

Lecture

Challenges of memory inheritance: What can be inherited? What will we pass on?

Noriyuki KAWANO

Professor, Director of the Institute for Peace Science
Hiroshima University, Japan

Thank you for the kind introduction. I am Professor Noriyuki Kawano, Director of the Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University.

Thank you, once again, for coming to this symposium. Not only is it an exceptionally hot day, but also, there are several other important symposia and workshops taking place in the city today. I am, therefore, all the more grateful that you have chosen to join us for this symposium.


Before I continue, may I briefly outline the aims and objectives of this symposium, entitled: “The Atomic Bombs and War Memories: Heritage of Peace in an Uncertain Age”. Here is the overview of this symposium.

“What can be inherited? What will we pass on?” These are two broad questions. The fundamental question here is what we mean by Atomic-Bomb experience and what was the damage caused by the bombings. We will also ask ourselves what public bodies,

museums and universities can do to pass on the legacies of the Atomic-

Outline / Objectives

- *What can be inherited? What will we pass on?*
- *What is the A-Bomb Experience (... What is the A-Bomb damage in the first place)?*
- *What can the administrations, museums and universities do for inheritance?*
- *What specific measures can be taken?*
- *What kind of analytical methods are there?*
- *How to record and convey “correct” memory*
- *Different origins and backgrounds of memory in Okinawa and Hiroshima*
- *Influence of media on war memory*
- *Challenges of passing on the memory of A-bombing*

 HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY

Bomb experience and what concrete actions can be taken. In terms of research, what kinds of analytical methodology can we employ? Furthermore, we will consider if there is any “correct” memory as such and if not, what memory of the Atomic-Bomb experience should be transmitted and in what manner. These are the themes that we will discuss together with the audience in this symposium.

In terms of representing memory, Director Shiga will outline the wide-

ranging initiatives of KEISHŌ by the Hiroshima Peace Museum and the challenges associated with their work. Professor Hook will discuss how the memories of Okinawa may be recorded, memorized and disseminated; how the memory of the Battle of Okinawa is different from the memories of Hiroshima or Nagasaki; and what features they have in common.

Professor Hoskins will discuss what role the media plays in the making of war memories and what effects that may entail. Finally, Dr. van der Does will discuss the empirical challenges in studying the testimonials of hibakusha and will introduce a new methodological approach that enables us to analyze the testimonials holistically.

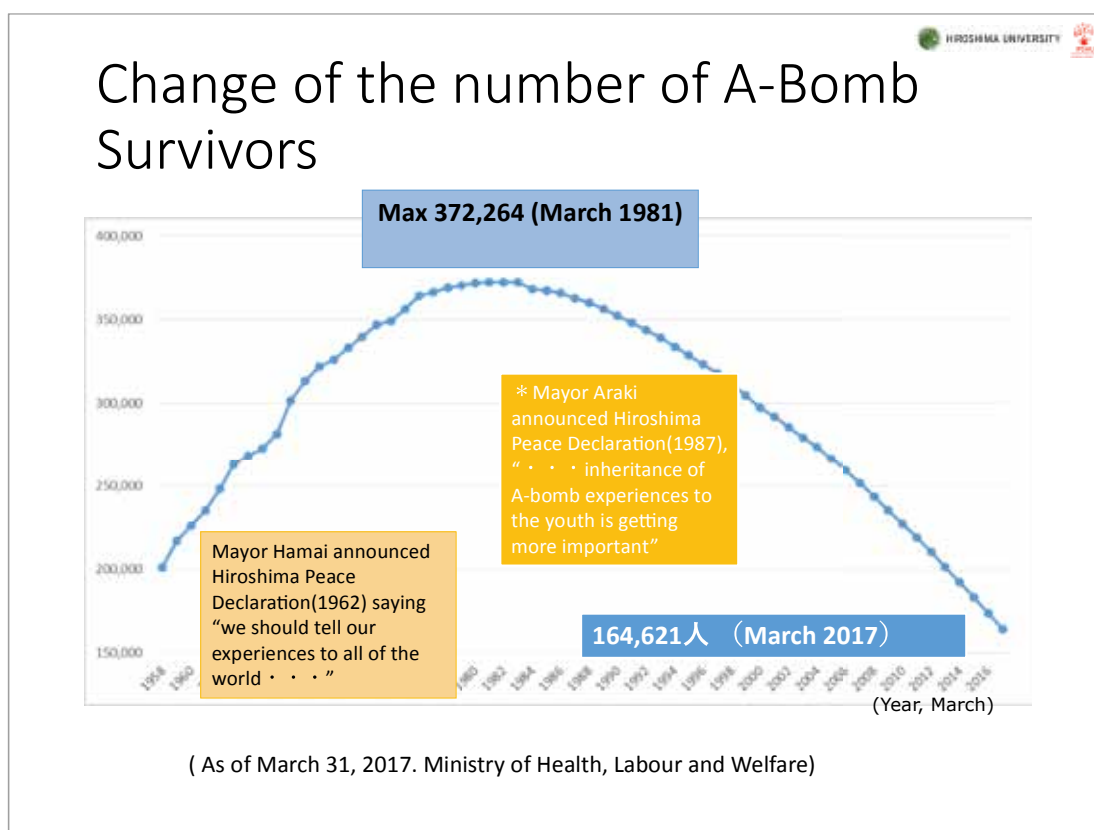
After the individual lectures we will invite all the speakers back to the stage for a panel discussion. Questions and comments from the audience will be collected during the break. This is to review, reflecting on today's presentations, the challenges of passing on the legacies of the Atomic-Bombings and to explore a new possibility of communicating the A-bomb memory. We hope to make this symposium a forum for an exchange of information which will give direction to our future efforts in conveying the Atomic-Bomb experience as a heritage of peace.

Now let me turn to my lecture. The theme of the lecture is KEISHŌ, which is a Japanese word covering the senses of inheriting, conveying and passing on (*as variously translated in this article depending on the context). Indeed, we talk of this topic so often that we feel it has been around for a long time. So, I checked how long we have been seriously discussing this issue in Hiroshima. It turned out that the importance of passing on (keishō) the memory of the Atomic-Bomb became a major topic in the Hiroshima Peace Declarations around the end of the 1980s. The first mayor to use the word, *keishō* was Mayor Takeshi Araki in his 1976 declaration, in which he advocated for the “keishō of the Atomic-Bomb victims’ experience to the young people who are to build on the future”. He subsequently used this word in a similar message in the Peace Declarations of 1983, 1987, and 1988. The next mayor to employ this word was Tadatoshi Akiba who used a related word, “Hibaku-Taiken-Keishō (Passing on the memory of experiencing the A-bomb radiation exposure)” in his 1995 Peace Declaration. Later, Mayor Takashi Hiraoka employed the word “kataritsugu (passing-on by narrating the memory)” in his speech, saying: “we want to impress the misery of war and the atomic bombing on the

generations of younger people who will be tomorrow's leaders".

