, while simultaneously acquiring religious significance. Weinberg tells us that the enthusiasm for American scientific accomplishment is reminiscent of the European fervor for religious architectural achievements in an earlier era. “When history looks back at the twentieth century,” he demonstrates,

she will see science and technology as its theme; she will find in the monuments of Big Science—the huge rockets, the high-energy accelerators, the high-flux research reactors—symbols of our time just as surely as she finds in Notre Dame a symbol of the Middle Ages. She might even see analogies between our motivations for building these tools of giant science and the motivations of the church builders.... We build our monuments in the name of scientific truth, they built theirs in the name of religious truth; we use our Big Science to add to our country’s prestige, they used their churches for their cities’ prestige. (“Impact of Large-Scale Science” 161)

The immense cost and effort required to build cathedrals in the fourteenth century reveals the people’s priorities at that time: no price was too high, nor any effort too rigorous, to build a monument for God’s glory. Similarly, investments of time, energy, and enthusiasm citizens made in the Manhattan Project to usher in this era of Big Science reveal technology’s elevated status in American culture: no budget was too large, nor any staff too extensive, to raise America to a sovereign rank in the technological world.

Indeed, the gusto with which each individual greeted these newfound technologies supports the argument that science garnered the type of fervor usually associated with religion. In short, the Manhattan Project caused American citizens to view science as a deity. More than ever before, Americans devotedly supported these technological advances; enamored with the notion of promised peace, they created the god of science to free them from the darkness and tyranny of World War II. As the American “savior” of the war, science became, for some individuals, a new higher being.

Rhetorical Significance of Landmarks

The social and political developments that arose with the Manhattan Engineer District provide excellent topics of rhetorical discussion in-and-of themselves. More important for this study, however, are the multiple physical manifestations of the ethereal, conceptual arguments of World War II social and political spheres. Individuals and groups have either constructed physical objects to represent their respective arguments, or they have attached a rhetorical significance to a previously non-rhetorical object, in order to provide a concrete material argument for their particular positions. In order to gain adherents to their respective views through the process of identification, however, these individuals and groups (who, for the purposes of brevity, we will call *rhetors*) make certain facts concerning the objects present for viewers, while simultaneously omitting other facts. These rhetors also use the object to garner enthusiasm for their particular philosophies that reaches the point of a religious fervor.

No god, it seems, comes without its icons and temples, and just as British and European cathedrals remain as evidence of the people’s worship of the biblical God,

remnants of the Manhattan Project, including its product, the nuclear bomb, are an everlasting reminder of the scientific fervor of the Second World War. These reminders take widely varying forms, from the instruments used in scientific laboratories to ground zero locations at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In Oak Ridge, Tennessee, however, three distinct landmarks serve as memorials of America's technological zeal: The Oak Ridge Rotary Club Secret City Commemorative Walk, The Oak Ridge Y-12 Electromagnetic Separation Plant, and the Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell.

The Secret City Commemorative Walk memorializes the city's founders and celebrates its scientific achievements—one of which was the enrichment of the uranium used in Little Boy and Fat Man, the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively. Dedicated on June 17, 2005 and sponsored by the Oak Ridge Rotary Club, the memorial consists of several composite stone walls etched with the names of Oak Ridge founders, as well as multiple pedestals with plaques celebrating the city's historical events. At the center of the memorial stands a large flagpole with an American flag.

The Oak Ridge Y-12 electromagnetic separation plant, where the process of uranium enrichment was discovered, also stands as an architectural reminder of the city's atomic heritage. Built in 1943 as part of the Manhattan Project, the purpose of the plant was to enrich uranium for the first atomic bomb. Although this facility is not what one would normally consider a "landmark," its presence in the city has a rhetorical effect because of the significance individuals and groups (including Oak Ridge residents) have attributed to it.

Finally, the Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell was crafted by American and Japanese artisans and denotes Oak Ridge's friendship with her Japanese sister city, Naka,

Ibaraki. This landmark is set in the Oak Ridge greenway and is etched with the official respective flowers, birds, and trees of Tennessee and Japan. In addition, the bell contains key dates in the World War II history of the two locales, including Hiroshima and Pearl Harbor.

While the theories presented here apply to all three Oak Ridge landmarks, perhaps the primary exemplar—and thus the one which concerns us—is the International Friendship Bell. By examining the history of the era, we can draw multiple conclusions about the International Friendship Bell and what that object means to Oak Ridge, American, and International people. Notions of technological prestige, religious fervor, and rhetorical argument concerning the Manhattan Project and its primary creation, the atomic bomb, are all present in the object of the bell.

Purpose

The Manhattan Project is teeming with examples of how individuals and government entities purposely used spoken, written, and visual rhetoric in the form of posters, speeches, letters, and news articles to persuade the American people. Oral and written rhetoric, however, are not the only extant types. We find many material products of the Manhattan Project that can be analyzed for their rhetorical effectiveness. The most fertile ground for such inquiry is the International Friendship Bell because a great deal of controversy surrounds the object, as we will discover in later chapters. The purpose of this study is to examine the Friendship Bell—an example of material rhetoric at work and the primary offspring of the Manhattan Project—in light of material rhetoric and in the historical context of the Project.

Overview

This thesis traces three main threads: material rhetoric, the Manhattan Project, and the Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell, interweaving the threads throughout the study, with each subject lending a greater understanding to the others. The thesis begins with an introduction to the basic concepts of material rhetoric, explaining how we can apply the theories of Burke, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Clark to material rhetoric and outlining the theoretical basis for the study. Chapter two addresses how the theory presented in chapter one is embodied in the material text of the Friendship Bell, and chapter three summarizes the study, extends the theory to the landmarks of the Y-12 plant and the Rotary Club Secret City Commemorative Walk, and relays future prospects for the discipline of material rhetoric.

Significance of the Study

The ideologies, arguments, and concerns originating in the wartime 1940s are still thriving in American society. Peter Hales tells us that the consequences of the Manhattan Project affect every individual.

In the years since the Project ended we might think that its special purpose and special nature had disappeared from around us, overwhelmed by peacetime prosperity. But this has not happened. Instead the Manhattan District opened its fences and took down its walls, while exporting its own systems of belief, its artifacts, and its geography into the many streams of American life. (5-6)

As the Manhattan Project as a physical entity dissipated, members of this community—most notably, scientists—also dispersed across the nation, taking jobs at private companies and public universities. As these individuals reintegrated into American society, their ideologies subsequently spread to mainstream culture. These systems of belief concerning the Project take widely varying forms, from America’s role in the international scheme to how American individuals should live their day-to-day lives. This thorough saturation of Project-based ideas into American society is an indicator of its vast cultural significance.

The inherent vast scope of rhetorical theory also renders this study an important one for all fields that deal with the notion of argument. In *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction*, James A. Herrick tells us that rhetoric is *architectonic*, meaning it “organizes and gives structure to the other arts and disciplines, that it is a kind of master discipline that exercises a measure of control over all other disciplines” (2). Almost every discipline, career track, and relationship possesses some form of rhetorical discussion. “In fact,” Herrick declares, “it is difficult to imagine a human relationship in which persuasion has no role, or a human organization does not depend to some degree on efforts to change other people’s thoughts and actions” (4). A study of the rhetoric of the Friendship Bell, therefore, will be useful to scholars in widely varying fields, particularly in disciplines engaging in political, historical, and sociological arguments.

Another reason this study is significant is because it involves material rhetoric, a steadily growing field—both in size and scope—in which many assertions have not been made and many conclusions have yet to be drawn. An analysis of how material objects relate to the rhetorical, historical occasions that produced those objects can provide us

with a better sense of rhetoric's role, both historically and in modern times. This unexplored territory seems especially vast (and promising) when we look to historical instances of rhetorical situations and the objects and artifacts those occasions produced. This study is important because it allows us to journey into the largely unexplored rhetorical realm of the material, situated in the world of the Manhattan Project and evidenced in the object of the International Friendship Bell.

CHAPTER ONE: RHETORICAL THEORY AND THE OBJECT OF THE BELL

Views of Rhetoric

For centuries, even millennia, rhetoric has been simultaneously disparaged and adored, mistrusted and revered. The ancient Greeks fostered a steady love/hate relationship with the art of persuasion that spread across the globe and continues today. “Clearly,” Herrick explains, the term “*rhetoric* arouses mixed feelings—it is widely condemned and widely studied, employed as an insult and recommended to students as an important subject of study” (1). Our contemporary ideas about rhetoric, however, are vastly different from Greek ideologies on the subject. Herrick cites Jane Donaworth as stating “as the term ‘rhetoric’ has changed in meaning, what counts as rhetoric has also changed, from the formal speaking of ancient Greece—political, legal, and celebratory speech making—to any spoken or written form of nonliterary discourse” (5). The notion of what the word *rhetoric* means has broadened from the Greek association of the term with oratorical skills to the more general modern idea that rhetoric merely has to do with words, or, more specifically, the words we use to persuade.

Materiality of Rhetoric

Although words can certainly be persuasive, and spoken and written discourse can be included as types of rhetorical inquiry, many material rhetoricians would add that rhetorical discourse is not limited to the spoken or written, but dwells mainly in the

material (non-linguistic) cues in our everyday lives. The authors presented in this chapter will illustrate that rhetoric is often found in material objects and is, by default, intrinsically material. These theorists will also show us that rhetoric is a way of bringing people together through a process of individuals identifying with characteristics held in common. Furthermore, the authors demonstrate, rhetoric—whether verbal, material, or both—must necessarily emphasize certain facts that support a position while downplaying or omitting others that may undermine that same argument.

These separate theories can combine to produce a single theory of material rhetoric that involves identification, presence, and civic religion. In this collective theory, the rhetor uses a physical object in an attempt to win others over to a particular position. In the process of doing this, moreover, the rhetor attempts to identify with his or her audience by making particular facts (ones that could improve the argument) present to the audience, while omitting others that would undermine the argument. In searching for this support, the rhetor lends significance to the object that can reach religious proportions.

Though it is represented by a relatively new field of study, material rhetoric is not a new concept. Any text, whether spoken, written, or entirely nonlinguistic, must necessarily have some type of material substance; the mere existence of a rhetorical text signifies its inherent materiality. Indeed, many rhetorical scholars agree that it is in the material that rhetoric takes its most perfect form. Carole Blair, author of “Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric’s Materiality,” tells us that all rhetoric is necessarily, fundamentally material. “No text *is* a text,” she succinctly claims,

nor does it have meaning, influence, political stance, or legibility, in the absence of material form. Rhetoric is not rhetoric until it is uttered,

written, or otherwise manifested or given presence. Thus we might hypothesize as a starting point for theorizing rhetoric that at least one of its basic characteristics (if not the *most* basic) is its materiality. (18)

For Blair and others, rhetoric is not what is spoken, but what is shown; it is not limited to the sphere of the theoretical, but is situated within the realm of the practical. Realizing its practicality, in turn, leads us to the knowledge that rhetoric is hands-on. It is not just a conceptual field of ideas; it is a medium that we can view in a museum, cut our fingers on, run over with our vehicles, or buy at the grocery store. When we consider rhetoric as material, we see it more as a way of showing, rather than telling. Rhetoric, then, is not only using words to persuade; it becomes infinitely more real and tangible.

