

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE
— IMPLICATIONS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI
FOR WORLD HISTORY AND CULTURE —*

Shingo SHIBATA**

Faculty of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Hiroshima University

- I. The “Damage” of the Atomic Bombing as History
- II. Hiroshima in World History
- III. The Denunciation of and Struggle against Nuclear Omnicide, Seen as History
- IV. Tasks of New Philosophy of History, and the Possibility of World History

* This paper was submitted to The United Nations University International Symposium “Geo-cultural Visions of the World” Cambridge, 29 March – 2 April, 1982. Reprinted by arrangement with the UN University. © by the UN University

** Research Associate, Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University

1. *The "Damage" of the Atomic Bombing as History*

1. *What is History?*

History is a process in which, when the past is looked back on, the implication of that past becomes the present, and its historic significance is revealed. History is also a process in which the implication of the past is re-examined and re-written from the standpoint of the present, thereby making clearer the truth about the past, in which process the historic conception of both past and present is changed.

This can be said about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the "damage" of those events. The historic implication of this is found in the fact that its truth has been revealed in the process of history; that it is now seen as a tremendous and most serious "event" in human history, which could even put an end to history itself, and has totally changed the hitherto accepted concept of history.

2. *The "Damage" of the Atomic Bombing as History*

(a) To the victims who died at once on 6 and 9 August, 1945, the atomic bombing must be seen as "extinction." They had neither time nor experience to "recognize" the atomic bombing as such. They could not understand by what and why and how their lives were extinguished. They did not even know that their extinction was "nuclear death." For these victims who died in agony a few hours or a few days later, that atomic bombing must have been felt as "extinction," "extinction of society and culture," "Hell," "the end of history." They could find no word to describe that experience. To them it could only be an unspeakable horror, extinguishing even words. It was the most inhumane mass destruction and massacre¹⁾ in world history. It deprived the victims of even any meaning in life and death.

(b) The "damage" of the atomic bombing did not end with those days. It destroyed the bodies, the lives and the spirits of the atomic survivors, the hibakusha. It promoted the continuing agonies of their difficult lives. Many of them say they even envied the dead. By 1976, i.e., 31 years after

the bombing, a total of 364, 261 persons had been given hibakusha certificates. Many of them lost members of their families through injuries or sickness caused directly or indirectly by the bombing, and have suffered grave difficulties in earning a livelihood. Hibakusha have suffered discrimination in employment and marriage, and become prematurely old.

The atomic bombing stripped them of the very meaning of existence. With such life histories of about 400, 000 hibakusha, that is, as the history of life and death in terrible suffering, agony and tragedy, the "damage" of the atomic bombing continues to expand even now. These life histories of numberless hibakusha form the basis of the "damage" of the atomic bombing.²⁾

(c) The "damage" of the atomic bombing created not only hibakusha as victims of direct radiation, but also those who suffered indirect radiation when they came into atom-bombed Hiroshima or Nagasaki a few hours, days, or weeks after the bombing to help in rescue work. The "damage" extended to bereaved families and orphans, and as the totality of their life histories of suffering, it has continued even till today.

(d) In the process of history, it has been revealed that hibakusha of the atomic bombing were not limited to the citizens of the two cities at that time. The names of many other cities as potential targets have now been made known, indicating the possibility that any of the Japanese people could have become hibakusha.

(e) It has also been found in the course of history that the "damage" of the atomic bombing was not limited to the Japanese in the two cities at that time. Many babies in their atom-bombed mothers wombs have been found to be abnormal. It has been claimed that so far no scientific evidence has been found of genetic effects in the second and third generations of hibakusha. But at the same time it is noteworthy that many hibakusha could not get married, or have refused to have a baby. And there are many cases of children of hibakusha suddenly becoming ill and dying from leukemia. In any case, no geneticist can deny the possibility of second and third generations of hibakusha suffering genetic after-effects, and it is well known that many hibakusha and their children and grandchildren are not free from the

fear of genetic effects and the sudden onset of illness.

(f) The course of history has also shown that the “damage” of the atomic bombing was not limited to the Japanese people.