So far, KEISHŌ was used ten times in the past Hiroshima Peace Declarations and in the mean time the importance of passing on the memory of A-bomb (and radiation exposure)

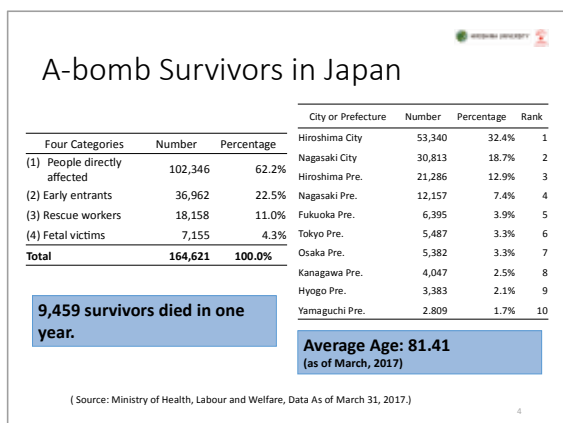
has become a recurrent theme. Increasingly *keishō* has also become an important task of the local municipalities. This trend coincided with a demographic change in the population of Atomic-Bomb survivors in the 1980s, as you see in this slide.



In 1980, which was the 55th year of the era of Emperor Showa, the number of Atomic-Bomb survivors (Genbaku- hibakusha), who were the holders of medical notes called “genbaku-techō (a certificate for those officially recognized as being survivors of the Atomic-Bombings)”, was over 372,000. This number, however, has dwindled since then. The latest number is

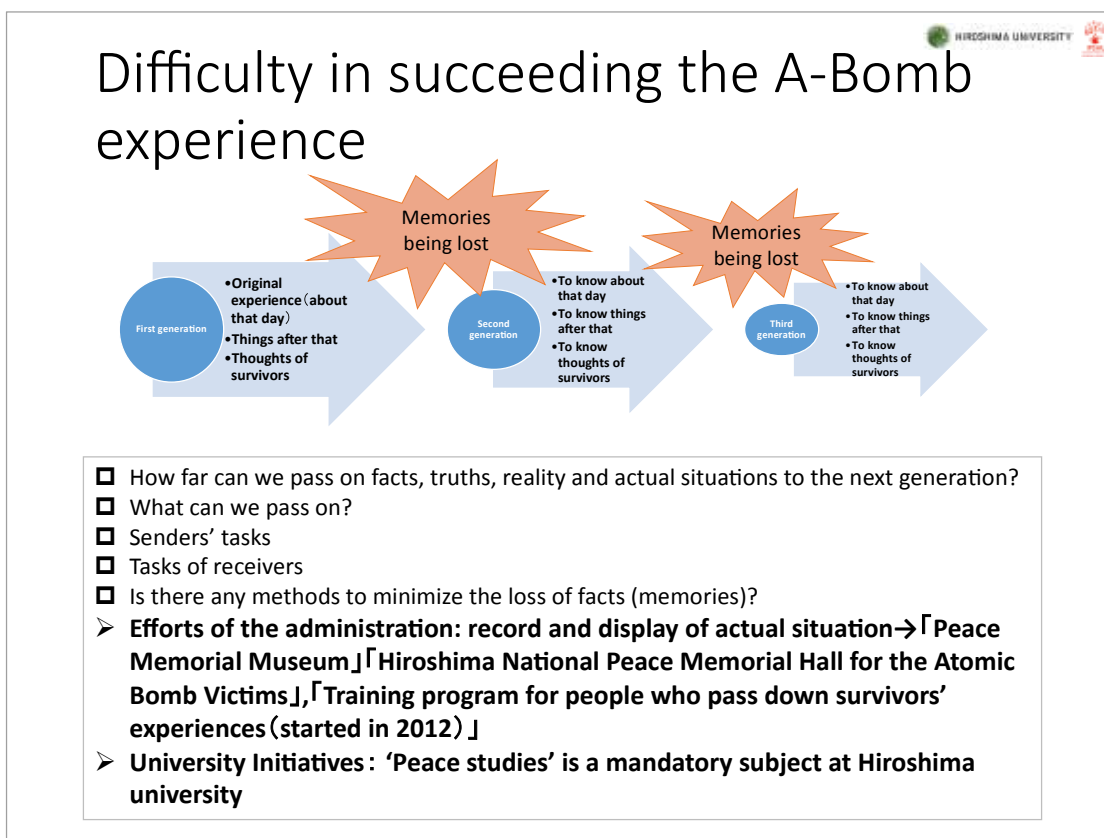
164,000. This dramatic decrease in the surviving population is behind the heightened interest in the issue of passing on the memory of the Atomic-Bomb experience.

The next slide shows a breakdown of the current surviving population. From the 1980s onwards, the importance of passing on the memory of



the Atomic-Bombings began to feature in the policies of local governments, in response to the potential loss of the memory with the decrease of population among the hibakusha.

As the theme of this symposium suggests, the challenges that we face in passing on the Atomic-Bombing experience may be explained in the following schematic drawing.



The first generation is the Atomic-Bomb survivors themselves. Their original experience can be described in terms of what happened on that day and what has happened since then. The latter includes after-effects and subsequent physical, economic, social

and other complications. I should also include the mindscape of the survivors. So, the issues of what happened that day, since then, and the survivors' mindscape, are the three major components of the Atomic-Bomb experience.

The first generation passes on their memory to the second generation, but there are inevitable losses in the contents of such memories. What the second and the third generations can do is, put simply, learn from the memories of the first generation but, even before they start to learn, many details have already been lost in the process.

The central theme of my lecture, therefore, consists of the following questions: to what extent can we relay the facts, truth, or the reality of the Atomic-Bomb experience to future generations and what exactly are we to pass on? We are not here to discuss what the first generation informants should or should not do, but we rely on them to continue disseminating their messages.

What I want to discuss today are the challenges faced by the second, third and future generations. What should those who receive first-hand memories from the Atomic-Bomb survivors do, and what can they actually do? These are the themes of my lecture today.

