

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-thyroidic 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 flown 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 a 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.)

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

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-



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.

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

cause they were once among the most vocal critics of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Consider the following: On Aug. 8, 1945, two days after the bombing, former Republican President Herbert Hoover wrote to a friend that "the use of the atomic bomb, with its indiscriminate killing of women and children, revolts my soul."

Days later, David Lawrence, the conservative owner and editor of *U.S. News* (now *U.S. News & World Report*), argued that Japan's surrender had been inevitable without the atomic bomb.

He added that justifications of "military necessity" will "never erase from our minds the simple truth that the use of the atomic bomb, with its indiscriminate killing of women and children, revolts my soul."

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*.

Biotech benefit everyc

As Hawai'i deliberates on the use of locally engineered food products for biotech sectors, it's important to offer the support their viewpoint.

That's because the benefits of improved nutrition — along with increased agricultural productivity — stand to be derailed by a number of fear mongering to stir up hysteria over technology.

It's a shame, because even how biotech saves Hawaiian papaya industry it could help us all in other ways.

One of the main points of contention is based on understanding that biotech in Hawai'i can somehow pollinate with indigenous species, and thereby threaten the purity of our native species.

Pollen movement and exchange between crops is a well-understood natural occurrence, even in commodity agricultural Hawai'i, there are no native plants whose crops are cultivated.

As part of an environmental risk assessment, the U.S. Department of Agriculture

As part of an environmental risk assessment, the U.S. Department of Agriculture

Bomb

CONTINUED FROM B1

atomic destruction of Hiroshima might be morally "more shameful" and "more degrading" than Japan's "indefensible 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 uncouneted 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 Schuchadt, 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.



JUNJI KUROKAWA | Associated Press

acked the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park during the ceremony to mark the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombing in Hiroshima yesterday.

“合流”幻想成泡影 三足鼎立不会变 盟拒绝“四国方案”

本报驻科特迪瓦记者 赵章云

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

会上,非盟确立了自己的立场,即要求将
到26个,新增的11个席位中,包括6个拥
国,其中两个归非洲;5个非常任理事国。
由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
案。联合国大会表决。
次非盟特别首脑会议,就是试图在联合国
四国联盟达成妥协。来自非盟53个成员
的闭门会议,其中包括8位总统和8位总
理。利比亚总统奥巴桑乔主持了今天的峰会。
非盟在这一问题上能够“协商一致”。但只
持奥巴桑乔的意见,由阿尔及利亚、布基纳
索、马里、苏丹、乌干达和赞比亚9国
否决,贝宁、吉布提和塞内加尔则在这
5国。

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

的机会最大,因此极力主张与四国联盟妥协。7月15日,在伦
敦举行的非盟与四国联盟磋商会议上,尼日利亚就打算放弃否
决权,向四国联盟妥协。作为“交换条件”,四国联盟则同意非盟
多增加一个非常任理事国席位的要求。四国联盟希望非盟此次
特别峰会批准这一“意向”,随后即可将“妥协方案”提交联合国
大会表决。但埃及和阿尔及利亚外长在峰会前就反驳说,在伦
敦会议上双方并没有达成任何协议。正是因为非盟成员国内部
存在明显分歧,许多国家一直坚持既定方案,反对与“四国联
盟”妥协。

事态发展果然如此。奥巴桑乔的主张没有得到响应,最后
与会代表就是否接受四国联盟的方案进行举手表决,结果90%
的代表表示反对,强烈要求坚持非盟的既定方案。非盟的这一
立场实际上是明确拒绝了四国联盟的妥协方案,使四国企图利
用非盟的幻想成为泡影。因为没有非盟的支持,四国将很难在
联大获得决议案通过所必需的2/3多数票。如果四国仍一意孤
行,强行推动表决,则只会导致四国在所有安理会改革问题上
的失败。此外,非盟的这一立场还使联合国成员国在安理会改革
方案上四国联盟、“团结谋共识”及非盟之间的三足鼎立之势不
会改变,并将使安理会改革前景变得更加扑朔迷离。

(本报阿比让8月4日电)

国际热线

也领导人会见回良玉

月5日电 瓦莱塔
府邀请,中共中央政
总理回良玉在出席
赫德葬礼后,于3日
进行访问。马耳他总
齐分别会见了回良
切友好的交谈。
了胡锦涛主席和温
总统和贾齐总理的问
建交33年来,双边关
双方始终相互尊重,
平等相待,友好相处,互利合作。回良玉表
示,中国政府重视发展同马耳他的关系,
感谢马耳他政府在台湾问题上一直坚定
地奉行一个中国的原则,赞赏马耳他加入
欧盟后,继续促进中马传统友好关系,并
成为推动中国与欧盟关系发展的积极力
量。回良玉建议两国保持高层互访势头,
提升合作水平,开拓新的合作领域,扩大
在贸易、投资、农业等方面的合作,加强教
育、文化、旅游等领域的交流,推动中马关
系取得新的、更大的发展。

阿达米总统积极评价两国关系,表
示马多年来一直致力于发展对华友好关
系,马对能与中国这样一个大国保持良
好关系感到自豪。马方重申坚定奉行一
个中国原则,赞赏“一国两制”的政策,感
谢中国长期以来对马经济社会发展给予
的支持和帮助。

贾齐总理高度评价中国改革开放以
来经济社会发展取得的巨大成就,希望两
国扩大和深化双向贸易、投资,加强在教
育、文化、农业、旅游等领域的合作。贾齐
强调,马成为欧盟成员国后,将继续致力
于巩固中马友谊,并为加强欧中关系作出
贡献。

回良玉还分别会见了马耳他副总理
博奇、外长弗南多和在野党工党领袖桑特。

纪念中
55周年
国成立
、中国
日内瓦
国驻瑞
。中国
了更好
兰文化
、艺术
表演
、西欧
剧力“
两个
林寺武
夫”。
当上,
炫耀
5的开幕

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

发达地区,更需要地区性和全球性的伙伴合
作关系。宣言呼吁援助国加强对贫困国家的
援助;新兴援助国加强与贫困国家的贸易、
基础设施发展及投资;最不发达国家必须保
证改善管理能力。宣言还强调了亚太地区的
健康与环境问题。

中国国务院扶贫办公室主任刘坚率团参
加了此次会议,并代表中国提出了落实千年
发展目标的建议。

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
用潜艇在俄堪察加半岛东海
岸海域无法浮出水面的原因
是被废弃渔网牢牢缠住。
德加洛说,该潜艇是4日

在堪察加半岛东海岸的别廖
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。

广岛悲剧,历史教训何在?

