

**Hiroshima in the International Context:
How the World Reported the 60th Anniversary of the Atomic Bombing**

INOUE Yasuhiro

Session on July 30 at HIROSHIMA and PEACE 2009

This session consists of two parts: lecture and discussion. The discussion will be based on the content of the newspaper articles. Students are required to read all the newspaper articles (listed below) about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima beforehand. Each article was carried by a leading newspaper of the respective country in 2005, the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombing.

Nation	Newspaper	Headline
US	<i>The Wall Street Journal</i>	Hiroshima: Nuclear weapons, then and now
US	<i>Honolulu Advertiser</i>	A Democrat ordered it, conservatives denounced it
China	<i>People's Daily</i>	Tragedy of Hiroshima
China (Hong Kong)	<i>South China Morning Post</i>	Why the world is in Japan's debt
Korea	<i>The Dong-A Ilbo</i>	While ignoring any apology. . .
Germany	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine</i>	The heavens over Hiroshima
UK	<i>Guardian</i>	The birth of 'mere terror'
France	<i>Le Monde</i>	Memory and lapse of memory

We will have approximately 45 minutes for discussion in these small groups. During the last part of the session, we will ask each group to present, to the whole class, a brief summary of the main findings (2-3 minutes for each group).

Suggested topics:

- How is the act of dropping the bomb framed (e.g., as a justifiable means of ending the war, as a tragedy, as a war crime)?
- To what extent are the readers informed of the horrible aftermath and delayed effects of radiation on the victims of the bombing?
- Is the event presented as only a past event, or said-(or implied) to be a significant moral lesson that should be passed on to future generations (or trivialized)?
- What (lessons) did you learn from these articles?
- Assuming that you (your group) are the reporter(s) assigned to cover the Hiroshima bombing, what article would you write? How would you portray the event?

Reference (If you are interested, please ask Prof. Inoue for this article)

INOUE, Yasuhiro & RINNERT Carol. (2007). "Editorial Reflections on Historical/Diplomatic Relations with Japan and the U.S.: International Newspaper Coverage of the 60th Anniversary of the Hiroshima Bombing." *Keio Communication Review*, v.29, 59-83.

Aug. 5, 2005

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

OPINION

FRIDAY, /

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Hiroshima

Today—or August 6 in Japan—is the 60th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, which killed outright an estimated 80,000 Japanese and hastened World War II to its conclusion on August 15. Those of us who belong to the postwar generations tend to regard the occasion as a somber, even shameful, one. But that's not how the generation of Americans who actually fought the war saw it. And if we're going to reflect seriously about the bomb, we ought first to think about it as they did.

In 1945, Paul Fussell was a 21-year-old second lieutenant who'd spent much of the previous year fighting his way through Europe. At the time of Hiroshima, he was scheduled to participate in the invasion of the Japanese mainland, for which the Truman Administration anticipated casualties of between 200,000 and one million Allied soldiers. No surprise, then, that when news of the bomb reached Lt. Fussell and his men, they had no misgivings about its use:

"We learned to our astonishment that we would not be obliged in a few months to rush up the beaches near Tokyo assault-firing while being machine-gunned, mortared, and shelled, and for all the practiced phlegm of our tough facades we broke down and cried with relief and joy. We were going to live."

Mr. Fussell was writing about American lives. What about Japanese lives? The Japanese army was expected to fight to the last man, as it had during the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Since the ratio of Japanese to American combat fatalities ran about four to one, a mainland invasion could have resulted in millions of Japanese deaths—and that's not counting civilians. The March 1945 Tokyo fire raid killed about 100,000; such raids would have intensified had the war dragged on. The collective toll from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings is estimated at between 110,000 and 200,000.

* * *

Nuclear weapons are often said to pose a unique threat to humanity, and in the wrong hands they do. But when President Truman gave the go-ahead to deploy Fat Man and Little Boy, what those big bombs chiefly represented was salvation: salvation for young Lt. Fussell and all the GIs; salvation for the tens of thousands of Allied POWs the Japanese intended to execute in the event of an invasion; salvation for the grotesquely used Korean "comfort women"; salvation for millions of Asians enslaved by the Japanese.

Not least, and despite the terrible irony, the bombings were salvation for Japan, since they prompted Emperor Hirohito to intervene with his bitterly divided government to end the war, thus laying the groundwork for America's beneficent occupation and the country's subsequent prosperity. To understand the roots of modern Japan's pacifist mentality, so at variance with its old warrior culture, one need only visit Hiroshima's peace park.

The same can be said about nuclear weapons in other contexts. America's nuclear arsenal helped thwart Soviet expansionism and provided the umbrella under which Western Europe and the Asian rim countries became—and

remained—free throughout the Cold War. For embattled Israel, nuclear weapons have not only helped guarantee its existence, they have paradoxically provided it with the margin of strength it needs to contemplate territorial concessions unimaginable for other states its size.

Nuclear weapons, then and now.

Of course, for every Pershing missile that helped keep Western Europe free, a Soviet SS-20 helped keep Eastern Europe captive. In the hands of democracies, nuclear weapons safeguard liberty; in the hands of dictatorships, they safeguard despotism. It's doubtful the Soviet Union could have survived as long as it did had it never developed nuclear weapons. That's true for North Korea today, and it explains why the mullahs of Tehran seek to bolster their faltering regime with an atomic bomb.

Also true is that the threat nuclear weapons pose today is probably greater than ever before. That's not because they're more plentiful—thanks to the 2002 Moscow Treaty (negotiated by John Bolton), U.S. and Russian arsenals are being cut to levels not seen in 40 years. It's because nuclear know-how and technology have fallen into the hands of men such as A.Q. Khan and Kim Jong Il, and they, in turn, are but one degree of separation away from the jihadists who may someday detonate a bomb in Times or Trafalgar Square.

* * *

Reflecting on this history, there's a tendency to wax melancholic about the dangers of letting the proverbial genie out of his bottle, and to suggest we stuff him back in. Thus the reflexive opposition by Democrats and some Republicans to developing new nuclear weapons such as the "bunker buster" and to the resumption of nuclear testing. The Senate has even zeroed out of the President's budget funding for a high-powered laser that would help gauge the reliability of the U.S. arsenal without testing. We also frequently hear calls for the U.S. to lead by example by further reducing its arsenal, and for the Bush Administration to "strengthen" the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by agreeing to the useless Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Yet the notion that the nuclear genie can be willed out of existence through the efforts of right-thinking people is as absurd as it is wrong-headed. Just as guns and knives will be with us forever, so too will the bomb. We need bunker busters because North Korea and Iran are using underground facilities to build weapons that threaten us, and we must be able credibly to threaten in return. We need to have nuclear tests because the reliability of our principal warhead, the W-76, has been seriously called into question, and China must not be enticed to compete with us as a nuclear power. In neither case does the U.S. set a "bad example." Rather, it demonstrates the same capacity for moral self-confidence that carried America through World War II and must now carry us through the war on terror.

Looking back after 60 years, who cannot be grateful that it was Truman who had the bomb, and not Hitler or Tojo or Stalin? And looking forward, who can seriously doubt the need for might always to remain in the hands of right? That is the enduring lesson of Hiroshima, and it is one we ignore at our peril.

Wonder Land / By Daniel Henninger

London's Bombs Go Off Inside America's Head

On September 11, 2001, Islamic terrorists flew two planes into the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon and one into rural Pennsylvania. In just over an hour, they killed nearly 3,000 Americans. Not more than a year later, nothing was more important in the lives of many Americans than that they extinguish the Patriot Act and drive George Bush and every remnant of his presidency from office, including the "unconstitutional" war on terror.

March 11, 2004, terrorists cut from the same Islamic cloth as September 11 blew up four Spanish commuter trains, covering Madrid's main station with parts of 191 dead people and 1,460 others, often horribly wounded. But the needle hardly moved in the politics of "George Bush's war on terror." In the U.S., nothing was more important than "closing" a holding pen for Islamic terrorists in Cuba.

July 7, 2005: the London bombings. In the four weeks since this happened, I have talked about it, on the West Coast and East Coast, with people one could describe as "non-Bush voters." To a man and woman, they say in so many words that the time has come to "get tough on the terrorists." One event, London, appears to have caused an internal reassessment among some Americans formerly ambivalent about the war on terror.

Profiling, a forbidden thought in some political quarters since hyper-thyroid New Jersey state cops were rousting black people on the turnpike, is a subject for polite company. After years of reading how our "policies" were creating Islamic recruits to *jihad*, the London bombing has created recruits for the war on terror.

What happened?

Reality happened. September 11 was, in a sense, unreal. T.S. Eliot reflected in 1922 on "unreal" post-war London: "I had not thought death had undone so many/Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled/And each man fixed his eyes before his feet." I think for some, what happened that day—passenger planes flow into buildings, the slow death of the towers—was just too much, off the charts, a trauma and a personal concussion. Something like that.

July 7 London was more comprehensible. Americans were able to absorb London more clinically, observers from afar. London also happened to an English-speaking people, so every televised comment back to the U.S., from the first witnesses to the police reports of apprehended and named terrorists, was understood and internalized. Then the British media, God bless them, reduced the madness to one, right cliché: The bombers are our neighbors. Three years in, the battle lines finally come clear.

The American psyche, or some part of it has seemed disinclined to believe terrorists could be anything other than invaders from another planet. Seasonal, like the hurricanes. No matter that the Lackawanna Six, who pleaded guilty to terrorism charges, were a much "the neighbors" in upstate New York or the bombers from London's suburbs. No matter that the trial of the 1993 World Trade Center bombers revealed they too were "the neighbors," or worse, a fifth column.

No matter. Within a year of September 11 one of the most controversial, bitterly contested parts of the Patriot Act was the provision on surveillance of books checked out at the library.

We had become captive to the wrong media cliché. Saying 9/11 "changed everything" meant nothing. That allowed another cliché to take hold and define the policy debate after 9/11: Whatever else, we can't "sacrifice our fundamental values." (I think much of this has to do with the fact that the opposition personally didn't like the Patriot Act's designate evangelist, John Ashcroft, especially after hearing he held Bible readings at work.)

unexpected. And while there are plenty of legal scholars who will say it was wrong, it has some basis in case law and precedent.

In short, while appeals will be launched and alternative strategies devised, it is clear now that Hawaiians-only programs, including those as well-appreciated and successful as Kamehameha Schools, are under vigorous legal attack.

While many are seeing the ruling as a setback, if not an outright defeat, that is not necessarily the final word. In fact, the ruling may accomplish what years of discussion on Hawaiian self-determination have failed to produce: a unified, forward-looking Hawaiian voice on these issues.

