THE IMPACT OF JAPANESE NATIONALISM ON THE NON-JAPANESE VICTIMS OF ATOMIC BOMBS



Hiroshima Holds The Peace Memorial Ceremony

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I. Introduction

Throughout the twentieth century, nationalism served as a powerful stimulus for territorial expansion and led many nations to war. Nationalism was the dominant ideology of the era, and its historical legacy is still palpable in various regions around the globe. The reminiscences of previous wars serve as a strong propellant for the advocates of heightened nationalism. When it comes to the countries around East Asia, contemporary nationalism and its implications are still a contentious topic. Much of the aggravation was caused by Imperial Japan around World War II (1939-1945). In Japan, the growing nationalism is palpable in many areas. The Ministry of Education and Science has been enforcing all students and teachers to stand while the "Hinomaru" (the Japanese national flag) is hoisted and to sing "Kimigayo" (the Japanese national anthem) during a school ceremony. Thousands of people have been officially suspended or warned for not complying with the new guideline. In addition, Yasukuni Shrine and the history textbook controversy have been considered to be fueling the growing nationalism in Japan. The spirits of fourteen Class-A war criminals are enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine, and many Japanese leaders have made official visits over the decades. These visits have been seen extremely negatively by Japan's former East Asian colonies and have resulted in anti-Japan demonstrations. The history textbook controversy is also a contentious topic. By omitting or not clearly explaining the historical facts, some people believe the Japanese government is trying to relieve itself from being viewed as the "aggressor" of World War II.

The ramification of such heavy emphasis on nationalism can be seen in various places. It is abundantly clear in publications, media representations, memorials, and political organizations. It is even more obvious when it comes to the victims of the atomic bombs. Hundreds of

thousands of people were affected, but most people cannot look beyond the Japanese victims. It is extremely difficult to even find any information on the non-Japanese victims. Nevertheless, research shows that many non-Japanese citizens were present during the days of the bombing, and they have suffered throughout their lifetime as a direct result of their exposure to nuclear radiation. Most of these non-Japanese citizens were forced laborers brought to Japan from Japan's colonies in East Asia. In addition, some American citizens living in Japan at the time were affected by the atomic bombs. Even though these people experienced the same atrocities of atomic bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they were being ignored by both parties (Japan and their home nation) and received no formal recognition or medical treatment until very recently. Therefore, this is a critical time to assess and review the true implications of growing nationalism on people's perception of the victims of atomic bomb, because most people cannot see beyond the Japanese victims when it comes to victims of atomic bombing.

What happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the only active deployments of nuclear weapons in the entire history of human race. Although the victim pool is mostly limited to the citizens of Japan and East Asia, it showed the world how devastating an atomic bomb can be to the humanity. In order to prevent the same tragedy from ever happening again, the global community must cooperate to limit the number of nuclear weapons. The lessons from Hiroshima and Nagasaki must be forever etched in people's memory. The peace of humanity can only be achieved when people work together, and it is a goal worth achieving.

II. Nationalism and Its Impact in Japan - Kimigayo, Hinomaru, and Yasukuni Shrine

Nationalism has been the key driving force throughout the human history. It has manifested itself through wars, politics, and social reforms. At times, it was used to unify a country, whereas it was used to start a war at other times. Such driving force can be used both ways, and it cannot be easily concluded where nationalism is positive or negative to a nation. This is what Japan is going through and trying to figure out at the moment. Ever since the end of the World War II, even the slightest sign of nationalism in Japan has been widely denounced and highly criticized. However, nationalism in Japan has been growing and its resurgence within the recent decades is troubling many neighboring nations, especially the ones that were ruled or attacked by Japan during the World War II. This is connected to the fact that Japan was the first country in Asia to awake as a military power about a century ago. With this power, Japan colonized many of its neighboring countries, and the memories from the terrifying colonization period are still palpable in those nations. This is why Japan's growing nationalism is particularly alarming to many people since it could be seen as Japan's desire to increase its military power and to develop a unilateral foreign policy. This is especially important when the power of the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) (自衛隊) has grown larger and the focus on nationalism has become stronger during the past two decades or so in Japan. This level of nationalism could have been ignored when Japan was being strongly criticized for its wrongdoings and the United States had more influence over Japan. Nevertheless, the growing nationalism in Japan is considered to be aggressive and powerful.

A. Kimigayo

Despite the persistent challenge,
Kimigayo (君が代), the school anthem, is
continuously being enforced to the students
and teachers at school ceremonies as well as
at important events. The public has many
different feelings, but hundreds of students
and teachers have been officially cautioned or



Students and faculty singing the national anthem at a graduation ceremony†

disciplined for disobeying the new provision. This dispute is widely accepted as an evidence of the resurgence of a new spirit of nationalism in Japan. The new move is viewed by many as attempts to revitalize nationalism in Japan and to challenge the restrictions imposed by America during the postwar period. According to a recent survey conducted by the Ministry of Education and Science, close to 100% schools enforced their students to sing Kimigayo during the spring graduation in 2010. Some of the teachers that had been accused of disobeying this rule decided to take their case to court. However, it is likely to cost a fortune since the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) has already decided to not support them. The outcome of the case is also opaque because the litigation is estimated to take over ten years to work its way to the High Court. Furthermore, some of these teachers have received personal threats from ultra-nationalists, and an occurrence of any violent activity is a real possibility to them.

¹ Tanaka Nobumasa, "High School Students Struggle Against National Anthem Enforcement." *Japan Focus*, July 05, 2010. Accessed November 11, 2009. http://www.japanfocus.org/-Nobumasa-Tanaka/2059

² David McNeill, "Rising Japanese Right Calls the Tune: Hoisting the Hinomaru." *Japan Focus*, July 05, 2010. Accessed November 10, 2009. http://www.old.japanfocus.org/ Davide McNeill-Rising Japanese Right Calls the Tune Hoisting the Hinomaru

[†]Norimitsu Onishi, High school students and faculty faced Japan's flag and sang the national anthem at a graduation ceremony in Tokyo in March, as required by law. http://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/16/international/asia/16tokyo.html? r=1

B. Hinomaru

The controversy which has risen due to the use of Hinomaru (日の丸) is also a sensitive topic. Still to this day, the red disk positioned in the middle of a white background is viewed as a symbol of Japanese suppression and invasion in many countries around East Asia. This is because Hinomaru resembles the Rising Sun flag, which was used during World War II.

Table 1. Various Flags of Japan†







War flag of the Imperial Japanese Army



The national flag of Japan (Hinomaru)



The standard of the Japanese emperor



Flag of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF)

Roundel of the Japan Air Self-Defense Force (JASDF)

Flag of the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF)

The Rising Sun flag epitomizes Japanese imperialism and militarism that had helped Japan rise to the war. In South Korea, the use of Rising Sun flag is still viewed negatively. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), a military commander who unified Japan, first used the flag when his army invaded Korea in 1592 and 1597. Then the same flag was used when Korea was

[†] Phil Nelson, "Japanese Military Flags". Flags of the World. Flagspot. http://flagspot.net/flags/jp%5E.html

invaded by Japan in the early 20th century and was under its rule from 1910 to 1945. Since the survivors of the colonial period are still alive, their concern for the Rising Sun flag is palpable in various places of Korea. To them, the fear of the flag was a reality since it brings horrifying memories back.