1) It is estimated there were some ten thousand Koreans in the two atom-bombed cities at that time. Of course, thousands of them were killed by the atom bombs, and the others are surviving hibakusha. Under racial prejudice and discrimination they have had to live harder lives than even the Japanese hibakusha. In this connection, the colonialist crime of Japanese imperialism should be denounced, because the Koreans had been forced to leave their homeland to work in Japan, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and other places.

2) It was found that many foreigners were among the atomic victims. Some were Chinese from colonized Taiwan and mainland China, most of whom were brought to Japan for forced labor; students from the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, and Burma; 470 prisoners of war who included Americans, British, Dutch, Australians, and Indonesians; as well as Russians, Germans and Poles who lived in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

3) Hiroshima prefecture was known as one which had sent many Japanese emigrants to the United States. So, many Japanese-Americans who had gained US nationality became hibakusha, too. Some of them returned to the US after World War II. Many Japanese hibakusha married Americans, Canadians and others and later emigrated to the US, Canada and other countries. It is estimated that about 1,000 Japanese-born hibakusha live in North America.

In summary, one can say that the atom bombs were dropped not only on Japanese but also on people of other nations.

(g) The “damage” of the atomic bombing was done not only to the people on whom the bombs were dropped but also to the people of the country which dropped the bombs. There are at least 41 among the first thousand Americans to enter Nagasaki after the bombing who have contracted multiple myeloma, leukemia or other blood disorders, some of whom have died, and the high incidence of such diseases among so few is regarded as “startling.”³⁾ In order to inflict the “damage” of the atomic bombs on

the Japanese people, the US government had to develop the mining of uranium, as well as the refining of uranium and plutonium. In the process, it had to build nuclear power plants, and those engaged in the production of the atomic bombs also suffered more or less radiation and must be classed as hibakusha.

(h) The first "damage" of the atomic bombing of Japan was totally unnecessary for military and political reasons. At that time Japan was at the point of surrender. Seen from the standpoint of international law, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was a totally unjustifiable war crime. Still less was the second atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki necessary. The American political and military leaders actually rushed to drop the only two atom bombs they had at that time, the purpose of which was twofold: (1) to massacre large numbers of the Japanese people and test the destructive power of atom bombs (uranium bomb on Hiroshima and plutonium bomb on Nagasaki) on living human bodies,⁴⁾ and (2) thereby to initiate a blackmail policy against the Soviet Union.⁵⁾

In this context, the first atomic bombing, which was, of course, the first nuclear war, had the inevitable result of bringing about the on-going nuclear arms race. Already more than one year before it, Prof. Neils Bohr, with deep insight into this inevitability, made desperate efforts to urge Roosevelt and Churchill to refrain from using the bombs, but in vain.⁶⁾

As a result, humanity is now in the position foreseen by Neils Bohr. That first atomic bombing gave impetus to the unceasing series of nuclear tests and the arms race, producing new hibakusha all over the world. The H-bomb tests in the Bikini Atoll in 1954 showered radioactive debris on 683 Japanese fishing boats, including the "Fifth Lucky Dragon" causing the death of one of the Japanese fishermen and the sickness of others from atomic radiation. Several hundred Micronesians were first driven out from their home islands and then taken back to the contaminated islands, being used as guinea pigs by the US authorities. This must be classed as "nuclear genocide."⁷⁾

In 1964, Dr Linus Pauling warned that radioactive carbon 14 already in the air would lead to five million genetically defective births and millions

of cancer and leukemia deaths in the succeeding 300 generations. Dr A. Sakharov also warned the Soviet leadership that for every megaton of fissionable material exploded in the atmosphere, 10,000 people would die of cancer.⁸⁾ According to the Pentagon, between 250,000 and 500,000 Americans were exposed to radiation during 184 atmospheric nuclear tests between 1946 and 1963.⁹⁾ What was reported about the “atomic soldiers,” i.e., “hibakusha soldiers,” in the US must surely apply to the “hibakusha soldiers” in the USSR also, and in the UK, France, China and other nuclear testing and arming countries.