杨成绪

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、辐射和白血病的折
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。他的同班同学听
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
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会开会
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,日本对重庆轰炸大轰炸,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讲,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祈愿不再犯下这个罪行。

我每次到广岛,内心总是有股疑团:日本会不会扪心自
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,这是美国人犯的罪”。次日,广岛电台广播
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周年时重返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

复制当年盛况 寄托和平理想

“郑和”重巡三宝垄

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
昂的门票。于是,人们集

被指控
暴炸的5
,1人在

Tragedy of Hiroshima: Where is the lesson from history?

楊成緒

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 Ikuo 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 Nathaniel Myers

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 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

HIROSHIMA ANNIVERSARY Tom Plate

Why the world is in Japan's debt

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 guerilla, 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

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 Japan's 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

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.

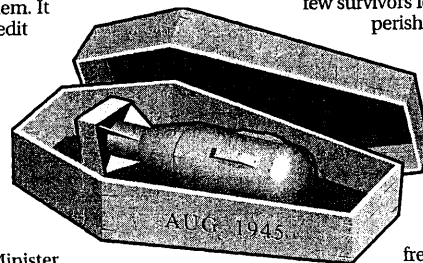
As Richard Falk, a pre-eminent international law pioneer, once wrote: "The depth of the response of the Japanese to their defeat in World War II... is one consequence of the material and spiritual scars left by Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The constitutional prohibition against war and the military establishment,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

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 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



CHINESE EXPORTS TO AUSTRALIA Greg Barns

Manufacturing a storm

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 on the situation. The Victorian 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 US has done – and impose quotas on

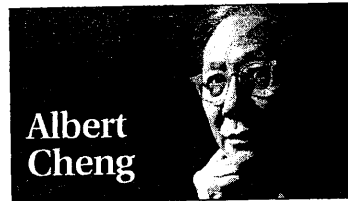
lukewarm in his response to Mr Haermeyer's call for an Australia-wide manufacturing strategy.

Perhaps it was because the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has noted that "exports of [manufactured goods] to China have grown rapidly, their value increasing by 160 per cent between 1999 and 2004, compared with only 13 per cent to the rest of the world".

That does not mean some local manufacturers will not feel the chill wind of increased competition from Chinese imports. Remember, however, that other manufacturers here are relishing more trade with

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."



Albert Cheng

Remember Sars, Dr Chow

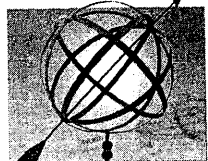
The biggest outbreak ever of the pig-borne *Streptococcus suis* disease has already spread to at least 10 cities and 32 counties in Sichuan province (四川省), claiming 38 lives since the middle of last month. It shows no sign of abating and poses the most severe public health threat to the region since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



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

반성은 외면한 채 “美가 가해자” 구호만 무성



원자폭탄 투하 60주년 日 히로시마, 르포

인류 사상 최초의 원자폭탄이 투하된 지 60주년. 5일 일본 히로시마(廣島) 시내 평화기념공원과 원폭 투하 당시의 양상한 철골이 그대로 보존된 원폭 돔 주변을 참배객과 반전반핵 단체 회원, 취재진으로 크게 북받았다. 당시 내용은 대개 일제 침략에 대한 반성은 외면한 채 ‘가해자’ 미국인 비판하는 것이어서 일본 사회 전반의 극우주의화와 맥을 같이하는 것이 아닌가 하는 우려를 낳게 했다.

주요장이 빈미 선전장으로는 5일 오후 40시 동원 내 한국인 원폭희생자 위령비에 앞서는 제일교교와 학원 학생이 모여 있는 제36 3000여 명이 참석한 가운데 제36 위령제가 열렸다. 박우주(제36 위령제)가 열었다. 박우주(제36 위령제)가 열었다. 박우주(제36 위령제)가 열었다.

침략전쟁 사실엔 묵묵 원폭피해만 부각 “과거엔 상상 못하던 일” 극우주의 우려

경제 그늘진 사회 사진 등 당시의 참상을 전하는 전시회도 열렸다. 대부분 일본의 원폭 피해만 강조했을 뿐 일제의 아시아 침략 전쟁에 따른 참상의 아성이 침략 전쟁에 따른 참상을 외면했다.

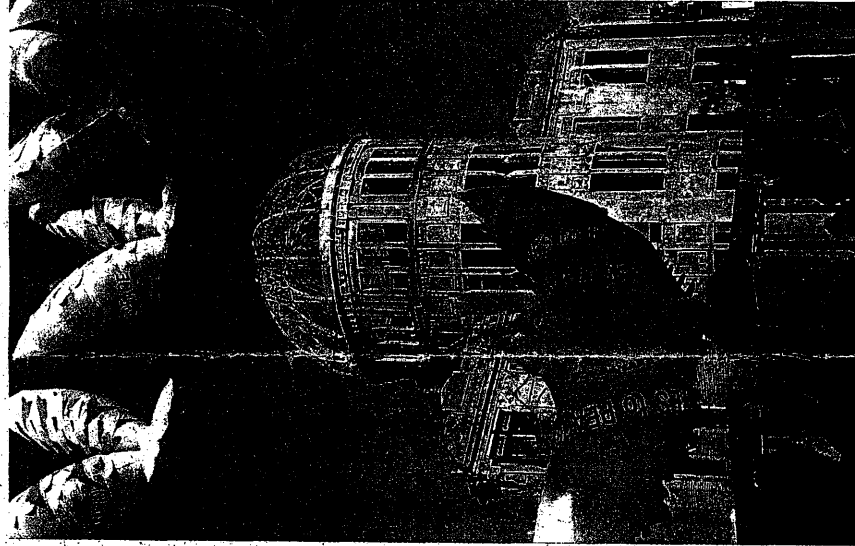
히로시마 시내의 원폭투하 60주년 기념사건전에서 만난 50대 여성 안내자는 “아시아 각국인이 힘을 모아 반핵 운동을 벌여야 한다”며 목청을 높였다. 아시아 침략의 참상에 관한 자료가 한 건도 없는 이유를 묻자 “이번 전시회는 어디까지나 원폭 투하를 기념하는 것”이라며 말문을 흐렸다.