What strategy or method should we use to minimize the loss of factual records and memories? For example, measures have been taken by public bodies and various efforts made to record the many facets of the Atomic-Bomb experience and to exhibit them publicly. Director Shiga of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum will

tell us about such activities at his Museum and the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic-Bomb Victims. The City of Hiroshima is also supporting a training course for ordinary citizens to become storytellers (also known as the memory-keepers) to narrate the Atomic-Bomb experience, taking after the survivors.

Complementing these public efforts how, then, can universities contribute our expertise? Let me share with you some examples. From around the year 2000, major news companies and our Institute, have been conducting joint surveys of the Atomic-Bombing survivors.

Answer (Multiple answers)	Numbers (/131)
Foster inheritors	80 → Administrations, Universities
Teaching at the educational sites systematically	70 → Schools, universities
Expand activities to pass on testimonies outside the A-bombed area	70 → Hibakusha
Keep videos and audios	68 → Hibakusha, Administrations
Writing notes and distributing	59 → Hibakusha, Administrations

This slide shows the results of a 2012 survey on 131 storytellers. The question asked was, “What must be done to ensure KEISHŌ (passing on the Atomic-Bomb experience)?”

The most popular response was to nurture the successors. Eighty respondents out of a hundred and thirty-one gave this answer. The next

most popular response was to teach about KEISHŌ systematically in educational settings. This was followed by the third most popular response, to expand the opportunities for sharing the survivors' testimonies outside Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Naturally, the responsibility for nurturing the successors, for keeping the memory alive, seems to fall on the universities and the municipalities.

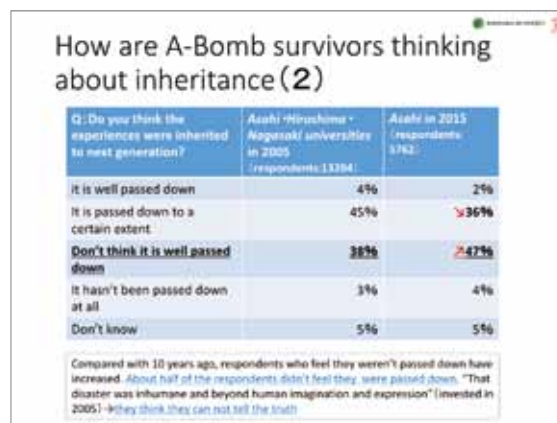
The next question is particularly relevant to the audience here today, many of whom are hibakusha (Atomic-Bomb survivors) themselves. The respondents were asked in 2015: "In your opinion, has the Atomic-Bombing experience been passed on satisfactorily?". The responses they gave stunned me. As many as fifty-one per cent of them replied, no. A similar survey was conducted in 2010 asking: "Do you expect the survivors' experience will be passed down?" to which, sixty-one per cent of them responded with, "I should think so".

How are A-Bomb survivors thinking about inheritance (1)

- According to Awareness Survey for A-bomb survivors (respondents:1943) by Yomiuri & Hiroshima University (2015), :「Do you think the experience of the A-bombing is fully inherited?」→「Yes」13%, 「No」51%, 「Don't know」31%
- According to the same survey held in 2010 (respondents:1015),「for the same question」→「Yes」61%
- many survivors didn't think it was inherited as they expected

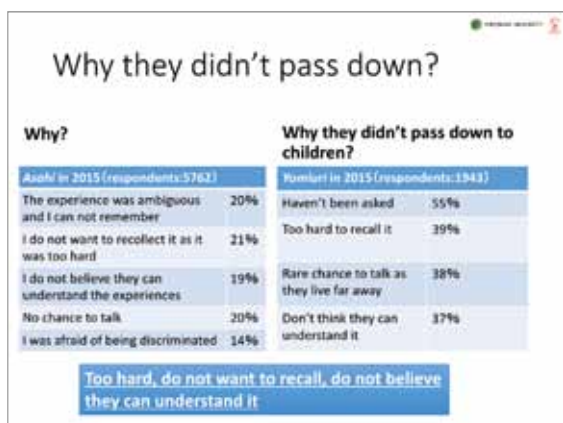
The majority of hibakusha today appear to be rather disappointed with the status quo of the KEISHŌ efforts.

Next, let me briefly show the results of a survey by Asahi news. About half of the respondents say their stories are not fully communicated. They gave a few reasons but, in short, they feel the reality (of being bombed) cannot be fully expressed in any way. I would like to ask the hibakusha in the audience to share their thoughts on this point later. This feeling is one of the major causes that hinders inter-generational communication.



Following on from the last slide, the survey also asked the survivors why they do not tell their stories in full: These are the 2015 results of surveys by Asahi News and Yomiuri News respectively. Some said, "I cannot recall very well, as I only have a vague memory of the experience", which may be a natural consequence of the passage of time. Others answered: "I

don't think people can understand what I've experienced"; "It is too hard – too painful to recount it"; or "Nobody has ever asked me about it". The surveys clearly show the depth of the hibakusha's sense of resignation.



We often talk of the Atomic-Bomb Experience, but what is it exactly? Let's do a recap. I believe it consists of the following three pillars: The first pillar is what happened on that day. It is about the hellish events of the sixth and ninth of August, 1945. The second pillar is about what has happened since then. This includes the after-effects of the Atomic-Bombs and the subsequent health concerns, social discrimination and other effects caused by them. The third is the views and wishes of the hibakusha, including their ardent desire for a nuclear-free world and prayers for a world without wars.

What is A-Bomb (Exposure to radiation) experience?

- 1. Things of that day:** Picture like the hell that cannot go away from their minds
- 2. Things after that:** Post-A-Bombing disorder, anxiety of health, social discrimination, etc. caused by Post-A-Bombing disorder
- 3. Mind and hope of A-Bomb survivors**
 - Mind and thoughts for "world without nuclear weapons"
 - Mind and hope for anti-war etc
- 4. Complicated feelings of A-Bomb survivors**
 - Resentment against the atomic bombing
 - Responsibility for A-Bombing

These are, if I may say so in broad terms, rather positive views. There are also, however, extremely complex layers in the hibakusha mindscape. Strong animosity against the dropping of the Atomic-Bombs and thoughts on the assignment of responsibility for dropping the bombs are also lurking there. Even so, the hibakusha's thoughts have gradually converged into the desire for a nuclear-free world.