This weekend has seen a series of rallies under the sponsorship of the school on all the major islands. These unity rallies, informational gatherings and prayer services were expected to draw a broad spectrum of the community. This includes not just Hawaiians but others who support the mission and goals of Kamehameha Schools.

Here's the interesting thing: Those rallies will bring together Hawaiians who agree on virtually nothing about the self-determination movement. Some support the Akaka bill; others oppose it. Some want to see Hawaiians become a nation within a nation. Others seek total independence.

But there is strong agreement across the board about the importance of Kamehameha Schools as something that belongs to them, has been successful and is not to be trifled with by outsiders.

In short, the ruling may turn out to be a unity builder with greater strength than anything that has come before. If Hawaiians conclude they are of one voice, one perspective on this issue, then they have the potential of becoming a potent political force.

Which is only appropriate.

THEN & NOW hiroshima

A Democrat ordered it, conservatives denounced it; times have changed

Honolulu Advertiser, Aug 7, 2006 B1

COMMENTARY

By Leo Maley III
and Uday Mohan

Yesterday was the 60th anniversary of the atomic destruction of Hiroshima during World War II.

Americans reflect on this event in sharply differing ways. Some Americans recall the event with shame and express their fervent hope that nuclear weapons never be used again. Others firmly believe that the use of atomic bombs saved American lives by ending the war while precluding a bloody American invasion of Japan.

More challenging to consider is whether it was an unjustifiable act in a fully justified war.

Those who believe the bomb's use was justified often label their opponents "pacifists," "1960s radicals," "bleeding-heart liberals" or "revisionists." These epithets merely delay the day when Americans will consider the import of having used nuclear weapons.

Our failure to grapple fully with the ethical questions stemming from our use of mass violence against civilians has meant that we unwittingly endorse an act that some would consider state terror.

We rightly expect Germany and Japan to confront painful episodes from their participation in World War II. Now it's our turn.

Conservatives today are the natural candidates to take the lead in confronting our most painful episode from the war, be-

we, of all civilized nations ... did not hesitate to employ the most destructive weapon of all times indiscriminately against men, women and children."

Just weeks after Japan's surrender, an article published in the conservative magazine Human Events contended that America's

SEE BOMB, B4

Leo Maley III has taught at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and University of Maryland-College Park. Uday Mohan is director of research at the Nuclear Studies Institute, American University in Washington. They wrote this article for the History News Service.



JUNJI KUROKAWA | Associated Press

The Atomic Bomb Dome at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park is all that remains of the devastation the first atomic bombing produced.

BELOW: An Allied correspondent examined the rubble of a nearby movie house not long after the Japanese unconditional surrender.

Bomb

CONTINUED FROM B1

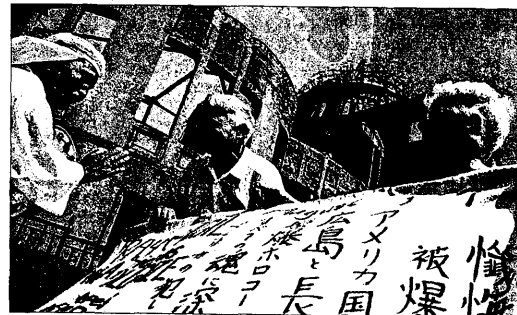
atomic destruction of Hiroshima might be morally "more shameful" and "more degrading" than Japan's "undefensible and infamous act of aggression" at Pearl Harbor.

Such scathing criticism on the part of leading American conservatives continued well after 1945. A 1947 editorial in the Chicago Tribune, at the time a leading conservative voice, claimed that President Harry S. Truman and his advisers were guilty of "crimes against humanity" for "the utterly unnecessary killing of uncounted Japanese."

In 1948, Henry Luce, the conservative owner of Time, Life and Fortune, stated that "if, instead of our doctrine of 'unconditional surrender,' we had all along made our conditions clear, I have little doubt that the war with Japan would have ended soon without the bomb explosion which so jarred the Christian conscience."

A steady drumbeat of conservative criticism continued throughout the 1950s. A 1958 editorial in William F. Buckley Jr.'s National Review took Truman to task for his post-retirement explanation of why he had decided to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The editors asked the question that "ought to haunt Harry Truman: 'Was it really necessary?'"

Could a demonstration of the bomb and an ultimatum have ended the war? The editors chal-



JUNJI KUROKAWA | Associated Press

John Schuchardt, center, and wife Carrie, right, both of Ipswich, Mass., were greeted by a Buddhist monk in Hiroshima on Thursday. The two Americans are touring the world to protest what they say are U.S. policies of "nuclear threats and pre-emptive wars."

lenged Truman to provide a satisfactory answer. Six weeks later, the magazine published an article harshly critical of Truman's atomic-bomb decision.

Two years later, David Lawrence informed his magazine's readers that it was "not too late to confess our guilt and to ask God and all the world to forgive our error" of having used atomic weapons against civilians.

As a 1959 National Review article matter-of-factly stated: "The indefensibility of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima is becoming a part of the national conservative creed."

But times change. In recent decades, most American conservatives have become uncritical of America's use of atomic weapons and dismissive of anyone who holds a contrary view.

Conservative publications now routinely defend Truman's decision. Critics of his decision, to quote from a representative National Review editorial from 1987, are "wrong, and profoundly offensive to all Americans and Japanese who died in that war, and to those Americans who still possess the ability to think."

Sixty years after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, we have an opportunity to grapple anew with the questions surrounding that event.

American conservatives should renew their earlier, deeply held ethical criticism of the Hiroshima bombing instead of promoting the inaccurate but politically convenient view that criticism of the atomic bombing can only come from the left.

Their response will not only tell us much about contemporary American conservatism, it will also determine whether we finally can have an honest debate about Hiroshima's destruction.

The Journal Editorial Report on PBS

Author Philip Howard joins Journal editors for a special look at the fight for legal reform: What went wrong on medical malpractice, class actions, asbestos and more, and how to fix it. The program is presented by Thirteen/WNET New York. The more than 300 public TV stations

拒绝“四国方案”

本报驻科特迪瓦记者 赵章云

埃塞俄比亚首都亚的斯亚贝巴宣布,拒绝和巴西四国联盟提出的有关联合国维持其今年7月初在利比亚苏尔特举既定方案。

上,非盟确立了自己的立场,即要求将5个,新增的11个席位中,包括6个拥,其中两个归非洲;5个非常任理事国,3于这一方案与四国联盟的方案有所区别。四国联盟一直想与之达成一个妥协方,国大会表决。

非盟特别首脑会议,就是试图在联合国联盟达成妥协。来自非盟53个成员闭门会议,其中包括8位总统和8位总,利亚总统奥巴马主持了今天的峰会,盟在这一问题上能够“协商一致”。但只,奥巴马的意见,由阿尔及利亚、布基纳,比亚、马里、苏丹、乌干达和赞比亚9国,决权,贝宁、吉布提和塞内加尔则在这,度。

非之前,非盟成员国之间就存在着较,前非盟的轮值主席国,又是可能被提名,国的非洲国家,自认为获得安理会席位

领导人会见回良玉

5日电 瓦莱塔 平等相待,友好相处,互利合作。回良玉表,中共中央政,理回良玉在出席,舞礼后,于3日,访问。马耳他总,分别会见了回良,好的交谈。

胡锦涛主席和温,和贾齐总理的问,33年来,双边关,方始终相互尊重,

千年发展目标亚太部长级会议闭幕

本报雅加达8月5日电 记者管克江报,道:为期3天的千年发展目标亚太地区部,长级会议5日在雅加达闭幕,参加千年发,展目标亚太部长级会议的40个国家的代表承诺,将采取具体的国家财政计划,实现在2015年,消除贫困的目标,并在会议闭幕时通过了《雅,加达宣言》。

宣言指出,亚太地区必须采取集体行动,相互协作,实现千年发展目标。特别在最不

渔网缠住俄潜艇 日美军方忙救援

据新华社莫斯科8月5日电 (记者岳连国)俄罗斯,海军总司令助理德加洛5日,说,俄太平洋舰队一艘小型军,用潜艇在俄塔林半岛东海,岸海域无法浮出水面的原因,是被废弃渔网牢牢缠挂。

德加洛说,该潜艇是4日,在塔林半岛东海岸的别廖,佐瓦亚湾海域水下执行任,务时发生上述事故的。出事潜,艇型号为AC-28,目前位于水,下约190米。潜艇内共有7名,海员,他们都穿着防寒衣,潜,艇内食品和饮用水储备够用5,昼夜。德加洛强调,目前潜,艇内的氧气储备只够用1昼夜。而俄国防部此前曾表示,潜,艇内的氧气储备够用5昼夜。

目前,俄太平洋舰队的10,艘军舰正在开展救援工作。俄,外交部已经正式请求日本和,美国军舰增援。据悉,日本,的4艘救援舰正在赶往出事海域。

“郑和”重巡三宝垄

复制当年盛况 寄托和平理想

60年前的8月6日,美国在日本,广岛投下了人类第一枚原子弹。瞬息之,间,整个广岛市变成废墟。14万无辜的,日本人死于非命。今年7月底,我出席,第五十五届普格瓦什广岛大会时,广,岛市长秋叶忠利告诉我们,广岛人民在,遭遇这一厄运后,幸存的人们面对生与,死的选择,选择了勇敢地活下去的道,路。他们身受灼伤、辐射和白血症的折,磨,艰苦生活的困扰,但是坚持活下去,重建了广岛。广岛人民大声疾呼,要防,止再次发生核战争,绝不能让人类的悲,剧重演。广岛人民意识到,不能树敌;不,记住历史,历史就会重演。

5年前,我到过广岛。当时,日本友,好人士、著名画家平山郁夫告诉我,1945年广岛遭到原子弹轰炸时,他正,在广岛一所中学念书。他的班同学听,到轰隆巨响,纷纷跑出教室,去看天空,中一堆灼热的火团。平山郁夫不知什,么缘故留在教室中,当他走出教室时,只,见他的同学已经倒在地上,或死或伤,广岛市已遍地废墟。我注意到,平山郁,夫先生用非常平静的声调叙述这段往,事。他的目光流露出丝丝哀伤。几年,前,我和平山郁夫都是21世纪中日友好委,员会委员,有七八年时间每年都开会,讨论如何加强中日友好。中日双方委,员在讨论国际问题时,时而因存在分歧争,论不休。平山郁夫先生从来也不参加我,们的争论。他年复一年提出一个又一,个建议,促进中日友好,加深双方的相,互了解。我很少有机会和他直接交谈。但是,我来到广岛,听到他谈自己的亲身经历,后,我理解他真正懂得应该怎么爱人,类,怎么来促进中日友好。