▽외향적 가는 교토=평화기념공원은 1952년 세워진 원폭희생자 위령비가 있다. 지난달 26일 극우주의 경향에 대해 새워진 시민단체의 선전차량에서는 원폭 공지를 요구하는 진화가 6일 열린다는 안내방송과 함께 빈미 주장이 거듭됐다.

이단체인 한 회원(27)이 비문을 훼손해 경찰에 구속됐다. ‘편히 잠드소서’ 장문은 되풀이하지 않을 것이니’란 비문 중 ‘결핵’이란 부위를 밀치로 문개버린 것. 일본은 아무런 잘못이 없는데 왜 일본인 스스로 이런 말을 썼느냐는 것이, 범인이 경찰에서 밝힌 해설은 이유였다.

비문은 6월 기념행사를 앞두고 원폭 돔에 복원된 상태였다. 비석 내부 석상에는 원폭 희생자 23만7062명(5월 말 현재) 원폭 투하 직후 숨진 12만여 명과 후유증으로 숨진 사람 포함의 명부가 들어 있다.

가족과 함께 위령비 참배를 마치고 돌아서는 한 시민은 소감을 묻자 ‘억압을 요구하며 빈미 선전장으로 변한 공원 주위를 안타깝게 바라보았다. 그는



60년간 보존된 원폭피해 등 세계 최초로 원자폭탄이 떨어진 일본 히로시마 시내의 평화기념공원에서 원폭투하 60주년을 맞아 다양한 행사가 열리고 있다. 5일 원폭 투하 당시 참상을 보여주는 ‘원폭 돔’ 앞에서 반전반핵 시민단체들이 평화행사를 성행하는 비둘기 모양의 풍선을 하늘로 날리고 있다. 히로시마=최이영 2면



“히로시마를 해가지 만들지말라” 美 전투기등 이진계획에 반발

■ 거센 反美운동 왜?

최고 히로시마 일대에서 반대 운동이 거세지고 있는 것은 그곳이 세계 최초의 원폭 피해도시란 점 외에도 미국이 구상 중인 미군 재배치계획과 관계가 깊다.

제2차 세계대전 당시 히로시마가 원폭 공격 대상이 된 것은 일본의 서쪽 절반을 담당하는 군사도시였기 때문. 현재도 이 일대는 옥상, 해상 지휘대 기지는 물론 미군 해병대 기지, 미군 탄약창과 전파방송기지가 밀집한 군사 요충지다.

여기에 5월 미군은 도쿄 주변 아쓰미(厚木) 기지 기능을 히로시마에 이전한 아부구지(山口) 원 아와쿠니(廣國)로 이전할 계획이라고 발표했다. 오키나와 주둔 공중급유기 15대도 아와쿠니로 옮겨질 계획이다.

히로시마=조한주 특파원 hanchoo@donga.com

“트루먼 원폭투하 결정은 일본군 지휘부 감청 결과” 보도

美 주간지 “결사항전의지 확인후 단행” 보도

일본의 패망을 부른 1945년 8월 히로시마 원폭 투하 결정은 미국 해리 트루먼 행정부가 일본군을 감청한 지료를 바탕으로 결정을 내린 결과 이투어졌다. 미국의 제2차 세계대전 전문 역사학자인 리처드 프랭크 씨에 따르면 이 가운데

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”.

Springer plant Fusion mit Pro Sieben Sat.1

him/theu. MÜNCHEN, 5. August. Der Axel Springer Verlag strebt eine Übernahme und Verschmelzung mit dem Fernsehkonzern Pro Sieben Sat.1 Media AG an. In einem ersten Schritt hat sich das Berliner Unternehmen mit den bisherigen Mehrheitsgesellschaftern, einer internationalen Investorengruppe um Haim Saban, auf einen Kaufpreis von 2,45 Milliarden Euro geeinigt. Einschließlich der Unternehmensschulden und eines freiwilligen Barabgabe bis zu 4,2 Milliarden Euro kosten. Das Bundeskartellamt hat angekündigt, das Vorhaben von Springer intensiv zu prüfen. Dies könnte bis zu vier Monate dauern. Mit einem Zusammenschluss nähmen beide Unternehmen erfolgreich das digitale Zukunftsgeschäft der Medienbranche in Angriff, sagte der Vorstandsvorsitzende von Springer, Döpfner. „Die Chancen überwiegen die Risiken bei weitem.“ Im deutschen Werbemarkt erzielen die Unternehmen derzeit zusammen 13 Prozent des Gesamtumsatzes. (Siehe Wirtschaft, Seiten 11 und 14, und Feuilleton.)

Die SPD trotzig Die CDU irritiert

Münstering: Noch ist nichts entschieden / Die Umfragen / Schönbohm: Ich habe einiges erlebt

F.A.Z. FRANKFURT, 5. August. Die SPD sieht sich wiederum auf dem Vormarsch. Es herrscht „große Bewegung“ im Wahlkampf, sagte der Parteivorsitzende Münstering bei einem „Mobilisierungstreffen“ der SPD mit dem Spitzenkandidaten Bundeskanzler Schröder in Kassel. Die Hälfte der Wählerstimmen sei laut Umfragen – Münstering bezog sich auf solche, die zuletzt ein Plus für die SPD und für Schröder ergaben – noch unentschieden. Diejenigen, die geglaubt hätten, das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl am 18. September stehe schon fest, „haben sich geirrt“, sagte Münstering. Schröder sagte, es sei ein „großer Fehler“ von CDU und CSU gewesen, eine Erhöhung der Mehrwertsteuer für den Fall ihrer Regierungsbildung anzukündigen. Das werde seine Partei zunächst in den Mittelpunkt des Wahlkampfes stellen. Münstering und Schröder schlossen eine Koalition mit der „erweiterten PDS“, gemeint war die Linkspartei, abermals an. Auch die beiden Spitzenkandidaten der Linkspartei,