Although the Hinomaru came into wide use and replaced the Rising Sun flag as the national flag after World War II, many people in Japan continued to protest against the use of Hinomaru. From their perspective, Hinomaru had never been officially adopted by the National Diet as the nation's official flag and hence should not be used. Left-wing parties such as the Japanese Communist Party (日本共産党) and the Social Democratic Party (社会民主党) have strongly opposed to this. Fuchigami Sadao (渕上貞雄), Secretary-General of the Social Democratic Party, believed that both Hinomaru and Kimigayo symbolized Japan as the aggressor of World War II. Fuwa Tetsuzo (不破哲三), Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, even said that it was necessary to make a new anthem and a flag to better represent the modern peaceloving and democratic Japan.⁵

In the end, the left-wing parties could not stop those in the opposing parties who were pushing for the legislation, and the Act on National Flag and Anthem (国旗及び国歌に関する 法律) formally established Hinomaru as Japan's national flag in 1999 and subdued the protesters. 6 The Act on National Flag and Anthem is considered to have signaled the advent of "neo-nationalism" in Japan. Takahashi Tetsuya (高橋哲哉), professor of philosophy at the

³ Dorothy Perkins, Encyclopedia of Japan: Japanese History and Culture, from Abacus to Zori. Facts on File, 1991, p. 97.

⁴ Jinsook Joo, Eungjun Min, Han Ju Kwak. Korean Film: History, Resistance, and Democratic Imagination. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003,

p. 32.

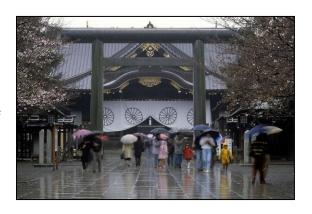
Mayumi Itoh, "Japan's Neo-Nationalism: The Role of the Hinomaru and Kimigayo Legislation," *Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper* 79. July 2001. Accessed November 27, 2010. http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp79.html

⁶ David W. Edgington, Japan at the Millennium: Joining Past and Future, UBC Press, 2003, p. 140.

University of Tokyo, believes that by making Hinomaru and Kimigayo Japan's official national flag and anthem, the lessons Japanese have learned from the defeat in World War II will be forgotten. In addition, he believes that the new law could be used as a steppingstone in amending the constitution and changing the status of Yasukuni Shrine.⁷

C. Yasukuni Shrine

The Yasukuni Shrine (靖国神社), Japan's war memorial, has also provided a flash point for clashes between Japan and East Asian nations. The shrine was first established in 1896 under the imperial command to provide a place to worship the spirits of those who gave their lives in the



Yasukuni Shrine on a rainy day†

service of Japan. Its original name was Tokyo Shokonsha (東京招魂社), and the direct translation is "a place in Tokyo where the spirits of those who died in the service of Japan were invited." The name "Yasukuni" means "a peaceful country," and it has been used since 1879. The name implies that the souls that were invited to the shrine were induced to peace. From the Meiji period to the end of the World War II, the total number of people who gave their lives in the service of Japan as recorded in the shrine is approximately 2,500,000 people. The shrine has an attached museum and its exhibitions range from samurai swords to the weapons used in the World War II.⁸ Unfortunately, the shrine that was established to provide peace has become the very reason why Japan and its neighboring countries are uneasy and contentious. Of course, the families of fallen soldiers regard the Yasukuni Shrine as the repository of the memory of their

⁸ Hiroko Kapp, Leon Kapp, and Yoshindo Yoshihara, Modern Japanese Swords and Swordsmiths: From 1868 to the Present. Kodansha International, 2002, p. 44.

⁷ Mayumi Itoh, "Japan's Neo-Nationalism: The Role of the Hinomaru and Kimigayo Legislation."

loved ones. However, the controversy lies in the fact that it also enshrines the remains, along with thousands of others who died in service to their country, of fourteen Class A war criminals from World War II who were convicted at the Tokyo Tribunal. Furthermore, the controversy received the international spotlight when Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro (中曾根康弘) visited Yasukuni in 1984. It was the first official visit by a prime minister since the inclusion of

the fourteen war criminals. He intentionally made this effort to encourage a sense of nationalism among the Japanese people, and naturally the tension between Japan and East Asian nations escalated. Although he later discontinued his visit to the shrine due to protests, it definitely set a precedent for future nationalistic prime ministers to come. For example, despite the international



Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (C) is led by a Shinto priest (R) as he visits Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine August 15, 2006 †

criticism, Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro (小泉純一郎) made a public visit to Yasukuni Shrine once each year since the composition of his first cabinet in 2001.¹⁰

⁹ Kevin Michael Doak, A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan: Placing the People. BRILL, 2007, p. 124.

¹⁰ Steven Engler and Gregory Price Grieve, Historicizing "Tradition" in the Study of Religion. Walter de Gruyter, 2005, p. 93.

[†] Frank Gualtieri, Yasukuni Shrine, Chiyoda, Tokyo, Japan. http://hassanitam.net/gambar/khatam09/chiyoda-ku-tokyo&page=3

[†] The image was taken from http://www2.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-08/15/content 664803 2.htm

III. Nationalism and Its Impact in Japan - Politics, the Right Wing Groups, and History Textbook

Japan's growing nationalism has given birth to controversial issues, and these issues are hotly debated not just within Japan, but also abroad. Some of the debate topics include whether or not growing nationalism in Japan is beneficial to Japan itself and the surrounding countries. Those who support the rise of Japanese nationalism believe that it instills a sense of pride and confidence in its people. However, those who oppose it believe that it encourages people to think themselves as a promoter of civilization into other cultures. This is especially alarming to those who are concerned about what is known as the "victim-centered perspective." This view advocates that by playing the victim card and emphasizing the trauma caused by the atomic bombings, Japan is insulating itself from taking responsibility for invading its neighboring nations and starting a war. In addition, those who are opposed to the victim-centered perspective believe that it has suppressed the agony and pain Japan's war inflicted on non-Japanese citizens. 11 In today's world, the growing nationalism has impacted many areas, ranging from education to politics. Assessing and analyzing the impact of nationalism is important in particular because it could present the potential to press particular political or historical viewpoint, including the way people view the victims of atomic bomb.

A. Politics

Japan's political world has been contributing to the growing nationalism as well, especially by the right-wing. The late eminent Japanese political theorist Maruyama Masao (丸山眞男) characterized right-wing nationalism in Japan as:

¹¹ Miyume Tanji, Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa, Taylor & Francis, 2006. p. 48.

The right-wing nationalists consist of the following major tendencies: giving precedence of loyalty to the nation over every other form of loyalty, defending national traditions and cultures, emphasizing national spirit and unity, support of militarism and opposition to pacifism, suspicion of foreigners and outside influences, hostility to democratic rights and socialism. ¹²

Of course, Maruyama's definition fits more with the right-wing nationalists during the prewar period because it has become more mild and moderate compared to the past. However, this definition shows where the right-wing nationalists in Japan stem from.

One good example of a centre to right-wing, conservative political party in Japan would be the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) (自由民主党). The LDP had ruled Japan continuously with the exception of 11 months since 1955 until its defeat in the 2009 election. It is considered to be one of the most successful political parties in the democratic world. The following table shows the dominant power of the LDP. Out of 30 prime minister starting from 1947 to the present, 23 have been from the LDP.

Table 2. List of Prime Ministers of Japan

Prime Minister Term of office			Dalidiaal Dauda	
Name	Took Office	Left Office	Political Party	
Katayama Tetsu (片山 哲)	24 May 1947	10 March 1948	Shakaitō (Socialist)	
Ashida Hitoshi (芦田均)	10 March 1948	15 October 1948	Minshutō (Democratic)	
Yoshida Shigeru (吉田 茂)	15 October 1948	10 December 1954	Jiyūtō (Liberal)	
Hatoyama Ichirō (鳩山 一郎)	III December 105/		Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)	

¹² Qingxin Ken Wang, *Hegemonic Cooperation and Conflict: Postwar Japan's China Policy and the United States*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000, p. 44.

