

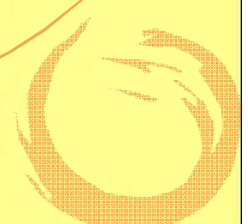
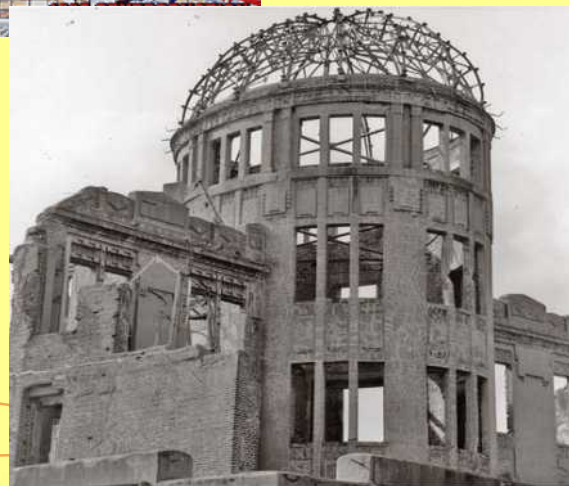
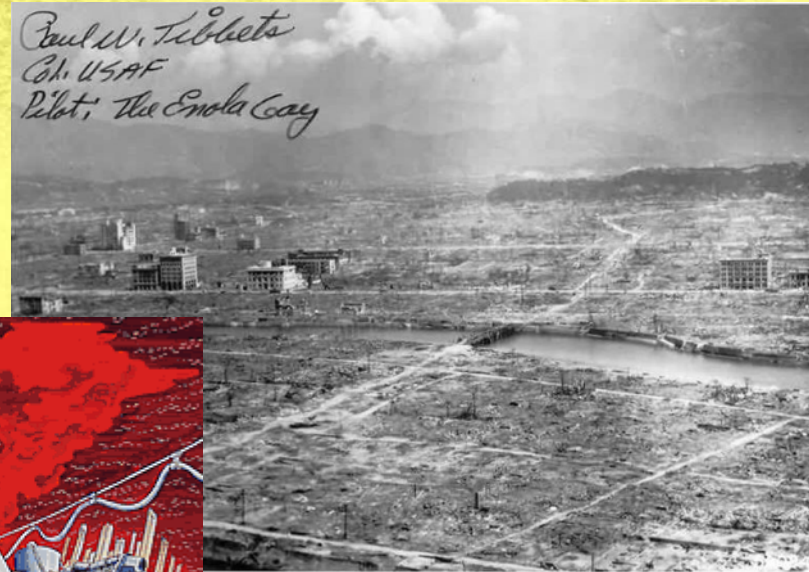
Hiroshima Memory and Japanese Pacifist Debates

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University,
RCAPS Seminar
July 19, 2010

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Hiroshima City University-Hiroshima Peace Institute

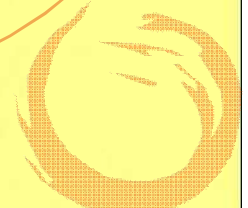


Hiroshima Bombing: 1945-8-6, 8:15 a.m.



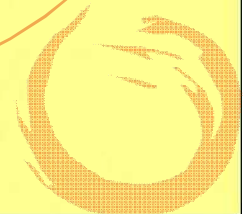
Japan in the Contemporary World (1)

- 1868: Meiji Restoration
- 1876: Treaty of Kwanghwa signed with Korea
- 1894: Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty
- 1894-5: First Sino-Japanese War
- 1895: Treaty of Shimonoseki signed
- 1902: Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed
- 1904-5: Russo-Japanese War
- 1912: Death of Meiji and beginning of Taisho era



Japan in the Contemporary World (2)

- 1914: Japan enters WWI with Britain and its allies
- 1915: Japan presents China with its 21 Demands
- 1923: Tokyo Earthquake
- 1926: Death of Emperor Taisho and beginning of Showa era
- 1931: Manchurian Incident
- 1933: Japan withdraws from League of Nations
- 1940: Tripartite Pact signed with Germany and Italy ("Axis Powers")
- 1941: Soviet-Japan Neutrality Pact signed

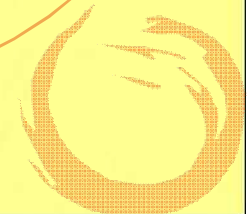


Japan in the Contemporary World (3)