Gysi und Lafontaine, beteuerten bei der Vorstellung ihres Wahlprogramms in Berlin eine Koalition mit der SPD oder auch nur die Duldung einer rot-rot-grünen Minderheitsregierung komme nach dieser Wahl keinesfalls in Frage. Die CDU beschuldigte sich unterdessen mit den Folgen der DDR-kritischen Äußerungen des brandenburgischen Innenministers Schönbohm. Er hatte die SED-Politik einer „Proletarisierung“ der DDR-Gesellschaft für Verwahrlosung, Gewaltbereitschaft und für die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber Verbrechen wie der Tötung von neun Säuglingen in der Nähe von Frankfurt/Oder mitverantwortlich gemacht. Die Parteivorsitzende und Kanzlerkandidatin der Union, Angela Merkel, hatte Schönbohm nach Protesten vor allem aus der CDU im Osten, am Donnerstag zurückgewiesen. Die „pauschalen Einschätzungen“ Schönbohms gerügt. Schröder sagte dazu am Freitag: „Was er dort von sich gegeben

hat, ist eine Form von Pseudosoziologie, die eine Beleidigung für die Menschen im Osten ist.“ Aus den Landesverbänden der CDU im Osten hieß es gegenüber dieser Zeitung, bisher habe man die Hoffnung geteilt, bis zur Wahl werde es gelingen, die Linkspartei, die im Osten laut Umfragen bei dreißig Prozent liegt, zu entzaubern. Das hätten Schönbohm und die CDU durchkreuzt. Sie seien ein perfektes Geschenk an den politischen Gegner, der damit Wahlkampf treiben werde. In der CDU wird aber angesichts der öffentlichen Worte Merkels auch über die „innerparteiliche Solidarität“ gegenüber Schönbohm sowie über eine „Pannenserie“ in der Wahlkampfleitung der zurückliegenden Woche debattiert. Schönbohm zeigte sich am Freitag verwundert darüber, daß CDU-Politiker seinen Rücktritt forderten, „deren Namen ich bisher nicht kannte – sie kommen so in die Zeitung“. Er habe in diesen Tagen „einiges erlebt“, worüber er sich „später einmal“ äußern werde. (Siehe Seite 4.)

Verschmolzen

miha. Die deutsche Medienlandschaft erlebt eine Umwälzung, die ihresgleichen sucht: Springer, der größte Zeitungskonzern, übernimmt Pro Sieben Sat.1, die größte Privatsendergruppe. Springer übernimmt die Sender nicht nur, er verleiht sie sich ein, die Unternehmen verschmelzen, es entsteht ein publizistischer Koloss, wie es ihn nur noch einmal – eine Dimension größer – mit Bertelsmann gibt. Die Konzentration von Meinung, Macht und Geschäft schreitet voran, der Dualismus zwischen den Zeitungshäusern Bertelsmann und Springer und ihrer großen Sendergruppen RTL und Pro Sieben Sat.1 geht auf in einem Zweikampf der Gesamtkonzerne, der von nun an viel, wenn nicht alles bestimmen wird.

Was am Freitag in München verkündet wurde, ist nicht nur der späte Triumph Springers über Kirch, sondern von Springer-Vorstandsvorsitzenden Döpfner, es ist ein Vorgang, der Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft erreicht. Schien es schon zuvor fast unmöglich zu sein, dem von der „Bild“-Zeitung ausgehenden Drang zur Boulevardisierung aller Lebensbereiche entgegenzutreten, wird es nun, selbst wenn man Sender

und Zeitungen nicht einfach addieren kann, für all jene noch schwerer, die für den Streit der Meinungen einen Platz suchen, der frei ist von den Interessen der großen Konzerne. Das Wort von der Mediendemokratie, deren Wirkungen sich gerade wieder in einem zunehmenden von Fernsehern bestimmten Wahlkampf zeigen, bekommt ein nochmal größeres Gewicht. An wie vielen Stellen ist nun noch jene journalistische Unabhängigkeit zu finden, die allgemein als demokratischerhaltend angesehen wird? Die Globalisierung der Märkte führt bei den Medien zu einem Maß von Konzentration, das man auch in anderen Branchen mit Vorsicht genießen. Da es hier aber um etwas anderes als um ein pures Wirtschaftsgut geht, nämlich den Charakter der politischen Kommunikation, ist besondere Aufmerksamkeit geboten.

Durch den lukrativen Zwischenaufenthalt des amerikanischen Investors Saban bei Pro Sieben Sat.1 ist, wo man einen internationalen Medienmogul wie Murdoch fürchtete, der Springer-Konzern angekommen, der sich mit Zeitungen, Sendern und Internet für das digitale Zeitalter, in dem die Medienformen verschmelzen, bestens gerüstet sieht. Auch für die Demokratie liegt darin eine neue Herausforderung.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Themen vom Tage

Politik
Zwischen Feuer und Wasser: Spanien leidet nach Regen und vergründet seine Ressourcen. Die Samstagserportage. 3
Ein verhallter Donnerstags: Der Untersuchungsausschuss zur Sächsischen Landesbank. 5

Freizeite und Gestalten
Die Verdrängung des Religionsunterrichts aus der Schule hat in Berlin und Brandenburg schon Tradition. 7

Deutschland und die Welt
Nach Arbeit darf es nicht aussehen: In Hechingen kann man sich zum Animatord ausbilden lassen. 9
Zu schnell und zu spät: Nach der Bruchlandung in Toronto erheben die Ermittler Vorwürfe gegen die Piloten. 9

Zeitgeschehen
Ehemalige Verfassungsrichter sagen: PDS und WASG wollen die Bestimmungen des Wahlgesetzes unterlaufen.
Der Weltraumklimper: Stephan Robinson hat die Raumfahrt hoffentlich sicher gemacht. 10

Wirtschaft
Zurück an die heimischen Töpfe. Auf regionale Küche zu setzen lohnt sich für viele Gastwirte. 12

Sport
Die Sporthilfe hatte noch nie so viel Publicity wie jetzt. Der neue Vorsitzende Gäh im Interview. 30

Feuilleton
Weltliteratur aus der Hölle: Der Hiroshima-Comic von Nakazawa Keiji liegt endlich auf deutsch vor. 31
Was für Nasen! Robert Gerhardt zeichnet seine liebsten Nebenfiguren aus dem Werk Thomas Manns. 33
Der Duft der Achtziger: Jonathan Franzens Roman „Schweres Beben“, rezensiert auf der Literatursseite. 44