我多次到广岛。广岛和平纪念馆展,示的文字说明和图片,重现了日本人民遭到原子弹残害的悲,剧,告诉人们无辜的,日本人民是战争受害者。几年前,来自重庆的中国客人在,广岛参观时告诉日本朋友,来到广岛不禁想到,在中国人民,抗战期间,日本对重庆施行大轰炸,和广岛受到轰炸后的情,景非常相似。他们邀请广岛人民也到重庆了解当时发生,的一切。此后,这个纪念馆也展出日本发动对中国和其他亚洲,国家侵略战争造成严重后果的内容。广岛纪念原子弹爆炸,受害者的一个大理石纪念碑上刻着:“让人们灵魂在这里,和平地安息吧!我们不要再重复错误!”1952年建立这座纪,念碑时的广岛市长曾说,这个错误是指日本军国主义犯下,的错误。希望后来人参观纪念碑时新,愿不再犯下这个罪行。

我每次到广岛,内心总是有股疑,问:是不是认识到遭到原子弹轰炸是,日本发动侵略战争造成的后果?最近这次到广岛,有机会听到当时幸存者高桥昭,博先生叙述他的亲身经历。他说,当时他是一个中,学生,在学校时,受到的教育是日本为了生存要打仗,打仗就要杀敌,人。他讲到战争受害者不仅是广岛人,还有日本发动侵略战,争期间遭到杀害的中国等亚洲国家的人。听了这一席话,我,多少得到一些安慰。

7月26日,一名日本右翼分子企图用铁锤和凿子,铲去这个大理石纪念碑上的“错误”两个字。此人声,称“为什么日本,要承认错误,这是美国人的错误”。次日,广岛电台先,播送美国老兵重返广岛参观的消息,一位美国老兵说:“日本,应该记住偷袭美国珍珠港的历史。美国没有犯下什么错,误”。这一天广岛电视台同时播送了日本战俘在纪念抗,日战争胜利60周年时重述抚顺战俘收容所的报道。日本战,俘如今多已七八十岁了。他们有的人利用余生制作木刻画,揭露,日军侵略中国时犯下的罪行。

当我即将离开广岛时,再次凝望今日的广岛。它背,倚一片绿意盎然的群山,面对波浪迭起的蔚蓝色海洋,人,们过着平静的生活。我在沉思,一场骇人听闻的原子弹爆,炸已经过去,了60年,岁月的消逝绝不会抹平广岛人民心中的创,伤。但,更为重要的是人们是否意识到原子弹惨剧是日本对外侵略,战争造成的。广岛市长秋叶忠利说:“不记住历史,历史,就会重,复!”我在想,如何正确认识历史,依然是人们面对的课题。

国际随笔

大人物给他们带来好运。关于郑和“出巡”游行,有个故事。据传,很久以前,三保洞为私人所有,前去,拜谒郑和的人都要支付高

广岛悲剧,历史教训何在?

杨成绪

人民日报 People's Daily

China, essay, 6 August 2005

Tragedy of Hiroshima: Where is the lesson from history?

杨成绪

On August 6, 60 years ago, the United States dropped the first atomic bomb ever used on humankind. Instantly, the city of Hiroshima was completely in ruins, and 140,000 people lost their lives. When I attended the 55th Hiroshima Convention at the end of June last year, the mayor of Hiroshima, Mayor Akiba, said the following: Sixty years ago, the people in Hiroshima encountered the catastrophe of the atomic bomb, and the survivors were faced with the choice between life and death. They, however, chose to live and to fight with burns, radioactivity, and leukemia; struggled with an anguished life; and reconstructed the city of Hiroshima. Citizens of Hiroshima have been campaigning for human beings not to repeat such a tragedy and to prevent nuclear wars. Also we recognize that we should not make enemies and when we forget history we will repeat the same mistakes.

I visited Hiroshima and met Kuo Hirayama, a painter, five years ago. At that time, he told me his story about the war time. He was studying at a junior high school when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. His classmates heard the detonation sound and went out from the room and saw a fireball in the sky. However, Mr. Hirayama stayed inside the room for some reason. After a while when he went out from the classroom, he saw his classmates were lying dead or injured. The city of Hiroshima was in ruins. Mr. Hirayama reflected on that time and talked calmly; however I could feel the sorrow in deep his eyes. Mr. Hirayama and I have been committee members of 21st century Japan-China Friendship Association and it has been several years since we began holding annual meetings to promote Japan-China friendship. Committee members from both countries, China and Japan, have often held heated debates when discussing international affairs, but he did not join in such arguments. He proposed numerous ideas every year to endorse better friendship and mutual understanding for both countries. I did not have many chances to talk with him personally; nevertheless I felt that nobody truly loved human beings more than he did, and he acknowledged ways to promote better China-Japan relationship when I came and listened to his own personal history.

I have visited Hiroshima many times. The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum displays and illustrates the atomic bomb tragedy, and Japanese citizens' appeals that they are the victims of war. Visitors from Chongqing, China, when they visited the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Museum a few years ago, said to a Japanese friend, "Looking at Hiroshima of those days reminded me of Chongqing during the war against Japan because Japan dropped numerous bombs on Chongqing. Chongqing at that time looked like Hiroshima after the A-Bomb". They invited friends from Hiroshima to show the circumstances in Chongqing of those times. Afterwards, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum started to display materials such as pictures of China and other parts of Asia damaged by the Japanese invasion. The carving on the marble cenotaph in the Peace Memorial park reads 'Let All the Souls Here Rest in Peace, For We Shall Not Repeat the Evil'. The mayor of the city at the time, in 1952 when the cenotaph was built, said 'the Evil' carved on it indicated the mistake Japanese imperialism had committed, and he hoped people who came there would pray for the same mistake never to be repeated.

Every time I visit Hiroshima, I wonder whether the Japanese people really recognize that the result of the atomic bombing arose from the fact that Japan commenced a war of aggression. The last time I visited Hiroshima, I listened to a talk by a victim of the A-bomb, Akihiro Takahashi. At that time he was a junior high school student, and the education he had at school taught him that Japan waged the war to survive, which means Japanese people had to kill their enemies. He explained that the victims of the war included not only people in Hiroshima but also people killed in other parts of Asia, including China, during the Japanese war of invasion. His talk eased my mind to some extent.

On July 26, a Japanese right-winger tried to eliminate 'the Evil' carved on the peace memorial stone chest. "Why on Earth does Japan admit the evil? This is the evil America committed", he insisted. The next day a Hiroshima local broadcast reported that several American veterans came back to Hiroshima and one of them stated, "Japan should not forget the attack on Pearl Harbor. America did not make a mistake." On the same day, the service also broadcast a report on former Japanese prisoners of war who visited a prison camp at Lushun, China, on the 60th anniversary of the war against Japan. The former war prisoners are 70 to 80 years old now, and some of them have addressed an appeal to atone for the acts they committed during the Japanese invasion on China by making woodcuts for the rest of their lives.

Before leaving Hiroshima, I again looked back at Hiroshima City today. The city is surrounded by beautiful green mountains and blue sea, and the people are living in peace. Already 60 years have passed since the horrible atomic bombing, though the scars inside the hearts of the people living in Hiroshima have probably not healed yet. Nevertheless, it would seem to be more important for people to recognize whether the A-Bomb tragedy was caused by the Japanese military invasion of the countries in Asia. The Mayor of Hiroshima Akinori Akiba said, "when people forget about history, the history will be repeated". It will be a huge task for people to comprehend history appropriately.

THE THIRD WAY
Don't abandon
the people
of Cambodia

In February 2003, the Serious Crimes Unit in East Timor announced it had indicted General Wiranto, the former head of the Indonesian military, for his role in the bloody Indonesian withdrawal from the territory in 1999. As Indonesia angrily condemned the indictment the UN, which had established and funded the unit, said media reports attributing the indictment to the UN or its prosecutors were mistaken. With Timor's independence in 2002, the secretary-general's spokesman explained, the Timorese special panels had become part of the domestic judicial system, even if the UN still provided most of their budget.

This was more than an issue of semantics. Times had changed since the UN intervened in Timor, and the world's leading states were now keen to avoid any confrontation with Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country.

As a result, the special panels never received the financial support they needed to function and never got the international backing needed to be effective. The vast majority of those indicted had fled to Indonesia in 1999 and Jakarta openly flouted the court's requests for extradition. When the panels held their final hearing in May, some 75 per cent of all suspects indicted were still living freely in Indonesia.

This political abandonment should concern all who believe in justice, but in particular those involved in the upcoming Cambodian

Extraordinary Chambers,



"The tribunal is the last chance to bring to justice [the Khmer Rouge leadership] - and it can succeed only with foreign

the tribunal to be established this year in Phnom Penh to prosecute the surviving leadership of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge Tribunal will also be a "hybrid" court, with mixed international and national staff, jointly operated by the UN and the national government. Its obstacles will be different but its challenges will be equally great, and it will require international support to overcome them.

Unfortunately, this support is far from assured. Observers have long expressed concern about the prominent role the troubled Cambodian judiciary will play in the

In 1971, in my first book *Understanding Doomsday I* wrote: "The moment the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the world entered what has been called the nuclear age. Yet, except for those two blinding moments in August 1945, doomsday has remained within the confines of man's imagination. On the actual battlefields of the post-war era have raged guerrilla, revolutionary, civil and even generational war - but not, at least as yet, nuclear war."

Today, Japan will note the 60th anniversary of the only tragic occasion in which nuclear bombs were actually used. It will be noteworthy less as a celebration (that no nuclear weapons have been used in war since) than as a rumination - the point being that we still live in an unsteady era when two nations, the US and Russia, have too many nuclear weapons, more than a few have at least a handful (including, possibly, North Korea) and who knows how many - or if any - terrorists have the materials, blueprints and fissionable material to put one together and set it off.

In short, it is a tragedy that the world still needs to understand the possibility of doomsday, so the world

According to a state government minister in Australia "there is a tsunami out there called China and we have to find a way around it". That was the rallying cry recently of Andre Haermeyer, the Victorian government's minister for manufacturing, to his political colleagues around Australia. Victoria is the nation's manufacturing home and some business and political leaders there are concerned the industry will sustain heavy job and investment losses as China's low-priced imports flood into the country.

This week some Australian politicians were trying to get a handle

owes a measure of debt to the Japanese who "celebrate" the anniversary of the first use of nuclear weapons by not only refusing to possess a single one themselves but also by vehemently forswearing the ambition to acquire them. It is to its credit that the Japanese electorate remains, on the whole, deeply pacifist.

As Foreign Minister Nobutaka Machimura recently put it: "As the only country to have ever suffered nuclear devastation, Japan firmly maintains the three non-nuclear principles - not possessing, not producing and not permitting the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan." To this I say: bravo. One must find it extremely telling that Japan - second only to the US in technological prowess - remains a lead exemplar of the anti-nuclear movement.