In the escalation of the nuclear arms race, many nuclear power plants have been built, and the degree of radioactive contamination of the atmosphere, the oceans and the earth, our One Earth, has been greatly increased. It is reported that radioactive fallout from nuclear plants has caused unexplained rises in infant deformity, mortality and cancer rates.¹⁰⁾ It is clear that a nuclear disaster can occur under any social system, capitalist or “socialist.” There was the terrible nuclear disaster that took place in the Urals in 1957, reported to have spread contamination over some 800 to 1200 square miles. It is reported that lakes, water plants, fish, animals, birds, soil, trees, field plants, the people, and the whole eco-system there were contaminated with radioactivity.¹¹⁾

In addition, the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear materials need the strictest security and secrecy under any system, capitalist or socialist. Therefore the nuclear arms race cannot but produce an undemocratic nuclear-controlled state and society, what has been called an “Atom-Staat,”¹²⁾ under any social system.

In any case, all human beings, young and old, men and women, have been forced to absorb into their bodies, more or less, the ash of death produced and diffused in the nuclear arms race. In this sense, one may say, we are now all hibakusha.¹³⁾

(i) In so far as one of the aims of the use of the atomic bombs was as a nuclear threat to the USSR and other non-nuclear nations, it was historically inevitable that it should develop into a historical series of diplomatic and strategic moves of nuclear blackmail. In the period of 1950 to 1954,

from Korea to Vietnam, the human race came face to face with the threat of another nuclear war at the hands of General MacArthur and then of President Eisenhower. In 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, the human race came close to the crisis point, "how the world almost ended."¹⁴ Between 1965 and 1972 US nuclear weapons threats shook Vietnam. It must also not be forgotten that the Soviet Union once used the nuclear threat as an instrument of pressure against the UK and France,¹⁵ when they invaded Egypt in November 1956. Meanwhile, the world arsenal of nuclear weapons has been expanded to millions of such weapons, calculated according to the size of the Hiroshima-type bomb, and the "technology" of both weapons and delivery systems has been developed unceasingly.¹⁶ Nuclear "strategy" and "tactics" are now devilishly sophisticated.¹⁷ As long as history is allowed to take this course no one can deny that humankind will be unable to avoid total extinction. We see that the "damage" of that first use of atomic bombs comes down to us as *present* nuclear blackmail, and possible *present* damage multiplied a million times, hanging as a gloomy pall over all humankind.

To sum up, the "damage" caused by the first atomic bombing was not then and is *not now limited in time and space*. It continues to expand to all corners of the world as the *present* real danger of nuclear extinction of nations and humans. It comes as the *present* crisis that threatens to bring an end to history, expanding to cover the whole of history, threatening to bring the whole meaning of existence, past, present and future to naught. It would be no exaggeration to say that there never has been nor could ever be a more serious and terrible "damage" in all human history.

3. *Historic Implication of the "Damage" of the Atomic Bombing*

What then shall we call the "event" which occurred in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on 6 and 9 August 1945? We have so far used the term, the "atomic bombing." But this is the name coined by the assailants, not by the victims. It would be more accurate to call it the "*first* nuclear war," but this would seem to suggest that it was *a kind of war*. But by accurate definition it was not a kind of war, but historically, a new kind of annihilation.

In passing we should note that the hitherto used word "nuclear weapon" suggests some kind of weapon that could be used for defence, like a gun. But this is not the case. Nuclear weapons have become a world system of instruments for total annihilation, comprising tens of thousands of computerized and systematized nuclear warheads, missiles, submarines, bombers, and every conceivable means of destruction. Even the term, "damage of the atomic bombing" which we have used does not convey the real understanding of this most monstrous "event" in world history.

How then can we convey this concept most exactly? In my opinion, it cannot but be described as "the *first* act of human extinction," "the *first crime* of human annihilation." The word "first" would suggest that it is not an event of *past* history, but the *present* possibility that could occur a million times multiplied. That "event" (Geschehen) became "history" (Geschichte). But it was the first "event" (Geschehen), the first "deed" (Tat) which could bring all other deeds (Geschehen) and the whole of history (Geschichte) to naught. In this sense, we might say that it was the greatest "event which should never occur" (Anti-Geschehen), "Anti-history" (Anti-Geschichte), "Anti-deed," that is, the most "evil deed" (Untat) in world history.