¹³ Alastair Leithead, "Japan Victor Hails 'Revolution.'" British Broadcasting Corporation, August 20, 2009. Accessed November 24, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8229744.stm

Ishibashi Tanzan (石橋 湛山)	23 December 1956	25 February 1957 ^[9]	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Kishi Nobusuke (岸 信介)	25 February 1957	19 July 1960	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Ikeda Hayato (池田 勇人)	19 July 1960	9 November 1964	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Satō Eisaku (佐藤 榮作)	9 November 1964	7 July 1972	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Tanaka Kakuei (田中 角榮)	7 July 1972	9 December 1974	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Miki Takeo (三木 武夫)	9 December 1974	24 December 1976	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Fukuda Takeo (福田 赳夫)	24 December 1976	7 December 1978	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Ōhira Masayoshi (大平 正芳)	7 December 1978	12 June 1980	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Suzuki Zenkō (鈴木 善幸)	17 July 1980	27 November 1982	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Nakasone Yasuhiro (中曾根 康弘)	27 November 1982	6 November 1987	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Takeshita Noboru (竹下 登)	6 November 1987	3 June 1989	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Uno Sōsuke (宇野 宗佑)	3 June 1989	10 August 1989	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Kaifu Toshiki (海部 俊樹)	10 August 1989	5 November 1991	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Miyazawa Kiichi (宮澤 喜一)	5 November 1991	9 August 1993	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Hosokawa Morihiro (細川 護熙)	9 August 1993	28 April 1994	Nihon Shintō (Japan New)
Hata Tsutomu (羽田 孜)	28 April 1994	30 June 1994	Shinseitō (Renewal)
Murayama Tomiichi (村山 富市)	30 June 1994	11 January 1996	Shakaitō (Socialist)
Hashimoto Ryūtarō (橋本 龍太郎)	11 January 1996	30 July 1998	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Obuchi Keizō (小渕 恵三)	30 July 1998	5 April 2000	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Mori Yoshirō (森 喜朗)	5 April 2000	26 April 2001	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)

Koizumi Jun'ichirō (小泉 純一郎)	26 April 2001	26 September 2006	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Abe Shinzō (安倍 晋三)	26 September 2006	26 September 2007	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Fukuda Yasuo (福田 康夫)	26 September 2007	24 September 2008	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Asō Tarō (麻生 太郎)	24 September 2008	16 September 2009	Jimintō (Liberal Democratic)
Hatoyama Yukio (鳩山 由紀夫)	16 September 2009	8 June 2010	Minshutō (Democratic)
Kan Naoto (菅 直人)	8 June 2010	Incumbent	Minshutō (Democratic)

It was relatively easy to push for right-wing and conservative agendas when the LDP controlled the political scene in Japan for such a long period of time. The Act on National Flag and Anthem, which was mentioned in the previous section, was also strongly supported by the members of the LDP. Therefore, such political dominance could have been used as a self-perpetuating instrument to push for many policies and agendas that aligned with that of the right-wing. To a certain extent, the growing nationalism in Japan has been fueled by the right-wing LDP, and it has impacted Japan in various ways and potentially shaped how people think and view particular political and historical issues.

Another example shows how politics in Japan is fueling nationalistic agenda; the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) is trying to revise the constitution with the focus on Article 9. After a few minor changes, the Japanese constitution was promulgated on November 3, 1946 and went into effect on May 3, 1947. The Article 9 prohibits an act of war by the state, and it reads as follows:

1. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and

¹⁴ Gerhard Robbers, Encyclopedia of World Constitutions. Infobase Publishing, 2007, p. 458.

order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

2. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. †15

Today, the original interpretation that completely prohibits the establishment of any military force for any purpose has changed. There are three main areas that have been brought up as the foci of attention. The first is the terminology used; the second is the size and the nature of the military forces that can be allowed; and the third is how these military forces could be used in conformity with the Article. Clearly, revising the constitution as the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) desires will set the Japanese army free from these restrictions. In addition, the current Self-Defense Force (SDF) will be officially recognized as the legitimate military force of Japan and will be utilized in its full potential to serve Japan's national interests. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)'s Military Expenditure Database which calculates military expenditure data for 2009, Japan's military budget is seventh largest in the entire world (approximately USD 46,859,000,000). Moreover, Japan has dispatched the Self-Defense Force (SDF) to Iraq and Afghanistan to support the United States. Knowing that this is a growing trend for Japan's armed forces, international critics of Japan's growing nationalism have been feeling more and more uneasy.

[†]The full Japanese text reads as follows: 第九条。一、日本国民は、正義と秩序を基調とする国際平和を誠実に希求し、国権の発動たる戦争と、武力による威嚇又は武力の行使は、国際紛争を解決する手段としては、永久にこれを放棄する。二、前項の目的を達するため、陸海空軍その他の戦力は、これを保持しない。国の交戦権は、これを認めない。

¹⁵ Glenn D. Hook and Gavan McCormack, Japan's Contested Constitution: Documents and Analysis. Psychology Press, 2001, p. 162.

¹⁶ Carl F. Goodman, The Rule of Law in Japan: A Comparative Analysis. Kluwer Law International, 2008, p. 219.

¹⁷ Melvin Gurtov and Peter Van Ness, *Confronting the Bush Doctrine: Critical Views from the Asia-Pacific*. Psychology Press, 2005, p. 158. † Śląska Izba Turystyki, "Uyoku Dantai, Demonstrating in Kyoto on Constitution Day," http://slaskaizbaturystyki.com/uyoku-dantai&page=2

B. Right Wing Groups



Uyoku dantai, demonstrating in Kyoto†

Japan's National Police Agency estimated that there were over 1000 right-wing groups with 100, 000 members in 1996. They are called, Uyoku dantai (右翼団体) and can be seen around the nation. They drive around in converted vans known as gaisensha (街宣車) that are fitted with speakers around the

vehicle. These vehicles broadcast propaganda through their loud speakers and go around crowded areas. In addition, it is decorated with the Japanese military flag and the national flag. Uyoku dantai has been allegedly involved in many extreme crimes. In 2006, the home of Koichi Kato, a prominent liberal politician, was burnt down by a right-wing group. Mr. Kato had been criticizing the prime minister's visit to Yasukuni. In 2007, Itō Kazunaga (伊藤一長)†, the mayor of Nagasaki, was shot and killed by a yakuza member. Although the motives behind the killing were unclear, some speculated that it was due to Mayor Ito's political view; Mayor Ito had been known for his left-wing view. 19 There is no doubt here that Uvoku dantai is contributing to the growing nationalism in Japan. Some might say that the members of Uyoku dantai only represent a minute portion of the entire Japanese population. Yet, it is still dangerous when thinking in the context that history has witnessed too many incidents where the general crowd was manipulated and controlled by a few extremists.

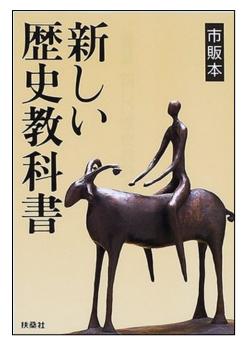
[†] Went by the name Itō Itchō (伊藤 一長) in public life

18 "Old Habits Die Hard: Competition for Japan's Far Right from an Unexpected Source," *The Economist*, May 18 2007, 47.

¹⁹ Martin Fackler, "Mayor's Death Forces Japan's Crime Rings into the Light," New York Times, April 21, 2007, accessed May 15, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/21/world/asia/21japan.html.