Japan's own vicious conduct during the second world war is

precisely because of the horrible uniqueness of the experience.

As Richard Falk, a pre-eminent international law pioneer, once wrote: "The depth of the response of the Japanese to their defeat in World War II... is one consequence of the material and spiritual scars left by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The constitutional prohibition against war and the military establishment, the continuing potency of Japanese pacifism ... and the annual commemoratives of Hiroshima, all

always uppermost in the minds of its Asian neighbours, but so should be its suffering from the atomic catastrophe that rained on tens of thousands of Japanese city-dwellers for whom war could not have ended early enough. Today there are very few survivors left; many perished either in the bombing or from the various radiation-induced illnesses. But the memories of that nuclear holocaust are fresh in the minds of the Japanese

precisely because of the horrible uniqueness of the experience.

As Richard Falk, a pre-eminent international law pioneer, once wrote: "The depth of the response of the Japanese to their defeat in World War II... is one consequence of the material and spiritual scars left by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The constitutional prohibition against war and the military establishment, the continuing potency of Japanese pacifism ... and the annual commemoratives of Hiroshima, all

always uppermost in the minds of its Asian neighbours, but so should be its suffering from the atomic catastrophe that rained on tens of thousands of Japanese city-dwellers for whom war could not have ended early enough. Today there are very few survivors left; many perished either in the bombing or from the various radiation-induced illnesses. But the memories of that nuclear holocaust are fresh in the minds of the Japanese

precisely because of the horrible uniqueness of the experience.

As Richard Falk, a pre-eminent international law pioneer, once wrote: "The depth of the response of the Japanese to their defeat in World War II... is one consequence of the material and spiritual scars left by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The constitutional prohibition against war and the military establishment, the continuing potency of Japanese pacifism ... and the annual commemoratives of Hiroshima, all

always uppermost in the minds of its Asian neighbours, but so should be its suffering from the atomic catastrophe that rained on tens of thousands of Japanese city-dwellers for whom war could not have ended early enough. Today there are very few survivors left; many perished either in the bombing or from the various radiation-induced illnesses. But the memories of that nuclear holocaust are fresh in the minds of the Japanese

precisely because of the horrible uniqueness of the experience.

As Richard Falk, a pre-eminent international law pioneer, once wrote: "The depth of the response of the Japanese to their defeat in World War II... is one consequence of the material and spiritual scars left by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The constitutional prohibition against war and the military establishment, the continuing potency of Japanese pacifism ... and the annual commemoratives of Hiroshima, all

always uppermost in the minds of its Asian neighbours, but so should be its suffering from the atomic catastrophe that rained on tens of thousands of Japanese city-dwellers for whom war could not have ended early enough. Today there are very few survivors left; many perished either in the bombing or from the various radiation-induced illnesses. But the memories of that nuclear holocaust are fresh in the minds of the Japanese

CHINESE EXPORTS TO AUSTRALIA
Greg Barns

Manufacturing a storm

trade agreement, says: "China is Australia's second-largest export market and the revaluation ... will make Australian exports cheaper, having a positive impact especially on resources and agriculture products."

In short, once again the rise of China is perceived as a double-edged sword. Australia's manufacturing sector, while comprising less than 15 per cent of the nation's gross domestic product, is still a politically powerful lobby group. And while it and its political allies like Mr Haermeyer have not yet resorted to asking the government to do as the

here are relishing more trade with

here are relishing more trade with

here are relishing more trade with

suggest that Japan, as a victim of this kind of war... has a special understanding of the war different from that of other nations that have been ravaged and defeated."

As the winds of renewed nationalism (including Japanese) swirl across Asia, as China overtly opposes Japan having a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, and Japan's erstwhile ally the US (covertly) adopts a short-sighted policy approach that works to make Tokyo's dream all the more impossible to achieve - and as so many people continue to bang their fist on the public lectern to demand further official Japanese apologies for its wartime behaviour - let us also not forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Whatever Japan's faults, it is the only nation to have ever suffered a thermonuclear holocaust. And it says something very special about the Japanese that perhaps their most notable ambition is to remain forever unique in that tragic, unforgettable regard.

Tom Plate, a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, is the founder of the Asia Pacific Media Network.

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Australian clothing and footwear market. One leading clothing manufacturer, Andrew Edgar, says the threat of low-cost competition is an irreversible reality.

However, even in this case the impact of Chinese imports might be exaggerated. As ANZ Bank's chief economist Saul Eslake said last month: "For all the attention devoted to China's exports of textiles, following the [belated] dismantling of trade barriers... their share of total exports has fallen from nearly 24 per cent in 1997 to less than 14 per cent in the first four months of 2005."

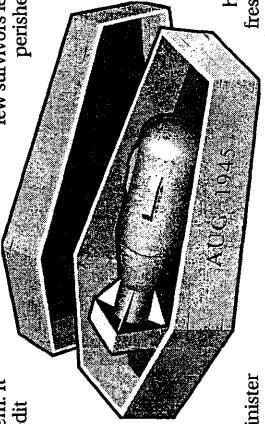
As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

Why the world is in Japan's debt

HIROSHIMA ANNIVERSARY Tom Plate



suggest that Japan, as a victim of this kind of war... has a special understanding of the war different from that of other nations that have been ravaged and defeated."

As the winds of renewed nationalism (including Japanese) swirl across Asia, as China overtly opposes Japan having a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, and Japan's erstwhile ally the US (covertly) adopts a short-sighted policy approach that works to make Tokyo's dream all the more impossible to achieve - and as so many people continue to bang their fist on the public lectern to demand further official Japanese apologies for its wartime behaviour - let us also not forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Whatever Japan's faults, it is the only nation to have ever suffered a thermonuclear holocaust. And it says something very special about the Japanese that perhaps their most notable ambition is to remain forever unique in that tragic, unforgettable regard.

Tom Plate, a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, is the founder of the Asia Pacific Media Network.

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Distributed by the UCLA Media Centre

Australian clothing and footwear market. One leading clothing manufacturer, Andrew Edgar, says the threat of low-cost competition is an irreversible reality.

However, even in this case the impact of Chinese imports might be exaggerated. As ANZ Bank's chief economist Saul Eslake said last month: "For all the attention devoted to China's exports of textiles, following the [belated] dismantling of trade barriers... their share of total exports has fallen from nearly 24 per cent in 1997 to less than 14 per cent in the first four months of 2005."

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

Remember
Sars,
Dr Chow



The biggest outbreak ever of the pig-borne *Streptococcus suis* disease has already spread to at least 10 cities and 32 counties in Sichuan province (四川省), claiming 38 lives since the middle of last month. It shows no sign of abating and poses the most severe public health threat to the region since Sars.

Mainland authorities, who are usually less than forthcoming on unfavourable news, have taken the situation seriously. Beijing and Chongqing (重庆) were among the first to set up roadblocks to ban Sichuan pigs and pork. Guangzhou confiscated over 100 tonnes of suspicious frozen meat.

In contrast, the Hong Kong government has been complacent. Initially, it failed to ban the import of pork from the infected areas and to recall the meat in question from the market. Neither did it require cases of the disease to be reported to the authorities. Officials were adamant that Sichuan's unilateral initiative to refrain from exporting pigs to Hong Kong was adequate.

Finally, last Monday, Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food York Chow Yat-ngok hosted his first press conference on the issue, saying the disease had been listed as infectious and slaughterhouses had been told to report such cases. He also pledged to step up inspection of farms and enforcement against illegal imports. But he maintained there was no need to ban imports of pigs and pork from the mainland.

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be

As a political appointee, Dr Chow's performance has been disappointing. He has apparently forgotten the painful Sars lessons and failed to comprehend how it can be



반성은 외면한 채 “美가 가해자” 구호만 무성

원자폭탄 투하 60주년 日히로시마 르포르

북 사관 최초의 원자폭탄이 투하된 지 60주년 5일 일본 히로시마 시에서 열리고 있는 원자폭탄 투하 60주년 기념행사가 1945년 8월 6일 히로시마에 원자폭탄이 투하된 지 60주년을 맞아 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다.

도쿄에서는 1945년 8월 6일 히로시마에 원자폭탄이 투하된 지 60주년을 맞아 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다.

미국은 1945년 8월 6일 히로시마에 원자폭탄을 투하했다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다.

일본은 1945년 8월 6일 히로시마에 원자폭탄을 투하했다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다.

미국은 1945년 8월 6일 히로시마에 원자폭탄을 투하했다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다. 이날 행사는 히로시마 시내 곳곳에서 열리고 있다.

日 “직접 일본 와서 수당 수령절차 밝히려”

의견의 한 회원(70)이 비문을 해 손해 경장에 구수했다. '면허 장도소' 서, 잘못은 되풀이하지 않을 것이니'란 비문 중 '잘못'이란 부어를 감치로 고쳐버린 것. 일본은 아무런 잘못이 없는데 왜 일본인 스스로 이런 말을 썼느냐는 것이 평인의 정감에서 벗어난 채순 이유였다.

비문은 9월 기념행사를 앞두고 원래대로 부원인 상태였다. 비석 내부 좌측에는 '원폭 희생자 23만702명' (5월 14일 현재) 원폭 투하 직후 숨진 12만여 명과 추후 증으로 숨진 사람 포함의 명부가 들어 있다.

가속과 함께 수백만 명이 참배를 마치고 돌아오는 한 시민은 소견을 문자로 입력 요구하며 비문 수정으로 인한 공 원 주의를 인터넷에 비비었다. 그는

“과거 상상조차 하지 못한 일이 벌어지고 있다”면서 일제 침략 전쟁의 가해 사실을 부인하려는 최근의 일본사회의 풍조를 우려했다.

이사회신문이 최근 전국의 피폭자 12만8000여 명을 상대로 여론조사를 실시한 결과 62%가 '미국은 사회제'를 반대하고 답했다. 또 전쟁 책임에 대해서는 '미국과 일본 쌍방에 있다'는 의견이 51%를 넘었다.

5일 평화기념공원 내 동경은 한국 등 일제 침략에 피해를 본 나라 국민으로서의 도덕적 의무가 있다고 밝힌 일본인의 자식을 낳고 있다고 다 히로시마시청 홈페이지에 올랐다.



60년간 보존된 원폭비문. 이 비문은 히로시마 시의 평화기념공원에서 1945년 8월 6일 투하된 원자폭탄을 맞아 다량의 인원이 희생된 것을 추모하는 의미가 담겨 있다. 비문은 9월 기념행사를 앞두고 원래대로 부원인 상태였다. 비석 내부 좌측에는 '원폭 희생자 23만702명' (5월 14일 현재) 원폭 투하 직후 숨진 12만여 명과 추후 증으로 숨진 사람 포함의 명부가 들어 있다.



일본 원폭투하 기념비

■ 거센 반美운동 왜?