This telling by showing is especially effective on an audience because it lends a sense of solidarity and credibility to the rhetor's argument. If we see, feel, or smell the same object, we are more apt to agree with the ideas represented by the object than if we are simply told of those views second-hand. The Greek term *epideictic* is, perhaps, the best—and was certainly the first—way of explaining this concept of rhetorical “showing.” In contrast with judicial (“forensic”) rhetoric, which drew upon accusatory and defensive skills in the courtroom; and deliberative (“legislative”) rhetoric, which took place primarily in the political realm; epideictic (“demonstrative”) rhetoric was reserved for occasions in which praise and/or blame was demonstrated, such as funeral orations and nonpolitical public gatherings. Literally meaning “fit for display,” epideictic rhetoric was used to show the worthiness or dishonor of an individual, group, or idea.³ In his

³ An interesting message the International Friendship Bell relays is the “worthiness” of one group (the scientific and technological advancements of the Oak Ridge community), while showing forth the

introductory chapter to *Rhetorics of Display*, Lawrence J. Prelli describes the origin of the word *epideictic* and its emphasis on the “showing” nature of rhetoric. “The rhetoric of display,” Prelli tells us,

is an idea of ancient lineage, traceable to the Greek word *deiktikos*, which meant “exhibit,” “show forth,” “make known”; it is the opposite of the verb “conceal.” Aristotle modified the verb *deiktikos* to form the words *apodeiktikos* and *epideiktikos* and, thus, to distinguish logical and rhetorical forms of “showing forth.” (2)

Rhetoric possesses a visual, material form of “showing,” a display that holds considerable power over individuals and communities because we are deeply affected by the objects we encounter. It is the material, then, that possesses the greatest rhetorical potential.

Identification

While classical discussions of rhetoric are certainly pertinent to any rhetorical analysis, many modern scholars have built upon Aristotle’s ideas in interesting ways. Although he does not address the materiality of rhetoric, the twentieth-century rhetorical scholar Kenneth Burke provides fascinating ideas that we can apply to material rhetoric. Burke discusses the centrality of identification to persuasion, and hence to rhetoric, in his celebrated work, *A Rhetoric of Motives*. The first tenet of Burke’s identification theory, we find, is alienation or separation. This phenomenon affects all of mankind and is caused by the human emphasis on differences, rather than similarities, between individual

“disgrace” of another group (the Japanese who were defeated after the release of the nuclear bombs). Thus, the bell is an excellent representative of Aristotle’s epideictic rhetoric at work.

identities.⁴ The only acceptable—albeit incomplete—solution to this alienation problem is for each individual to acknowledge the similarities between his or her identity and the identities of others, an act which is best done through the use of rhetoric. Burke calls this process *identification*, which, he explains, “is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man’s very essence” (22). If an individual finds something in common with another person, the two individuals are less apt to experience alienation.

In order for individuals to reunite, we must first identify the commonalities between individuals, then use rhetorical means to emphasize those similarities. This rhetorical means of identification, Burke elaborates, can be achieved through rhetorical emphasis of the similarities between the speaker and the audience. This emphasis can take the form of simply stating the correlating factors between individuals, such as “the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says ‘I was a farm boy myself,’” (qtd. in Herrick 224). Another means of establishing identification is for the rhetor to adopt the speech and mannerisms of a particular group. Burke explains to the reader that he or she can “persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (55). Although it comes in many different forms, the rhetorical persuasion of identification is a useful one for any society; by identifying with the similarities of others through rhetorical discourse, we are able to break down some of the barriers of difference that separate us.

⁴ Burke defines a thing’s (or a person’s) *identity* as “its uniqueness as an entity in itself and by itself, a demarcated unit having its own particular structure” (*A Rhetoric of Motives* 21).

The act of persuasion, Burke explains, inherently undergoes the process of identification; rhetoric and identification, he tells us, are inextricably linked.

a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience. So, there is no chance of our keeping apart the meanings of persuasion, identification ("consubstantiality") and communication (the nature of rhetoric as "addressed"). (46)

Every rhetorical situation contains some degree and form of identification; during this process, the rhetor presents characteristics with which he or she thinks the audience may identify. The audience may oppose the rhetor's assertion of commonality (resulting in further alienation), or they may concur with the speaker, simultaneously creating a scene of identification and eliminating alienation. Burke's notions of identification in rhetoric, therefore, are relatively simple: each individual is, by nature, separated (or alienated) from others. The only solution for this division is for each individual to develop an understanding of his or her commonalities with fellow citizens, thereby tearing down those walls of separation. The best way to achieve this is through persuasive discourse, which is inherently present in the act of identification.

Though Kenneth Burke provides the foundational theory for identification, he leaves it to later scholars to apply those theories to the discipline of material rhetoric. Gregory Clark discusses the notion of characteristics held in common among groups, which he calls "common identity," "shared identity," or "collective identity." In his work,

Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke, Clark applies Burkean theory to material rhetoric, telling us that common public experiences at a particular locale can bring people together.

The rhetorical power of a national culture is wielded not only by public discourse, but also by *public experiences*. Both present a collective of people with shared symbols of a common identity and, in doing so, prompt those people to adopt that identity for themselves....symbols of all sorts work to constitute in individuals a sense of shared identity that has the power to shape their beliefs and actions in ways that unify them with one community as they divide them from another. (Clark 4)

An individual's encounter with others who have similar traits and ideologies can fundamentally affect him or her. Clark describes a new encounter with a scene as a "fundamentally rhetorical experience that prompts individuals to make themselves over in the image of a collective identity that they find symbolized" (Clark 25). The material object, then, allows for a unity between individuals as they gather around an object and develop a sense of collective identity (or, in Burkean terms, they identify with one another). Individuals who encounter a particular material object see something that is similar between themselves and others (or between themselves and the object).

Presence

Rhetoric doesn't, however, always direct our attention *towards* an object. Sometimes, it distracts us from what the rhetor does not want us to see. "Any set of terms used to describe an object, event, or person," Herrick asserts, "simultaneously directs

attention *toward* some factors and *away from* others” (225). This conscientious selection of facts is important in any theory of rhetoric; in the French work, *Traité de l'argumentation—la nouvelle rhétorique*, philosophers Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca coin the term *presence* to refer to the act of a rhetor’s inclusion or exclusion of facts. Herrick examines the English translation of this work, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, and contends that “the immediate goal of argumentation, according to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, is to make certain facts present to an audience. Establishing presence involves the choice to emphasize certain facts over others, thus encouraging an audience to attend to them” (Herrick 204). Once a rhetor calls attention to a particular fact, that piece of information then becomes salient to the audience.

No rhetorical analysis is complete, the authors claim, without taking into account which information is included. “By the very fact of selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience, their importance and pertinency to the discussion are implied. Indeed, such a choice endows these elements with a *presence*, which is an essential factor in argumentation and one that is far too much neglected in rationalistic conceptions of reasoning” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 116). Whether this selection is deliberate or inadvertent, both the information presented and that which is omitted are vital for a thorough rhetorical study.

Indeed, the facts that are left unstated can be as important to the rhetor’s argument as those that are included. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca explain this notion through their example of the press, which, according to the philosophers, “has made us accustomed to this selection of the facts either for the purposes of explicit argument or

for those of argument which it is hoped the reader will carry out himself” (116). The material that is omitted, then, is just as important for the rhetorical analyst as that which is present.

While Perelman’s and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s philosophies are important for the study of discursive rhetoric, their notions of presence are more marked in an analysis of material rhetoric; while a speaker’s presence is a significant part of his or her presentation, an object’s presence is imperative in a material argument. The presence of an object usually denotes some kind of preparation or forethought. In the world of art, for example, the sculptor, painter, photographer, potter, etc, must make a conscious decision about what materials to use, what shape the object will take, and what impression he or she wishes to make before the piece is even begun. Conversely, while classical rhetoricians emphasized invention, modern speakers usually highlight the presentation itself, rather than its preparation. In a political debate, for example, the candidates must answer questions extemporaneously, leaving little or no room for forethought, and great honor is given to those individuals who can “think on their feet.” Along with the forethought associated with material objects, material rhetoric insinuates a lasting physical presence. A visual artist must consider the object’s tendency toward longevity, because the piece will likely be on display for an extended amount of time. Speeches do not usually possess this aspect of longevity; even if they are written down or recorded, it is not the actual speech that we encounter—it is a representation of that speech. In short, because the rhetor’s decision concerning presence is more marked in material rhetoric than it is in linguistic rhetoric, it is crucial that we address presence in our analyses of material objects.

Lawrence J. Prelli shows us that the notion of presence is quite easily applied to rhetorical studies of objects, as he succinctly describes the use of rhetoric to gloss over unflattering details of a visual (usually material) object. “Rhetorical studies of display are distinguishable from other studies in that they presuppose in their theoretical and critical practices the classical idea that to display is to ‘show forth’ or ‘make known,’ which, in turn, implies its opposite—to conceal” (11). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca assert that in choosing words to present to an audience, a speaker naturally omits other material; Prelli, furthermore, suggests that any object a rhetor chooses to display necessarily excludes all other options.

Civic Religion

Even though a rhetor may intentionally choose to include or omit facts or materials, Blair tells us that rhetoric doesn’t always do what its creator intends. “If rhetoric’s materiality is not a function of its symbolic constructions of meaning, then we must ask not just what a text means but, more generally, what it does; and we must not understand what it does as adhering strictly to what it was supposed to do” (23). Indeed, here we must recognize that a rhetorical object may have multiple persuasive functions that its creators did not take into account (or, at least, did not specifically intend). For example, a group may usurp the original rhetorical significance of an object in order to persuade its members.

Under this principle, a group may ascribe religious significance to a material object, regardless of whether its creator intended this outcome, in order to persuade its members. If a certain object—no matter how mundane—is instilled with enough

reverence, and the object acquires the ability to sway a group of people's way of thinking, it has the capability of reaching religious importance for those onlookers. This concept is what S. Michael Halloran and Gregory Clark call "civic religion." In their piece, "National Park Landscapes and the Rhetorical Display of Civic Religion," the authors discuss items that achieve religious importance,

objects [that] are held up to public view by rhetorics that transform seemingly mundane things into the sacred objects of a "religion" whose purpose is to unite us as a 'congregation' of citizens—in short, a civic religion. A shapeless lump of metal is placed behind glass and becomes a musket ball that wounded a patriot soldier....Like an experience of the religious sacred, the contact transforms and gives new meaning to ordinary reality. (148)

Seemingly mundane objects are infused with meaning, causing them to hold religious weight for the onlooker. The rhetor gives this religious aspect presence, either verbally or materially, thereby propagating the notion of the object as religious. The viewer then fashions him or her self to correspond with the ideologies the object represents, further propagating the religious quality of the object.

Theoretical Context for the Study

Using Burkean theory, we can assert that Americans and Japanese have experienced separation or alienation because of the conflicts in World War II, and especially the nuclear bomb. Although the war itself would have caused a great deal of alienation, the introduction of nuclear warfare, and the controversies surrounding it, have

accentuated that division. Indeed, Colonel Ralph J. Capio, reflecting upon the fiftieth anniversary of the blasts, states, “I believe it is entirely appropriate for us to consider these truly difficult—even painful—questions. At the same time, we must keep in mind that this matter—like other complex issues—is subject to different interpretations” (n.p.). These differing interpretations of the Manhattan Project and its chief product, the atomic bomb, can cause alienation between individuals. There are three primary schools of thought concerning the outcome of the Manhattan Project and the meaning of the Friendship Bell: Americans who feel separated from the Japanese because of the conflict and, therefore, wish to portray the American/Japanese events through the lens of current peace; Americans who want to be reunited with other Americans and want others to support the notion of American technological superiority; and Japanese who yearn for others to hear their side of the story. It is important to recognize here that these three philosophies are not embodied in any particular group or sector of the community; they are simply ideas that are subject to change, held by individuals. For example, an individual may change from one philosophy to another, or hold two positions simultaneously. While this dispersion makes it difficult for us to pinpoint particular groups holding these philosophies, the fact that they exist is clear.