C. History Textbook

The Japanese history textbook issue has also been another area of contention. It is especially troubling to Japan's neighbors as these textbooks often involve their own histories.



The history textbook controversy still is a point of contention between Japan and other nations†

Over the decades, many scholars and lobbyists have worked together as proponents of nationalism, and they have successfully achieved for the central government to approve these highly controversial history textbooks. The textbooks depict past Japanese military aggression against East Asian nations (e.g., China and Korea) in ways that legitimize the past actions, rather than criticizing them.²⁰ In addition, the former colonies view this controversy as Japanese

nationalist efforts to whitewash its actions during World War II. For instance, the *New History Textbook 2005*

version (新しい歴史教科書), published by Fusosha (扶桑社) and translated by Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, includes many controversial contents. This is a short excerpt from page 54 of the textbook under the heading "Japanese Actions Inspire the Peoples of Asia":

Japanese soldiers drove out the forces of Western Europe, which had colonized the nations of Asia for many years. They surprised us, because we didn't think we could possibly beat the white man, and they inspired us with confidence. They awakened us from our long slumber, and convinced us to make the nation of our ancestors

[†] The image was taken from http://gakuranman.com/textbook-reformations/

²⁰Anthony DiFilippo, The Challenges of the U.S.-Japan Military Arrangement. M.E. Sharpe, 2002. p. 110.

our own nation once again. We cheered the Japanese soldiers as they marched through the Malay Peninsula. When we saw the defeated British troops fleeing, we felt an excitement we had never experienced before.²¹

The textbook clearly failed to mention that for many East Asian nations, the Japanese invasion meant decades of brutal suppression. Under the "assimilation policy," these colonies were forced to swear allegiance to the Japanese emperor and to worship Shinto shrines. In addition, they were not allowed to use their own language and had to learn Japanese. This policy not only attempted to eradicate the national identity within a person, but also attempted to instill a new one.

Therefore, those living in the Japanese colonies were being forced to accept a new identity regardless of what they believed in or wanted. The textbook makes a controversial comment about the Nanjing Massacre as well. On page 49 under the heading "Full-Scale War with China," it stated:

In August 1937, two Japanese soldiers, one an officer, were shot to death in Shanghai (the hub of foreign interests). After this incident, the hostilities between Japan and China escalated. Japanese military officials thought Chiang Kai-shek would surrender if they captured Nanjing, the Nationalist capital; they occupied that city in December. *But Chiang Kai-shek had moved his capital to the remote city of Chongqing. The conflict continued.²³

The textbook also fails to mention any detail and removes the context. Without the explanation of what led to this incident, the reader cannot see the bigger picture and is almost forced to have a narrow view. In addition, the textbook does not fully acknowledge Japan's wrongdoing in China. By only mentioning the two Japanese soldiers who were killed, it could easily be

²¹ Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, *New History Textbook 2005*, Fusosha, 2005. May 2005. Accessed December 1, 2010. http://www.tsukurukai.com/05 rekisi text/rekishi English/English.pdf. p. 54.

²² Gi-Wook Shin, Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy. Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 45.

²³ Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, New History Textbook 2005, p. 49.

misinterpreted by someone. This is more apparent when the textbook names this as "Nanjing Incident (南京事件)" instead of "Nanjing Massacre (南京大虐殺)."

These are still ongoing issues and a topic of serious conflict between Japan and East Asian nations. For instance, the comfort women issue is still being researched and debated. The exact number of these women is still unknown. It is estimated that around 200,000 women were involved, but the Japanese scholars estimate it as low as 20,000²⁴ while some Chinese scholar estimate it as high as 410,000.²⁵ The Comfort-Women.Org defines comfort women as follows:

During World War II, approximately two hundred thousand women were forced into sexual slavery by Japan's armed forces. Euphemistically called "Comfort Women," these women were enslaved in "comfort stations" set up throughout East Asia by the Japanese military from 1932 until the end of the war. There young women, most of them Korean, were lured by the promise of jobs or were kidnapped by the Japanese. Upon their arrival at these comfort stations, they were subjected to repeated rape and beating for resisting sex. They were simply discarded when they got too sick to be of any use. During the last month of World War II, most Comfort Women were murdered or left to die by retreating Japanese troops. Surviving Comfort Women have suffered permanent injury from disease, psychological trauma or social ostracism. None has received any kind of official redress from the Japanese government, which continues to evade its legal and moral responsibilities for crimes against these women.²⁶

Despite the ongoing contention, Nakayama Nariaki (中山成彬), who served as Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) under Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (小泉純一郎), tried to get rid of the references to comfort women from most

²⁶ Comfort-women.org. "Who Were Comfort Women?" Accessed December 5, 2010. http://www.comfort-women.org/faq.html

²⁴ Asian Women's Fund, "The 'Comfort Women' Issue and the Asian Women's Fund," Accessed December 10, 2010. http://web.archive.org/web/20070628152156/http://www.awf.or.jp/woman/pdf/ianhu_ei.pdf, p. 10.

²⁵ Caroline Rose, Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future? Routledge, 2005, p. 88.

authorized history texts for junior high schools.²⁷ In addition, he made a very controversial comment regarding the comfort women in 2005. He declared that he agreed with an e-mail sent to him by a Japanese female studying in Canada saying that the "victimized women in Asia should be proud of being comfort women."²⁸ Something like this makes everyone wonder what the healthy level of nationalism should be, and whether supporting nationalism is worth the denial of a historical fact.

From the aforementioned examples, it is clear that the growing nationalism has impacted different areas. Rather than allowing the Japanese citizens to have more international perspective, issues like the textbook controversy have narrowed and to certain extent blinded people's perspective. In addition, such issues have aggravated its neighboring Asians, pushing Japan and neighboring countries away from each other. The recent decision made by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) was especially disappointing to Korea. After the tragic earthquake that swept Japan on March 11, 2011, many Koreans took it upon themselves to help its ailing neighbors. Hundreds of thousands of Koreans offered their deepest sympathy and have donated millions of dollars to help those who were suffering. The tragedy seemed as if providing an opportunity for an improved relationship between Japan and Korea. Nevertheless, the MEXT decided to move forward with the certification process for a new selection of history textbooks (the MEXT certifies national history textbook every spring). These textbooks contain controversial statement regarding Dokdo, a group of rocky islands situated between Japan and Korea. The textbook states that the islands belong to Japan and that the Japanese citizens are encouraged to register Dokdo as their birthplace. The ramifications of this action will be the direct opposite of the atmosphere created in Korea immediately after the

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²⁷ Chi-Hung Ng, Reforming Learning: Issues, Concepts and Practices in the Asian-Pacific Region, Springer 2008, p. 241.

²⁸ China Daily, "Comfort Women's Distortion Stirs Indignation," July 13, 2005. Accessed December 13, 2010. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/ doc/2005-07/13/content 459772.htm

earthquake.²⁹ It is likely that the history textbook controversy will have a stronger impact on the Japan-Korea relationship than the humanitarian efforts that have been put in to help Japan during a tough period.

Disasters sometimes bring out the best in people and make them see the world from a different perspective. It has brought not only the Japanese closer, but also has strengthened the relationship between Japan and other nations. However, the nationalistic agenda has riled some of its Asian neighbors, and the pleasant atmosphere was spoiled. Building trust and opening oneself to another country takes a long period of time, but defiling such effort could happen over a short period of time. The world is changing fast and there will be many obstacles in the future that will require people with different citizenships to solve them together. It is about time that people think about how certain political agenda could negatively influence Japan not only in the short run, but also in the long run.