So, the Atomic-Bomb experience consists of these three concepts: what happened that day, since then and the projections of the hibakusha's mindscape, and these three should shape the narrative that we convey.

What the hibakusha wish to pass on to the next generation appears to be summarized in the following three components.

First is, again, the events of that day, which refers to the atrocity of the Atomic explosion and the terrible afflictions suffered by its victims. Fifty-six per cent of the respondents of

the survey chose this answer. The second is about events since then, chosen by forty-eight per cent of the respondents. This refers to the health effects from radiological hazards caused by exposure to the Atomic-Bombs that persisted for several decades afterwards. The third is the preciousness of peace, chosen by fifty-five per cent of them.

What A-Bomb survivors want to pass down to the next generation (Asahi 2015)

Answer (Multiple)	Respondents: 5762	Frequency
Misery just after the A-bombing		56% → 「about that day」
Fear of diseases due to radiation exposure that last for decades		48% → 「about after that」
Respect for Peace		55% → 「hope・mind」
Importance of helping each other		16%
Appreciation for being healthy		32%
Shouldn't make politics and militaries run away		29%
Never give up on anything		9%

These three components of what the survivors wish to convey to future generations actually correspond to the three pillars of the Atomic-Bomb experience that I discussed earlier. Therefore, our most important task is, at the least, to understand these three components and pass them on to the next generation, like a relay runner passes a baton to the next runner. So, we shall next review each of these three components.

The first thing that comes to the survivors' minds are the events of that day, which are described as “the

scenes of hell that have never left my mind”. This is a famous photo taken not long after the explosion of the Atomic-Bomb in Hiroshima. The exact time attributed to this photo varies from one to four hours after the explosion, depending on which timeline we accept. The hellish events that took place under this cloud are what the hibakusha want people to remember.



Let me show you a few more pictures. These photos are from the collection of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. This picture was taken that August. The mangled building is the former Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall.



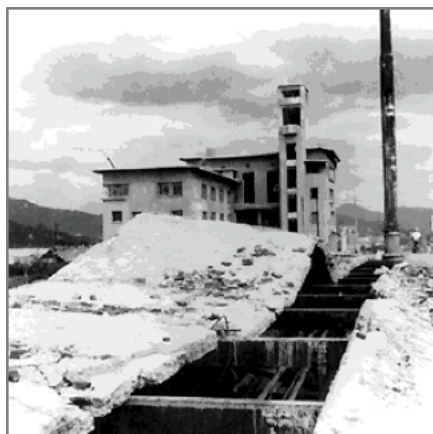
This one is the Hiroshima Red Cross Hospital (which is now called the Hiroshima Red Cross & Atomic-bomb Hospital).



This one shows the Hacchōbori area looking to the west from Fukuya department store. The buildings in the center are Geibi Bank and Sumitomo Bank. The photo was taken on November 23, 1945.



The next photo shows the Aioi-bridge, located at 300m from the epi center, and its mangled pavement blown up by the blast of the Atomic bomb. The photo was taken in October, 1945 by Mr. Toshio Kawamoto.



By the way, these photos were returned by the US military between 1971 and 1973: photos of Hiroshima were returned to the Hiroshima University Research Institute for Radiation Biology and Medicine. Hiroshima University houses a collection of 1200 photos in total, many of which are stored, managed and permanently exhibited by the prefectural authority and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Some of them, such as these, include the damages caused by the Atomic-Bomb blast.

In interviews and surveys with the Atomic-Bomb survivors, as well as in their testimonials and memoirs, the central theme of the Atomic-Bomb experience crystallizes as the devastating human misery experienced under the mushroom cloud on that day. Hence, we studied how the word hell is used in the testimonials of hibakushas in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Hidankyō survey, which was conducted between 1985 and

1986. Out of 8,235 survivors who responded, 568 used the word hell in their testimonials.

HIRONORI HARADA

Examples of "Hell" in the testimony of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

* Representation such as "the hell of this world", "indescribable" is widely used

- Still see it in my dream/ "An atom Hell" I want to forget if I can...
- Cruelty, miserable. There should not be such a hell again, I do not want it.
- /The scenery like the Hell made tears run out./ Figures of people turned into demons and ghosts /
- In a word, it was the hell / Eyes are not open enough...
- All the people of ~ died it was the hell/ When leaving the shelter~
- /the figure seeking water was living hell itself and can not be represented with a brush~
- It was exactly a living hell /...Near the A-Bomb Dome~
- Mountain of files, Hiroshima city which became a hell picture in a moment. It turned into scenes of screaming by radiation. It showed the situation of living hell. Such an act~. Crying, wandering crying. It was just like seeing hell pictures.
- It looked like "picture of hell" that appeared in children's picture book... He died while distracting his hair... death, death, death. Ah...
- There is nothing we, soldiers, can do with hell pictures.
- Impression like seeing real living hell /
- /That is terrible, that is what the hell is. / A crying baby.
- Rather than a hell picture, in this world and in the other world...
- The miserable sight of the people is exactly like the Ashura, I can't look into it very much
- When I left ~ and came into the city area, it was a living hell. People seeking help.

(1985/86, Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations: 568 / (8235 respondents) used "the Hell")

So far, we have briefly reviewed the first of the three components of the Atomic-Bomb experience. I will come back to this later, but moving on to the second component, let us review what has happened since then. We will consider the issues of the after-effects and their consequences. For example, anxiety about health and the social discrimination that began immediately after the bombings and continues to this day. These issues were studied by conducting surveys using a range of media, including the mass media. Thus, today I am sharing with you some representative results from our joint surveys with two newspaper companies, Asahi and Yomiuri.

There is no need to repeat what today's audience already knows well-enough, but just to mention, briefly, that the nature of the Atomic-Bomb is conclusively different from that of

conventional weaponry. One differentiating feature is the late-onset radiation damage, also known as an Atomic-Bomb after-effect. A variety of radiation-induced health issues have been observed since 1945, which include cancers and other late-onset radiation-induced diseases. The late-onset radiation-induced injuries are analyzed in stages.