Burke’s theory of alienation can take many different forms, but its essence lies in the “ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another” (Burke 22). What better example of individuals at odds with one another, Burke asks, than that of warfare? “[I]n the end,” he contends, “men are brought to that most tragically ironic of all divisions, or conflicts, wherein millions of cooperative acts go into the preparation for one single destructive act.

We refer to that ultimate *disease* of cooperation: *war*” (22). The Manhattan Project is a clear illustration of this theory: thousands of American (and British) engineers and scientists worked toward the same goal: the creation of the nuclear bomb. That technology was then unleashed upon Japanese cities in the form of two horrifically destructive acts.

In the same manner, individuals who ascribe to several contemporary schools of thought are working toward the same goal—to destroy the ideologies presented by those opposing their ideologies. Adherents to particular positions can use the International Friendship Bell as a material, rhetorical means of building identification with others, thus winning people to their respective sides. The International Friendship Bell is completely saturated with the rhetoric of World War II; as a memorial to the nuclear weapon and its adjacent controversies, the bell serves as a permanent physical reminder of the alienation between the Americans and the Japanese, as well as the discord among American citizens.

This alienation finds its origins in disagreement of philosophies concerning World War II proceedings, specifically, the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Lyons explains that “The question of whether it was necessary to use the atomic bomb to force Japan’s surrender has remained probably the most controversial issue of World War II” (327). Even before the bombs were released, many Americans had vastly varying opinions as to the morality of such an act. We now regard the atomic weapon with more controversy than we did over six decades ago, when the bombs first fell on Japan; though the initial aftermath of the explosions was horrific, the great nuclear debate has gained increasing importance because of emergent cultural emphasis on questioning traditions

and actions of the past (and because our nuclear weapons are now hundreds of times more powerful and thousands of times more numerous). Although the bomb initially annihilated the conflict of the war, its moral controversies are still extant. In short, the bomb has served, in many ways, as a source of alienation between schools of thought.

Despite the remarkable controversy between these three positions, they possess one similar ideology: that the only solution for this problem of separation, as Burke insists, is rhetoric. Supporters of each position feel that rhetorical discourse can persuade proponents of other philosophies to see their particular view, and that such persuasion will heal the wounds caused by the conflicts and controversies of the war. Adherents to each stance also use material objects (flags, memorials, photographs, spokespeople) in an attempt to persuade others of their respective views. Most importantly for us in this study, however, is the fact that each position uses the rhetoric physically manifest in the International Friendship Bell. Supporters of each ideology lay claim to the bell and use the object to further their ideas.

One way in which individuals promoting these schools of thought attempt to persuade others to agree with them is through Perelman's notion of presence. Adherents to each particular viewpoint use this physical object to direct our attention away from certain aspects of the war that would undermine their philosophy. These adherents then emphasize, in turn, the ideas that would support their school of thought, especially the commonalities between that position and the other ideologies with which they are striving to identify.

The marriage of these theories of identification and presence makes up the motives of each of the three philosophies. The overt message of the bell comes from the

American party that is trying to identify with the Japanese and gloss over the notion that the United States wronged Japan. Supporters of this philosophy, including R. Boyd Carter and Alvin Weinberg, who we will discuss in chapter two, insist that Americans are just like the Japanese, and, though conflict may have arisen, we are friends with them. Another school of thought contains an attempt by U.S. adherents to identify with other Americans, claiming America's technological superiority, diminishing or omitting a sense of sorrow over the act of bombing. Still another party, consisting of Japanese supporters, is trying to identify with American sympathizers, saying "we're just like you, and you destroyed us." These individuals leave out the events at Pearl Harbor and other Japanese attacks during the war that might bring some level of guilt upon the group.

Interwoven throughout these ideas is the notion of the Friendship Bell's rhetorical significance. Each position takes the bell as an icon for its own agenda and attaches a religious importance to it. The first philosophy, generally promoted by political figures, overtly emphasizes a utopian notion of camaraderie. Peace, friendship, and mutual regard between the two countries are the important factors. Natural and peaceful imagery is displayed in the Friendship Bell, and notions of warfare are omitted or ignored. Some individuals holding to this position assert that the notion of the bomb has attained the significance of a religious taboo, and that the bell is a representation of that taboo. The lasting nature of the bell, then, will warn its viewers for centuries to come about the dangers of using nuclear weapons. Past sins are suppressed or overlooked and hope for the future is paramount.

Another school of thought has developed because of a religious reverence for scientific endeavors; this philosophy sees the Friendship Bell as an icon for the power

and superiority of science (science being manifest in the form of the atomic bomb). We see the awe with which scientists viewed testing and release of the bomb, as well as the reverence we still hold for scientific endeavors, as a type of worship to science. Under this ideology, the bomb—and its visual memorial, the Friendship Bell—gain religious importance for the viewer.

Followers of still another philosophy, comprised of Japanese supporters such as Takahashi Akihiro and Sankichi Toge, whose descriptions of the Hiroshima bombing we will read in chapter two, draw upon the Buddhist design of the bell to promote the view of the bell as an admission of U.S. guilt; the bell, to this group, is Oak Ridge's attempt to atone for the sins committed in the name of political power by way of science, viewing American technological advancement as evil.

We can apply the respective theories of Burke, Perelman and Olbechts-Tyteca, and Clark to the object of the International Friendship Bell. The bell is a rhetorical object that was built to remedy widespread alienation caused by the nuclear bomb. Individuals who hold to one of the three main positions (or a combination thereof) have the ability to use this material object as a rhetorical tool to foster identification with others. In addition, each stance chooses carefully which aspects of the bell to emphasize, giving presence to the ideas that support its argument. Furthermore, each group chooses to give religious significance to the object, thereby emphasizing its importance. In the next chapter, we will investigate the specific ways in which each group emphasizes certain physical characteristics of the Friendship Bell in order to identify with proponents of other ideologies. In its selection of certain attributes, however, each party necessarily neglects

others. This careful selection of facts—and the diminishing or omission of others—can tell us a great deal about each philosophy and its views of nuclear warfare.

CHAPTER TWO: APPLICATION OF THEORY

Eleven years ago last April, World War II veteran Robert Brooks filed a lawsuit against the city of Oak Ridge, declaring that the International Friendship Bell is a violation of the First Amendment clause in the U.S. Constitution, which forbids any government from giving preference to any particular religion. Brooks contended that since the bell is shaped like those used in Buddhist ceremony, the city of Oak Ridge was promoting Buddhist ideologies through its presence on city property. Don Jacobs, a staff writer for the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, relays how Brooks' case escalated from local to national standing through his recurrent appeals.

Unsatisfied with rulings from two federal courts, an Oak Ridge man now wants the U.S. Supreme Court to hear his contention that the International Friendship Bell is an unconstitutional religious symbol. Already a federal judge in Knoxville and the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati have rejected Robert Brooks' argument that the bell is a Buddhist symbol and violates the First Amendment guarantee of separation of church and state. (Jacobs n.p.)

While Brooks' argument could not withstand judicial scrutiny, the notion of the Friendship Bell as a religious object is plausible, but not in the Buddhist tradition to which Brooks refers. Indeed, the bell does not promote theistic ideologies at all; it subverts traditional religious notions while replacing them with something akin to a civic religion. This notion of a civic, rather than a theistic, religion is central to Clark's theory in *Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*. In this

work, Clark reveals that when individuals share a particularly picturesque scene with fellow humans, they develop a reverence for that scene. Thomas Cole, Clark tells us, describes such a reverence in his “Lecture for American Scenery.”

For Cole, [Clark relays], the experience of “delight” afforded by this nation’s picturesque scenes “is not merely sensual” nor is it temporary. Rather, it is essentially civic: “in gazing on the pure creations of the Almighty,” the observer “*feels a calm, religious tone steal through his mind* (emphasis added), and when he has turned to mingle with his fellow-men, the chords which have been struck in that sweet communion cease not to vibrate.” (37)

This “calm religious tone” occurs not because of the object or scene itself, but because of the significance one’s fellow humans place upon the sight. As Halloran and Clark tell us in chapter one, “A shapeless lump of metal is placed behind glass and becomes a musket ball that wounded a patriot soldier” (148). That “shapeless lump of metal” has no importance whatsoever until a group or individual bestows upon it the idea of significance. Once such meaning is attributed to the object, however, that significance may reach religious proportions. When an object is given religious importnace, moreover, that significance is usually proclaimed or presented to an audience. No one would know the newfound significance of the “shapeless lump of metal” unless someone (for our purposes, the rhetor) stated the fact that it is really a “musket ball that wounded a patriot soldier.” By making this fact present to his or her audience, the rhetor enables them to identify with either the rhetor (who appreciates the lump of metal as a historical artifact) or the object (which serves as a material object of rhetoric for the viewer).

Using the rhetorical theory delineated by Burke, Perelman, and Olbechts-Tyteca, we can observe how adherents to the three primary philosophies mentioned in chapter one have given the bell great importance, thereby lending religious significance to the object. The bell, in turn, takes on rhetorical characteristics delineated by Burke, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Clark, clearly illustrating their theories in a material context. Before we investigate how this object embodies Burke's, Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's ideologies through the lens of Clark's civic religion, however, it is important to discover more about the three positions that use the Friendship Bell as a means of persuasion.

Description of Views

American-Japanese Friendship

It is safe to say that many Americans are attempting to ignore the conflict created by World War II. These individuals gloss over the notion (whether or not they adhere to it) that the United States has wronged the Japanese people and has placed too much faith in the power that comes from technological superiority. Unsavory details of the war are omitted, and profound emphasis is placed on the ongoing friendship between America and Japan.

This is the philosophy that is most strongly represented by the bell: the one claiming peace and international friendship. The chief proponents of this view are governmental officials and other political entities. For example, an invitation to the bell's 1996 dedication ceremony, written by Oak Ridge Community Foundation Chairman R. Boyd Carter, stated "We invite you to join us for this historic occasion and share in the

joy of completing a project that commemorates Oak Ridge's monumental role in ending World War II and expresses hope for everlasting peace, friendship and understanding among all people of the world" (qtd. in Fowler AC1). Carter emphasizes the concept of peace while downplaying the role that Americans played in building the atomic weapon and even the war as a whole. The one-time Oak Ridge city motto, furthermore, illustrates the use of presence and identification: "Born of war, living for peace, growing through science" intimates overwhelming serenity and unprecedented growth for the city and its inhabitants. The city officials responsible for creating this motto, then, emphasize notions of tranquil prosperity, while deemphasizing ideas of international conflict. This selective accentuation of ideas illustrates the concept of presence as delineated by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca; by stressing certain aspects of the city, its officials make those notions present to the viewer. The glossing over of international conflict, then, makes that idea absent to the viewer. The notion of presence in the objects found in Oak Ridge is not so much a historical occurrence, moreover, as it is an ideology present in individuals' comments concerning the bell and in the bell's physical properties. It takes physical or verbal reminders to make certain facts present to an audience; by its mere existence, the bell becomes present in the Oak Ridge community, and by talking about the bell and what it means, people give the idea of the bell presence.