II. *Hiroshima in World History*

1. *Philosophy of History in Hitherto Accepted Periodization*

So far, mankind has periodized history into several stages. It goes without saying that the hitherto accepted periodization of ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary, or periodization based on changes of the social structure, such as primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist and communist, have a certain *raison d'être*. Any periodization of history conceives history as a change from one way of life to another, or from one social system to another. It has never doubted the very survival of the way of life, the social system and life itself, or the continuation of history on this earth. These have been assumed as a self-evident premise.

2. *The Possibility of Human Extinction and the Necessity of Change in the Philosophy of History*

But now, since the development of nuclear weapons, which is a world system of the means of total human extinction, we can no longer ignore the possibility that the way of life, the social system and even history itself might be terminated. Since the appearance of homo sapiens more than two million years ago, every generation of humans has without interruption continued to produce the next generation and to die, enabling humankind as a whole to continue to exist to this day. In this long course of history, innumerable individuals and groups were not able to live out their natural span of life, and died of many calamities and disasters such as floods, earthquakes, starvation, epidemics, wars and so on. Nevertheless, life continued as a whole and has never been extinguished. For each individual, life means to live, produce and reproduce and pass on to the next generation, and then to die. Accordingly, life and death have always been united in life.¹⁸⁾ But now, for the first time in history, the possibility of *nuclear death*,¹⁹⁾ that is, the *final* extinction not only of human life but also of death itself has appeared. The possibility of the end of all events (Geschehen) and all history (Geschichte) has now appeared. The possibility which no philosophies of history, including Christian, Hegelian or Marxist could foresee, has now become history.

3. *The Need for a New Philosophy of History*

As Albert Einstein said, the release of the nuclear fire could be compared with the discovery of fire.²⁰⁾ While the use of fire made possible the evolution from pre-human form to homo sapiens, the nuclear fire makes possible the extinction of homo sapiens. In this respect, the nuclear fire, in contrast with fire itself, indicates the coming of the most dangerous epoch in human history. Not only that; it also is evidence of the beginning of the most serious era in the whole history of life and cosmic evolution. It has brought about the possibility of the annihilation of all forms of life, "omnicide,"²¹⁾ on this planet. There has never been an event so significant that it can be compared to the discovery of the nuclear fire. This means that from 6

August 1945, history should be divided into two distinct eras, "Before Hiroshima" and "After Hiroshima," "pre-atomic" and "atomic,"²²⁾ the era with human survival as its pre-condition and the era without such a pre-condition. From now on, the years should be classified as "Before Hiroshima" and "After Hiroshima."

How can the hitherto existing philosophy of history, conceived only as of the Christian Era, claim a continued *raison d'être* in the face of the new philosophy of history in the nuclear age? It has become impossible for any Marxist to say that the change from capitalism to socialism is still inevitable. Of course, while nuclear omnicide is now a possibility, human survival stands as the other possibility. Which of these two will become the reality? How can the philosophies of history take into consideration these two possibilities and embody them in their own systems? This will surely determine the fate of all schools of philosophy of history, including Marxist.

III. *The Denunciation of and Struggle against Nuclear Omnicide, Seen as History*

1. *Denunciation of and Struggle against Nuclear Omnicide as History*

History since Hiroshima has been history in which the implications of the first evil deed of nuclear omnicide have been recognized. At the same time, it has been the history of the human struggle against the "damage" inflicted by that evil deed, as well as the development and expansion in time and space of the struggle for human survival.

(a) This part of world history was initiated by the Japanese hibakusha, who experienced that first evil deed of nuclear omnicide, and survived that nuclear hell. They witnessed and documented their experiences, and have continued to condemn the deed. In contrast, the US authorities confiscated even the medical specimens and data from the hospitals treating the hibakusha, whom they treated as so many guinea pigs.²³⁾ In addition, they suppressed the publication of the evidences and reports recorded by the hibakusha, threatening them with trial by military tribunal and imprisonment.