- 1941: Japanese attack Pearl Harbor, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines; war declared against the U.S., Great Britain, and the Netherlands; the Pacific War begins
- 1942: Allied fleet defeats Japan in the Battle of Midway
- August 6, 1945: Atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima ("Little Boy")
- August 9, 1945: Atomic bomb dropped in Nagasaki ("Fat Man")
- August 15, 1945: Japan surrenders by the terms of Potsdam Declaration and occupation by the Allied Powers (1945-52)

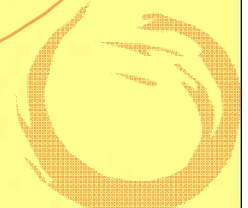
The A-Bomb Aftermaths*

	Total Casualties		Korean Casualties					
	Victims	(Instant Deaths)	Victims	(Instant Deaths)	{Survivors}	[Returnees]	[Living in Japan]	[Living in Korea]
Hiroshima	420,000	159,283	50,000	30,000	20,000	15,000	5,000	
Nagasaki	271,500	73,884	20,000	10,000	10,000	8,000	2,000	
Total	691,500	233,167	70,000	40,000	30,000	23,000	7,000	2,650



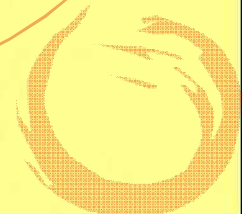
The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (1): A Brief Chronology

- Mar., 1952: The Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law passed.
- Aug., 1955: The Peace Memorial Hall and the Peace Memorial Museum open.
- Aug., 1991: The renovated Peace Memorial Museum opens.
- June, 1994: The renovated Peace Memorial Hall opens.*
- 2007-: Another renovation project underway to be completed in 2010



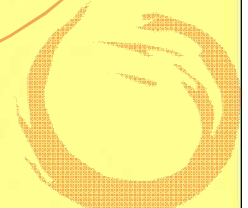
The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (2): Connecting the Past to Present

- **May 1955-June 2006:
About 53 million
people visited the
museum.**
- **About 70 percent of
visitors are on school
field trip.**
- **About 70 percent of
foreign visitors at 15
percent out of the
total are Americans.**



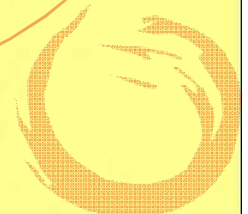
Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (1)

- 1985: The City gov't announces the museum renovation plans.
- May, '87 : Progressive citizens' groups requested the installment of "Aggressors Corner" for the renovation project.*



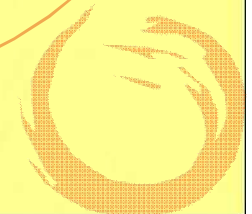
Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (2)

- August, 87: Local Korean *hibakusha* *support groups asked for the inclusion of the suffering of the Korean victims. **
- October, 87: The City announces its plan to include the “Aggressor’s Corner” at the expanded space stirring strong opposition from the bereaved families and conservative local politicians.



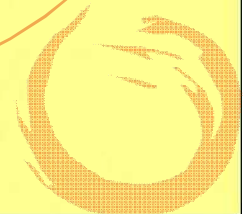
Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (3)

- March '88: The City decides to drop the new Corner idea.
- May '88: The City officially announces the plan.



Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (4): Why was the Corner Idea Dropped?

- **“We couldn’t have such a thing here. The aggressors are in Tokyo. Our only aim is to show what happened on August 6, 1945....It was important to explain the past on a level that the young could understand. The young no longer read, so you have to present them with visual information... You see, this museum was not really intended to be a museum. It was built by survivors as a place of prayer for the victims and for world peace. Mankind must build a better world. That is why Hiroshima must persist. We must go back to the basic roots. We must think of human solidarity and world peace. Otherwise we just end up arguing about history.”**



Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (5): New Panels

March '93: The Committee on the panel contents at the East Hall convenes.

- May '93: A new panel "Hiroshima Before and After the War" is decided to be installed.

- Hiroshima Until the Atomic Bombing Panel (after 1994 renovation):

"During the Edo Period (1603-1867), Hiroshima City was the leading castle town in the Chugoku and Shikoku regions. During the Meiji Restoration (1868), Hiroshima City was redeveloped as the capital of the Hiroshima Prefecture.

- Built on a delta, boasting the three natural treasures of sea, rivers and mountains, and graced by large trees, the city attracted schools and businesses and developed thriving commercial districts.