This emphasis on what the bell means, moreover, is not simply for the sake of creating presence; rhetors who emphasize certain attributes of the bell are doing so to promote identification with those who will view the physical object of the bell. If the audience member is able to identify with the rhetor or the object, furthermore, he or she will be more apt to agree with notions of peace and tranquility delineated by the bell's

presence in the community. In an effort to identify with others, adherents to this philosophy of peace between nations do not deny the destructive power of the bomb—rather, they make this destructiveness present, but claim that because it is present, it will result in ultimate peace.

This emphasis of peace and tranquility, surprisingly, carries over to notions of the bomb itself; even though it was introduced in a horrifically violent fashion—in Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the atomic weapon, according to proponents, has made the world a more peaceful place. Weinberg insists that the loss of lives in Japan developed a worldwide fear of future detonation, resulting in a more diplomatic world culture. Following Clark, it may be that this peace has come about because we have instilled the whole scene with a religious taboo of the nuclear weapon. As Weinberg tells us in his guest lecture at the University of Tennessee,

I would argue that, had the bomb not been dropped on Hiroshima, but had we only had a test demonstration, that we would not have been able to invest a test demonstration with the kind of religious significance—and, therefore, with the kind of taboo that I think is necessary—as has resulted from the sacrifice of a hundred thousand people at Hiroshima....

Hiroshima was the right thing to do, not so much because it saved lives, but rather because it was the only way to invest this whole miserable bomb business with the kind of religious taboo that's going to be necessary in order to prevent the bombs from going off [in the future].

(Manhattan Project n.p.)

Note the word *sacrifice* in Weinberg's quote—the possibility of the lasting peace we may have from a nuclear attack was worth the sacrifice of the Japanese people. Because of the unleashing of the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Weinberg tells us, and because all nations saw the horrific effects of nuclear weaponry, world leaders will be much more cautious in utilizing this technology than they would have been, had no people died. We find, then, that Weinberg promotes a kind of civic religion in which a “few” must be sacrificed to save the multitudes.

Indeed, Weinberg demonstrates, a simple public test of the bomb would not have been as effective in deterring future use of the bomb as the tragedy in Japan.

After the Hiroshima bombing my original doubts practically vanished....I have come to realize that a demonstration in which no one was killed simply would not have had the extraordinary social and political impact that the use of the bomb on humans achieved. Hiroshima will stand for all time as a terrifying symbol that man now has the capacity to destroy himself! (“The Bell and the Bomb” n.p.)

Hiroshima, Weinberg explains, is an event that stands for the secular world much like the Holocaust does for the Jewish culture, and the crucifixion does for the Christian tradition; it serves as the cataclysmic event that simultaneously depicts man's evil nature and his potential redemption. By taking the lives of so many individuals, he asserts, the destructive power of the bomb was demonstrated in a way that never would have occurred, had no lives been lost. While serving as a destroyer, the bomb simultaneously operated as the Allies' savior from World War II; though it annihilated two cities in a horrific manner, it ultimately ended the war.

American Scientific Advancement

A second school of thought concerning the bomb's rhetorical meaning consists of support for the American decision to bomb the Japanese. This philosophy, like the first position, claims that the United States, for diverse reasons, was justified in its creation and use of the atomic weapon. Adherents to this stance feel that Americans should celebrate the technological "superiority" of American scientists. Furthermore, they feel alienated from those who do not support the decisions made in World War II, and are attempting to win over those who do not agree with the nuclear bombing of Japan.

Proponents of this philosophy view the bomb's creation as a demonstration of America's technological power, and make this notion of scientific advancement present (using Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's term) through various statements of America's technological superiority. One such supporter, General Leslie R. Groves, Director of the whole affair, was quite cognizant of the scientific power contained in the Project:

the Manhattan Engineer District was the apotheosis of modernity and its unspoken ends: progress, practicality, efficiency, the production of things by which, then, power might be accumulated and held. Groves didn't just see this landscape of cities and factories as a goal in itself. It was also the means to further progress, to "vistas of a new world." (qtd. in Hales 362)

There was no product of the Manhattan Project, moreover, that exemplified these "vistas of a new world" like the atomic weapon. Even before the devastating bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the bomb's capacity for destruction stunned its creators. Hughes describes the 1945 Alamogordo, New Mexico "Trinity" test of the bomb, which occurred twenty days before Hiroshima and twenty-three before Nagasaki. Though he

was not present at the site, his sense of awe and wonder reflects the emotions of scientists as they viewed the scene. “At 05.30 on 16 July, the device was exploded. The sky lit up with a dazzling flash of white light. A cloud began to rise from the purple-red fireball of the explosion, assuming the form first of a raspberry then of a goblet or mushroom. The sky glowed orange in the new dawn of a nuclear age” (Hughes 90). The scientists’ response to the Trinity test is telling of the bomb’s significance; they saw the test as the dawning of a new age of scientific power and technological advancement. Following Clark’s ideas concerning civic religion, the scientists (and others who were enamored with the bomb) gave a religious significance to this object of destruction.

J. Robert Oppenheimer, the chief contributor to the research that developed the bomb, says that onlookers at the test site gazed upon the scene, awestruck with the knowledge of their own technological power. With the creation of the atomic bomb, it seems, came a new level of destructive power and, as mentioned in chapter one, a religious weight for science.

We knew the world would not be the same. A few people laughed, a few people cried, most people were silent. I remembered the line from the Hindu scripture, the Bhagavad-Gita. Vishnu is trying to persuade the Prince that he should do his duty and to impress him takes on his multi-armed form and says, “Now, I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.”

I suppose we all thought that one way or another. (Oppenheimer n.p.)

Oppenheimer’s statement reflects the unmitigated power of the bomb; death, the unstoppable force in each of our lives, possesses absolute control. Similarly, once the power of science became manifest in the atomic bomb, the possessor of the bomb

achieved the power of death. During the Manhattan Project era, scientists' reverence for the astonishing power of their handiwork revealed their confidence in the Allies'—and, specifically, American—scientific endeavors. Science, then, becomes the savior of the modern world because it was the science of the Manhattan Project—more specifically, the bomb that science produced—that ended World War II and continues to keep relative peace throughout the world.

Science has, indeed, become an integral part of American society, a development that began with the rise of Big Science during the era of the Manhattan Project. This second philosophy gives the nuclear bomb—a direct result of scientific inquiry—an overtly religious significance; the awe with which even the casual observer takes in the phrase “nuclear bomb” attests to the overwhelming religiosity of the object.⁵ Because of the bomb's history of destruction, we have attached a reverence to it that otherwise would not have been present. Likewise, we affix religious importance to the International Friendship Bell, because the bell serves as a memorial to those bombings. The rhetorical purpose, then, is to indoctrinate the bell's viewers with notions of American—and, especially, Oak Ridge's—superiority in the realms of technology and world power, and the importance of scientific endeavors in American culture.

Japanese Victimage

Finally, the Japanese and their supporters have also experienced alienation; they wish for everyone to understand the Japanese view of the bombings. This group regards

⁵ While both the first and second philosophies attach religious significance to the bomb because of its immense destructive power, their reasons for doing so differ; while the first school insists that the bomb's horrific destruction resulted in peace, the second position claims that its outcome was increased power for the Allied forces.

wartime Americans as cold and unfeeling, and asserts that the Japanese nation was treated as sub-human. This philosophy claims separation from Americans who support World War II efforts and attempts to persuade Americans that the decisions made during the war were neither wise nor good.

The scene we discover beyond American conceptions of the bomb has an entirely different landscape. “Countering the [Manhattan Engineer] District picture of the atomic age as one of global security, orderly and efficient technological progress, and even a new atomic aesthetic,” Hales tells us,

there lay after August 6, 1945, a terrifying alternative—an image of the dead at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, sprawled randomly about a flattened plain of destroyed city, and the near-dead and soon-to-die, winding their way in irregular file out of that plain, seeking help from the inexorable progress of that atomic plague. (355)

Set alongside the unwavering image of the American nation as prospering, conquering heroes is the disjunctive scene of horribly mutilated Japanese victims. This scene is representative of a civic religion like the one Clark relays because it is the landscape—along with the people in it—that provides us with a sense of dread and horror that reaches religious proportions. We see this landscape then invest it with a religious importance because of its weighty terribleness.

The clearest illustration we have of the event from the Japanese perspective is from eyewitnesses, individuals who survived the horror and have devoted their lives to educating others about their experiences. Takahashi Akihiro was fourteen years old when the bomb struck Hiroshima. He relays his experience in graphic detail.

I felt the city of Hiroshima had disappeared all of a sudden. Then I looked at myself and found my clothes had turned to rags due to the heat. I was probably burned at the back of the head, on my back, on both arms and both legs. My skin was peeling and hanging like this....I saw a man whose skin was completely peeled off the upper half of his body and a woman whose eye balls were sticking out. Her whole [body] was bleeding. A mother and her baby were lying with [their] skin completely peeled off. (Akihiro n.p.)

We find additional, equally disturbing examples of how the Japanese view the atomic bomb in the artistic representations of the event. One survivor, the famous Japanese poet Sankichi Toge, wrote verses to elucidate horror of the event. In “August 6th,” perhaps his most famous piece, Toge explicitly describes “Heaps of schoolgirls lying in refuse/ Pot-bellied, one-eyed/ With their skin peeled off, bald” (lines 22-24). Another outpouring of art is embodied in the animation film, *Barefoot Gen*. This full-length Japanese film (and its accompanying sequel) graphically displays the atrocities of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings through the eyes of a schoolboy. The two films trace Gen’s story from his happy farm life before the bombing to his time in a Japanese orphanage, but the critical moment of the series is right after the bomb has struck. The victims’ anguish is graphically, dramatically displayed on screen, and we are presented with ghastly images of the dead and dying that are as unequivocally distressing as the accounts above.

These Japanese descriptions of the atomic bomb clearly illustrate the notion of presence that Perelman’s and Olbrechts-Tyteca relay. By invoking these shocking images of devastation, the Japanese rhetors are making those descriptions present for the reader

or viewer. When choosing to portray these images of victimage and ruin, however, the Japanese necessarily avoid statements of their potential guilt in the situation, such as the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor that began the American involvement in the war. By the same token, many Americans have overlooked the victimage of Japan and focus only on the nation's culpability in the matter. Indeed, Hales tells us that even in the 1940s, "The District responded quickly to prevent that second image [of disaster] from dominating American and international consciousness. One strategy was suppression—of stories, through censorship, and of images like those made by the survivors, which remained uncirculated for years" (355). The United States government, by presenting the image of American victory and success to its citizens, simultaneously avoided discussing scenes of tragedy, such as the ones depicted above. We can see from these examples that the three positions discussed have vastly differing—and, at times, contradictory—views of the Manhattan Engineer District and its chief product, the atomic weapon. While one philosophy plays down the bomb's significance and emphasizes friendship, another celebrates the destructive power of the bomb; while still another stance sees the bomb (and its creators) as inherently evil, another praises the scientists for their pursuit of discovery.

Interestingly, a portion of each ideology is displayed in the object of the Friendship Bell, through the bell's surroundings, architecture, and etchings. Each point of view, in turn, has the opportunity to claim the bell for its particular cause, using the characteristics present in the material object to, in Burkean terms, identify with others. This identification occurs when individuals adhering to a certain philosophy take a particular aspect of the bell to which others can relate. This aspect can be as simple as its

architecture or surroundings, or as detailed as the bell's etchings. Whatever the case, that particular part of the bell can cause individuals to identify with one another, thereby reducing or eliminating alienation.