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²⁹ Oh, Kongdan. Bad Timing. March 21, 2011. Accessed March 25, 2011. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinon/2011/03/137_83551.html

IV. The Survivors



A map showing Hiroshima and Nagasaki†

The atomic bombs that were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki left devastating scars on both cities. The resident civilian population of Hiroshima was about 250,000 at the time, an estimated 45,000 people died on the first day after the bombing, and an additional 19,000 people died during the subsequent 4 months. The resident civilian population of Nagasaki was about 174,000,

an estimated 22,000 people died on the first day, and an additional 17,000 deaths were reported within the next 4 months. The actual totals may be higher due to the unrecorded deaths of military personnel and foreign workers.³⁰ In the Hiroshima prefectural health department estimate of the people who died on the day of the explosion, 60% died from flash or flame burns, 30% from falling debris and 10% from other causes. More people died during the following months from the effect of burns, radiation sickness, and other injuries compounded by illness.³¹ The survivors of atomic bombs are still alive, and their testimonies can be easily found in various publications and media. They convey what it actually felt like to go through one of the most serious tragedies in the history of mankind.

According to the research conducted by the Radiation Effects Research Foundation in

[†] The map of Japan was taken from http://lcwgc.rocks.org.hk/hiroshima-and-nagasaki-map&page=2

³⁰ Toxicological Profile for Ionizing Radiation. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. September 1999. Accessed December 14, 2010. http://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/ToxProfiles/tp149.pdf. p. 29.

³¹ Harry S. Truman Library & Museum. "U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey: The Effects of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," June 19, 1946. President's Secretary's File, Truman Papers. 2. Hiroshima., p. 22.

2006, the early physiological symptoms experienced per radiation dosage exposure is shocking (Note: Sv = sievert, a unit used to measure radiation dosage).

Table 3. Physiological symptoms per radiation dosages

Radiation Dosage Received (Sv) Physiological Symptoms

=	
10 Sv or more	Immediate death
1 Sv	Vomiting, nausea, malaise, fatigue,
	headaches, loss of appetite, diarrhea,
	epilation (hair loss), anemia, bloody
	discharge, fever, lens opacity
0.5 Sv	Increased blood lymphocyte counts

The radiation exposure experienced by those who were present in Hiroshima and Nagasaki later caused cancer, leukemia, formation of benign tumor, remarkably high cholesterol levels, digestive, liver and respiratory diseases, immunodeficiency, white blood cell chromosomal abnormalities, and early onset geriatric disorders. Over 40 years, over 4,000 people have died due to the cancer caused by radiation exposure. Table 2 shows the specific breakdown.

Table 4. Cancer deaths between 1950 and 1990 among Life Span Study survivors with *significant exposures*.

Dose range	Number of cancer deaths	Estimated excess death	Attributable fraction
0.005-0.2 Sv	3391	63	2% (=100 x 63/3391)
0.2-0.5 Sv	646	76	12%
0.5-1 Sv	342	79	23%
>1 Sv	308	121	39%
All	4687	339	7%

In a research conducted in 2007, there are 251,834 people who were affected by the atomic bombs. According to Hideo Nakamura's film *Twice Bombed, Twice Survived*, about 165

out of the total number of survivors are considered as "double survivors." These people were present in Hiroshima during the first bombing and left for Nagasaki to seek refuge only to face the same horrific incident again. ³² In principle, all these people are entitled to free medical services and checkups. Nevertheless, only 2,242 people have been considered as having illnesses caused by radiation. To see whether a person is a victim of radiation-caused illnesses, the government uses the DS 86 dosimetry system. In addition, the government considers other factors such as the applicant's age and sex at the time of exposure to radiation. DS86 determines the radiation dose on the basis of a person's distance from ground zero. Those applicants who pass this process receive a monthly special medical allowance of about ¥137,000 (around US \$1694 using the exchange rate of May 15, 2011). ³³



Nagasaki, August 9, 1945 †

The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath (何とも知れない未来に), edited and introduced by Ōe Kenzaburō (大江健三郎), is a powerful book on the survivors' accounts. It is a book that makes people think about the atomic bombs' effect on innocent people. The seventh selection in

the book is Hayashi Kyōko (林京子)'s "The Empty Can" (空き缶). It delivers a powerful message because it explicitly describes how the atomic bombing affected the innocent Japanese school girls who were students of the N Girl's High School at the time. The author tells that

³²Columbia News. "Twice Bombed, Twice Survived: Film Explores Untold Stories from Hiroshima & Nagasaki." Aug 2, 2006. Accessed December 3, 2010. http://www.columbia.edu/cu/news/06/08/twicesurvived.html

³³The Japan Times, Relief for A-bomb victims. August 17 2007. Accessed December 5, 2010. http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/ed20070815a2.html

[†] The image was taken from http://scienceblogs.com/pharyngula/2006/08/august 9 1945.php

"about 280,000 people are thought to have been in Nagasaki when the atomic bomb exploded and, according to the best estimate, roughly 74,000 were dead by the end of 1945,"³⁴ These young women observed everything from the first day of the incident; the atomic bombing not only took their family and friends away from them, but it also left long-lasting physical side effects and mental anguish on them. Such point is amplified through the story of different characters. For Oki, the fact that she could be assigned to teach at an isolated island haunted her because "that might impede her from being evacuated to the Hospital for Atomic-Bomb Victims in case of any emergency."35 In addition, for Hara, the "pernicious anemia that developed after being exposed to the A-bomb"³⁶ deterred her from living a normal life and gave her the palecolorless look on her face. Finally, for Kinuko, the atomic bombing instantly took both of her parents away from her, and three decades after the tragedy, she still had to endure surgery to remove the pieces of glasses that had embedded themselves into her body. These individual stories in "The Empty Can" are powerful and riveting because they really portray the anguish these innocent girls experienced. Although Oe Kenzaburo explains in the introductory part of the book that the Japanese were the aggressors in the Pacific Theater of World War II, there is no doubt that an excessive number of innocent civilians had to pay the ultimate price. The scar that the atomic bombing left on these people will never disappear, and its destructive influence upon the entire humanity will be remembered forever.

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³⁴ Holdstock, Douglas and Frank Barnaby. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Retrospect and Prospect*, Taylor & Francis, 1995, p. 2.

³⁵ Oe, Kenzaburo. *The Crazy Iris*, Grove Press, 1984, p.135.

³⁶ Ibid., p.136.

V. The Non-Japanese Survivors: Koreans, Americans, and Chinese

There is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of people were affected by the two atomic bombs dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Many people died instantly while many others survived, but they had to suffer from radiation-related sickness for the rest of their lives.

Nevertheless, the focus of popular media, publication, and survivors' accounts has been on the Japanese survivors. The reason can stem from many of the issues dealt in previous paragraphs.

Issues surrounding Kimigayo, Hinomaru, Yasukuni Shrine, history textbook, and political parties have all influenced the way people perceive atomic bombing. Therefore, the growing nationalism in Japan has pressed particular political or historical viewpoint, including the way people view the victims of atomic bomb. Behind the closed doors of history exist the non-Japanese victims, since they have suffered as much as the Japanese victims. The Japan National Preparatory

Committee published valuable statistical results in 1978 under *A Call from Hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Proceedings*. The following table shows the breakdown of people's social status in Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

Table 5. Social Status at Time of Suffering in Relation to the Places of Bombing

				(%)
Place of Suffering	Citizens	Military and	Others	Total
_		Civilian Army		
		Personnel		
Hiroshima	51.7	34.2	14.1	100.0
Nagasaki	79.9	9.3	10.8	100.0

Here, it can be easily calculated that at least 14.1% of the entire population in Hiroshima and 10.8% of that in Nagasaki fall under the "non-citizen" category. Furthermore, these numbers

³⁷ Japan National Preparatory Committee. A Call from Hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Proceedings of International Symposium on the Damage and After-Effects of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, July 21-August 9, 1977, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Asahi Evening News, 1978. p. 196.

could dramatically increase if non-Japanese citizens were counted among the "Military and Civilian Army Personnel." Knowing that Japan at the time had colonies around Asia and it drafted people from the colonies to join the Japanese army, it is likely that the "Others" category is the bare minimum for the number of non-Japanese citizens living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time.