“히로시마를 해가지 만들지말라” 美 진투기등 이진계획에 반발

이와쿠나 기지는 현재도 야간전투 능력이 가진 미 해군 주력기 호넷 전투기 36대를 비롯해 전차함포기, 수송기, 미사일 구축 중인 미군 재배치계획과 관련이 깊다.

제2차 세계대전 당시 히로시마가 원폭 공격 대상이 된 것은 일본의 서쪽 절반을 담당하는 군사도시였기 때문. 현재도 이 일대는 육상, 해상 주력기 기지는 물론 미군 해병대가 지, 미군 함정함과 전략비행기기가 밀집한 군사 요충지다.

여기에 5월 미군은 도쿄 주변 아사히(厚志) 기지 기능을 히로시마에 이전한 아사히(厚志) 전 이와쿠나(愛媛)로 이전할 계획이라고 발표했다. 오가사와 주둔 공중군유기 15대도 이와쿠나로 옮겨질 계획이다.

“트루먼 원폭투하 결정은 일본군 지휘부 감청 결과” 美주간지 “결사항전 의지 확인후 단행” 보도

일본의 패망을 부른 1945년 8월 히로시마 원폭 투하 결정은 미국 제1차 세계대전 중 일본군을 감청한 지령을 바탕으로 한 것이란 주장이 일각에서 제기되고 있다. 히로시마 원폭 투하 결정은 미군의 제1차 세계대전 중 일본군을 감청한 지령을 바탕으로 한 것이란 주장이 일각에서 제기되고 있다.

미국은 1945년 8월 히로시마 원폭 투하 결정은 미국 제1차 세계대전 중 일본군을 감청한 지령을 바탕으로 한 것이란 주장이 일각에서 제기되고 있다. 히로시마 원폭 투하 결정은 미군의 제1차 세계대전 중 일본군을 감청한 지령을 바탕으로 한 것이란 주장이 일각에서 제기되고 있다.

東亜日報 The Dong-A Ilbo

Korea, feature, 6 August 2005

While ignoring any apology, “The U.S. is the offender” echoes in vain Hiroshima 60th anniversary of the A-bomb, Japan report

On August 6, people will commemorate the 60th anniversary of the first atomic bomb ever used on humankind. On the 5th, the City of Hiroshima was filled with prayers, anti-war and anti-nuclear groups, and media press around the Peace Memorial Park and the A-bomb Dome, with its steel frame preserved as it remained from the time of the bombing. Most of their activities criticized the “offender” U.S. without showing any regret for the invasion of Korea. I was afraid that the Japanese society as a whole was swinging to the Right.

▽Peace Memorial Park becoming Anti-US advertisement

At 10 a.m. on the 5th, the 36th Memorial Service for the War Dead was held. There were more than 300 participants including Korean residents of Japan and students in front of the Memory of the Korean Victims of the A-bomb, which is located in the park. While people strongly insisted upon peace because the tragedy of the A-bombing should not be repeated again, Japanese high school girl scouts drew my attention. Yuko Nishimura, an 11th grader who visited the park for the first time, said, “I did not know that there are Korean A-bomb survivors as I have not learned about it. I’ll now realize the fact that people were brought by force to Japan against their will. I’ll also be friendly to Korean people from now on.” “Please join our activity to claim an apology from the US, which massacred innocent children, women and elders,” some private group advocated. At the same time, they were carrying out signature collection campaigns in a bid against war and nuclear weapons. Similar sights were viewed all around the park. Their appeals attracted Japanese prayer-givers, who came from the suburbs in big coaches, and raced over to subscribe.

Citizens’ groups repeatedly voiced anti-America propaganda, along with information about a gathering, to ban-the-bomb campaigners from cars pulled over at bus stops. Takano, a young member of one group, criticized America’s atrocious cruelties by saying, “The war should have ended without the atomic bombing, but the USA unilaterally invaded Japan and slaughtered people brutally to occupy it.” However, when I asked his opinion about the Japanese war crimes toward Korea, “To be honest, I don’t know much about it,” he replied awkwardly.

The exhibitions in the park also illustrated the wartime devastation, such as photos of burned corpses shortly after the bombing. Most of them emphasized only the A-bomb catastrophes in Japan but not those of the Japanese war of invasion.

A female guide in her 50s, whom I met at the Hiroshima A-bomb 60th anniversary exhibition, raised her voice saying, “We Asians should all be active together in the anti-nuclear movement”. When I asked the reason why there were no materials relating to the atrocities of the Japanese aggression in Asia, she answered inaccurately, “This exhibition consistently shows objective information on the dropping of the A-bomb”.

Comment & Analysis

Geoffrey Wheatcroft Hiroshima wasn't uniquely wicked. It was part of a policy for the mass killing of civilians

The birth of 'mere terror'

At the time, there was little immediate sense that something utterly extraordinary had happened or that life had changed forever. After August 6 1945 popular newspapers wrote half nervously and half exultantly about the coming of the "atomic age" but the most widespread reaction was mere thankfulness that the war was over.

It was argued then, and still sometimes is, that the bombing of Hiroshima 60 years ago tomorrow, and of Nagasaki three days later, was justified by the Japanese surrender obviating the need for an invasion of Japan which would have meant huge casualties. That may not even be true, though the debate among military historians remains unresolved.

By the summer of 1945 Japan was already prostrate. Not only were Japanese armies being driven out of the Pacific islands and Burma. American bombers were wrecking the cities of Japan and, in one of the most successful campaigns of the whole war, submarines of the US navy had done to American admirals believed there was a matter of time and not much of it, and a strong suspicion persisted of an ulterior motive by Washington, wanting to end the war with Japan quickly before Soviet Russia joined in.

In any case, that argument begs the profoundest questions of ends and means. In the shadow of the mushroom cloud, few people addressed them, or grasped the enormity of what had been done. Two who did were very remarkable men writing from entirely disparate perspectives, Dwight Macdonald, an American radical atheist, and Monsignor Ronald Knox, a conservative English Catholic.

Once an active Trotskyist, Macdonald was evolving from revolutionary socialism to pacifist anarchism, as reflected in *Politics*, the brilliant magazine he published from 1944 to 1949. His response to the news from Hiroshima was unequivocal: "This atrocious action places us, the defenders of civilisation, on a moral level with 'them': the beasts of Maledank. And 'we', the American people, are just as much and as little responsible for this horror as 'they': the German people."

After the two cities were destroyed, Knox was about to propose a public declaration that the weapon would not be used again, when he heard the news of the Japanese surrender. Instead he sat down and wrote *God and the Atom*, an astonishing book, neglected at the time and since, but as important for

Sophists as for Christians. An outrage had been committed in human and divine terms, Knox thought Hiroshima was an assault on faith, because the splitting of the atom itself meant "an indeterminate element in the heart of things"; on hope, because "the

possibilities of evil are increased by an increase in the possibilities of destruction", and on charity, because "this answers those who still defend the bombing of Hiroshima — 'men fighting for a good cause have taken, at one particular moment of decision, the easier, not the nobler path'". That was finely put, by both writers, but there was more to it: should Hiroshima really be seen as uniquely wicked or cataclysmic? However horrific, it may be that it was not so very different in degree, or even in kind, from what had gone before.

In 1939 the British government had entered the war with high protestations of virtue. Neville Chamberlain told parliament: "Whatever be the lengths to which others may go, His Majesty's government will never resort to the deliberate attack on women and children, and on other civilians for the purposes of mere terrorism." By the end of the war, the British had resorted to enough "mere terrorism" to destroy most of the cities of Germany and many of their inhabitants, 100,000 of them of civilian status. This grew out of the exigencies of war, of sheer necessity, and yet it was an immense development. If you had told any Englishman a hundred years ago — not only a pacifist but an army officer — that before the century was out warfare would largely consist of killing civilians he would have thought you were insane.

But that was what happened. During the recent Kosovo "war", a French officer asked bitterly if this was to be the first war in history in which only civilians were killed, and yet we had long since begun to go down just that road. It is sobering to compare the 300,000 British uniformed servicemen who died in 1989-45 with the 600,000 German civilians killed.

Making war on civilians took a further turn in the Far East, and not only because of the Japanese army's own atrocities towards conquered peoples. Before August 1945, very many Japanese had already been killed by "conventional" bombing. On one night in Tokyo in March, American bombers killed 85,000 civilians — more than would die at Nagasaki — and at least 300,000 were incinerated in great fire raids over the following months.

And so it was that, as Evelyn Waugh put it when writing about Knox's book in 1948: "To the practical warrior the atom bomb presented no particular moral or spiritual problem. We were engaged in destroying the enemy, civilians and combatants alike. We always assumed that destruction was roughly proportionate to the labour and material expended. Whether it was more convenient to destroy a city with one bomb or a hundred thousand depended on the relative costs of production." Hiroshima was but one more step. However noble Macdonald and Knox's

methods and aims than the US government was. The Italian counter-terrorism operation that was essential in the capture of one of the alleged terrorists fleeing London is itself in open conflict with Bush's "war". Last month, an Italian prosecutor filed indictments against 13 CIA operatives who allegedly betrayed their Italian intelligence colleagues in surveillance of an Egyptian Muslim cleric, using their information but not telling

very much in place. Since September 11, Bush proposed a sharp dichotomy between "war" and "law enforcement". In his 2004 State of the Union address, he ridiculed those who view counter-terrorism as other than his conception of war: "I know that some people question if America is really in a war at all. They view terrorism more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments. ... The terrorists and