While identifying with others by emphasizing similarities with others, however, proponents of each position must ignore information that might assert a contradictory meaning—or, more specifically, that may show differences between individuals. Using Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's terminology, while making certain ideas present, each point of view must simultaneously overlook other ideas. We find key examples of this theory of presence in the three positions concerning the bell. Each philosophy emphasizes particular aspects of World War II, the Manhattan Project, and the Friendship Bell, while underplaying other characteristics of those texts.

Americans who assert mutual friendship make present the notion of common peace between America and Japan. Notions of tranquility are emphasized, and the bomb is viewed as a surprisingly peaceful object. As Weinberg claims, the very item that brought unspeakable violence to Hiroshima and Nagasaki is the same object that keeps peace throughout the world. This notion of a peaceful bomb comes about because of the horrors witnessed in Japan; had a simple test bomb been detonated, the effect would not have been as impressive as the annihilation of two entire cities. In this assertion, proponents of this position make present the peaceful nature of the bomb, but fail to mention the costs of nuclear war, namely the lives lost in Japan and the ongoing nuclear disarmament debate.

Americans who emphasize the role of science in the Manhattan Project also illustrate the idea of presence, however; proponents of this position bring to light the

stellar technological achievement of the nuclear bomb. By emphasizing the work of scientists during the war, individuals possessing this view make technical accomplishments—and the power that those achievements bring—present to the viewer. Like the first school of thought, however, this philosophy glosses over the individuals who suffered because of scientific achievement, as well as the fact that science cannot be the universal solution.

Finally, supporters of the Japanese view present a picture of Japanese victimization in the face of the bombings. Americans are portrayed as evil soulless overlords and great emphasis is placed upon the notion of the Japanese as helpless, innocent victims. While the aftermath of the bombings was horrific, this ideology tends to overlook the wrongs the Japanese military committed, including the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the country's ties to the Axis powers.

Individuals who visit the International Friendship Bell can readily find these notions of presence and identification in the physical object. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, we will examine the ways in which the physical characteristics of the bell can be utilized to support a particular ideology. It should be noted that while friendship and peace are the overt assumptions we are supposed to take away from the scene, two additional ideologies are at work: that of America as the technologically superior victors over an evil regime, and that of Japan as victim and the United States as the guilty party.

Description of the Bell

Surroundings

The first aspects we perceive when encountering the bell are its surroundings. The International Friendship Bell is housed in a pagoda-like pavilion that is a subtle architectural mélange of American and Japanese influences (Fig. 1). Picturesquely situated behind a lovely stream, the pagoda has a rustic bridge leading up to it and a sidewalk for easy traveling. A parking area is located behind the structure, allowing physically disabled individuals to approach the bell with ease. The area proves to be delightful for a picnic, and nearby benches make this place ideal for respite. The vicinity is, moreover, surrounded by several large willows and an extensive grassy area; the whole environment reminds us of a peaceful countryside escape, as the pagoda overlooks the city's primary scenic location, Alvin K. Bissell park.

A front view of the bell, however, reminds us that the bell is firmly planted in the midst of a technologically conversant locale. When viewing the bell head-on, we easily distinguish a colossal brick-and-glass structure behind the pagoda (Fig. 2). This building is the Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Education (ORISE), an educational facility managed for the U.S. Department of Energy by Oak Ridge Associated Universities. Even before examining the bell itself, then, we encounter a scene of rhetorical significance, and one that certainly possesses a duality of meaning.

When we focus on the peaceful and natural imagery of the scene, we take away a unique message: the peace and natural friendship between America and Japan. The combination of American and Japanese architecture and landscaping gives us a sense of



Figure 1. Side view of the Friendship Bell pavilion overlooking Alvin K. Bissell Park. Photo by author.



Figure 2. Front view of bell, Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Energy (ORISE) in background. Photo by author.

comradeship between the two countries; just as the two cultures are seen working together, so the two nations are portrayed as having a close connection. Additionally, the ease with which we can access the bell (via a bridge with a sidewalk or the parking lot behind the structure) speaks to the inclusive nature of the bell, telling us that friendship is available to all. When we concentrate on the front view containing the ORISE building, however, we note a peculiarly different message: one of scientific and technological superiority. A technological display in-and-of itself, this posh structure represents the foundations of scientific inquiry and houses the main educational center for science and technology in the city. Although it was established as an official Department of Energy institute in 1992, the Institute has its roots in the Manhattan Project; according to the Oak Ridge Associated Universities, the Institute has “programs dating back to 1946” (n.p).

The ORISE building seems to be peering over the shoulder of the Friendship Bell pagoda, as if to say that science, after all, is more powerful than either peace or the natural scene of the bell. Peace in modern times, this scene tells us, does not come through a reliance on the natural; it can only come through technological superiority. It is the group with the highest technological capabilities that wins a war. In the case of World War II, this particular authority is supreme: it holds the power of death.

A third, and final, meaning we can take from the scene is that of the technological image overpowering the pastoral one. Alvin K. Bissel park, we find, is the only sizeable grassy area in Oak Ridge.⁶ Just as the Japanese people feel subjugated by the technology

⁶ Although there are many trails in the Oak Ridge area, they are all heavily wooded and not grassy; the park is the only extensive green area we find in the city.

of the bomb, this small patch of nature seems to be overpowered by the large industrial buildings surrounding it.

Pagoda

As we draw closer to the bell, we notice that the entire structure is made from materials that simulate nature—the floor and lower walls of the pagoda are built of stone and slate, while the upper half is made of rough red oak timber and a tin roof. The bell itself is cast of 8,250 pounds of bronze, literally lending “weight” to the issue of friendship. No plastic and very few synthetic materials are present in the area. A series of slate steps run up the back of the pagoda and lead to the road above. American and Japanese architectural influences intermingle to form a surprisingly agreeable appearance; according to Miriam Levering, a writer for *Pacific World*, the pagoda was fashioned after “roof elements from the Shinto shrines at Ise and shapes inspired by Tennessee’s cantilevered barns” (n.p.). In addition to being architecturally blended, however, the pagoda serves as a shield: the structure grants shelter from the blistering sun in spring and summer, and from freezing rain and snow in fall and winter. Additionally, the pavilion protects the bell from the elements and provides it stability and suspension.

These natural elements lead us to the conclusion that peace and friendship are “natural” elements of Japanese-American relations. Everything about the scene initially emphasizes tranquility and induces relaxation, and we become peaceful in response to the tranquil surroundings. As a result, we, perhaps, decide that relations between the two countries have always been sedate. The bell serves an important rhetorical purpose for Oak Ridge residents and visitors, most overtly relayed through the inscription on a metal

placard on a wooden pedestal that stands just outside the pagoda (Fig. 3). The bell, according to the placard,

serve[s] as a symbol of the bonds of friendship and mutual regard that have developed between Oak Ridge and Japan over the past fifty years....Friendship made so much more meaningful because of the terrible conflict of World War II which Oak Ridge played such a significant role in ending. This bell further serves as a symbol of our mutual longing and pledge to work for freedom, well-being, justice, and peace for all the people of the world in the years to come. (Oak Ridge City Council n.p.)

The combination of the scene and placard relays a clear message: the International Friendship Bell is a symbol of peace and goodwill, benevolence and trust. Americans—especially Oak Ridge residents—and Japanese have come together in agreement and “mutual regard,” and we should integrate that notion into our respective ideologies. Furthermore, the notion that the United States is responsible for that tranquility is emphasized, due to the fact that the bell is located in Oak Ridge. By developing the nuclear warhead, America takes on the status of protector and defender; we may initially view the bell as a representative of peace and goodwill—the peace and goodwill exhibited by Oak Ridge.

The preeminence of the scientific community, however, is also present in this scene. An interesting comparison between the International Friendship Bell and the traditional Buddhist bell comes with the structure in which the bell is housed (Figs. 4-5). Note that both the Buddhist temple and Friendship Bell pagoda are six-pillar open-air structures made of wood and stone, and possessing a tin roof. These two edifices look

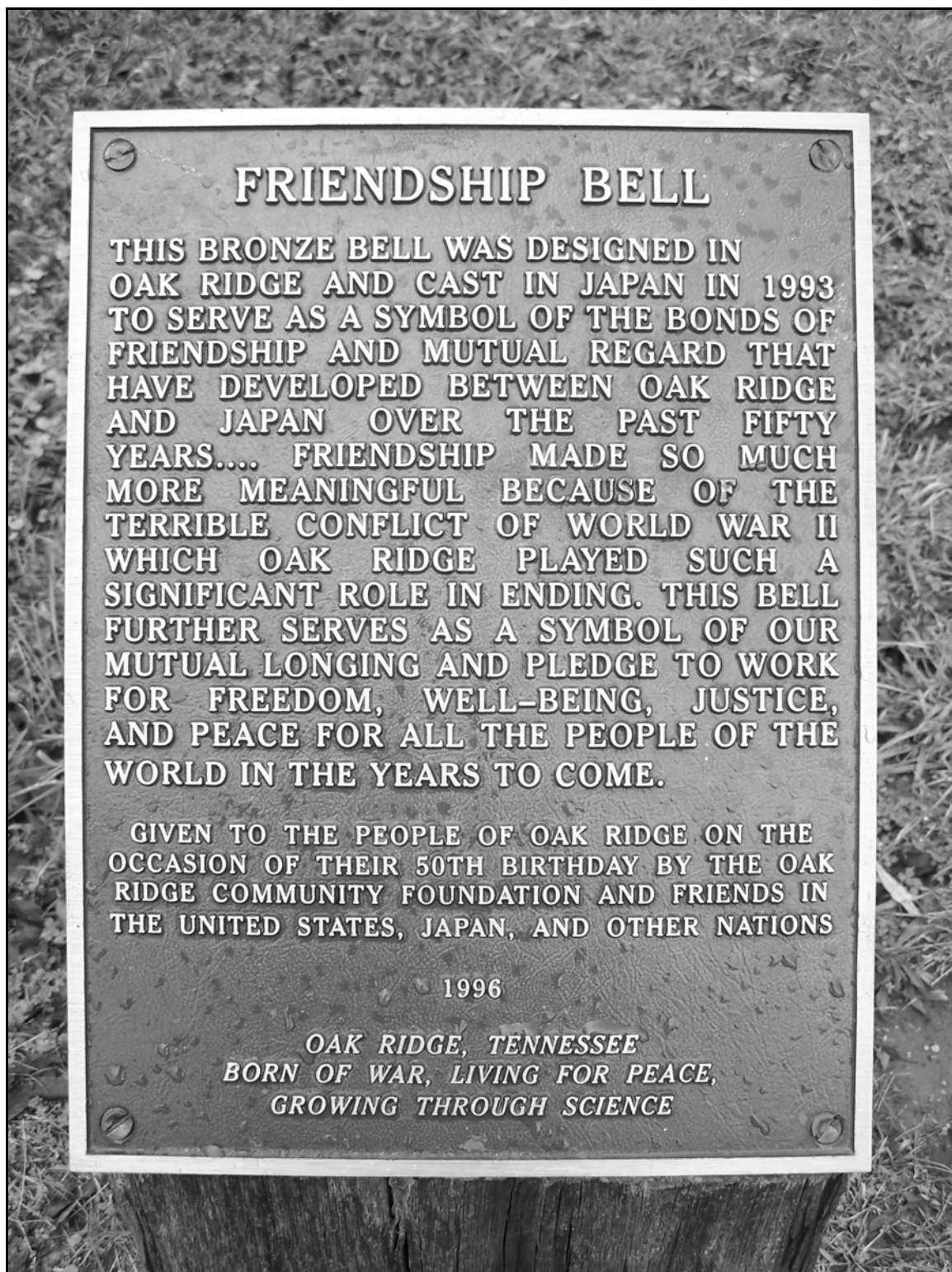


Figure 3. Metal placard on wooden pedestal outside the pavilion. Photo by author.