The documentation and publication of the truth about that first act of nuclear omnicide was only made possible by the struggle against the US occupation forces, and even the Japanese government. It was not until 1952 that the Japanese could openly publish documents setting out the facts, without fear of suppression.

That history was at the same time the history of the struggles against (1) the war crimes committed by the US government, as well as by the Japanese imperialists and militarists and (2) the post-war crime of the Japanese government in refusing to provide aid for the hibakusha. The history was also (3) the history of the hibakusha struggle to get a "Law for Relief of Hibakusha" enacted, which is still refused by the Japanese government.

(b) Stimulated, moved and encouraged by the hibakusha movement and in solidarity with them, the Japanese movement against nuclear weapons has continued to develop and expand. Since 1955, in August every year, the Hiroshima-Nagasaki observances have been organized as international conferences in Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as in many other cities throughout Japan. In the process of history, the observance of Hiroshima-Nagasaki commemoration has been organized in many countries, and the Japanese words "Hiroshima," "Nagasaki" and "Hibakusha" have become international currency. Then, a few years ago, a new word, "Euroshima," was coined and spread throughout Europe.

(c) With this development of history, more and more new groups of hibakusha, such as the "atomic soldiers," "atomic babies" and so on, have been found and have multiplied. So history since Hiroshima is the history of all members of the human race being recognized as hibakusha, and the anti-nuclear movement is now seen as mobilization for human survival.

(d) This history is at the same time the history of humanity in the struggle against nuclear arms expansion and the nuclear blackmail of imperialist countries, headed by the US government. It is also the history of the people's solidarity with those people against whom nuclear threats have been made. It is the history of those who have been able to recognize the difference between big-power-oriented "nuclear arms control", such as SALT, and "nuclear disarmament"²⁴⁾ based upon the equal rights of all

nations, big and small. In this way, the people have been enabled to see even the limitations of the “socialist” nuclear big powers,²⁵⁾ who have proved to be unable to resist the logic of “power politics.”

(e) The history of this movement is the history of overcoming the big-power-centered philosophy of history, in which the people of small and non-aligned countries as well as the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have come to be recognized as actors in world history; the historic role of the United Nations and the role of the people themselves as makers of history have been recognized and acknowledged.

In sum, the denunciation of and struggle against nuclear omnicide have become history and have rejected the big-power-oriented philosophy of world history that until now has been dominant.

2. Denunciation of and Struggle against Nuclear Omnicide, Seen as Culture

The first evil deed of nuclear omnicide in Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed not only hundreds of thousands of people but also schools, universities, theaters, museums, parks, temples, churches and all other cultural facilities. It was nothing less than one of the most evil deeds of vandalism in world history. Accordingly, the struggle against nuclear omnicide cannot but be a struggle for the preservation and defence of culture. This struggle was initiated by the hibakusha who wanted to publish and spread the record of their experiences. Actually, the movement against nuclear destruction could not and cannot be carried on without culture and education.

Thus the new genres of anti-nuclear culture, i.e., the hibakusha witness and reporting, paintings, poems and novels, as well as professional poems, novels, plays, music, photographs, films, paintings, sculptures, ceramic arts, philosophical and scientific studies, religious questions, etc. have arisen in living form like phoenix, from the very nuclear ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As genres of anti-nuclear culture we must add education, journalism, museums, monuments and other cultural facilities dedicated to the diffusion of information of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as well as the cause of nuclear disarmament. These genres of the anti-nuclear culture have been and are truly endogenous creative culture. It is sure that it has the specifi-

city of culture originating from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and is a denunciation of nuclear vandalism. With this specific character, anti-nuclear culture has achieved universality, because as culture it demands the preservation of world culture itself. Has there ever been a more universal and epoch-making culture than this?

After Hiroshima, this qualitatively new culture, i.e., anti-nuclear culture, has appeared and spread from Hiroshima to all corners of the world. It would be no exaggeration to say that the destiny of the human race depends on the further creation and diffusion of this culture originating from Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

3. *Hiroshima as the Point of Origin of Mobilization for Human Survival*

Plato said that it was important for man not just to live, but to *live in goodness*.²⁶⁾ In this nuclear age, however, the first question is how just to live, which has become the precondition for living in goodness. This has become the most important and urgent task of top priority, from which a new historical situation has emerged where the anti-nuclear movement originating from Hiroshima cannot but be associated with all other movements for survival; the struggle against all violations of the human right to life, including aggression, conventional war, colonialist suppression, despotism, starvation, ecocide, poverty and so on. How can the human family form a consensus on securing this most fundamental human right, the right to live? In this nuclear age, the continuation of history itself depends on how humanity can succeed in forming such a consensus.