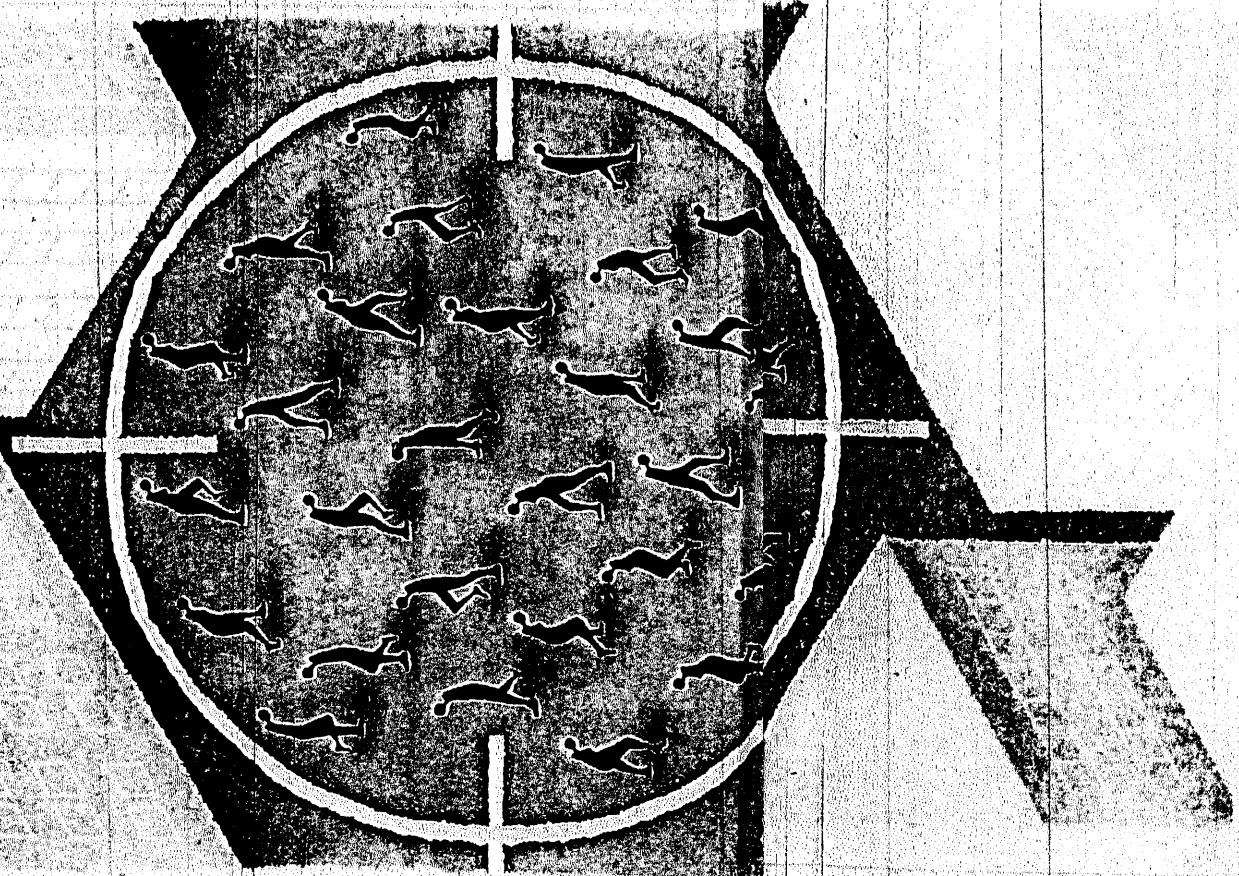
— from senior US military figures, the military corps of lawyers, the then Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the FBI — Bush disdained the Geneva conventions and avoided legalities, especially trials, to pursue a far-flung system of prisons run by an unaccountable military chain of command apart from traditional counter-intelligence. It has been operated clandestinely, removed from the interests

Cheney described the use of law enforcement in the war on terror as effeminate 'sensitivity'

the recommendation of military investigators looking into FBI reports of torture in Guantanamo that its commander, Maj Gen Geoffrey Miller, be recommended for destruction of duty. Last month, three top military advisers from the judge advocate general's office, the army, air force and marines testified before the Senate that they had objected to the start of the new abusive techniques of interrogation at Detention

Red Cross, and from asking patients not to be tortured by the army field manual. One of these senators, John McCain, himself a prisoner of war in Vietnam, released a letter signed by more than a dozen retired senior military generals and admirals as well as persons of war. It said: "The abuse of prisoners' rights is a disgrace in the war on America's cause in the war on terror. Endangers US service members who might be captured by the enemy, and is antithetical to the values

counter-terrorism continues unabated. It goes on for reasons beyond domestic political considerations. At its heart lies the drive for concentrated executive power above the rule of law. Predictably, Bush's duty war is having a counter-productive effect, just as every militant abused or killed, a community of like-minded militants is inspired. Hated, resentment and



On one night in Tokyo, US bombers killed 85,000 civilians

may now seem, it is only fair to point out that one was a conscientious objector living in New York and the other a priest living in a country house in Shropshire.

Their consciences might not have been so acute if they had been in uniform, fighting or about to fight against Japan. To put it in personal family terms, apart from one uncle I never knew who had been killed in Bomber Command (and for all Macdonald's rhetorical flourish, I don't think that he or even the crew of Enola Gay, were war criminals to be compared to death camp guards); two other uncles had recently been released from German prison camps; and my father, a Fleet Air Arm pilot, was training a new squadron destined for the Japanese war where he had already served. I have never asked

any of them, but I imagine that their immediate reaction to the news that August was pure relief. I imagine there would have been in a country house in Shropshire. Where Macdonald was surely right was to say that nuclear weapons — or what President Harry Truman called "the greatest achievement of organised science in history" — had rendered obsolete the very concept of material, scientific "progress". As the great and heroic Stravinsky Well had said before her death two years earlier, the evil in modern war was now the technical aspects itself rather than political factors. Everything that has happened since has only confirmed that truth.

Geoffrey Wheatcroft is a senior writer in *The Spectator* and a frequent contributor to *The Guardian*. He can be contacted at geoffrey@comment.guardian.co.uk

Sidney Blumenthal Britain should avoid any compromise with the dirty war that the Bush administration is waging against terrorism

Above the rule of law

Against every significant aspect of the investigation to bring the London terrorists to justice is the opposite of Bush's "war on terrorism". From the leading role of Scotland Yard to the close cooperation with police, the British effort is at odds with the US operation directed by the Pentagon. Just months before the London bombings, upon visiting the Guantanamo prison, British counter-

terrorism operation that was essential in the capture of one of the alleged terrorists fleeing London is itself in open conflict with Bush's "war". Last month, an Italian prosecutor filed indictments against 13 CIA operatives who allegedly betrayed their Italian intelligence colleagues in surveillance of an Egyptian Muslim cleric, using their information but not telling

very much in place. Since September 11, Bush proposed a sharp dichotomy between "war" and "law enforcement". In his 2004 State of the Union address, he ridiculed those who view counter-terrorism as other than his conception of war: "I know that some people question if America is really in a war at all. They view terrorism more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments. ... The terrorists and

— from senior US military figures, the military corps of lawyers, the then Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the FBI — Bush disdained the Geneva conventions and avoided legalities, especially trials, to pursue a far-flung system of prisons run by an unaccountable military chain of command apart from traditional counter-intelligence. It has been operated clandestinely, removed from the interests

Cheney described the use of law enforcement in the war on terror as effeminate 'sensitivity'

the recommendation of military investigators looking into FBI reports of torture in Guantanamo that its commander, Maj Gen Geoffrey Miller, be recommended for destruction of duty. Last month, three top military advisers from the judge advocate general's office, the army, air force and marines testified before the Senate that they had objected to the start of the new abusive techniques of interrogation at Detention

Red Cross, and from asking patients not to be tortured by the army field manual. One of these senators, John McCain, himself a prisoner of war in Vietnam, released a letter signed by more than a dozen retired senior military generals and admirals as well as persons of war. It said: "The abuse of prisoners' rights is a disgrace in the war on America's cause in the war on terror. Endangers US service members who might be captured by the enemy, and is antithetical to the values

counter-terrorism continues unabated. It goes on for reasons beyond domestic political considerations. At its heart lies the drive for concentrated executive power above the rule of law. Predictably, Bush's duty war is having a counter-productive effect, just as every militant abused or killed, a community of like-minded militants is inspired. Hated, resentment and

Jemima Lewis

No nudes is bad news

If you can't go naked when you're dead and buried, when can you? In small-town Illinois, it seems, there is never a good time to let it all hang out. Robert Norman, a retired railroad clerk who died last week aged 52, spent the better part of his life fighting for the right to be nude. He was regularly prosecuted for using the public beach in front of his family and a hat, but still he refused to cover up. Yet his family have decided — against his dying wishes — that he must depart this world fully clothed. He will be buried in a casket and a matching shirt, an omen of such cruel death that one might almost think it had been chosen out of spite.

Norman's brothers have tried to explain away his persistent dressing as a kind of madness. He was, they say, traumatised after serving in the second world war. His neighbours don't seem to have cared much about his madness; they just wanted to see him. Brenda Lester, who lived next-door, told the BBC: "We didn't really know him. We just had him arrested." Without the intervention of her daughter, who caught a glimpse of him, "Not really, if we had him arrested in the spring he'd be gone for the summer and we wouldn't have to worry about him until the next spring. We British are hardly more tolerant in our dealings with nudists. Vanessa Bedwell, the first man to stand naked in an English court — he had been prosecuted more times than any other man — was once refused life and limb by refusing to get dressed during five months on remand in Brixton prison. His case has since been eclipsed by that of Stephen Gough, the naked wanderer who walked from Land's End to John O'Groats in only his boots. He was arrested 14 times and served two prison sentences.

It may seem extraordinary that — in the age of satellite navigation and Internet pornography — the nudist movement remains so controversial. But Anglo-Saxon culture is not averse to statism. The problem with nudists is that they are not quite so innocent as they seem. Their quest for liberation in Germany was the Nazis, the nudist movement has been declared its wholehearted enemy. It was all about heads and thistles, and the dispassionate appreciation of a woman's beauty. (Curiously, the stigma of those naked bodies stretching down appears to have been a woman's natural state. He banned nudists in 1933, on the grounds that it was a woman's natural state.)

The sad thing is, we need nudists on the beach now more than ever. They alone are brave enough to defy the dictates of the body beautiful. Dedicated as they are to self, they consider it in their skin. They consider such practices as body-waxing, fake tanning or plastic surgery, liposuction, hair, dedicatedly, they are not last defiance against the porn-star aesthetic. That may explain why there seems to be a growing mood of fondness towards nudists. Last month, Stephen Gough set off from Land's End to retrace his historic walk — this time in the company of a naked girlfriend. They got as far as Shropshire before they were arrested. But the locals have come out in their defence in a pool for the Shropshire Star. 6% said they wouldn't mind encountering a naked wanderer. It only the people of Illinois had been so enlightened.

Jemima Lewis is a columnist at *The Week* magazine. jew@weekmagazine.co.uk

International

Marbella mourns The Spanish resort comes to terms with the loss of King Fahd – and his money 15

The burning and the haunting: how for some the nightmare of Hiroshima will never end

Survivors describe the horrors of August 6 1945 and the scars that remain

Gavin Rees in Hiroshima

At night, Akiko Takakura has the same dreams, ones in which she sees bodies floating in her local swimming pool, or hanging from trees, the images that confronted her when she regained consciousness and saw what she calls "the city of death". Nobody who survived Hiroshima 60 years ago today was closer to the explosion than Mrs Takakura, and she holds a special place in a group of "hibakusha" – the atomic people.

The nightmares that have stayed with her are understandable, but probably the mildest manifestation of the physical and mental scars that remain with many of those who survived. Some hibakusha have only started to talk publicly about their experiences in the last decade. Although they now receive special state welfare provision and much public attention, for many years after the war they were stigmatised. Women, in particular, found it hard to marry.