Figure 4. An angled view reveals Buddhist-inspired architecture. Photo by author.



Figure 5. Engakuji Buddhist Temple bell. Courtesy of *japanguide.com*.

essentially the same in structure, layout, and material. The difference, however, comes in the location of each. While the Buddhist temple is built in a wooded area and surrounded by lush vegetation, the Friendship Bell is constructed in the midst of an industrially and scientifically savvy community. It is almost as if a small piece of pastoral pre-war Japan has been deposited in the center of a scientific world, a quaint structure in the midst of an industrial and scientific community that represents the “superior” qualities of science.

Still another perspective comes about because of the American use of Japanese architecture. From the Japanese viewpoint, this imitative design is not because Americans value Japanese architectural achievement (note the more expensive, much larger ORISE building in the background of Fig. 2), but, perhaps, because America desires to sequester Japanese structural design to represent the fragility of the nation and show Japanese achievements as quaint and backward. The fact that the structure exists in Oak Ridge—the city that developed the bomb that ended the war, emphasizes the notion that it is America (specifically, Oak Ridge) that serves as the world’s guardian, while other nations (specifically, Japan), being the “weaker” entities, are in need of that security.

Visual Aspects

As we move beyond its surroundings and supportive pagoda, we notice that the structure of the bell itself is nearly identical to that of Buddhist bells, or *Bonshō*, which are used in traditional Buddhist ceremony. When we look at an image of a traditional Buddhist bell, we find many identical characteristics (Fig. 6).

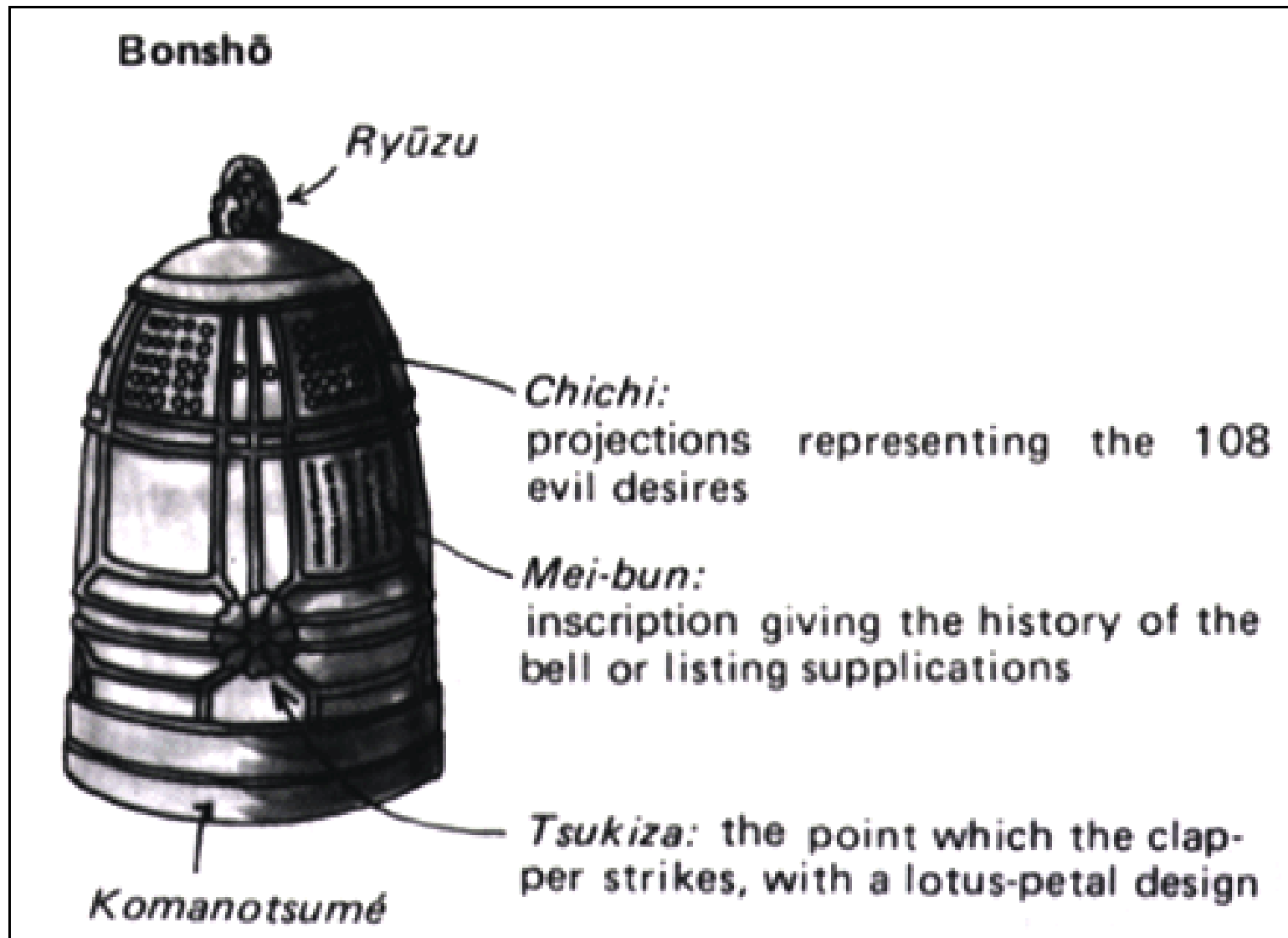


Figure 6. Japanese Buddhist bell. Courtesy of www.jnto.go.jp.

Judging by the uncanny similarity between the two, it is not surprising that the Friendship Bell was cast in Japan using traditional Buddhist ceremony.⁷ The bell's etchings further assert its Japanese attributes; it is cast with four panels (*mei-bun*), which, for Buddhists, relay the object's history or list supplications to the gods (Japan National Tourist Organization). The Friendship Bell seems to be achieving the former, as its two rear panels are inscribed with dates, the first panel containing "Pearl Harbor December 7 1941" and "VJ Day September 2 1945," and the second panel displaying "Hiroshima August 6 1945" and "Nagasaki August 9 1945." These dates represent the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (and the beginning of American participation in World War II); the dates of the two American bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and, finally, the day of American victory over Japan (V-J). Partitions between the panels at the bell's front and rear read "PEACE" and "INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP," respectively, insinuating that peace is, indeed, attainable between the two countries. Finally, the Friendship Bell has 132 knob-like protrusions, called *chi-chi*, which, in traditional Buddhist structures, represent the 108 evil desires of man (Japan National Tourist Organization).

The bell's front panels display scenery representing Tennessee and Japan, respectively. The left front panel depicts several state symbols of Tennessee: a

⁷ A traditional Buddhist bell-making ceremony includes monks who, as the temperature of the bronze becomes favorable, cast slips of paper containing prayers into the molten mix. In his deposition testimony, city councilman Ed Nephew described the ceremony that took place during the crafting of the Friendship Bell. "There was a—some kind of person, a monk, they said, in kind of an orange cape who was chanting all the time, and at certain points when they through the metal content had been suitably adjusted, they undertook some ceremonial symbolic gestures of putting in artifacts [such as manuscripts, dogwood twigs from Tennessee, and lotus blooms] into the molten metal" (qtd. In Levering n.p.).

mockingbird, irises, and a dogwood tree.⁸ In the background are a series of mountain ranges, probably the Smokies. Similarly, the right panel depicts natural Japanese landmarks, the cherry tree and the crane, with Mt. Fuji in the background. The most distinctive feature of each bas-relief, however, is the overarching rainbow with an atom at the end. The scenes and dates depicted on the bell can have numerous meanings for different individuals. Each of our three main philosophies, nonetheless, have distinct views concerning the significance of the etchings.

One meaning we can gather from the bell is that of friendship. Indeed, the notions of “Peace” and “Friendship” are, literally, etched on the object itself. Furthermore, the idea that both nations are equals is presented through the two scenic panels depicting equivalent attributes for each country. Finally, the proposal that both parties are equally guilty comes into play, as the dates on the back of the bell denote a kind of “moral tally” of affliction. If each nation is just as guilty as the other, we presume, the respective wrongs should already be forgiven and forgotten.

Another reading we find, of course, is that of America as the victor through science. It is almost as if the atomic symbol represents the traditional Irish pot of gold at the end of the rainbow; a treasure that preserves or destroys, depending upon one’s position and according to whether one is in possession of it. Like gold (and even more so) the symbol lends power to the owner or possessor. Again, the nuclear superiority of America is readily apparent, for the atomic symbol cascades over both scenes, invading all other aspects of the etching. The invasive nature of the atomic symbol over the natural

⁸ The Tennessee state tree is actually the tulip poplar, but dogwoods are more well-known in the area.

imagery seems to portray the gift of technologically superior thought descending upon Oak Ridge residents, who, in turn, used it to create a weapon that fell upon Japan.

Still another meaning we can attribute to this object is that since the pastoral scenes in each panel are similar, they tell the story of a people who destroyed another group much like their own, or, at least, who lived in comparable surroundings. This reading depicts the Japanese as innocent victims who, though similar to the Americans in geography, are virtuous people, while Americans are malicious perpetrators.

Audio Aspects

Along with the sights surrounding the bell, we encounter various sounds when entering the area. In showery weather, the pavilion's tin roof resounds with the patter of rain. If it is windy, the air whistles through the pavilion. On sunny days, we can hear birds chirping in the willow trees, and the brook provides a continual murmur. The distant rush of traffic from a principal Oak Ridge thoroughfare is also present, contrasting with (or emphasizing) the serenity of the spot. Perhaps the most important sound, however, is the bell's gong. Having a peculiarly low tone, it does not peal like traditional Western bells, but produces a low, mournful, resonating knell when struck by the pole that is suspended horizontally from the ceiling of the pavilion in lieu of a customary rope or ringer. In addition to the audio aspects, we find an interesting comparison with traditional Japanese religious bells in the occasions upon which the Buddhist bell is rung: on holidays and for the atonement of sins (Japan National Tourist Organization). Likewise, Oak Ridge residents ring the Friendship Bell on various occasions such as the anniversary of the creation of Oak Ridge, and other city, state, and national holidays.

The primary sounds surrounding the pavilion, some can claim, are those of calm and quiet. Like the imagery involving the brook, willows, and grassy area, we can draw additional notions of peace from the audio cues we receive from the scene. The bell's reverberation, then, can become a knell of friendship, symbolizing, as the plaque nearby states, "friendship and mutual regard."

A second way we can interpret the sounds surrounding the bell is that of progress and victory. The nearby rushing traffic provides background music for the bell's toll, displaying American power and innovation. The bell's sound itself, then, can be a victory knell for the American powers who developed the advanced nuclear technology that won the war—and defeated the Axis powers.

More interesting, however, is the concept of sin atonement; some individuals claim that the entire structure relays some type of guilt on the part of Oak Ridge for the Japanese bombings, and that each ring is an admission of sin: friendship must be rebuilt because it was once broken through war—and ultimately severed through the atomic bomb. Although a strict policy formerly governed the ringing of the bell, anyone can now ring it at any time, emphasizing the notion of a collective guilt.