HIRONORI HARADA

Physical disabilities due to A-bombing

Late diseases: 1946-current

- **Keloid** (1946-47)
- **cataract** (a clouding of the eye's natural lens)
- **microcephaly** (intellectual disabilities) •• emerge among new-born babies who exposed in 8-15 weeks of pregnancy
- Growth and development disorders in childhood
- Parathyroid/thyroid gland abnormality
- Somatic mutation
- **Chromosomal abnormality**
- **Malignant tumor (leukemia etc.)**
 - > Leukemia increased from 2 - 3 years later, decreased after peak at 6 - 7 years
 - > Even now it is still higher than non-A-bomb survivors
 - > 10-30 years later, thyroid cancer, breast cancer, lung cancer, stomach cancer, colon cancer, multiple myeloma, etc increased
- Genetic influence on children of A - bomb survivors: there is nothing obvious up to now

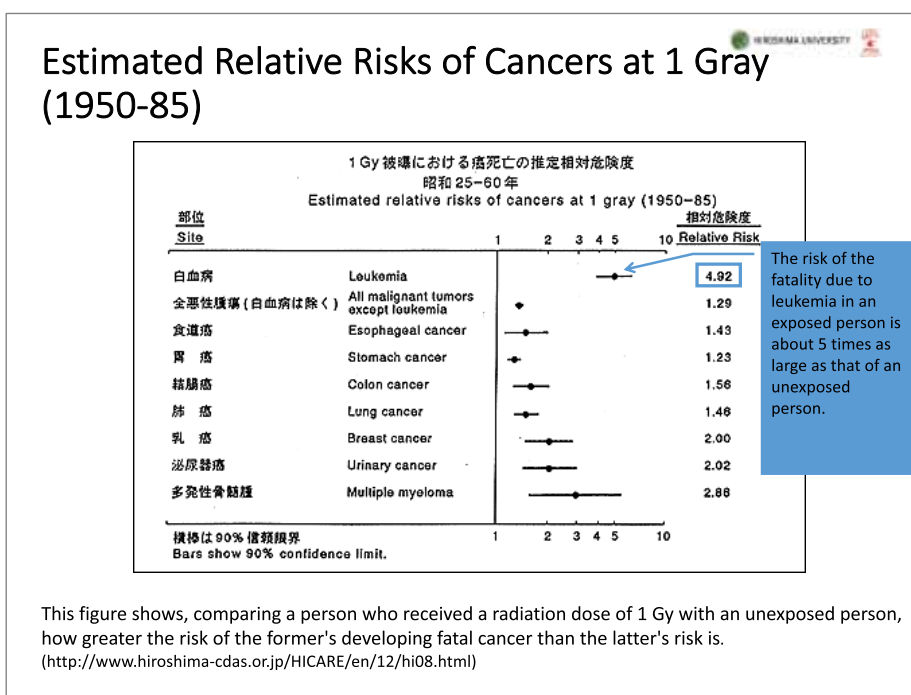
*Source: Hironori Harada

The initial period, from the time of exposure until December 1945, is divided into three phases: Acute, Subacute, and Recovery. Atomic-Bomb radiation-induced diseases developed after January 1946 are called late-onset radiation after-effects or Atomic-Bomb after-effects.

Physical disabilities caused by the Atomic-Bombs include the keloid scars, Atomic-Bomb-related cataracts and microcephaly. You may have heard about the last one. A foetus – a developing baby in the mother's womb – at eight to fifteen weeks gestation is

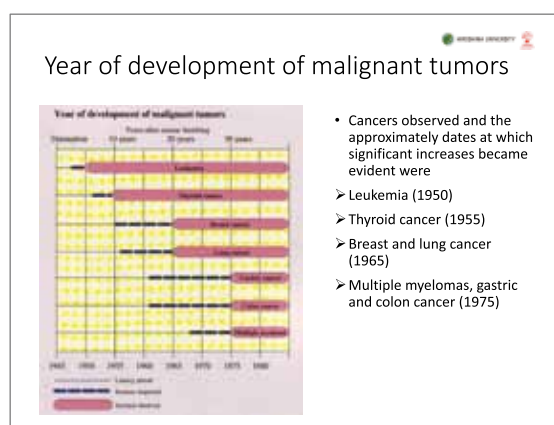
most susceptible to parental irradiation, so it has a higher risk of suffering from microcephaly or delayed intellectual development (mental retardation). Other health effects include chromosomal abnormality and malignancy, such as leukaemia and the latter, in particular, showed a significant increase during the initial phase after the explosion, while other diseases and malignancies developed ten years after the bombing,

or even later. This is a little more technical, but the next slide shows the relative risks of death by cancer when exposed to a radiation dose of 1 gray (Gy). As shown here, for example, with an exposure of 1 Gy within a radius of 1.2 to 1.3 kilometers from the epicenter, the risk of developing leukaemia reached as high as 4.92. Similar increased risks are also observed with other solid tumors.

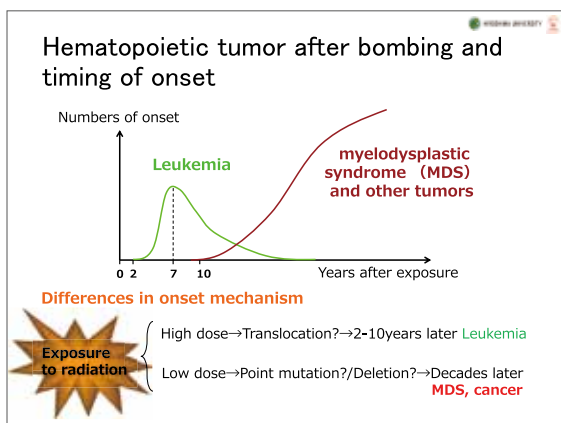


This means, of course, that we must take into account the timeline for the risks of developing radiation-induced cancer but, suffice it to say, it may develop years after the initial exposure.

This slide shows the timing of the onset of disease in survivors. Leukaemia reaches its peak first,



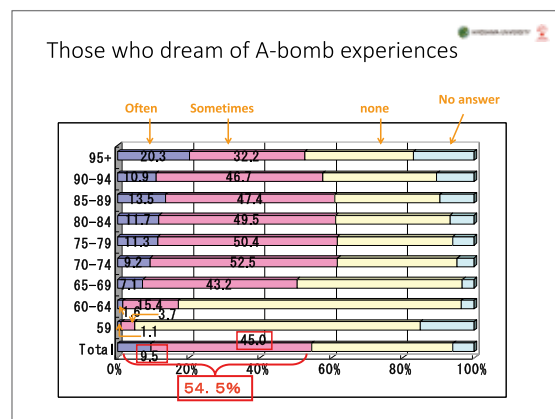
around six to seven years after exposure, after which it starts to decrease slowly during the next ten years or so. Other solid tumors typical of the survivors include MDS (Myelodysplastic Syndrome), also known as secondary leukaemia. Incidences of this type of malignancy increases some ten years after the Atomic-Bomb exposure.