A. Korean Survivors

The lives of tens of thousands of Koreans were devastated by the two atomic bombings.

Korea was under the Japanese rule during World War II, and countless innocent Koreans were



The memorial to Korean victims of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima†

shipped to Japan to work in coal mines and military facilities located throughout Japan. For instance, the county of Hapcheon, a farming community of 100,000 located in the southeast region of Korea, lost about 70% of its population. When the United States military dropped the bombs, thousands of these innocent people died instantly. Some lived, but only to face prejudice, poverty, and loneliness. Some of the

survivors had to marry other survivors because no one else wanted to marry them. An estimated

40,000 Koreans died and 30,000 were injured in the atomic blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

 $[\]dagger$ Steve Freedkin, The monument reads: "Souls of the dead ride to heaven on the backs of turtles.". The serpents riding on the back of a turtle are the important Korean symbol. http://www.progressiveportal.org/osaka/japan_photos_2002-03/2002-03-19/

³⁸ John A. Glionna, "Atomic Bomb Survivors in South Korea Still Feel the Wounds." *LA Times*, March 07, 2009. Accessed November 07, 2010. http://articles.latimes.com/2009/mar/07/world/fg-korea-survivors7

In addition, statistics have shown that one in seven of the Hiroshima victims was of Korean ancestry. ³⁹ Yi Wu, a Korean prince of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897), was in Hiroshima at the time and was also killed by the bombing. ⁴⁰ For years, these survivors have tried different routes to be compensated for their sufferings, mostly in the form of medical care. The progress has been extremely slow and painstaking for them. Although Japan has paid medical fees for the Japanese victims, paying for foreign survivors was a highly debated issue for many years. It was unclear to what extent the Japanese government had to be responsible, since Japan was also a victim of atomic bombing. However, in November of 2007, the Supreme Court in Japan voided a 1974 government declaration that atomic bomb survivors living outside Japan could not receive

benefits. The ruling prompted the government to offer \$10,000 in compensation to each overseas survivor who is recognized as an atomic bomb victim. It is estimated that about 2,665 atomic bomb survivors across South Korea could file suit as a direct result of



Korean forced laborers from the Mitsubishi Shipyard in Hiroshima†

this Japanese court ruling. Unfortunately, this does not solve the immediate needs of the non-Japanese survivors. The survivors must reside in Japan in order to be eligible for the medical care and the financial compensation. Since the Japanese government does not provide any travel fee to those survivors living outside of Japan, only a few are able to travel to Japan to take advantage of the benefits.⁴¹

³⁹ Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, Westview Press, 2001, p. 14-51.

⁴⁰ Sung-un Choi, "Reviving JOSEON," *Invest KOREA*, March 2010. Accessed December 5, 2010. http://www.investkorea.org/InvestKoreaWar/work/journal/content/content main.jsp?code=4670408

⁴¹ John A. Glionna, "Atomic Bomb Survivors in South Korea Still Feel the Wounds."

B. American Survivors

The atomic bombs dropped by the United States affected its own citizens who were living in Japan at the time as well. The Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors in the United States (CABSUS) aims to identify survivors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima atomic bomb who are U.S. citizens and permanent residents. It estimates that there are currently over 1,100 survivors living in the U.S. Through various support and assistance, the committee tries to relieve the survivors' fear of being ostracized from their community or losing their employment and insurance policy due to their sickness. Furthermore, the committee offers limited medical aid to the survivors in dealing with the long-term effects and consequences of radiation exposure. In addition, the committee works to push for a legislation that could provide the U.S. survivors with the same care as the Japanese government provides its citizens. This includes providing medical care, supporting insurance fee, and conducting counseling services. 42 The U.S. survivors show the horrifying treatment of non-Japanese survivors of atomic bombing in a nutshell. The U.S. dropped the bombs, but it refuses to recognize its responsibility and refuses to take care of those victims of its own bombing policy. On the contrary, Japan was the target of the bombing, but it has decided to provide medical care to the U.S. survivors who qualify (the same \$10,000 offer in compensation explained in the previous paragraph). Nevertheless, just like the Korean survivors, the U.S. survivors are also under the burden of having to be physically present in Japan to receive the compensation. Therefore, without someone providing the travel fee, only a very limited number of people can take advantage of the medical care and the financial compensation given by the Japanese government.

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⁴² Harvey Wasserman, Killing Our Own, Norman Solomon, 1982, p. 30.

[†] The image was taken from http://old.japanfocus.org/products/topdf/2670

C. Chinese Survivors

Also among Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims and survivors were thousands of Chinese. Towards the end of the war, the desperate Japanese military supplied workers and soldiers from China as well. It is reported that 38,935 Chinese laborers (more than 90 percent of these people were originally from the northern region of China) were brought to Japan. And these people were deployed to 135 different work sites that were operated by 35 Japanese enterprises. A rough breakdown of the work site is as follows:

Mining	42%
Construction	39.2%
Ports	15.7%
Shipbuilding	3.6%

Most of these forced laborers worked in extremely hazardous environments. Even before the atomic bomb were dropped, 6,830 people died. The death rate of the Chinese forced laborer is calculated to be around 17.5 percent. A riveting story that goes into detail about explaining some of these Chinese laborers affected by the atomic bomb is included in *The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath*. Sata Ineko (佐多稲子)'s "The Colorless Paintings" (色のない画) is the sixth selection in the book and is particularly fascinating because it offers a more complete perspective of the atomic bombing. The story acknowledges the fact that Japanese were not the only ones who suffered from the atomic bombing. When people generally refer to the victims of the atomic bombing, they tend to look only at the number of Japanese civilian casualties. However, on the day of the bombing, it said that "an estimated 10,000 Korean residents, 2,500 conscripted Korean workers, 9,000 Japanese soldiers, 600 conscripted Chinese

⁴³ Miki Y Ishikida, *Toward Peace: War Responsibility, Postwar Compensation, and Peace Movements and Education in Japan*, iUniverse, 2005, p. 41.

workers, and 400 prisoners of war were in Nagasaki."44

"The Colorless Paintings" is the first person narrative account of a woman's visit to an art exhibition at the very prestigious Tokyo National Museum. She attended the exhibition with Y, a Chinese businesswoman who suffered from radiation sickness. They both came to see the paintings of K, who was a member of the communist party of Japan like the narrator. K was afflicted with radiation-related sickness throughout his life and finally succumbed to liver cancer. K's paintings stood out against other paintings because they lacked color and were painted in a monochromatic color. The story ends when the narrator and Y leave the exhibition to attend an annually held memorial event for the victims of the bomb at the Nagasaki Peace Park. 45 Through Y, the author tries to inform the readers that non-Japanese citizens were also affected by the atomic bombing, but never received the wide attention and sympathy that they deserve. The author explains that Y "feels impatient because, being a foreigner in Japan, she can't join the demonstrations, and so she has no way to show her feelings by expressing them in some concrete form."46 In addition, Y's accounts allow the readers to see K's last paintings from a different point of view; they not only represent K's defiance against his death, but also represent humanity's defiance against the use of atomic bomb ever again on this planet. Furthermore, Y's accounts give an opportunity to think about the true composition of the victims of the atomic bombing.