Lasting Nature

The lasting nature of the bell is as important as—if not more crucial than—its current significance. "The Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell will probably still be rung well past the year 2945, the 1000th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings....As the bell's longevity will serve to remind future generations of the bomb's immortality, it will also remind them that the 'tradition of non-use' must last forever"

(“The Bell and the Bomb” n.p.). As long as the bell stands, it will serve as a poignant reminder of the frightening potential of nuclear destruction, persuading the viewer to harbor and encourage this policy of “non-use.”

Weinberg views the Friendship Bell as a display promoting peace, a reminder of the potential destruction man possesses in the nuclear bomb that will be extant as long as the bell remains. Furthermore, proponents of the peaceful aspects of the bell claim that it reminds us of the duration of friendship between Japan and America. Just as the bell remains indefinitely on Oak Ridge property, friendship, according to this philosophy, will continue between Americans and Japanese.

As a representative of science, however, the object speaks to the lasting nature of scientific endeavors and the American power that resulted from those efforts. While a Buddhist bell is cast in bronze to remind individuals of the eternal nature of the deity, the International Friendship Bell reminds us of the lasting reign of science and technology. Peace is attainable after such horrific events, but only through scientific achievement; because Manhattan Project scientists developed the atomic bomb, the world was able to achieve peace from World War II.

Furthermore, though the lasting nature of the bell speaks, as Weinberg tells us, of remembering the permanent and horrific effects of the nuclear bomb, it also reminds us of the duration of U.S. guilt associated with the development and use of the atomic weapon. Levering suggests that “perhaps, given Oak Ridge’s history as a secret city founded in 1942 to enrich uranium for the Hiroshima bomb, Oak Ridge itself needed a bell to help the souls of all the dead of World War II. It needed a bell to pacify the

unsettled spirits of the place so that it was safe for present residents” (n.p.). Some individuals suggest that the bell’s knell will somehow atone for the sins of the city.

The bell will outlast its pavilion, countless striker poles, the willows, and surrounding buildings. It will serve as a reminder to residents and visitors of the destructive nature of the bomb, of the power of scientific endeavors, and of the current relative peace held between the American and Japanese nations. Weinberg is right: because of its sturdy construction, the bell will continue to remind future generations of these things and, hopefully, will deter future use of the nuclear weapon.

Perhaps Robert Brooks is correct; perhaps the International Friendship Bell promotes a particular religion. If this is the case, however, the religion it promotes is not one of theism; it simply replaces religion with the notion of civic religion that Clark describes; each of the three philosophies attributes religious importance to the bell in order to achieve its goal: to promote identification with others. Regardless of how we choose to view the International Friendship Bell, however, the object and the technology it represents are here to stay. We may choose to ignore the past conflict between American and Japanese people, emphasizing the current friendship and “mutual regard”; we may resolve to see the International Friendship Bell as a symbol of American technological sovereignty, dismissing the concerns of other nations; or we may opt to view the Japanese as the victims of a terrible war crime, and simultaneously gloss over the notion of Japanese guilt in the matter. These arguments will not disappear in the near future; they will remain until the memories of the events have faded to oblivion. In the meantime, however, they will provide an excellent source for studying rhetorical theory,

specifically, as these ideas are manifest in this rhetorically rich object: the International Friendship Bell.

For the material rhetorician, then, the bell will remain a clear and lasting illustration of how material rhetoric works. The three positions described earlier in this chapter have differing opinions concerning World War II occurrences, specifically, the Manhattan Project. In order to create identification (in Burkean terms) with individuals and win them to their particular side, adherents to each position make present (in Perelman's and Olbechts-Tyteca's terms) various aspects of the bell. These aspects include the bell's visual and audio surroundings, its pagoda, the visual and audio aspects of the bell itself, and its lasting nature. Each philosophy also makes present certain facts concerning the nuclear bomb and its role in World War II that bolster its view, while simultaneously omitting other facts that may be detrimental to its argument. Finally, the bell becomes, for adherents to these respective philosophies, an object of a civic religion, as each position places a religious significance on the object of the bell. Seemingly a mere physical object in the landscape of Oak Ridge, the International Friendship Bell possesses multiple—and sometimes contradictory—rhetorical statements.

CHAPTER THREE: AREAS OF FUTURE STUDY

Other Oak Ridge Landmarks

As we saw in chapter two, we find in the Oak Ridge International Friendship Bell an illustration of the combined theories of identification, presence, and civic religion delineated in chapter one. This collective theory is not limited to the object of the bell, however; we can apply it to a plethora of other material objects, including (but certainly not limited to) those produced by Manhattan Project efforts. The Oak Ridge Rotary Club Secret City Commemorative Walk and the Oak Ridge Y-12 Electromagnetic Uranium Enrichment Plant are two such objects. These structures are not merely city landmarks; each edifice possesses several important aspects that clearly display deeply-ingrained rhetorical meanings concerning the role of the nuclear bomb in the Manhattan Project and in world culture. The mere presence of these landmarks in the Oak Ridge community makes several rhetorical statements about the city and its origins. This rhetoricism, furthermore, readily illustrates notions of identification, presence, and civic religion. In short, these two objects show us their undeniable inherent rhetoricism and the manner in which they illustrate the theories discussed in earlier chapters.

Oak Ridge Y-12 Electromagnetic Uranium Enrichment Plant

If the International Friendship Bell is a memorial to the scientific achievements of the Manhattan Engineer District, the Y-12 plant is a temple to those accomplishments. Cloistered behind enormous fences and locked gates, the plant represents an inner sanctum for the celebration of scientific endeavors. This location is where the creation of

a scientific entity, the atomic weapon, took place. Much like the locale of a religious deity's incarnation, the Y-12 plant is the site at which the ethereal concept of science took on a powerful material form. The building itself serves as a type of scientific Holy of Holies: no one may pass through the heavily-guarded gates except for authorized officials (Fig. 7). These few sanctioned individuals represent various sectors of society: politicians and governmental authorities visit the site to pay homage to the structure and the achievements it represents; guards secure the building, ensuring that no one inadvertently encounters the deadly radiation that lies within its walls. Like priests of scientific inquiry, these select individuals serve as mediators between the formidable structure and the general population, protecting the people from this gargantuan entity and, perhaps more importantly, protecting the secrets of the structure from discovery. The Y-12 plant clearly illustrates the philosophy discussed in earlier chapters that reveres American scientific achievements to the point of religious fervor.

Though its initial occupants were not aware of it (due to the secrecy of the project during World War II), from the very beginning, the plant's purpose was singular: to produce uranium suitable for use in an atomic weapon. Built in 1943 as part of the Manhattan Engineer District, the plant's main goal was "the separation of fissionable isotopes of uranium (U-235) by the electromagnetic process" (*Globalsecurity.org*). In layperson's terms, scientists used a robust magnetic pull to separate "heavy" uranium (U-238), which is not suitable for nuclear reaction, from "light" uranium (U-235), which has fissile capabilities. The U-235 would then be used to create the first destructive atomic weapon, ironically named "Little Boy." The first of its kind, the Y-12 plant reminds us of



Figure 7. Present-day heavily-guarded gate of the Y-12 plant. Courtesy of *cnn.com*.

the technological developments that took place during the war, as well as their destructive purpose.

Serving as the location at which the first nuclear bomb was produced, the Y-12 plant represents the pinnacle of scientific achievement; America won first place in a perilous race between nations to produce a weapon of unprecedented power. In being the first to create such a destructive weapon for use against the Axis powers, American scientists became the heroes of their day. After the war, according to one scientist,

Suddenly physicists were exhibited as lions at Washington tea parties, were invited to conventions of social scientists, where their opinions on society were respectfully listened to by lifelong experts in the field, attended conventions of religious orders and discoursed on theology, were asked to endorse plans for world government, and to give simplified lectures on the nucleus to Congressional committees. (qtd. in Hughes 99)

The work of scientists, in a sense, won World War II, and that victory gave science an unprecedented power in world society. The Y-12 plant is the structure in which this triumph of freedom was sought and obtained. Because of this role, it becomes a kind of Independence Hall for the scientific community; it is a landmark that represents the freeing—albeit destructive—power of technology.

The overwhelming theme of this rhetorical landmark is that of scientific superiority. Its very existence in the city that developed the nuclear weapon is telling of its significance; by playing a considerable role in the development of the technology that ended the war, the Y-12 plant epitomizes the notion of science's power. Adherents to this position that science has supreme power can use this massive edifice to, in Burke's use of

the term, identify with others. Those who agree with the philosophy claiming that science is superior will view the structure as a demonstration of science's unrivaled power, thereby identifying with others who view it similarly. The power of science, then, provides the basis for identification between individuals.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Y-12 plant (and the one that distinguishes it from the other two landmarks) is that, despite its famous history and imperious presence in the Oak Ridge community, it is virtually invisible to the common observer. Like so many deities (the most familiar of which is the biblical God), this embodiment of science is invisible to the average visitor. Although it is hidden, moreover, we still believe it is there. This dichotomy of "invisible presence" is fascinating when discussed in light of Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's ideas. Although the plant is physically "present" in the city, its primary presence comes from vague ideas of the structure or word-of-mouth. For example, a basic internet search for "Y-12 plant" produces little information about the plant itself, but leads instead to the Y-12 National Security Complex website. Similarly, a physical tour of the area leads to little success; because of a lack of signage, it is nearly impossible for the general observer to find even the entrances to the plant. Because of this concealed location, it is safe to say that few of Oak Ridge's residents have seen the Y-12 plant itself. Due to the city's emphasis on its technological achievements, however, the city's inhabitants most likely know of the plant's existence. We hear of the plant's colossal role in ending World War II through its advanced technology. We also hear of political demonstrations outside its gates, and other controversies surrounding the plant, making it present in our lives, but its physical presence is rarely, if ever, seen by the typical visitor.

Even though it is present, the Y-12 plant is not available for the vast majority of people. By making the plant present, but not accessible to the ordinary individual, the scientific community perpetuates the notion that scientific achievement is only attained by a select few. Like a religious sect into which only a few may be inducted, plant officials permit only those with high security clearance to pass beyond the chain-link fence that surrounds the structure. The plant's physical presence, while encouraging reverence for scientific inquiry, also reveals to the average individual that he or she must worship science from afar. We can view this notion of compulsory distance in one of two ways: either the visitor does not possess the necessary credentials for entrance, or he or she is in danger due to a lack of safety equipment. Either way, he or she lacks the necessary traits or aspects to view the site in person. Conversely, those who are given access to the plant are to be revered as technologically superior individuals who have been granted a special audience with this colossal structure.

To carry Perelman's and Olbechts-Tyteca's notions a bit further, the theory of presence is illustrated in what the scene conceals. As we discovered in chapter one, the authors relay that the very act of making one idea or item present necessarily rules out other ideas or items; the inclusion of some ideas—in this case, the superior power of science—necessarily excludes other notions. In discussions of the structure, special emphasis is placed on the technological achievement that occurred in the plant, and little or no weight is given to the notion of the guilt that such achievement brought; along with the incredible feat of developing nuclear devices that can—and did—destroy entire cities, we find in the structure a burden of shame for that terrible achievement. The Y-12 plant is not only the structure where scientists developed the technology that won the war; it is

also the building in which the nuclear bomb—a weapon capable of unprecedented, horrific destruction—came into being.

Like the Friendship Bell, the Y-12 plant is a material object that provides an illustration of the identification theory Burke relays, as well as Perelman's and Olbechts-Tyteca's ideas concerning presence and Clark's notion of civic religion. By making certain aspects of the plant present—namely, the success and power of science in the World War II era—proponents of the position claiming American technological superiority may use the structure of the Y-12 plant—including the notion of the plant as approachable by a select few—to identify with others who hold a comparable position. In doing so, this philosophy makes present the notion that occurrences during World War II (namely, the nuclear weapon) were for ultimate good, and avoids the concept of guilt or sin concerning the production of that technology.