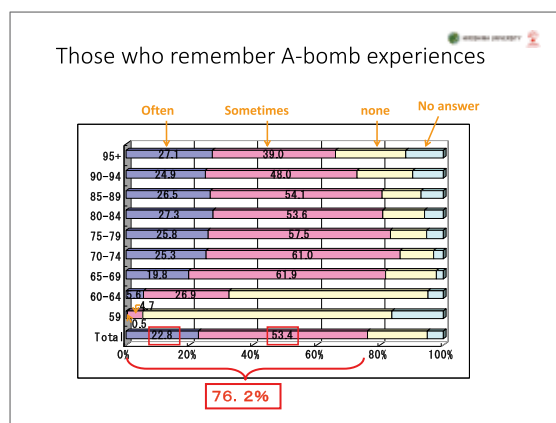
Other than these radiation-induced after-effects on physical health, I should also like to mention the psychological injuries caused, both directly and indirectly, by the Atomic-Bomb experience. Let me give you some examples to demonstrate how they affect the Atomic-Bomb survivors with psychological burdens.

Next one is a result from somewhat older data, the 2005 survey conducted jointly with Asahi News. Survivors were asked if they had dreamt about their Atomic-Bomb experience. More

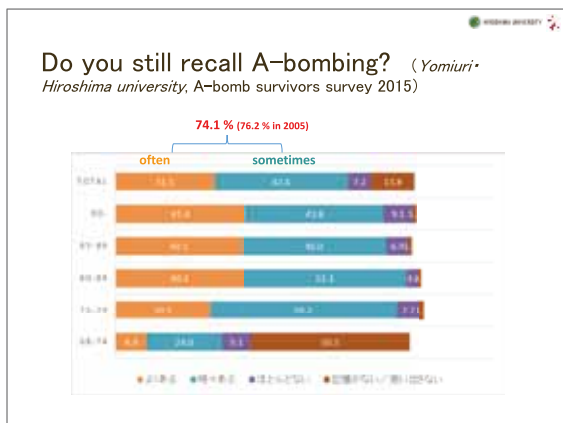
than fifty per cent of the respondents answered yes.



To the question asking if they recall their Atomic-Bomb experience in daily life, three quarters of them responded yes.



Also, more recent data from the 2015 joint survey with Yomiuri news, shows seventy-four per cent answered that they often or sometimes remember the moment of the bombing.



Things that trigger their memory of the Atomic-Bomb experience are, apparently, flash lights, crowds of festival goers, cucumber slices, grilled dry squid, and, for some of them, reflecting on the incidents of 2005, such as the Tsunami off the coast of the island of Sumatra.

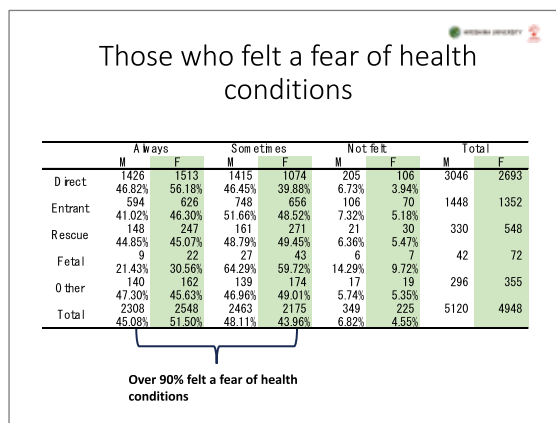
It is perhaps difficult for us to imagine today, but in those days, hardly any medical care was available for the treatment of victims with severe burns and, thus untreated, their injuries were exacerbated. Just to give some background information, the bomb on the sixth of August 1945 destroyed the medical system in Hiroshima, killing or maiming about ninety per cent of the medical personnel and facilities.

Therefore, with a devastating shortage of physicians and drugs, the victims were reduced to placing moist vegetables on their skin to cool the wounds. This is why some survivors cannot stand cucumbers, even now.

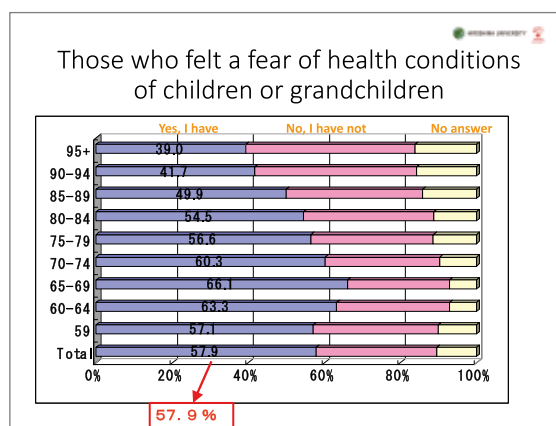
Others avoid grilled dry squid as it triggers the memory of bodies shrinking while they were burning.

So, exactly what do survivors dream about or recall? According to the data presented here, the Atomic-Bomb survivors remember vividly the heat over the keloid scars, pungent odors, the moaning, cries for water, and all other scenes of a living hell.

They also expressed their health concerns. This is from the 2005 survey showing more than ninety per cent were anxious about health issues.

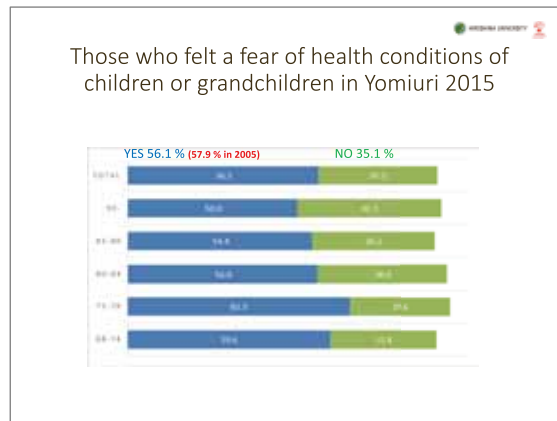


In addition, fifty-eight per cent of the survivors interviewed replied yes to this question.



This is actually a very difficult area, but we attempted to determine the features of the survivors who have had concerns about giving birth, or about the health of their offspring by odds ratio. Notably, many stated that they had suffered discrimination in marriage, which in turn, perhaps, made the hibakusha also begin to harbour anxieties about having children and about their offspring's health.