⁴⁴ Burton Bennett, "Most Radiation-Related Deaths Happened in 1945," Nature, 2005, p. 437.

⁴⁵ Kenzaburo Oe, Fire from the Ashes: Short Stories about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Readers International, 1985, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Kenzaburo Oe, The Crazy Iris, Grove Press, 1984, p. 118.

VI. The Future



Panorama of the monument at the hypocenter of the Nagasaki A-Bomb blast†

All these aforementioned stories offer the opportunity to think about the true composition of the victims of the atomic bombing; regardless of one's nationality, myriad number of people suffered along with the Japanese. Nevertheless, this critical view has been left unrecognized. The growing nationalism in Japan has blinded people's perception of atomic bombing, and the area of influence is beyond the right-wing conservatives. For instance, Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞) runs a website about the survivors of atomic bomb. Called "Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki-Messages from Hibakusha" (広島・長崎の記憶~被爆者からの メッセージ), it includes first-hand accounts of the 1945 bombings written by A-bomb survivors. Through these online messages, the website hopes to enhance the growing global movement toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, although it plans to translate survey results and messages into English, there is no evidence of trying to get results from those living outside Japan, and/or to make the results accessible in other Asian languages. This is important since Asahi is usually critical of the resurgent nationalist discourse. Therefore, it suggests that even those on the left-liberal side of the spectrum have an ethnocentric blind spot when it comes to the A-bomb.

[†] Dean S. Pemberton; Panorama of the monument at the hypocenter of the Nagasaki A-Bomb blast. http://ookaboo.com/o/pictures/source/370038/Deanpemberton

⁴⁷ Asahi Shimbun, "Message from Hibakusha: The Memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," March 27, 2007. Accessed November 27, 2010. http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha/

Since 2005, Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞) has sent out survey to around 3,400 survivors to seek permission to post their messages to the public or to give us new messages. In the end, it has obtained consent from about 1,600 survivors. Nevertheless, not a single non-Japanese survivor's account can be found. In addition, the survivors' accounts are only divided into two sections: Message from Hiroshima (広島の声) and Message from Nagasaki (長崎の声). There are no references to the fact that tens of thousands of non-Japanese citizens were present when the atomic bombs were dropped. It feels as if not even the slightest effort was made to capture the stories of the Non-Japanese survivors of atomic bomb.

It is more surprising when taken into consideration that Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞) is the leading left-wing newspaper in Japan. 48 If neither the left-wing nor the right-wing wants to recognize the non-Japanese victims of atomic bombing, these people really have no place to stand. With Japan's growing nationalism, the situation will not be propitious to the non-Japanese survivors. Of course, nationalism instills a sense of pride and confidence in its citizens, and it could have a positive effect on everyone. Nevertheless, it has a tendency to limit people's perspective. Nationalism by its nature tends to not allow diversity of opinions and quells the view of others. This simplistic and monopolistic thinking is dangerous in a sense that it will not fully allow the Japanese people to see what the non-Japanese survivors had to go through. They were abandoned by both Japan and their home country and had to face pain, solitude, and prejudice throughout their lives. The fact that Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞)'s website for the survivors of atomic bomb does not have any reference to the non-Japanese survivors proves something. It proves that a sense of indifference towards the non-Japanese survivors has fully diffused into even the most liberal of the major national newspapers in Japan. It must be also

⁴⁸ Suisheng Zhao, Across the Taiwan Strait: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis, Psychology Press, 1999, p. 111.

noted that even though Asahi is considered liberal, it is a mainstream newspaper. Without the mainstream newspaper opening the forum for the non-Japanese survivors, these people will not have much opportunity to be recognized by a wide range of people

A similar phenomenon can be also seen in Japanese politics. As mentioned before, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan (自由民主党) is a conservative political party and is one of the most consistently successful political parties in the democratic world. It ruled almost continuously for nearly 54 years from 1955 until 2009 when it was defeated by the Democratic

Party of Japan (DPJ) (民主党) in a general election. ⁴⁹ DPJ is the left-of-center and socially progressive political party. ⁵⁰ Naoto Kan was DPJ's leader and was later designated Prime Minister by the Diet. On August 9, 2010, the Prime Minister attended ceremonies in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that commemorated the 65th anniversary of the atomic bombings of the two cities by the United States. During his speech to the foreign guests and the general public, the Prime Minister said, "as the only nation to have suffered a nuclear attack, Japan



Prime Minister Naoto Kan at the Nagasaki Peace Ceremony†

carries the moral responsibility to lead the actions to realize a world without nuclear arms."⁵¹
Here, he limits the victim pool to Japan and its people. The same statement would not have been so disappointing if it had come from a LDP Prime Minister because they are the right-wing party with a nationalistic ideology. Thus, it is disappointing to know that even the center-left politician like Prime Minter Naoto Kan limited the victims of atomic bombings to Japan. He could have

⁴⁹ Julian Ryall, "Landslide Election Result Breaks LDP Hold on Japan after Five Decades," *The Telegraph*. August 30, 2009. Accessed March 30, 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/majornews/6114607/Landslide-election-result-breaks-LDP-hold-on-Japan-after-five-decades.html ⁵⁰ Beth Reiber, *Frommer's Tokyo*, Frommer's, 2010. p. 9.

⁵¹ Wayne Hay, "No US Envoy as Nagasaki Remembers A-bomb after 65 Years," *Al Jazeera & Hurriet Daily News & Economic Review & Agence France-Press.* August 10, 2010. Accessed March 30, 2011. http://www.envirosagainstwar.org/know/read.php?itemid=9748

been more inclusive by mentioning the non-Japanese victims, and it could have appealed to a wider audience base. Here, the pervasive influence of Japan's growing nationalism is once again palpable.

The extent to which the rising nationalism in Japan has affected people's perspective on the survivors of the atomic bomb can be also seen in textbooks that are considered "objective" compared to the controversial history textbooks described in the earlier section. Although these textbooks are not considered controversial, they are problematic in the way they describe the tragedy in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Until the early 1950s, most textbooks at least described the number of casualties and some photographs of the ruins caused by the atomic bombs. However, the textbooks produced after the 1960s are extremely vague about the atomic bombing. They are almost negligent about the description such as: "In August 1945 atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and then on Nagasaki. 52, This expression not only omits by whom the atomic bombs were dropped by, but also sounds as if the atomic bombing naturally happened. According to a survey done by Nagasaki Shimbun (長崎新聞), about 10 percent of pupils in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki areas do not know that the tragedy was caused by the United States of America. 53 Most textbooks are not so much different, which indicates several things. First, the Ministry of Education and the Japanese government as a whole are hesitant to teach its children about Japan's defeat in World War II. Overtly stating such thing or going into the details of the consequences of atomic bombing will involve admitting Japan's defeat, and it could impact the nationalistic agenda that the government tries so hard to instill in its children. Second, it proves that even the textbooks that are less leaning towards the "right-wing," do not recognize the non-

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⁵² Nakamura Hidekazu et al., Sekaishi (World History) (Tokyo, 1988), 330; Yamada Nobuo et al., Kihan Sekaishi (Standard World History) (Tokyo, 1990), 345; Besshi Atsuhiko, Senso no Oshiekata: Sekai no Kyokasho ni miru (How to Teach about War: Textbooks around the World) (Tokyo, 1983), 131-32.

⁵³ Edward R. Beauchamp, *History of Contemporary Japan, 1945-1998*, Taylor & Francis, 1998. p.113.