IV. *Tasks of New Philosophy of History, and the Possibility of World History*

1. *Tasks of New Philosophy of History*

Descartes once confessed that he had tried to read "le grand livre du monde"²⁷⁾ after having read numerous classical works. In the same spirit, we are asked to read "le grand livre du monde" in this nuclear age. How can we read this great book of the world?

(a) We can find the reason why the nuclear arms race was initiated by the US military-industrial complex and its NATO allies. The theory of imperialism tells us that the imperialist pursuit of colossal profits is so parasitic and decadent that monopoly capitalism toys even with the possibility of nuclear omnicide. In this same connection, even the "socialist" government of France is not free from the logic of state monopoly capitalism nor from nuclear "power politics", when it continues the testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific, thereby threatening and endangering the people living there.

(b) We can also explain the historical origin of big-power hegemonism in the "socialist" big powers, and the reason why these big-powers were forced to fall into the logic of "power politics."²⁸⁾

(c) According to the Marxian philosophy of history, the development of productive forces is the basis of social development. Among such forces, the role of science, technology and the scientific-technological revolution grows continuously. The advent of nuclear weapons, that is, the world system of implements of nuclear omnicide, is but the appearance of the contradictions between the scientific-technological revolution and existing relations of production. The production potential, expanded by the development of atomic science, could not and cannot but appear as the most destructive form of violence under these relations of production.

(d) Therefore, the advent of this destructive violence, originally the productive potential, shows that existing production relations of monopoly capitalism and their superstructure must be reformed in such a way as to enable us to resolve these contradictions. It also demands that existing "socialist" relations of production and their superstructure should be adopted and reformed in order to resolve the contradictions of this nuclear age.

(e) For this purpose, all schools of philosophy and thought are called on to reexamine and innovate the hitherto accepted theses. The new philosophy of the nuclear age has to make the security of human life the most urgent task of top priority, and to form a universal ideal that can coordinate the various movements and organizations into the common cause of human survival.²⁹⁾ This new philosophy must take up the qualitatively new tasks³⁰⁾

raised by the nuclear age, which no schools of philosophy or social science, including Marxist, of the pre-nuclear age, could even predict.

Only through such efforts will the philosophy of history in the nuclear age be able to make an adequate contribution to ensure human survival and preserve history, philosophy and culture themselves. Only then will humankind be able to isolate the forces that seek to profit from the production of the world system of nuclear omnicide, and nuclear blackmail. Only thus can we open the way to a nuclear-free world.

As to the implications of Marxism today, Marx and Engels in the age of developing capitalism said, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" Lenin, in the age of imperialism, developed the work of Marx and Engels and coined the slogan, "Working People and Oppressed Peoples of All Countries, Unite!" In this nuclear age, however, we need a new slogan, which could be "Hibakusha of All Countries, Unite!" Otherwise, in this nuclear confrontation, neither working people nor oppressed peoples wherever they are will be able to survive. The confrontation must be ended to secure human culture, including the teaching of scientific socialism, and build a new society.

2. *The Possibility of World History*

Since Hiroshima, world history has been a history of struggle between "the damage of the atomic bombing as history" and "the struggle against nuclear omnicide as history"; in other words, "the *first* evil deed of nuclear omnicide" and "the task of human survival." On the one hand, the trend of that "*first* evil deed of nuclear omnicide" is to "develop" into the last and final one; but on the other, "the good deeds for human survival" have continued to develop and expand as an endless chain. World history should now be seen as a struggle between these two possibilities, extinction or survival. With this new philosophy of history, the whole human race will have to be mobilized to abolish the world system of the implements of nuclear omnicide. Only by such a historical worldwide mobilization can the "damage" of the atomic bombing as history be ended and human history be able to continue and develop.

