

Hiroshima

In 1962, a Hiroshima peace delegation and an Auschwitz survivors' organization exchanged relics and testimonies, including the bones and ashes of Auschwitz victims. This symbolic encounter, in which the dead were literally conscripted in the service of the politics of the living, serves as a cornerstone of this volume, capturing how memory was utilized to rebuild and redefine a shattered world. This is a powerful study of the contentious history of remembrance and the commemoration of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima in the context of the global development of Holocaust and World War II memory. Emphasizing the importance of nuclear issues in the 1950s and 1960s, Zwigenberg traces the rise of global commemoration culture through the reconstruction of Hiroshima as a "City of Bright Peace," memorials and museums, global tourism, developments in psychiatry, and the emergence of the figure of the survivor-witness and its consequences for global memory practices.

RAN ZWIGENBERG is Assistant Professor of East Asian Studies at Pennsylvania University.





Hiroshima

The Origins of Global Memory Culture

Ran Zwigenberg

Pennsylvania State University





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107071278

© Ran Zwigenberg 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Zwigenberg, Ran, 1976-

Hiroshima: The origins of global memory culture / Ran Zwigenberg, Pennsylvania State University.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-07127-8 (hbk.)

Hiroshima-shi (Japan)-History-Bombardment, 1945-Moral and ethical aspects.
 Collective memory-Japan-Hiroshima-shi.
 Atomic bomb victims-Japan-Hiroshima-shi.
 Peace-Political aspects-Japan.
 Hiroshima-shi (Japan)-

5. Peace–Political aspects–Japan. 6. Hiroshima-shi (Japan)–
History–Bombardment, 1945–Historiography. 7. Holocaust, Jewish
(1939-1945)–Historiography. 8. War victims–Mental health. 9. Collective
memory–Case studies. I. Title. II. Title: Hiroshima and the rise of global
memory culture.

D767.25.H6Z95 2014 940.54'2521954–dc23 2014021026

ISBN 978-1-107-07127-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Barbara and Chikako





Contents

	List of figures	page viii
	Acknowledgments Note on the text	x xiv
	Note on the text	XIV
	Introduction	1
1	The bright flash of peace: City planning, commemoration and politics in Hiroshima, 1945–1955	23
2	Modernity's angst: Survivors between shame and pride, 1945–1960	65
3	Socialist bombs and peaceful atoms: Exhibiting modernity and fighting for peace in Hiroshima, 1955–1962	94
4	Wounds of the heart: Robert Lifton, PTSD and the psychiatric reassessment of survivors and trauma	144
5	The Hiroshima-Auschwitz Peace March	176
6	A sacred ground for peace: Violence, tourism and the sanctification of the Peace Park, 1963–1975	208
7	Peeling red apples: The Hiroshima–Auschwitz Committee and the Hiroshima–Auschwitz Museum, 1973–1995	249
	Conclusion: The other Ground Zero? Hiroshima, Auschwitz, 9/11 and the world between them	297
	Select bibliography Index	306 321

vii



Figures

"Today! The [day of the] bright flash of peace has come	
again." (Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku Shinbun)	32
"Prelude for peace." Article from the Chūgoku Shinbun	
coverage on the first anniversary of the bombing.	
(Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku Shinbun)	33
A Hiroshima City tourist brochure, circa 1957. (Source:	
Courtesy of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum)	40
A 1951 brochure by the Japanese Teachers Union.	
(Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives)	41
A poster preceding the referendum that approved	
the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Law. (Source:	
Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives)	51
The A-bomb Cenotaph, designed by Tange Kenzō.	
(Source: Wiki Commons)	57
Gensuikyō poster for the 1959 Congress. (Source:	
Courtesy of Hiroshima City Archives and the Hiroshima	
Prefecture Gensuikyō)	100
"Atomic Rose," a poster for the 1951 Hiroshima Peace	
Day (August 6). (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima	
City Archives)	113
The Fotouhi Family, circa 1956. (Source: Courtesy of	
Farida Fotouhi)	115
"Magic Hands." (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima	
City Archives)	120
Model of an atomic plane from the 1956 "Atoms for Peace"	
exhibit in Hiroshima. (Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku	
Shinbun)	121
Hiroshima Recovery Expo poster. (Source: Courtesy of the	
Hiroshima City Archives)	124
Robert Jay Lifton. Photo credit: Richard Sandler. (Source:	
Courtesy of Robert Jay Lifton)	169
	again." (Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku Shinbun) "Prelude for peace." Article from the Chūgoku Shinbun coverage on the first anniversary of the bombing. (Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku Shinbun) A Hiroshima City tourist brochure, circa 1957. (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum) A 1951 brochure by the Japanese Teachers Union. (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives) A poster preceding the referendum that approved the Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Law. (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives) The A-bomb Cenotaph, designed by Tange Kenzō. (Source: Wiki Commons) Gensuikyō poster for the 1959 Congress. (Source: Courtesy of Hiroshima City Archives and the Hiroshima Prefecture Gensuikyō) "Atomic Rose," a poster for the 1951 Hiroshima Peace Day (August 6). (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives) The Fotouhi Family, circa 1956. (Source: Courtesy of Farida Fotouhi) "Magic Hands." (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives) Model of an atomic plane from the 1956 "Atoms for Peace" exhibit in Hiroshima. (Source: Courtesy of the Chūgoku Shinbun) Hiroshima Recovery Expo poster. (Source: Courtesy of the Hiroshima City Archives) Robert Jay Lifton. Photo credit: Richard Sandler. (Source:

viii



	List of figures	ix
14	Satō Gyōtsū performs a Buddhist commemoration ritual on	
	the grounds of the Birkenau Memorial. (Source: Courtesy of	
	the Auschwitz Memorial Museum)	204
15	The A-bomb Dome. (Source: Courtesy of Andres	
	Freedom II)	219
16	The tanks of the JSDF 13th Division roll past dignitaries on	
	Peace Boulevard in 1965. (Source: Courtesy of the <i>Chūgoku</i>	
	Shinbun)	224
17	A page from the 1972 brochure of the Auschwitz Exhibition	
	organized by the Hiroshima-Auschwitz Committee. (Source:	
	The Hiroshima–Auschwitz Committee)	253
18	A model of the planned Auschwitz Memorial. (Source:	
	Courtesy of Inoue Fumikatsu)	279



Acknowledgments

This book was written mostly as we were expecting our first child. In fact, the manuscript was completed only a few days before Noa was born. I often tell my wife, Chikako, that I feel I had two children born that week, a suggestion she often challenged (pregnancy being far more demanding). Writing one's first book, regardless of the metaphor used, is quite trying. Much of the research for this book was done, originally, for my dissertation. Moving from that stage to the writing of a manuscript was not easy. Adding to the usual difficulties was my academic adviser Barbara Brooks' long struggle with cancer. Barbara, in fact, passed away a day after Noa was born. It was, indeed, one of the most emotionally laden weeks of my life. This book would not have come to light without the efforts of both Chikako and Barbara, who dedicated many hours to listening to my ruminations and doubts (and Noa, who very thoughtfully waited until the manuscript was finished). Dagmar Herzog, my European history adviser, deserves an equally great credit for stepping in and helping when it became obvious Barbara was not well. Dagmar stayed and advised me well beyond her official capacity as adviser and beyond the dissertation, which served as the first draft of this manuscript. Indeed, it was to a large degree thanks to Dagmar that I was able to venture out well beyond Hiroshima and explore European, North American and Israeli connections. She guided me in some quite treacherous academic waters and was very generous with her time and knowledge, which made working with her a pleasure. All of this, she did despite not being an Asianist and at times unfamiliar with the peculiar difficulties of writing on Japan. Here, Kerry Smith from Brown University, who also stepped in and read a number of my chapters (and also stayed around well beyond the dissertation phase), deserves my thanks.

Many, many more people helped this book along the way. This author feels somewhat like a Bar Mitzvah boy (or *Seijin-shiki* boy if you prefer the Japanese equivalent – nicer kimono), quite excited and thankful for all who helped him reach this stage. John Torpey and Cary Karacas at the CUNY Graduate Center were helpful throughout. My former chair at the

X



Acknowledgments

χi

CUNY Graduate Center, Helena Rosenblatt, was also quite helpful and supportive, as well as Richard Belsky and Julia Sneeringer, also at CUNY. Indeed, I am indebted to a long line of scholars who gave me from their time along the way and helped me to connect people and ideas: John Treat at Yale, Sheldon Garon in Princeton, Carol Gluck in Columbia, Nissim Otmazgin and Amos Goldberg in the Hebrew University, Hana Yablonka in Ben Gurion University, Nunokawa Hiroshi in Hiroshima University, Ofer Feldman in Doshisha University, Ubuki Satoro in Hiroshima Jugakuin University and many others who met with me through the years. Two anonymous academics, the readers of this manuscript, also deserve thanks. They gave my work a warm endorsement and had insightful suggestions on what could still be improved. Finally, a word of thanks is also in order to the foundations who generously supported me through this research: the Social Science Research Council, the Japan Foundation, American Council of Learned Societies and Yale University's Council on East Asian Studies all supplied me with the funding and peace of mind that allowed me to pursue this research and finish writing.

Beyond academia, first and foremost among these who helped me is, of course, Chikako, who spent many hours helping me to decipher dodgy copies of sources, interview transcripts and handwritten notes. Chris Lore and Miriam Intrator read with me all the chapters and drafts and supplied me with countless insights. I really do not know if I could have written this book without them. Another friend, Robert Jacobs at the Hiroshima City University, spent many hours talking to me about my work and was my portal to Hiroshima and many things nuclear (and a couple of very good restaurants and books - what else could one ask for?). It was Bo, indeed, who was responsible for sending me on a fateful weekend stroll to see an Auschwitz memorial that he remembered having seen once in Hiroshima. This serendipitous stroll ended in my discovery of the forgotten Hiroshima-Auschwitz memorial and sent me chasing clues through three continents and multiple archives. The first place I went after Hiroshima was Israel. There, I am especially grateful for Naama Shik in Yad Vashem, who helped me navigate the waters of the Yad Vashe bureaucracy and survivors' history in Israel. Many problems were solved with a phone call from or to her. The archivists in Yad Vashem also deserve thanks. I am especially thankful for Yehudit Klein the administrative archivist, who never understood why I was chasing Japanese monks in their institution but was helpful regardless. Similar thanks should be extended to archivists in Robert-Jungk-Bibliothek für Zukunftsfragen at Salzburg, Austria, the Auschwitz Memorial Archives and the Leo Baeck Institute in New York, among other places, who also found my quest quite bizarre but were helpful nonetheless.