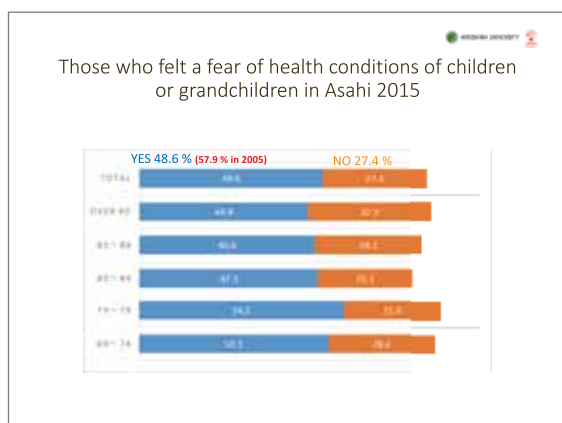
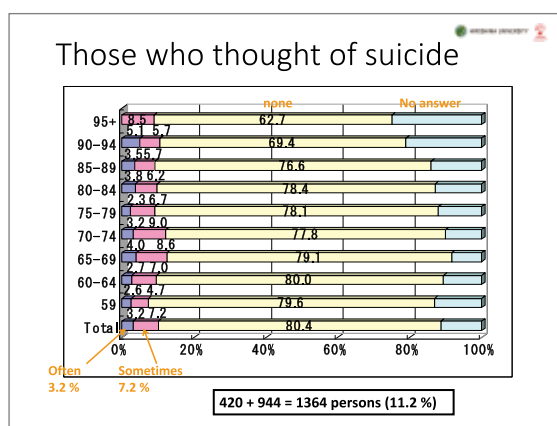
Also, in the 2015 survey, fifty-six per cent of survivors replied yes to this question.



- Characteristics of those who felt a fear of health conditions of children or grandchildren
- Female (0.78)
 - Less than 70 (0.68)
 - Directly damaged (1.68)
 - Family died from A-bomb, especially mother (1.29)
 - Acute or subacute symptoms appeared (1.85)
 - Late effects symptoms appeared (1.93)
 - Received discrimination when they looked for a job (2.12)
 - **Received discrimination when they tried to marry (6.96)**
 - Having someone to talk to (1.17)

Very rarely we come across a survey asking such a question as this, but that is exactly what we asked survivors in the 2005 survey. One thousand three hundred and sixty-four respondents, which represents eleven per cent of the total survey population, declared they have.

In this 2015 survey about half the total respondents answered yes to this question.



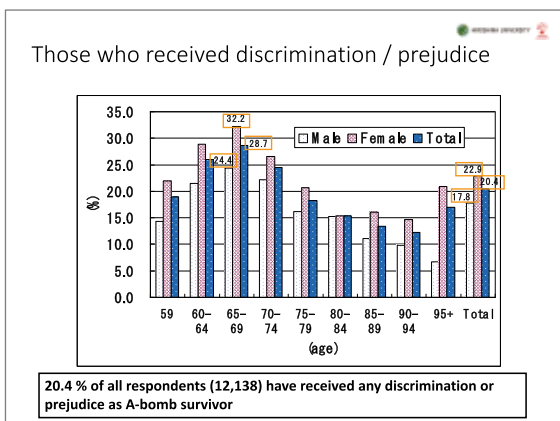
As we investigated their backgrounds, three shared factors emerged as possible explanatory variables, namely:

discrimination at the time of school entrance, discrimination at the time of job recruitment and discrimination at the time of marriage.

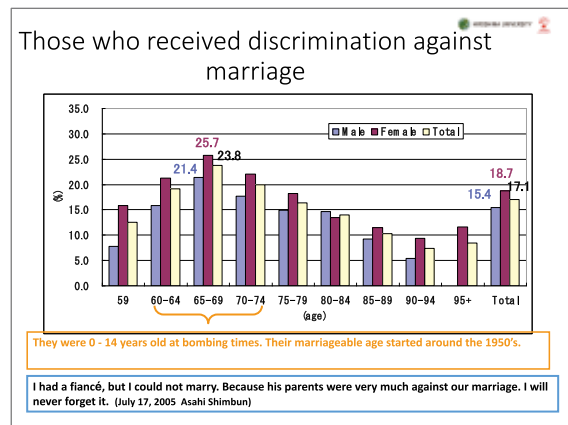
Characteristics of those who felt suicidal

- Female (0.71)
- Less than 70 (0.81)
- Family died from A-bomb, especially husband or wife (1.59)
- Acute or subacute symptoms appeared (1.81)
- Late effects symptoms appeared (1.65)
- [Received discrimination when they went to school \(2.52\)](#)
- [Received discrimination when they looked for a job \(3.42\)](#)
- [Received discrimination when they tried to marry \(2.68\)](#)
- No one to talk to (0.41)

Even without going into statistical details, it is perhaps evident that these are important factors in this survey result. According to the 2005 survey results, two thousand six hundred and seventy-four survivors, which is about twenty per cent of the total respondents, have experienced discrimination or prejudice because they were exposed to the Atomic-Bomb.



I invite you to take a careful look at the next slide. This shows the results of a survey from exactly ten years ago.



Most respondents were between sixty and seventy-four years of age, which means they were between a few months to fourteen years of age at the time of the bombings. They would have reached a marriageable age sometime in the 1950s. The period between 1945 to 1955 is known as the empty decade (Kūhaku no Jūnen) – when even the mention of the Atomic-Bombs was banned under the press code imposed by the GHQ. Having lived through these ten years the survivors reached marriageable age.

When Japan's sovereignty was finally returned in 1952, the embargo on the reporting of the Atomic-Bombs was lifted. Early in 1952 Asahi Graph printed full-color images of the damage caused by the Atomic-Bombs. This caused a major stir nationwide and half a million copies were quickly sold. The printing house could not

keep up with the demand and in the end the publisher was forced to sell copies in black and white.

The huge sales of the Asahi Graph opened up the whole discussion of the Atomic-Bomb experience that had, until then, been sealed off and contained within Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This unfettered information, however, led to further discrimination against the survivors of marriageable age.