NOTES

1. Hiroshima at that time had a population of 310,000 people. Of these, about 140,000 at least had died by the end of 1945. There were about 40,000 additional military civilians and servicemen, many of whom were killed as well. In Nagasaki, about one fourth of some 60,000–70,000 of the population of 270,000–280,000 had died by the end of 1945.
2. As to the whole aspects of the “damage” of the atomic bombing, the following English books are authoritative and informative. *A Call from Hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Proceedings of International Symposium on Damage and After-Effects of Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, Asahi Evening News, Tokyo, 1978; I. Morishita, *Hibakusha*, Tokyo, 1978; The Committee for Compilation of Materials on Damage caused by Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombing*, Basic Books, New York, 1981.
3. H.L. Rosenberg, *Atomic Soldiers: American Victims of Nuclear Experiments*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1980, p. 174.
4. On 6 August 1945, Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada learned about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and wrote in his diary: “We can now see what might have come to the British race had German scientists won the race. It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe.” (Cited in: S. Salaff, “The Diary and the Cenotaph; Racial and Atomic Fever in the Canadian Record,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April–June 1978) As Dr Salaff persistently and successfully argues, one cannot deny there was racist prejudice behind that first atomic bombing.
5. Professor P. M. S. Blackett, Nobel laureate and at one time a member of the official Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy for the British Government, after a thorough analysis, said soberly: “The dropping of the atomic bombs was not so much the last military act of the second World War, as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress.” (P. M. S. Blackett, *Fear, War and the Bomb*, New York, 1948, p. 139)
6. See M. J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*, Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1973.
7. Tetsuo Maeda, *The Islands of Abandoned People: Hibakusha in Micronesia*, in Japanese, Tokyo, 1979.
8. H.L. Rosenberg, *ibid.*, p. 136.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

10. E.J. Sternglass, *Low-level Radiation*, Ballantine Books, N. Y., 1972; H. Caldicott, *Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do!*, Autumn Press, Brookline, 1978.
11. Z.A. Medvedev, *Nuclear Disaster in the Urals*, W.W. Norton, N. Y., 1979.
12. R. Jungk, *Der Atom-Staat*, Kindler Verlag, München, 1977.
13. In this sense, the word, "hibakusha," is not merely a specific Japanese term. On the occasion of the International Symposium on the Atomic Bombing, sponsored by the NGOs, 21 July to 9 August 1977, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at the suggestion of Mrs Barbara Reynolds, it was confirmed that the term should henceforth be spelled out in Roman letters, HIBAKUSHA as a word of universal passport, rather than being translated into English or other languages. By so doing, the Symposium expressed the solidarity of mankind with the hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, invited public attention to the fact that all the members of the human family have become hibakusha, and sounded an alarm-bell on the possible annihilation of mankind as hibakusha.
14. See R.F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, W.W. Norton, N.Y., 1969. This memoir, which first appeared in *McCall's* magazine, carried the subtitle "The Story About How the World Almost Ended." See also J. Somerville, *The Peace Revolution*, Greenwood Press, Westport, and *The Crisis*, El Cajon, 1975.
15. Of course, this does not exonerate the UK and France from the crime of aggression. As to the historical change of Soviet nuclear policy, see A. Myrdal, *The Game of Disarmament: How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race*, Random House, N. Y., 1976; S. Shibata, "More on Human Survival – Soviet Nuclear Policy Reconsidered and Possibility of Human Survival," *Hiroshima Peace Science*, No.3, 1980; ditto, "Human Survival and Soviet Nuclear Policy," in *Soviet Marxism and Nuclear War*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1981, (ed.) J. Somerville.
16. See J. Cox, *Overkill: The Story of Modern Weapons*, Penguin Books, 1977; R.C. Aldridge, *The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to US Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine*, The Transnational Institute, Washington, D.C., 1978; do, *First Strike*, Japanese edition, Tokyo, 1979; *Comprehensive Study on Nuclear Weapons: Report of the Secretary-General of the U.N.*, N.Y., 1980. Aldridge's second book is excellent, but is only in Japanese so far.
17. There is renewed discussion about the acceptability of a "limited" or "theatre" nuclear war in Europe and Asia. But we have already experienced what was real "limited" or "theatre" nuclear war, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such a "nuclear war" is nothing but total nuclear extinction for the people in a "limited" nuclear-destroyed country.
18. Hegel once said, "Life as such bears in it the embryo of death." (Hegel, *Enzyklo-*