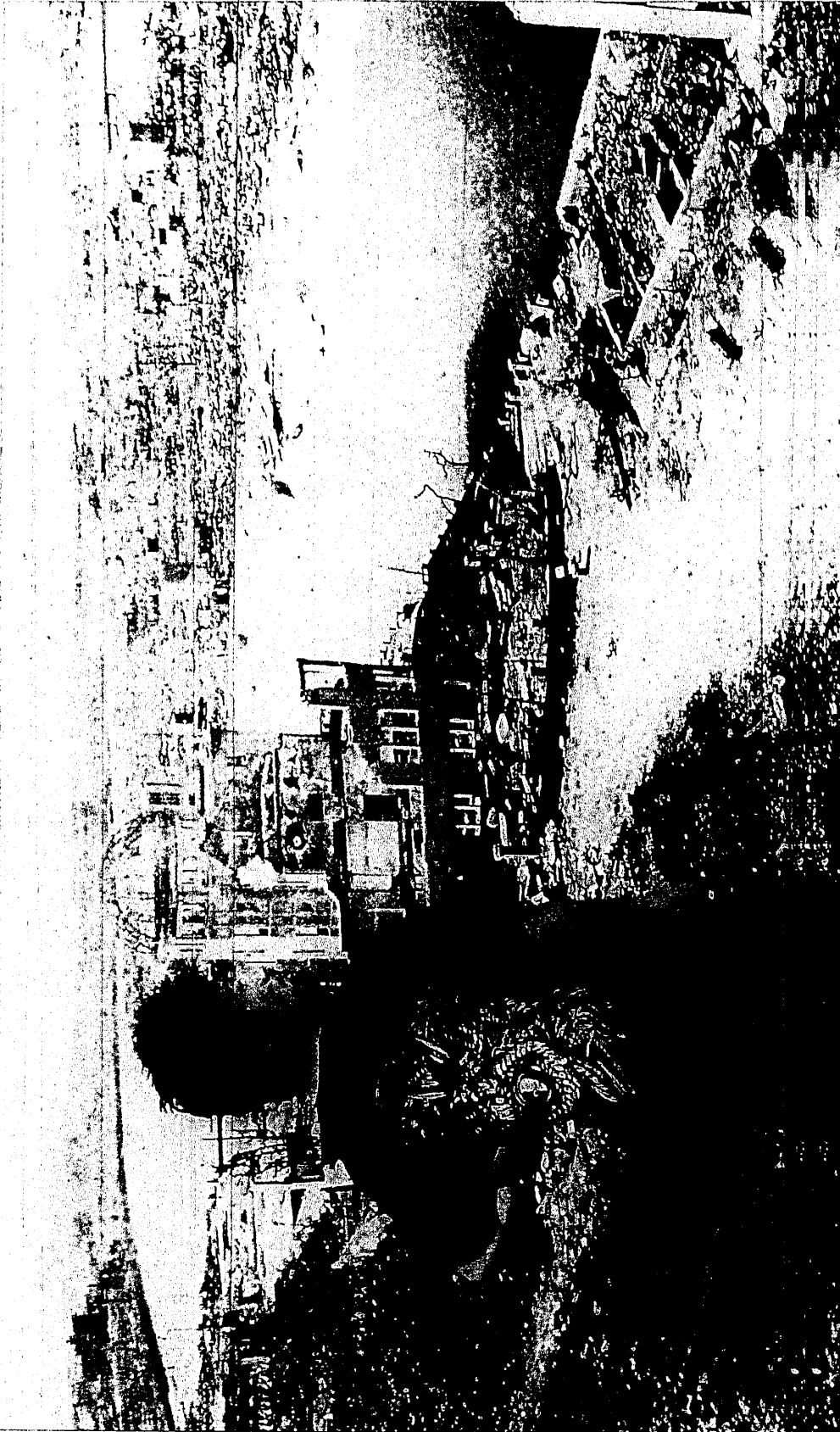
"They used to call women like me a 'pikadon girl' or an 'atomic girl'," said Kinuko Laskey, who was 16 when she was caught in the blast. "They would say, you don't know what sort of a baby she will give birth to. Others said that the radiation could be genetically transmitted or was even contagious."

Mrs Laskey attempted suicide several times before marrying a Canadian serviceman and emigrating to Vancouver. The explosion split open one of her eyes and drove hundreds of shards of glass into her body. For a whole year her mother covered up reflective surfaces, including pans, to prevent her daughter from seeing her disfigurement. By the time of her death last year, she had had numerous operations that had eventually made the visible damage almost indistinguishable.

Flashbacks, hyper-vigilance and poor sleep have been reported among hibakusha. Many survivors become very anxious when talking about their experiences as if they are stepping back into the horrors they are describing.

In Japan, where discussing mental illness is taboo, both doctors and survivors play down the possibility that some victims of Hiroshima might still be suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, emphasising instead the desolation caused by losing loved ones and the anticipatory fear of radiation-related illness.

One former soldier described without irony how he had avoided being traumatised by drinking heavily. "Hearing people shouting 'help' is something I dreamt about for a long time. But now it has been over 60 years and I seem to dream less."



he says. Others still have to cope with physical effects associated with radiation. Leukaemia clusters first began to appear in 1953, lung cancer in 1960. Toriko Fujii was a 16-year-old girl in charge of driving a tram when the bomb struck. Afterwards, she suffered from long spells of debilitating lethargy.

Then, a striking young woman, she watched her skin age prematurely from the effect of a thyroid disorder. Both her children have thyroid-related poor health; and although a proud mother, she sometimes wonders whether it was selfish to have had them.

Beyond the mental and physical effects, the survivors still express macabre wonderment at the explosion itself, and incredulity that they managed to live through it. "The light was startling," says Shuntaro Hida. "Even if you had your back turned to it, you felt the shock go through, right to the centre of your brain. Such intense heat."

A military doctor at the time, he was in

a village four miles from the hypocentre – the point directly below the explosion – and saw the blast washing towards him over the intervening hills. "Like an avalanche," even at that distance out, he was struck with enough force to throw him back through the building.

Mrs Takakura was working in the bank of Hiroshima, just 260 metres away from the hypocentre, and was knocked unconscious by the blast the instant she saw the flash. It is possible that the configuration of the concrete pillars in the building deflected the full monstrous effect of that initial burst of gamma and heat radiation.

Outside it, vaporised bodies, etching their shadows on to metal and stone surfaces. About 40,000 people are thought to have died instantly. "People ask me how I survived. I find it strange too," she says. "People that had been walking the streets were doubled up dead over each other for as far as we could see. They had died immediately. Naked. Burnt. I just asked myself, why? Like many survivors she be-

lieved that successfully educating the young about the horrors of war could be a way of extracting something positive from the experience. Her first attempts to teach nursery school children ended in failure, though. "I had parents coming up to me and saying, 'My child won't sleep at night. He is terrified of nuclear bombs,'" she says. "And so I learned to explain it more gently."

The Hiroshima that has risen from the ashes is now a vibrant city of 1.1 million people. Far more than Nagasaki, it has kept the bomb at the centre of its identity. At some stage every Japanese schoolchild will visit the eerily effective Peace Museum, and absorb the slogan: No more Hiroshimas. In Japan as a whole, the focus on the bomb as an almost divine power descending in final judgement on the futility of war has obscured Japan's own agency in it.

The survivors were more circumspect; they knew that Japanese soldiers had committed horrific atrocities in China

and the Pacific. Many in Hiroshima, even doctors, were being trained as suicide bombers to mount a last ditch defence against American invasion.

Though more people – 100,000 – died in the first mass firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945 than the estimated 90,000 on the first day of the atomic attack, there will always be something distinctive about what happened in Hiroshima. It is summed up in a recurring dream that Mrs Takakura has.

"I dream that the bomb has been dropped again," she says. "And I think this time I will get away from it. I decide that I shall escape, and then I wake up. It is impossible to escape from a nuclear bomb, but I suppose that is a desire making itself apparent in my dream."

Gavin Rees was an assistant producer on the documentary drama Hiroshima, to be broadcast on BBC1 on Sunday at 9pm.

Comment, page 20
guardian.co.uk/worldwar/hiroshima

Links

www.terf.or.jp/eigo/tao/tao.htm
Survivors' research programme
guardian.co.uk/japan

A minute's silence and 1,000 doves are set free

About 50,000 people from around the world gathered in Hiroshima's peace memorial park this morning to mark the 60th anniversary of the world's first nuclear attack which killed more than 230,000.

A minute's silence was observed at 8.15am, the moment Little Boy – the bomb's nickname – exploded 600 metres above the former industrial promotion hall whose mangled frame is the centrepiece of the park and is known today as the A-bomb dome. Temple and church bells rang and 1,000 doves were released.

The event will be the last significant anniversary for many of the estimated 65,000 survivors. More than 70,000

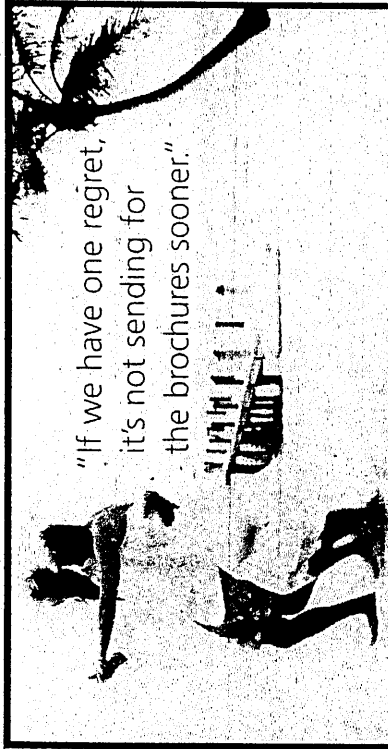


Enola Gay lands after raid

died within seconds of the explosion. By the end of the year, 140,000 had died and the toll has since reached more than 230,000.

Security was tight after an attack on the memorial last week by a rightwing extremist who objected to its inscription: "Let all souls here rest in peace, as we will never repeat this mistake."

Justin McCurry in Hiroshima



"If we have one regret, it's not sending for the brochures sooner."