Oak Ridge Rotary Club Secret City Commemorative Walk

The Secret City Commemorative Walk is located in Oak Ridge's Alvin K. Bissell Park, but on the opposite end from the International Friendship Bell. Dedicated on June 17, 2005, the scenic area with benches and concrete walkways is a memorial to, according to the placard posted outside the walk, "the thousands who founded Oak Ridge 1942-1949" (Oak Ridge Rotary Club n.p.). Planted in the center of the circular walk is an American flag, as if to say that the Oak Ridge community is representative of American culture and achievement. Surrounding the flag is the gear symbol of the Rotary Club, adorned by low-growing shrubs. Upon entering the area, we find a wooden bulletin board with a protective plexiglass cover that has printed sheets containing names of the city's

founders. These sheets direct the visitor to particular bronze name plaques mounted on four “Founders’ Walls” made of concrete and composite stone (Fig. 8). According to the memorial’s site, additional bronze plaques of “more than 50 organizations—civic clubs, societies, churches, and other groups” (“Secret City Commemorative Walk” n.p.) are also mounted on the walls. In addition to the Founders’ Walls containing names of people and organizations, the city’s primary institutions and “top-secret government plants” are celebrated through stories etched in ten bronze plaques mounted on concrete pedestals. Furthermore, key dates for the community are inscribed on historical signposts and scattered about the area (Fig. 9).

This scene carries with it an overt message concerning Oak Ridge: the Manhattan Engineer District was comprised of Americans having the same values as their fellow American citizens in other cities. Membership in various civic groups was endemic in the American culture of the 1940s, and Oak Ridge proves to be no exception. This technological Mecca possessed all the earmarks of the ideal American hometown, including schools, a post office, and civic groups. The Secret City Commemorative Walk, then, provides an interesting illustration of Burke’s identification theory and of Perelman’s and Obrechts-Tyteca’s notions of presence; in their attempt to identify with the family and community values of fellow Americans, initiators of the memorial make present the similarities between Oak Ridge and other American communities. This emphasis of similarities results in an identification with the wartime residents of Oak Ridge, thereby reiterating the notion that the city was comprised of individuals who valued their families and wanted the best for their community. In an effort to help Americans identify with the city (and, more importantly, agree with its production of



Figure 8. One of the four Founders Walls that possess names of individuals and groups. Photo by author.



Figure 9. Pedestals and historical signposts are placed along the walking path. Photo by author.

technologies like the atomic weapon), the creators make certain facts—such as the existence of a school system, and various clubs and organizations—present to the visitor. These facts help the viewer identify more readily with the city because they emphasize the similarities between Oak Ridge and other communities. If a viewer can identify with the city, furthermore, he or she is more likely to be supportive of the actions taken there, including the development of the nuclear weapon.

While creating a notion of identification with small American towns, the Secret City Commemorative Walk simultaneously garners support for Oak Ridge's technological achievements; ironically, it does this by emphasizing the primary *difference* between the Oak Ridge and other cities: technology. Along with its accentuation of community involvement, the memorial uplifts notions of technology; because the city's founders came together to create an advanced technological product, they are represented as both community-oriented and technologically superior—a city of ordinary citizens doing their extraordinary civic duty. In essence, the Walk illustrates the notion that Oak Ridge is the same as other towns (because of its civic clubs and small-town nature), but, simultaneously, that it is better than the average American town (because of its scientific superiority).

In making present the notion of Oak Ridge as the classic American hometown, however, the Commemorative Walk omits notions that may contradict this perspective. For example, the Walk's placards fail to mention that Oak Ridge was a pre-fabricated community that was not meant to last. Residents did not plan to live there indefinitely or pass their hastily-built rental houses down to their children. So, it is safe to say that the community had an air of transience about it. Another factor the Walk overlooks is the

community's goal: the production of technology to destroy the Axis powers. Even those who were not aware that they were creating an atomic weapon realized that the District's aim was to produce technology that could win the war. Interestingly, what brought this community together, resulting in cooperation and peaceful living, was the collective knowledge that each individual was playing a part in the destruction of a common enemy.

By presenting early Oak Ridge as the idyllic American community, the Commemorative Walk encourages a civic religion based upon the notion of the American Dream. Through its display of the Oak Ridge community as the ideal American town, and its rejection of facts that would prove otherwise, the Walk attempts to identify with visitors, and urges us to join this civic religion in praise of peace and prosperity, technology and advancement. We are asked to gaze upon the walls, placards, and pedestals that pepper the walk and to experience a religious admiration for this city that embodied a small-town atmosphere while simultaneously producing unprecedented technological power.

Implications for the Field of Material Rhetoric

As we travel each ever-deepening path of inquiry within the forest of rhetoric, we find that every trail of analysis leads to more footpaths. After analyzing the Friendship Bell, The Y-12 Electromagnetic Diffusion Plant, and the Commemorative Walk, we discover more questions than we do solutions for these particular rhetorical problems. These questions can include various subjects: the nature of "invisible presence" as it is illustrated in the heavily-guarded physical structure of the Y-12 plant; Alvin K. Bissell park and its two landmarks, the Friendship Bell and the Commemorative Walk, as a

single material rhetoric; or Oak Ridge as a colossal rhetorical object. Each analysis of a material object leads to additional analyses, thereby proliferating the available topics for discussion.

Because of the extensive nature of the discipline, the future of material rhetoric appears to be very promising. The combined theories presented in this thesis are certainly not the only ones applicable to material objects; the scholar of material rhetoric may apply one of the many theories of linguistic rhetoric to rhetorical objects, thereby creating a “new” theory of material rhetoric. Similarly, we can use the theories presented here to discuss various other material objects. This broadening of scope has interesting implications for the field of material rhetoric; under this theory, any rhetor may use any type of material object to persuade his or her audience of any philosophy, but with a few limitations: the rhetor must use the object to make certain facts present that support the argument, while omitting facts that undermine his or her position. He or she must also use the object in an attempt to create identification with the audience. Finally, the result must be the advent of a civic religion, through a religious fervor for the concepts the object represents.

The theories of Burke, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Clark have already contributed a great deal to the discipline of rhetoric by themselves. It can be asserted, however, that these notions, when collected into a single, comprehensive rhetorical theory, can result in a more thorough rhetorical analysis than the ideas of any one theorist alone. We can use the combined theories of identification, presence, and civic religion as scaffolding upon which to create various rhetorical analyses outside the conceptual sphere of the Manhattan Project and the geographical realm of Oak Ridge.

Works Cited

- Akihiro, Takahashi. "Testimony of Akihiro Takahashi." *Atomicarchive.com*. 2006. 1 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.atomicarchive.com/docs/hibakusha/akihiro.shtml>>.
- Barefoot Gen*. Dirs. Mamoru Shinzaki and Toshio Hirata. DVD. Geneon, 2006.
- Blair, Carole. "Contemporary U.S. Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric's Materiality." *Rhetorical Bodies*. Eds. Jack Selzer and Sharon Crowley. Madison: U. of Wisconsin P., 1999. 16-57.
- Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1950.
- Capio, Colonel Ralph J. "The Atomic Bombings of Japan: A 50-Year Retrospective." *Airpower Journal*. Summer 1995. 5 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/sum95.html>>.
- Clark, Gregory. *Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*. Columbia: U. of South Carolina P., 2004.
- Cnn.com*. *The entrance to the Y-12 facility at Oak Ridge*. Photo by Associated Press. 26 Jan. 2004. 6 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.cnn.com/2004/US/01/26/nuclear.plant.test/index.html>>.
- Fowler, Bob "City's Controversial Bell Finally Slated for Dedication." *Knoxville News-Sentinel*. 28 Apr. 1996. AC1.
- Globalsecurity.org*. 2007. 6 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/facility/y-12.htm>>.
- Hales, Peter Bacon. *Atomic Spaces: Living on the Manhattan Project*. Urbana and Chicago: U. of Illinois P., 1997.
- Halloran, S. Michael and Gregory Clark. "National Park Landscapes and the Rhetorical

- Display of Civic Religion.” *Rhetorics of Display*. Ed. Lawrence J. Prelli. Columbia: U. of South Carolina P., 2006. 141-156.
- Herrick, James A. *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2005.
- Hughes, Jeff. *The Manhattan Project: Big Science and the Atom Bomb*. New York: Columbia, 2002.
- Jacobs, Don. “Man Asks High Court to Hear OR Bell Case.” *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*. 13 Dec. 2000. A7.
- Japan National Tourist Organization. “Japanese Buddhist Temples” *jnto.go.jp*. 2006. 3 Dec. 2006 <<http://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/indepth/history/experience/e.html>>.
- Levering, Miriam. “Are Friendship Bonsho Bells Buddhist Symbols?: The Case of Oak Ridge.” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*. Fall 2003. 163-78.
- Lyons, Michael J. *World War II: A Short History*. 4th ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2004.
- “Oak Ridge.” Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture. 2002. 3 Dec. 2006 <<http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/imagegallery.php?EntryID=O001>>.
- Oak Ridge City Council. Friendship Bell Plaque. 1996.
- Oak Ridge Rotary Club. Secret City Memorial Walk Plaque. 2005.
- O’Hara, Fred. Telephone interview. 6 Mar. 2007.
- Oppenheimer, J. Robert. Video interview. *Atomicarchive.com*. 2006. 30 Nov. 2006 <<http://www.atomicarchive.com/Movies/Movie8.shtml>>.
- Oak Ridge Associated Universities. “Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Education.”

- Orau.org*. n.d. 12 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.orau.org/orise/>>.
- Perelman, Chaïm and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver. Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1969.
- Prelli, Lawrence J. "Rhetorics of Display: An Introduction." *Rhetorics of Display*. Ed Lawrence J. Prelli. Columbia: South Carolina U.P., 2006. 1-38.
- "Secret City Commemorative Walk: The Centennial Project of the Rotary Club of Oak Ridge, Tennessee." *Rotary Club of Oak Ridge*. 2005. 6 Mar. 2007 <<http://rotaryor.org/sccw/index.html>>.
- Szilard, Leo. "Petition cover letter." 4 July 1945. 5 Mar. 2007 <http://www.dannen.com/decision/45-07-04.html>>.
- Toge, Sankichi. "August 6th." *Tamilnation.org*. 15 Feb. 2007. 1 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.tamilnation.org/humanrights/hiroshima.htm>>.
- Weinberg, Alvin Martin. "Impact of Large-Scale Science on the United States." *Science*. 134.3473 (1961): 161-64.
- . "The Bell and the Bomb." *Cosmos Journal*. 1997. 5 Dec. 2006 <<http://ccweb.cosmosclub.org/web/journals/1997/index.html>>.
- . *The Manhattan Project and how Nuclear Weapons Work*. Dir. Christopher Gray. DVD. University of Tennessee VTC Productions, 1986.

Vita

Jamie Elizabeth Farley was born in Pensacola, FL on December 16, 1982. She was reared in East Tennessee from age seven and was home-educated until her high school graduation in 2001. From there, she went on to [Hiwassee College](#) in Madisonville, Tennessee, where she received an A.A. degree in English in May 2003, graduating valedictorian and *summa cum laude* as an honors program participant. Beginning in August 2003, Jamie attended [Maryville College](#), earning her B.A. in English Literature in January 2005. Jamie is currently pursuing her M.A. in English with a rhetoric and composition concentration at the [University of Tennessee](#).