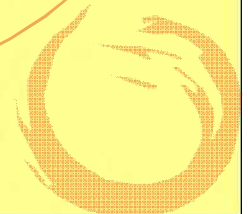
However, the steady accumulation of various military facilities indicated that Hiroshima was developing two faces: academic and military. The heavy industries that began to develop in the 1920s had turned into military plants by the latter half of the 1930s. Prior to the atomic bombing, the entire harbor on taken on the military ambience of the Kure naval base.*



Memory War at the Museum, 1985-94 (6): On Foreign *Habikusha*

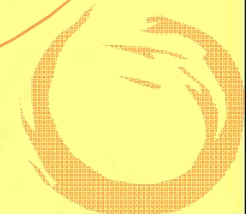
Forced Labor Program for Ethnic Minorities (Panel
A2203b)

- “The National Mobilization Law of April 1938 led in July 1939 to an outright order to mobilize available workers. ...Many forced laborers survived extremely harsh working conditions only to die in the atomic bombing.”



Hiroshima, the Pacifist Hero?

- **“The damage done by the A-bomb was so catastrophic that this conviction was deeply rooted in the minds of the people of Hiroshima; humanity cannot coexist with nuclear weapons and their use must not be allowed. Based on this conviction- the Spirit of Hiroshima, an unwavering hope for the abolition of nuclear weapons and the realization of lasting world peace, the city of Hiroshima turned toward the world and began its journey on a path to peace.”***



Hiroshima, the A-Bomb Victim?

Hiroshima is a city on which an atomic bomb was dropped.

Hiroshima is a city with many memorials for the lives lost.

Hiroshima is a city which continually seeks peace.

Everyone, please, look at Hiroshima's path over the last century.

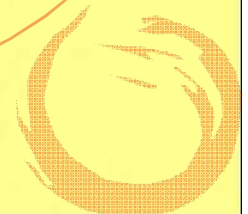
Distant memories, bitter remorse and alarm at an age past.

Everyone, please, look at what the atomic bomb brought.

Suffering, pain, anger and apprehension toward an uncertain future.

...Hiroshima,

in this nuclear age, will continue holding high the flame of hope.*



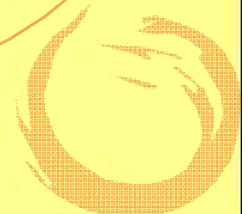
Hiroshima: Victim or Hero

- **“A narrative with Hiroshima at the center became the key interpretation of war memory in Japan.... the museum does represent Japan’s tendency to be highly selective in acknowledging only Japanese victims from among all the victims of World War II.”***
- **Distancing Hiroshima from Japan by directly linking the city to the world as the torch-bearer of anti-nuclear pacifist movement.**



Memory and Culture (1)

- **"...memory appears as the almost direct expression of a national mentality, indicative of a nation's ability to mourn, to learn and to mature (by overcoming narrow nationalistic perspectives). The language of temporality thus produces the familiar image of the interpretation of the past as a matter of national culture."***



Memory and Culture (2)

“Hollow Center”:

Beginning with the Japanese

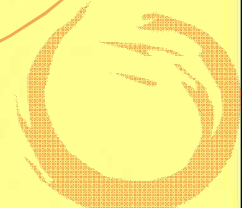
mythology, the structure of Japanese culture, society and human relations are characterized by the emptiness at the center.

When forces confront one another on either side of this empty center, the emptiness serves as a buffer zone preventing the confrontation from growing too intense.* (Kawai hayao 1982)

“Ethos of Social Relativism”:

Rather than there being a single social reality, a number of possible perspectives of both self and social life are acknowledged.

Interaction in Japanese society then focuses on the definition of the appropriate choice, out of all the various possibilities. This means that what one says and does will be different in different situations, depending on how one defines one’s particular perspective versus the social other.* (Doi Takeo 1987)



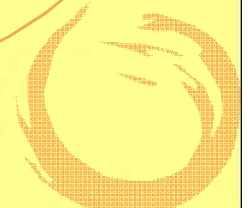
Memory and Culture (3)

- “Situational Logic”:
conflict avoidance
(temporary
pacification) over
conflict resolution
(permanent
reconciliation) *
(Sugiyama Takie 1984)



Japan and Hiroshima: Peace, Pacifism and Peace Movement

- Pacifism, a meta-ideology, should remain as time- and context-defying moral principle.
- Peace as a sub-concept of pacifism is open to transmutations. The Hiroshima experience reminds us that the definition of peace is dictated by the changing contextual and temporal specifications.
- An ideology such as pacifism maintains its ethical foundations being relatively independent of strategic calculations, whereas a movement fluctuates with political opportunity structure.* The controversies regarding the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum are a story of political compromise as a form of tactical innovation distancing itself from the core contents of pacifist ideology.



Importance of Historical Memory in International Relations (%)

	Japan	Korea
Very Important	21	32
Important	46	58
Not Very Important	24	9
Not Important	4	1
Others	5	0