Japanese survivors of the atomic bomb compared to the controversial history textbook that were reviewed in the previous section. By omitting the details and any proper explanation of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, these history textbooks have failed to convey the full story behind the tragedy, especially the stories of non-Japanese casualties and survivors. With both the left- and the right-wing leaving out the non-Japanese casualties and survivors, the non-Japanese victims of atomic bombing are left in limbo.

There is no doubt at this point that the bomb that was dropped in Japan affected all of humanity. However, most people cannot see beyond the Japanese victims of atomic bomb, and the sizable portion of the reason stems from the growing nationalism in Japan. Through the Act on National Flag and Anthem in 1999, Hinomaru was formally established as Japan's national flag, while Kimigayo was established as the national anthem. The resurgence of these imperialistic symbols has been threatening the lessons Japan has learned from World War II. In addition, Yasukuni Shrine has provided a flash point for clashes between Japan and its East Asian neighbors. Along with this, the controversial history textbooks have pressed particular political or historical viewpoint upon the younger students, including the way they view the victims of atomic bombs.

VII. The Future and Beyond - Seeking to Abolish the Nuclear Weapons around the World

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper, I believe the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would not have happened if the atomic bombs had never been made or used. The ramifications of a nuclear blast are ineffable. The historical tragedies that took place in Hiroshima and Nagasaki should never take place again, and such tragedies must be prevented at all cost. Therefore, it is important to look into what the global community is doing in order to decrease the number of nuclear weapons.

The aftermath of an atomic bombing was devastating for the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was so devastating that an investigation of the damages of atomic bomb could not come out immediately. It took years for the researchers to actually go near the scene to correctly diagnose the situation. Since there was no contingency plan, about 37,000 people entered Hiroshima during the first week after the bomb and were consequently exposed to residual radiation, radioactive materials that were still left in the soil and the ruins of the buildings. ⁵⁴ Although detailed statistics about these people do not exist, study shows that the possibility of developing leukemia, thyroid-cancer, breast-cancer, and malignant tumors is significantly higher compared to those people who were not exposed to any radiation. In addition, study has shown that a human's longevity is significantly affected as radiation increase all causes of death. Children who were born during this period showed signs of mental retardation and some even had microcephaly, an abnormally small head in babies. Furthermore, countless survivors were

⁵⁴ A.A. Awa et al., "The Physical and Medical Effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombs," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, December, 1977, p. 54.

left with burn marks and scars.⁵⁵

The Federation of American Scientists estimates that there are over 22,000 nuclear warheads around the globe. Of these, over 4,300 are considered to be operational and they are mostly held by the United States of America and Russia. A more specific breakdown of the nuclear weapons spread around the globe is as follows:

Status of World Nuclear Forces 2011*					
Country	Operational Strategic	Operational Nonstrategic	Reserve	Military Stockpile	Total Inventory
Russia	1,900	0	6,100	8,000	11,000
United States	1,950	200	2,850	5,000	8,500
France	290	n.a.	?	~300	~300
China	0	?	~180	240	240^i
United Kingdom	160	n.a.	65	225	225 ^j
Israel	0	n.a.	80	80	80
Pakistan	0	n.a.	90-110	90-110	90-110
India	0	n.a.	80-100	80-100	80-100
North Korea	0	n.a.	<10	<10	<10
Total:	~4,300	~200	~9,465	14,035	~22,600

This is the reason why the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) started negotiating to control the number of nuclear arsenals. It was first proposed by the United States President Ronald Reagan in Geneva on June 29, 1982.⁵⁶ After a long debate over what the specific provisions should be, the two nations signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) on July 31, 1991. It is known to be the most comprehensive arms control

⁵⁵ A.A. Awa et al., "The Physical and Medical Effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombs," 55.

⁵⁶ Strobe Talbott, "Time to START, Says Reagan," *Time*, May 17, 1982. Accessed March 28, 2011. http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,921207,00.html

agreement because both countries will cut the nuclear weapons from around 2,200 deployed warheads to 1,550.⁵⁷ This treaty was superseded by the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions (SORT), also known as the Treaty of Moscow on May 24, 2002. The treaty requires the United States and Russia to reduce their nuclear arsenals to between 1,700 and 2,200 warheads by December 31, 2012.⁵⁸ Then on April 8, 2010, in Prague, the United States President Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed the New START Treaty. This symbolic treat specifies the limits of:

- 1. 1,550 deployed warheads, which are about 30% lower than the upper warhead limit of the Moscow Treaty;
- 2. 800 deployed and non-deployed intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launchers, submarine launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers, and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear weapons; and
- 3. 700 for deployed ICBMs, SLBMs, and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear weapons. ⁵⁹

The New START Treaty is significant in many ways. It is vital in achieving a wider global security. Decreasing the total number of nuclear weapons around the world will lower the probability of these weapons potentially falling into hands of terrorists. In addition, the treaty has strengthened the United States – Russia relationship by allowing the world's two largest nuclear powers to come together for a common goal. This will lead the two countries to cooperate on a wide range of global issues.

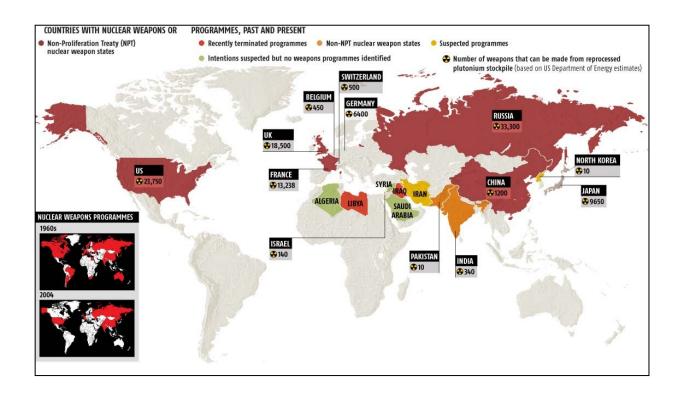
Through these efforts, the number of countries with nuclear weapons programs has been

http://www.armscontrol.org/print/2562

 ⁵⁷ Diana Alvear, Seni Tienabeso, Kaoru Utada, "Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Atomic," *ABC News*. August 6, 2010. Accessed March 28, 2011. http://abcnews.go.com/International/hibakusha-survived-hiroshima-nagasaki-nuclear-free-world/story?id=11334084&page=1
 ⁵⁸ Daryl Kimball, "START II and Its Extension Protocol at a Glance," *Arms Control Association*, May 24, 2002. Accessed March 28, 2011.

⁵⁹ Jesse Lee, "President Obama Announces the New START Treaty," The White House Blog. March 26, 2010. Accessed March 28, 2011. http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/03/26/president-obama-announces-new-start-treaty

reduced. The following map made by the *New Scientist* magazine shows the improvement and the increased safety of the global community from the threat of nuclear weapons.



Herbert Hoover once said, "The use of the atomic bomb, with its indiscriminate killing of women and children, revolts my soul." A war that was ignited by nationalism not only harmed its own people, but many people around the globe. As it was seen from the previous sections, Koreans, Chinese, and even Americans died from the atomic bomb. These survivors are still living in pain and agony without receiving the proper medical care and compensation that they deserve.

Therefore, the legacy of atomic bomb is not about playing the blame game, but about stopping the same tragedy from ever happening again. The best way to secure a safe future is by

⁶⁰ Herbert Hoover, Shall We Send Our Youth to War, Coward-McCann, inc., 1939, p. 13.

eliminating the nuclear weapons. The nuclear proliferation in such countries as North Korea is a threat to the entire humanity, and it must give up nuclear program. This can only be done through the combined efforts of the global community.

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