- pädie*, § 81, Addendum 1) This dialectical concept of life as the unity of life and death was accepted and evaluated highly by F. Engels. (*Dialektik der Natur, Marx-Engels-Werke*, Bd. 20, p. 544)
19. As to the meaning of *final death*, that is, *nuclear death*, see John Somerville, *Philosophy and Ethics in the Nuclear Age*, Japanese edition, Tokyo, 1980. English edition not yet published. Japanese edition was edited and translated by S. Shibata.
 20. Albert Einstein's letter of 6 August 1947, addressed to the father of a member of Promoting Enduring Peace.
 21. This concept "omnicide" was coined by J. Somerville. See his book cited in note 19.
 22. Maybe J. Somerville was the first philosopher to have deep insight into the meaning of the atomic age. He wrote, "henceforth, history will not longer be divided into ancient, medieval and modern. We shall have to speak of the pre-atomic and atomic periods." (J. Somerville, *The Philosophy of Peace*, New York, 1949, New Edition, 1954, p. 13.)
 23. Not only that; US military forces suppressed even an attempt by the International Committee of Red Cross to appeal to the world for relief aid for hibakusha immediately after the end of World War II. See *The Japan Times*, 17 September 1978.
 24. About the difference between "nuclear arms control" and "nuclear disarmament," see my papers cited in note 15.
 25. As to the historical conditions and limitations of existing "socialist" countries, see S. Shibata, "Réexamen du socialisme contemporain," *Hiroshima Peace Science*, No. 4, 1981.
 26. Plato, *Crito*, 8b.
 27. R. Descartes, *Discours de la méthode*.
 28. Marxist theory explains the reason why some "socialist" countries have followed the big-power hegemonist line. Lenin had already warned of this. See Lenin, *Works*, Fourth Russian edition, Vol. 22, p. 311, Vol. 33, p. 335, and Vol. 36, pp. 554–557, as well as S. Shibata, *op. cit.* in note 25.
 29. In this context, Einstein said, "The Release of atomic energy has so changed everything that *our former ways of thinking have been rendered obsolete*. We therefore face catastrophe unheard of in former times. If mankind is to survive, then *we need a completely new way of thinking*." (Cited in the Preface to *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, cited in the note 2, emphasis added.) As books which tackled the new challenge stressed by Einstein, the following should be mentioned: B. Russell, *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, 1959; do, *Has Man a Future?*, 1959; do, *Unarmed Victory*, 1963, as well as G. Anders, *Der Mann auf der Brücke: Tagebuch aus Hiroshima und Nagasaki*, München, 1959, and do, *Endzeit und*

Zeitenende: Gedanken über die atomare Situation, München, 1972, As short but important documents, "New Philosophy on Disarmament," resolution adopted by 33rd Session of U.N. General Assembly, 14 December 1978, and the "Appeal for Peace," read by Pope John Paul II at Hiroshima, on 25 February 1981, should also be mentioned. Marxist-oriented works are few. Among them, J. Somerville's books (cited in notes 14, 19 and 22) are pioneering works. It is regrettable that very few Marxist philosophers and social scientists in the "socialist" countries have dealt with this challenge of the nuclear age. I have tried to deal with it in many books and papers in Japanese. In English I have described my ideas in the following papers and books: S. Shibata, "Fundamental Human Rights and Problems of Freedom," *Social Praxis*, Vol. , Nos. 3-4, Mouton, The Hague, 1975; do (ed.), "Discussion: Fundamental Human Rights and Marxism," *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, Nos. 1-2, 1979; do, *The New Theory of Human Rights in the Nuclear Age and For Human Survival*, in preparation.

30. See S. Shibata, "For Human Survival," *Hiroshima Peace Science*, No. 2, 1979; *For Human Survival*, in preparation.