Schallplatten und Phono 40
Kunstmarkt 45
Motormarkt 48
Beruf und Chance 49
Branchen und Märkte V22
Briefe an die Herausgeber 8
Reiseanzeigen auf Seite 17
Automatenanzeigen auf Seite 47
22 Seiten Stellenanzeigen auf den Seiten 52 und V1 bis V21
Index auf Seite 52

F.A.Z. im Internet: faz.net

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (FAZ) ■ POSTANSCHRIFT: 60267 FRANKFURT AM MAIN ■ TELEFON: (069) 75 91-0 ■ FAX: (069) 75 91-2333 ■ TELEFAX: (069) 75 91-3344 ■ REDAKTION: FAX: (069) 75 91-1743 ■ E-MAIL: REDAKTION@FAZ.NET ■ BRIEFE AN DIE HERAUSGEBER: LESERBRIEFE@FAZ.NET ■ VERTRIEB: FAX: (069) 75 91-2180 ■ WWW.FAZ.NET/VERTRIEB ■ ABONNEMENTS-SERVICE: 01 80 2 34 46 77 ■ FAKT: 01 80 2 34 46 77 ■ PROBE-ABONNEMENT: 01 80 2 34 46 77

Druckauflage: 544 800 Exemplare

4 190295 401708

Das Atomzeitalter

Wie Hiroshima die Weltpolitik veränderte / Von Nikolas Bussé

FRANKFURT, 5. August. Mit „Little Boy“ und „Fat Man“ begann eine neue Zeitschneise. Die Weltgeschichte in der amerikanischen Regierung erkannte das rasch. Dean Acheson, damals Staatssekretär im Außenministerium und einer der strategischen Köpfe der Truman-Regierung, hielt im Herbst 1945 in einem internen Memorandum fest, Atombomben seien eine „Entdeckung, die für die menschliche Gesellschaft revolutionär ist, als die Erfindung des Rades“. Er fügte hinzu: „Wird diese Erfindung weiterentwickelt und zerstörerisch eingesetzt, dann wird es keinen Sieger geben, und es könnte geschehen, daß keine Zivilisation überlebt.“ Little Boy, kleiner Junge, hatten die Amerikaner die Atombombe genannt, die an diesem Samstag vor sechzig Jahren um 8.15 Uhr von einem B-29-Bomber namens Enola Gay auf Hiroshima geworfen wurde. Fat Man, dicker Mann, hieß – in

Anspielung auf Winston Churchill – die Bombe, die drei Tage später, am 9. August 1945, über Nagasaki gezündet wurde. Wie die beiden japanischen Städte verbrannten und zerstörten, machte dem kühlen Realpolitiker Acheson früher als den meisten Zeitgenossen bewußt, welche ungeheure Neuerung die Atombombe darstellte. Die Kriege des Industriezeitalters, das hatten die beiden Weltkriege gerade noch einmal gezeigt, waren riesige Materialschlachten gewesen, die Millionen Menschen und Tausende Tonnen Stahl bewegten. Jetzt konnte mit einer Bombe eine Großstadt ausgelöscht, mit einem Dutzend eine Nation getilgt werden. Es dauerte eine Zeit, bis sich diese Einsicht durchsetzte. In den ersten Jahren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wurden Kernwaffen in Amerika zunächst als Erweiterung des Arsenalen gesehen. Stadtpläne empfahlen die Auflösung von Bal-

lungszentren, um die Auswirkungen eines Bombenangriffs möglichst gering zu halten. Die Regierung ließ Bunker bauen und der Zivilschutz verbesserte. In den fünfziger Jahren entwickelte das Militär sogenannte taktische Kernwaffen, kleinere Bomben, die auf dem Gefechtsfeld zum Einsatz kommen sollten. Sie wurden zu Tausenden im Ausland stationiert. Präsident Eisenhower versicherte, daß Atombomben die Bedeutung von konventionellen Waffen erreicht hätten und vom Militär im Ernstfall eingesetzt würden. Allerdings soll der alte General nicht wirklich davon überzeugt gewesen sein.

Wahrscheinlich spiegelte diese Haltung noch die positive Sicht der Amerikaner auf die Abwürfe von 1945 wider. (Fortsetzung Seite 2.)

FALNET Weitere Berichte im Internet auf unseren Seiten www.faz.net/hiroshima

Die EU legt Iran ein Angebot im Atomstreit vor

Garantien für die nukleare Brennstoffversorgung, Öl- und Gaskäufe / „Ehrgeizig und großzügig“

mbu. FRANKFURT, 5. August. Die Europäer haben Iran ein offizielles Verhandlungsangebot zur Beilegung des Atomstreits vorgelegt, der in den vergangenen Tagen zu neuen Spannungen geführt hatte. In dem 34 Seiten langen Papier, das die Botschafter Deutschlands, Frankreichs und Großbritanniens im Namen der EU am Freitag in Teheran übergeben haben, werden Iran Garantien für die nukleare Brennstoffversorgung, ein Handelsabkommen, langfristige Öl- und Gaskäufe, Sicherheitsgarantien und technische Zusammenarbeit in Aussicht gestellt, falls das Land auf die Teile seines Atomprogramms verzichtet, die militärisch nutzbar wären. Das Papier wurde von europäischer Seite als Gesamtpaket verstanden, das die Verhandlungen der vergangenen Monate zusammenfasst und die Grundlage für die langfristigen Beziehungen zwischen Iran und Europa schaffen soll. Der französische Außenminister Dominique de Villepin nannte das Angebot „ehrgeizig und großzügig“.

Der iranische Unterhändler Rowhani sagte, man werde das Angebot „heute und morgen überdenken“. Nicht namentlich genannte iranische Vertreter wurden mit der Äußerung zitiert, ihr Land sei nicht bereit, dauerhaft auf nukleare Verfahren wie die Urananreicherung zu verzichten. Rowhani sagte, in der strittigen Atomalage Isfahan werde umgeschichtet des europäischen Angebots wie angekündigt der Betrieb wieder aufgenommen. Ajatollah Ahmed Dschannati, ein hoher religiöser Führer, sagte dem Freitagstelegraph, Iran werde mit dem Atomprogramm „bis an die Grenzen gehen“ und dafür alle internationalen Konsequenzen tragen. Nach Isfahan werde man auch die ebenfalls stillgelegte Urananreicherungsanlage in Natanz wiedereröffnen.