SAGA
THINK AGAIN

Order your brochures today
Call FREE on 0800 096 0087
quoting reference IE3
or visit www.sagaholidays.co.uk

Please return to: Freepost RLTC-CBEC-GXEH, Saga Holidays Ltd,

Department N, Enbrook Park, FOLKESTONE, CT50 1ZG

- ☐ Europe and the Mediterranean
- ☐ Travellers World (worldwide holidays)
- ☐ Saga Rose and Saga Ruby
- ☐ Spirit of Adventure (cruises of discovery aboard our new ship)
- ☐ River cruising
- ☐ British Isles holidays
- ☐ UK short breaks
- ☐ Holidays exclusively for single travellers
- ☐ Christmas and New Year holidays

Name (Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms) _____
Address _____
Town _____ County _____

Savings
Make your retirement savings work harder
Move to Abbey

Platinum Savings Plan

Take a step towards a carefree retirement with Abbey's new two part Platinum Savings Plan

5.5% gross pa/AER

Firstly, an Instant Access Savings account works hard to give you a highly attractive interest rate of 5.5% gross pa/AER

Guaranteed Minimum Returns

Secondly, a Stockmarket Linked Bond works even harder to offer the potential for high growth and even guarantees a minimum return over three years

Talk to us about a harder working retirement savings plan.

Visit your local branch, call

0800 032 4605

or log on to abbey.com/savings for details.



Abbey
MORE IDEAS FOR YOUR MONEY

www.abbey.com

A L ALTERNATIVE BUSINESS BANKING

Interest rate announcement

Alliance & Leicester
Commercial Bank plc
announce that with effect from 5th August 2005 its base rate decreased from 4.75% to 4.50%

S ANALYSES ET DÉBATS

e,
cial de plus

charte signée en 1992, dans laquelle les établissements financiers s'engageaient à « offrir des services bancaires de base à tous », qu'il soit nécessaire de « déterminer a priori » les particuliers qui seraient de ces services, n'a pas été suivie de faits.

ant au dispositif du droit au logement inscrit dans la loi, imposant un refus humiliant suivi d'un refus par la Banque de France, humiliant et stigmatisant, sans compter des délais d'attente pénalisant, il ne concerne qu'un nombre restreint de bénéficiaires.

is la pression des consommateurs, de leurs organisations, les banques ont récemment apporté une réponse, purement commerciale à l'exclusion bancaire à traduite en offres de panier de services, on ne discutera même pas de la pertinence quant à leur contenu, un niveau de prix, tant que le principe de fond restera entier : la banque est totalement discrétionnaire, les banques gardent d'accepter ou de refuser l'accès de leur offre au consommateur.

faisant campagne pour un service bancaire universel (SBU) instaurer une voie législative, nous nous sommes donnés aux réactions épidémiques des adversaires de l'interventionnisme. La proposition n'est pas une doctrine sociale particulière. La preuve en est que, de l'avis du Conseil de la concurrence, un service universel peut se justifier dès lors que les services sont essentiels, reconnus comme d'intérêt général et que les mécanismes de marché ne suffisent pas à satisfaire la demande.

État serait parfaitement dans son rôle en garantissant les termes du contrat social qui lie dans une société de droit tous les membres du corps économique et politique.

-delà de ce principe fondamental, chacun se souvient que le gouvernement a reçu du président de la République le mandat de réduire la fracture sociale et de soutenir la croissance. Dès lors, en refusant de participer à la contribution d'intérêt général que le politique impose par ailleurs à d'autres opérateurs privés, tels que France Télécom ou EDF, les banques feraient

valoir un droit inique à bénéficier d'un régime d'exception, d'autant moins justifié que leurs bénéfices cumulés frisent l'insolence.

Ajoutons encore que l'effort consenti, loin de remettre en question l'équilibre général de la banque de détail, serait tout à fait dérisoire au regard des revenus

ALAIN BAZOT est président de l'UFC-Que choisir.

généralisés : le coût global d'un SBU représenterait moins de 0,18 % du produit national bancaire. Nos études ont établi que son coût économique n'atteindrait pas les 150 millions d'euros par an alors même que le nombre de ses bénéficiaires dépasserait les 2 250 000 personnes. Il est donc parfaitement possible de concilier dimension sociale et rationalité économique.

Ce sont
4 à 5 millions
de personnes
en situation
d'exclusion
financière
qui se voient
destituées de leur
appartenance
de droit
à la communauté

Notre engagement dans un consumérisme moderne, généreux et réaliste, n'épouse, sur ce sujet, encore moins qu'un autre, aucun des intérêts de tel ou tel groupe de pression : si intérêt il y a, c'est l'intérêt général d'une communauté sociale qui ne saurait s'accommoder des processus de bannissement économique par un secteur professionnel en situation de monopole.

es ONG de la gravité de la crise

ché. Cette objection est acceptée

Le Monde
ÉDITORIAL

La mémoire et l'oubli

SOIXANTE ANS après l'explosion de deux bombes atomiques sur les villes japonaises d'Hiroshima (le 6 août 1945) et de Nagasaki (le 9 août 1945), il apparaît cruellement que la réflexion sur l'usage de l'arme nucléaire et la volonté de puissance n'a guère progressé. Six décennies ont passé et l'on pourrait reprendre l'éditorial d'Albert Camus (1913-1960) paru dans *Combat* dès le lendemain de la première explosion : « (...) la civilisation mécanique vient de parvenir à son dernier degré de sauvagerie. Il va falloir choisir, dans un avenir plus ou moins proche, entre le suicide collectif ou l'utilisation intelligente des conquêtes scientifiques. »

Mais le Prix Nobel de littérature n'a pas été écouté. En réalité, même les dizaines de milliers de civils pétrifiés et comme vitrifiés à l'instant de la déflagration, même les survivants irradiés et condamnés à d'innombrables souffrances se sont estompés dans la mémoire collective. La preuve en est, accablante, que de moins en moins d'élèves japonais s'avèrent capables d'indiquer sans se tromper la date d'Hiroshima et qu'il arrive, dans ce pays, que des monuments érigés en hommage aux victimes soient profanés par bêtise, ignorance ou inconscience.

Ainsi la nation la plus concernée, frappée dans sa chair, est passée, sur cette question, de la censure (entre 1945 et 1951) au culte des victimes pour se heurter aujourd'hui à une terrible difficulté : échapper à l'obsession mémorielle sans négliger la transmission de la mémoire. Du côté des Alliés, et plus précisément chez

les Américains, qui ont conçu, fabriqué et largué les bombes, la mémoire s'estompe aussi. La mauvaise conscience ne travaille qu'une minorité, souvent pénétrée d'esprit religieux.

Le souvenir même de l'événement, qui ouvrait par la violence une nouvelle page de l'Histoire, diminue dans les mass médias. L'évocation de ce que certains considèrent comme un crime majeur est le plus souvent relativisée et justifiée comme un acte de guerre nécessaire ayant permis d'épargner la vie de nombreux soldats américains et japonais. Ce raisonnement statistique, qui permet d'évacuer la réflexion sur les massacres modernes, clôt le débat prématurément dans un pêle-mêle d'absence de lucidité et de manque de courage.

L'humanité semble avoir apprivoisé cette nouvelle peste au cours d'une longue guerre froide (1948-1989). Soixante ans plus tard, elle n'aurait donc rien appris, sinon à survivre dans un précaire équilibre de la terreur. Parmi les nations, la course à la possession du feu nucléaire est, aujourd'hui comme hier, ouverte. La Corée du Nord, l'Iran, le Pakistan ou la Libye en rêvent. Les premiers membres du club nucléaire (Etats-Unis, Grande-Bretagne, Russie, France, Chine...) sont rattrapés dans leur ambition de pouvoir et de sécurité.

Qui a donc écrit : « La bombe atomique est trop dangereuse pour être confiée à un monde sans loi » ? Harry Truman (1884-1972), le président des Etats-Unis qui a pris la décision de frapper Hiroshima et Nagasaki. Son propos est toujours d'actualité.

Le Monde

Société Editrice du Monde SA
Président du directoire : Jean-Marie Colombani
Directoire : Jean-Marie Colombani ; Noël-Jean Bergeroux ; Jean-Paul Louveau, directeur général
Secrétaire général du directoire : Pierre-Yves Romain

Directeur de la publication : Jean-Marie Colombani
Directeur délégué : Gérard Courtois
Directeur général : Fabrice Nora

Directeur des rédactions : Gérard Courtois
Directeur délégué de la rédaction : Eric Fottorino
Directeurs adjoints : Alain Frachon (*Le Monde 2*), Patrick Jarreau, Michel Kajman, Sylvie Kauffmann et Franck Nouchi (directeurs de l'information), Laurent Greilsamer (rédaction en chef éditoriale)
Délégué général : Olivier Biffaud
Secrétaire général : Jean-Pierre Giovenco
Médiateur : Robert Solé

Directeur des relations internationales : Daniel Vernet
Directeur des relations éditoriales extérieures : Edouard Blonard

Le Monde

France, editorial, 6 August 2005

Memory and Lapse of Memory

Sixty years after the explosion of two atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima (6 August 1945) and Nagasaki (9 August 1945), it seems, cruelly, that the reflection on the use of nuclear arms and the quest for power has hardly progressed at all. Six decades have passed, and we can look again at the editorial by Albert Camus (1913-1960) that appeared in *Combat* the day after the first explosion:

"...technological society has just reached its highest degree of savagery. It will be necessary, in the near or not so distant future, to choose between collective suicide and the intelligent use of scientific advancements."

But the Nobel Prize winner in literature was not heard/listened to. In reality, even the tens of thousands of civilians petrified at the instant of the conflagration, even the survivors who were radiated and condemned to unending suffering are fading from our collective memory. The damning proof is that fewer and fewer Japanese students are capable of giving the date of the Hiroshima bombing without making a mistake, and that in this country the monuments erected in homage to the victims have been vandalized, out of stupidity, ignorance or unconscience.

Therefore, regarding this question, the nation that is most concerned, has passed from condemnation (between 1945 and 1951) to a cult of the victims, to face a terrible difficulty today: how to escape the memorial obsession without neglecting the transmission of the memory. On the side of the Allies, more precisely the Americans, who conceived, made, and launched the bombs, the memory has failed too. Only a minority are troubled by a guilty conscience, often in connection with some kind of religious belief.

Even the remembrance of the event itself, which opened a new page in the history of violence, is diminishing in the mass media. The evocation of what is considered by some as a major crime is most often relativized and justified as a necessary act of war that spared the lives of many American and Japanese soldiers. This kind of statistical thinking, which allows us to avoid reflecting on modern massacres, closes the debate prematurely on what was a jumbled absence of lucidity and lack of courage.

Humanity appears to have approved this new pestilence/plague in the course of a long Cold War (1948-1989). Sixty years later, humanity has thus apparently learned nothing, unless it is how to survive/exist in a precarious balance of terror. Among nations, the path to the possession of nuclear weapons is open today, just as it was yesterday. North Korea, Iran, Pakistan and Libya dream of it. The first members of the nuclear club (the U.S., Great Britain, Russia, France, China...) are trapped in their power and security ambitions.

Who, then, wrote the following words: "The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be trusted to a world without law"? It was Harry Truman (1884-1972), the President of the United States who made the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki. His words are still relevant.