xii Acknowledgments

But, in terms of archives and libraries, no one was more helpful than Kikuraku Shinobu, the head librarian at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Kikuraku sensei is a treasure trove of knowledge about Hiroshima. No one knows more than her the ins and outs of Hiroshima's history and this book was certainly a much poorer work without the many hours we talked and the countless pieces of archival material she managed to locate and direct me to. Her staff at the Memorial Library, especially Miss Hisayuki (who being so formal and proper I never learned her first name – a common occurrence in Japan), was also extremely helpful. Steve Leeper, the head of the Memorial Museum Foundation, was also extremely helpful both inside and outside of Hiroshima. Tashiro Akira with the Hiroshima Peace Media Center at the Chūgoku Shinbun, and all the wonderful and dedicated staff at the Chūgoku Shinbun archives (and especially Ai Inemoto, of course), the staff of the Hiroshima Prefectural Archives and the Hiroshima City Archives and the many others who shared with me sources, citations and much of their time, all deserve thanks.

The list, indeed, is endless. Natsue Ikeda helped me open some very important doors, accompanied me to interviews and taught me how to decipher the Hiroshima dialect (and helped Chikako and me in writing the transcripts). Ogura Keiko was generous with her time and knowledge, and was able to share with me, together with her colleagues in the hibakusha Interpreters for Peace, her experiences. I am indebted and duly impressed by her and all the countless hibakusha who show wonderful courage and innovation in working for peace. I thank Chishin Ohara who helped with Japanese psychiatric texts, and Madoka Koide, who was there many Sundays writing together and answering my peculiar questions in our Brooklyn café hideout. Another Café comrade, Ana Belén Torres Cámara, did precious editing work and helped with French sources. I also thank Nemuto Masaya for sharing his research and knowledge. He, together with Stefanie Schäfer (who had just finished writing her own research on Hiroshima – succeeding, where I failed, in writing a complete history of the Museum), formed with me what seemed at times the only cohort of young researchers who worked on Hiroshima issues.

In Poland, and in general, Marta Petrusewicz's help was priceless. It was thanks to her that I met the many scholars, journalists and others who made my trip to Poland so fruitful. She even helped me, together with Carlo Ginzburg, in my (short-lived) quest to take on the Vatican's inscrutable archival bureaucracy, when I tried to find out whatever happened to the Jewish ashes that traveled from Auschwitz to Hiroshima and back to the Vatican. Michael Schudrich, the chief rabbi of Poland, was beyond helpful, introducing me to many people and welcoming me to his



Acknowledgments

xiii

community. Katarzyna Ober was also incredibly helpful. She was one of the many young colleagues who were not just professional aides but also became friends. I apologize to any of those and others who helped along the way but their names were left out. Despite the hardships and challenges it was quite an experience. Although it is my name written on the cover, this work could never have come to light without the many people who helped me along the way and I am truly grateful for that.

Finally, a word on the title of this book (and gratitude): *Hiroshima* is a homage of sorts. It refers to John Hersey's iconic work, which transformed Hiroshima from an enemy city to a place of human suffering and gave names and faces to its victims. The title acknowledges the debt all of us who work on Hiroshima owe to Hersey's work and the enormous impact it made. This impact, however, is now largely gone. Hiroshima is a name that will be remembered forever in history, but for far too many it is a place whose significance lies in history rather than the present or future. It is the purpose of this book to make its modest contribution so that the city of Hiroshima will be relevant once again.



Note on the text

With the exception of names widely known in the West, such as Akira Kurosawa, in rendering East Asian names in the body of the text I follow the conventional ordering of the region, with surnames followed by given names. Thus, Hamai Shinzō appears in the Japanese order; the surname Hamai precedes the given name Shinzō. Furthermore, in Japanese, the term hibakusha can be rendered in two different ways in writing. When the character for Baku is written as "bomb," it refers to victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When Baku is written with the character for "exposure," the meaning of hibakusha is widened to include all victims of radiation from nuclear material (e.g. Marshall Islands residents who were exposed to radiation during the 1954 Bikini nuclear tests, or workers at the Fukushima nuclear plant who were exposed to radiation in March 2011). In this book, unless otherwise noted, I use hibakusha, in its narrower, historical definition to refer to victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When possible I have used available English translations of Japanese, Hebrew and other texts; unless otherwise noted, all other translations are mine.

xiv