Die Europäer hatten Teheran mit dem Abbruch der Verhandlungen gedroht, sollte die stillgelegte Urananreicherungsanlage in Isfahan wieder in Betrieb gehen. Dort wird ein nukleares Vorprodukt erzeugt, das sowohl für die Energiegewinnung als

auch für die Atomwaffenproduktion verwendet werden kann. Die Europäer ließen Teheran am Freitag wissen, daß sie wegen der geplanten Wiederinbetriebnahme der Anlage eine Sonderisierung des Gouverneursrats der Internationalen Atomenergiebehörde (IAEA) einberufen haben, die für Dienstag angesetzt ist. Falls Iran die Anlage geschlossen halte und bereit sei, über das europäische Angebot zu verhandeln, werde die Einberufung der Sitzung gestoppt. Die IAEA kann den Fall an den UN-Sicherheitsrat verweisen, der Sanktionen verhängen kann.

Nach Informationen dieser Zeitung wird im Papier der Europäer das unveränderliche Recht Irans auf die friedliche Nutzung der Kernenergie bekräftigt. Die EU erklärt sich zu Garantien bereit, um Iran mit ausreichendem Brennstoff für seine Leichtwasserreaktoren zu versorgen. International bietet man Iran Zugang zu den internationalen Nukleartechnologiemärkten. (Fortsetzung Seite 2.)

Guantanamo-Häftlinge sollen zurückkehren

gel. WASHINGTON, 5. August. Die amerikanische Regierung hat mit Afghanistan vereinbart, 110 afghanische Gefangene aus dem Militärgefängnis in Guantanamo in ihre Heimatland zurückzuschicken. Außerdem sollen die afghanischen Sicherheitsbehörden die „ausländischen Gefangenen“ über 350 Häftlinge erhalten, die im Gefängnis von Bagram, nahe dem Flughafen von Kabul, untergebracht sind. Vertreter der amerikanischen Regierung teilten mit, die Vereinbarung, die 20 Prozent der Guantanamo-Gefangenen betrifft, sei der erste Schritt, um die Zahl der Häftlinge in dem Militärgefängnis auf jene mutmaßlichen Terroristen zu reduzieren, die man dort weiter auf unbestimmte Zeit festzuhalten gedachte. Weitere Abkommen seien zur Rückführung von 129 saudiarabischen und 107 jemenitischen Gefangenen geplant. Damit würden insgesamt rund 70 Prozent der etwa 510 Guantanamo-Häftlinge das Gefängnis verlassen. Matthew Waxman, zuständig für Haftangelegenheiten im Verteidigungsministerium, sagte, die Vereinigten Staaten wollten nicht als der „Gefängnisaußenposten der Welt“ dastehen. Vielmehr solle diese Last auf den Schultern der Koalitionspartner verteilt werden.

Furcht vor Unruhen unter israelischen Arabern

job. JERUSALEM, 5. August. Der israelische Ministerpräsident Sharon hat am Freitag den Anschlag eines israelischen Soldaten auf arabische Israelis in Schafar als „die verabschiedete Tat eines blutrünstigen jüdischen Terroristen“ bezeichnet. Am Donnerstag hat ein 19 Jahre alter Deserteur vier Araber in einem Bus erschossen und etwa 20 Personen verletzt. Unterdessen befürchtet die israelische Regierung Unruhen im arabischen Norden und verstärkte dort die Armee- und Polizeikräfte. (Siehe Seite 6.)

Ermittlungen gegen Daimler in Amerika

sup. STUTTGART, 5. August. Der Freitag eines Daimler-Chrysler-Managers vor zwei Wochen interessiert das amerikanische Justizministerium. Es gebe ein Rechtshilfeersuchen, bestätigte ein Sprecher des Bundesjustizministeriums dieser Zeitung. Bisher ermittelt die amerikanische Bundesanwaltschaft (DOJ) und das Justizministerium auch wegen Korruptionsverdachts im Automobilkonzern. In mehr als einem Dutzend Ländern soll Bestechungsgehalt bezahlt worden sein. (Siehe Wirtschaft, Seiten 11 und 14.)

Der Himmel über Hiroshima

Von Volker Zastrow

Einsteinjahr und das Gedenken an Hiroshima fallen 2005 zusammen. Vor sechzig Jahren, 1945, zerstörten die Vereinigten Staaten mit den Bomben „Little Boy“ und „Fat Man“ im Abstand dreier Tage die beiden japanischen Großstädte Hiroshima und Nagasaki; es waren ganz neuartige Waffen, die erste, von Robert Oppenheimer nach einem geistlichen Sonett John Donnes „Trinity“, Dreifaltigkeit, genannt, hatten die Forscher des „Manhattan Project“ auf einem Wüstenareal namens „Ground Zero“ drei Wochen zuvor erfolgreich erprobt. Vor hundert Jahren, 1905, hatte der junge Physiker Albert Einstein in drei Aufsätzen seine revolutionären theoretischen Entdeckungen über den Bau der Welt in Raum und Zeit veröffentlicht. Im gelang die Bestätigung schon vorhandener Vermutungen über den molekularen Aufbau der Materie und die theoretische Aufdeckung des Zusammenhangs von Energie und Masse.

Obwohl Einsteins Methode in erster Linie die der Logik und der Mathematik war, griffen seine Entdeckungen über das menschliche Fassungsvermögen hinaus. Man kann sie nur als Schlußfolgerungen im Wortsinn: nachdenken. Zugleich ist auch durch Einsteins Anstöße, insbesondere in der Quantentheorie, und gegen seinen entschiedenen und gefühlsbetont formulierten Widerstand („Gott würfelt nicht“) eine Zweideutigkeit in die exakte Wissenschaft der Physik eingezogen, an deren Überwindung sie sich bisher vergeblich arbeitet. Schließlich sind, nicht zuletzt von diesen Entdeckungen ausgehend, in unseren Tagen in die modernen Naturwissenschaften Vorstellungen einer totalen Determiniertheit eingezogen, die mit der Geschichte des Universums aus der geringsten Regungen des menschlichen Geistes umfassen.

Einstains Durchbruch, der dem Verstand das Unbegreifliche öffnete, kann man als den Höhepunkt der Aufklärung betrachten. Er hat sie aber auch an ein Ende gebracht. Indem er Gesetze des Unbegreiflichen erwies, hat er das Unbegreifliche selbst, über die früheren Philosophen hinausgehend, mit erwiesen. In der Theologie heißt das Gottesbeweis. Die neue Uneindeutigkeit der Physik widerstreitet umgewandelt der Aufklärungsidee vom durchdringenden Licht des Verstandes und stellt ihm eine Undurchdringlichkeit entgegen, die es mit jedem Mysterium aufnehmen kann, ja einem solchen gleichkommt. Über die Physik hinaus haben die modernen Naturwissenschaften den mit der Aufklärung untrennbar verbundenen Anspruch der Widerspruchsfreiheit faktisch preisgeben müssen: Theorien der Vorbestimmtheit, in denen die Idee der Freiheit als leerer Wahn erscheint, konkurrieren mit Rastern blinder Muster von Zufall und Wahrscheinlichkeit. Doch in der einen wie der anderen Deutung fällt es gleichermaßen schwer, dem Menschenleben noch irgendeinen Wert beizumessen.

Diese Überlegungen betreffen nicht unmittelbar jenen Kernbereich aufklärerischen Denkens, den man als den Anspruch der Gültigkeit des Arguments gegen die Zumutungen der Macht bezeichnen kann. Auch die oft mit der Macht verbundenen und nicht selten mit ihr verwechselten Zumutungen der Religion wollte die Aufklärung hinwegfegen, um den Menschen aus der Nichtigkeit seiner Unterdrückung zu befreien. Doch endlich davon befreit, entdeckt er in einem erneuerten Weltbild wieder nur die eigene Nichtigkeit. Das stolze Subjekt der Aufklärung findet sich als ihr Objekt klaglich belanglos.

Darin, im aufs äußerste getriebenen Gegensatz von Subjekt und Objekt, Tun und Erleiden, Töten und Sterben, erscheint wieder die Macht. Nichts hat dieses anaklonische Satzbau der Aufklärung deutlicher in die Tatsachenwelt übersetzt als Hiroshima, wo ein einziges Flugzeug, eine einzige Bombe, ein einzelner Schütze in einer einzigen Sekunde vom Himmel herab Zehntausende zunichte machte und maßloses Leid über eine noch größere Zahl bringen konnte. In der darin enthaltene Botschaft formulierte der japanische Kaiser Hirohito so: Er wisse nicht, wie es seinem Sohn davon beichten könne; er wolle nicht, daß ein Kind auch nur erfahre, daß es eine solche Waffe gebe. Nicht anders geht es seither wohl den meisten Eltern auf dieser an Schrecken nicht armen Welt.

Auf vielfache Weise sind Auschwitz und Hiroshima miteinander verknüpft. Ohne Hitlers Antisemitismus wäre die Atombombe wohl im Deutschen Reich entwickelt worden, so wie sich die Forschungslandschaft bis in die dreißiger Jahre hinein darstellte. Der von den Nationalsozialisten erzwungene Exodus jüdischer Gelehrter in ganz Europa hat die entscheidende Voraussetzung für den Bau der Bombe in die Vereinigten Staaten gelenkt. Auschwitz hat mehr als alles vorige gezeigt, zu welch unsagbaren Greueln der verkommene Mensch fähig ist. Der Atombomb hat gezeigt, was der Menschheit blüht. Deshalb ist Hiroshima nicht nur die große Zäsur des letzten Jahrhunderts, sondern ein Bruchpunkt der Geschichte.

Seither lebt die Menschheit im Wissen, daß ihre Vernichtung möglich ist. Zu diesem Schluß kann man auch auf anderen Wegen naturwissenschaftlicher Einsicht gelangen, von der Biologie her oder der Astronomie. Seit Hiroshima ist darüber hinaus jedem klar, daß der Mensch auch selbst das Ende seiner Geschichte herbeiführen kann. Schon die Wissenschaftler um Oppenheimer wußten vor dem Bombentest nicht, ob die Kettenreaktion womöglich die Atmosphäre verbrennen würde. Sie haben die ungeheure Energie, die Einstein in der Materie entdeckt hatte, zum ersten Male freigesetzt. Sie strahlte heller als die Sonne. Im Lichtblitz der Aufklärung über Hiroshima ist das Ende der Menschheit kenntlich geworden, es wurde als Möglichkeit in das Bewußtsein des modernen Menschen gepflanzt. Vorher war das eine Glaubensfrage.

Frankfurter Allgemeine, August 6, 2005

Der Himmel über Hiroshima (The heavens over Hiroshima), by Von Volker Zastrow

The Einstein year and the commemoration of Hiroshima come together in 2005. Sixty years before, in 1945, within three days the United States destroyed both Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki with the bombs "Little Boy" and "Fat Man". They were totally new weapons. The first one [of these bombs], named by Robert Oppenheimer after a spiritual sonnet by John Donne, "Trinity", had been successfully tested three weeks earlier by the pioneers of the "Manhattan Project" in a desert area called "Ground Zero". A hundred years ago, in 1905, the young physical scientist Albert Einstein had published his revolutionary discoveries about the construction of the world in space and time in three essays. To him belong the acknowledgement of already existing suspicions about the molecular construction of matter and the theoretical discovery of the connection between energy and matter.

Even though Einstein's method was in the first place one of logic and mathematics, his discoveries go beyond human understanding. One can only think about them in the semantics of conclusions. At the same time, also due to Einstein's initiative, especially in quantum theory, and against his resolute and feeling-emphasized resistance ("God does not play dice"), an ambiguity has entered the exact physical sciences, whose solution until now has been worked on fruitlessly. Finally, though not least [significantly] resulting from these discoveries, in our age a total determination, which together with the history of the universe also encompasses the smallest emotions of the human mind, has entered modern natural scientific thought.

Einstein's breakthrough, which opened the mind to the incomprehensible, can be seen as the high point of the Enlightenment. It however also brought it to an end. While he was teaching the laws of the incomprehensible, he also taught, going beyond the former philosophies, the incomprehensible itself. In theology this is called a proof of God. The new ambiguity of physics unwillingly resists the Enlightenment idea of the penetrating light of the Ratio and opposes it with something impenetrable, which it can admit with any mystery, yes, which is equal to such a thing [?]. Surpassing physics, the modern natural sciences factually had to give up, with the Enlightenment, the inseparable connected claim of being free from contradictions. Theories of predestination, in which the idea of freedom appears as an empty delusion, are competing with the restless model of coincidence and probability. Whichever interpretation is given, it will be equally difficult to see some value in human life.

These considerations do not directly concern every main area of Enlightenment thinking, which can be seen as a claim for the validity of the argument against the unreasonableness of power. The Enlightenment also wanted to get rid of religion -- which was often connected with power as well as with mistaken unreasonableness -- so as to liberate humanity from the insignificance of its oppression. But if humanity is finally freed of that, it discovers in a new worldview again only its own insignificance. The proud subject of the enlightenment finds itself a miserably insignificant object.

In that, in the extreme contrast of subject and object, doing and suffering, killing and dying, again power emerges. Nothing has translated this anacoluthic construction [?] of the Enlightenment more clearly into the factual world than Hiroshima: how only one aircraft, only one bomb, only one gunman in only one second from the heavens downward can reduce tens of thousands to nothing and bring measureless suffering to an even bigger number. The message which this contains was formulated as such by the Japanese Emperor Hirohito. He did not know, how he could tell this to his son; he did not want a child to even experience the fact that such a weapon exists. Since then it is not any different for most parents in this respect, with regard to horrors.

In many ways Auschwitz and Hiroshima are connected with each other. Without Hitler's anti-Semitism, the atomic bomb would probably have been developed in the German Reich, considering the scientific landscape in the thirties. The exodus of Jewish scientists from the whole of Europe, enforced by the national socialists, guided the decisive requirements for the building of the bomb to the United States. More than everything before it, Auschwitz has shown what kind of unspeakable horrors depraved humans are capable of performing. The mushroom cloud has shown what humanity brings to fruition [produces]. Therefore Hiroshima is not only the big dividing line in the last century but also a pivotal point in history.

Since that time humanity lives knowing that its destruction is possible. This conclusion can also be reached by other more natural, scientifically insightful roads, from biology or astronomy. On top of that, since Hiroshima, it is very clear, that humanity itself can also bring about the end of its own history. The scientists around Oppenheimer did not know before the bomb test whether the chain reaction would possibly burn the atmosphere. They released the unheard of energy that Einstein had discovered in matter for the first time. It radiated brighter than the sun. In the lightning flash of enlightenment over Hiroshima, the end of humanity became knowable; it has become fixed in the consciousness of modern man as a possibility. Before then, this was a question of faith.

THE INDEPENDENT

Hiroshima Anniversary: 'My God, what have we done?' " the commander

The Independent, (London), Aug 5, 2005 by David McNeill in Hiroshima

Sixty years ago tomorrow, the crew of the Enola Gay watched in awe as their payload detonated over the city of Hiroshima. 'As the bomb exploded, we saw the entire city disappear,' said Commander Robert Lewis. 'I wrote in my log, 'My God, what have we done?''

Below, thousands of people were instantly carbonised in a blast that was thousands of times hotter than the sun's surface; further from the epicentre, birds ignited in mid-flight, eyeballs popped and internal organs were sucked from bodies of victims.

By the end of the day an estimated 160,000 were dead or injured and the bomb's 'ghosts' walked the city " thousands of initial survivors who would die within days, often with the word mizu "water " on their lips. Many more subsequently died " and are still dying " from various cancers.

Harry Truman, the then President of the United States who had ordered Hiroshima destroyed, later said: 'We have discovered the most terrible weapon in the history of the world,' but steadfastly defended its use and said it had ultimately saved lives.

In March this year, Paul Tibbets, the pilot of the Enola Gay, also said the bomb had saved lives. Asked whether he had any regrets, he said: 'Hell no, no second thoughts. If you give me the same circumstances, hell yeah, I'd do it again.'

J Robert Oppenheimer, the brilliant scientist who oversaw the building of the bomb, was more ambiguous about his creation. He famously said after the first test detonation: 'Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds.'

Truman's successor, President Dwight Eisenhower, also had reservations. In a 1963 interview with Newsweek magazine, he said: 'The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing.'

Some thought that Imperial Japan, like Nazi Germany, deserved what it got for the brutal, relentless bombing of Shanghai and Chongqing, the Rape of Nanjing and other war atrocities across Asia. But others asked where had the moral high ground of the Allies gone since President Franklin D Roosevelt described the 1940 Nazi blitzkrieg of British cities as 'inhuman barbarism'?

'No one seemed conscious of the irony,' wrote the US historian Howard Zinn. 'One of the reasons for the general indignation against the fascist powers was their history of indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations.'

Tomorrow morning, Hiroshima will sidestep the endless debates over whether the bombing was justified and concentrate on commemorating the victims, in a ceremony swelled by thousands of foreign visitors and dominated by fresh concerns that the world is forgetting the lessons learnt here.

'I'm less resentful about what happened in Hiroshima than I am about America's wars today,' says Kazuko Kojima, who was born two days after the bomb fell, in a cellar filled with the dead and dying victims. 'Why don't they stop? Aren't there better ways to solve problems? The reason people go to war is because they don't understand the feelings of others.'

LES ANALYSES ET DÉBATS

Le social de plus

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

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

Sous la pression des consommateurs, de leurs organisations, les banques ont récemment apporté une réponse, purement commerciale, à l'exclusion bancaire à travers des offres de panier de services dont on ne discutera même pas la pertinence quant à leur contenu ou leur niveau de prix, tant que le problème de fond restera entier : la liberté totale de discrétionnaire d'elles gardent d'accepter ou de refuser l'accès de leur offre au consommateur.

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

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

Au-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 consommation. Dès lors, en refusant de participer à la contribution d'intérêt général que la politique commande 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.

générés : 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.

ché. Cette objection est acceptée par les ONG, qui estiment ceden-

✓
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'estompée aussi. La mauvaise conscience ne travaille qu'une minorité, souvent pénétrée d'esprit religieux.

Le souvenir même de l'événement, qui ouvrirait 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 : Edwy Plenel

par les ONG de la gravité de la crise alimentaire au Sahel et en pour

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.