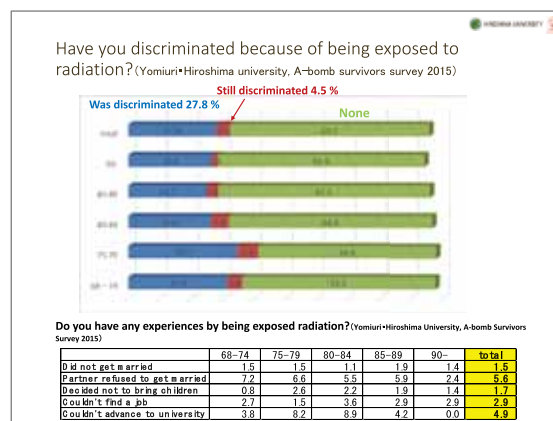
Around the same time, a Japanese fishing boat, the Daigo Fukuryū-maru, suffered fallout from a Bikini Atoll nuclear test. Mr. Aikichi Kuboyama died from the effects about half a year later. During the period 1952 to 1954 these events raised public awareness of the dangers of radiation.

So, the Asahi Graph publication and the Bikini Atoll incident helped, to some extent, to disseminate the fear of Atomic-Bombs and radiation among the public and, in the course of this, the Atomic-Bomb experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki began to turn into a national experience. This increase in nuclear awareness and a generation of survivors' coming of age synchronized in the 1950s. As a result, they were more likely to be discriminated against when seeking a partner in marriage.

Now, seventy-two per cent of respondents said that they have not experienced discrimination or

prejudice because of their Atomic-Bomb experience. In order to interpret the results, however, there were various situations to take into account. For one, many have lived a life hiding the fact that they were survivors. The testimony of a survivor in Nagasaki says, "I never told anyone about my bomb experience until both my daughters were married." A number of hibakushas gave similar reports.

This is a question from the 2015 Joint survey by the Yomiuri News and Hiroshima University. Shockingly, more than a third of the respondents said, "yes, in the past" or, "yes, even now".



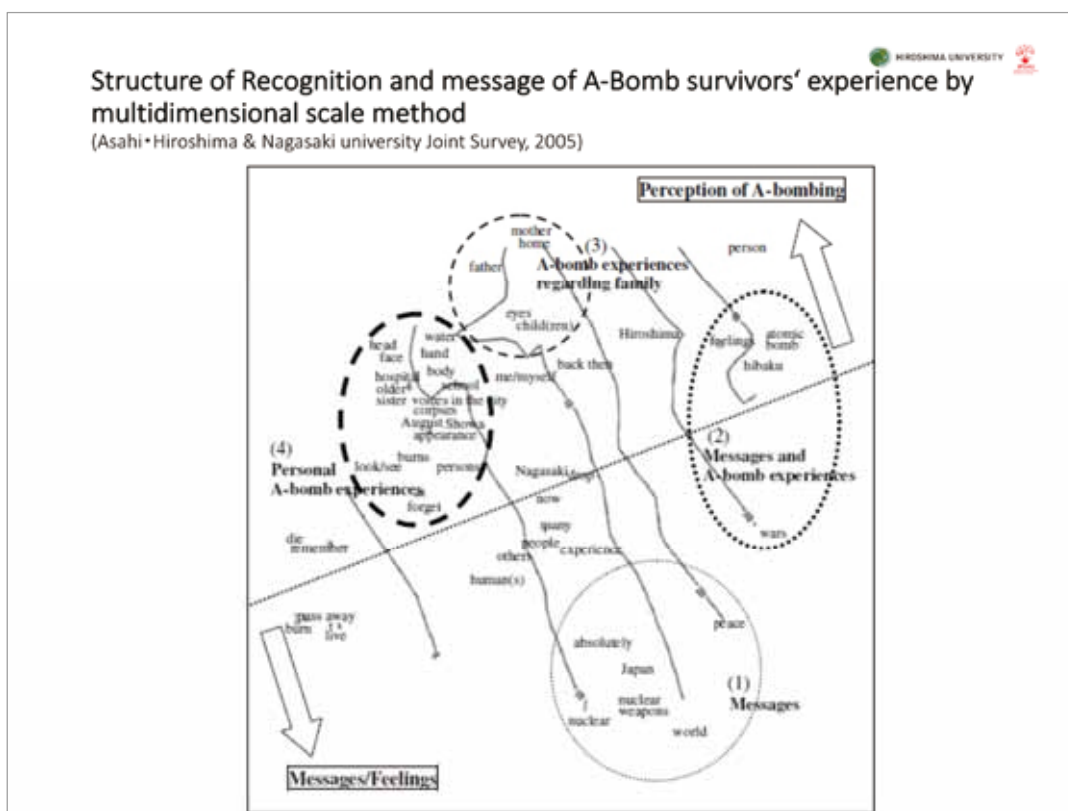
The last of the three pillars of the Atomic-Bomb experience concerns the thoughts and wishes of the Atomic-Bomb survivors. I should like to stress that this third component should be included when we discuss the Atomic-Bomb experience.

The thoughts and wishes of the Hibakusha are comprised of two things, but the most prominent is their earnest desire for a nuclear-free world. Anti-war sentiment is particularly strong among them, but that is not everything. Although they would not dare to express it outwardly, deep down some still harbor bitterness, resentment and the wish to question the locus of responsibility for dropping the bombs. Here, the hibakusha's mindscape seems to crystalize.

So, there is a strong desire for a nuclear-free world. There is an aim to achieve worldwide peace. There is hope. There is a strong anti-war conviction. Then there is resentment

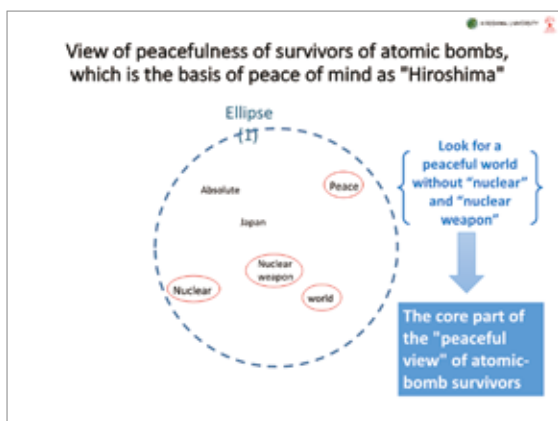
but, at the same time, there is a complex emotion that surpasses – or perhaps coexists with – the bitterness. It claims to uphold world peace and a nuclear-free world. Such is the mindscape that represents the hibakusha and that is how we should understand the meaning of the Atomic-Bomb experience. This is my principle as a researcher of the Atomic-Bomb experience.

This shows the results of a survey on attitudes conducted by Asahi news in 2005 with 130,000 survivors. Roughly 6,700 of them wrote testimonials and we analyzed them using MDS.

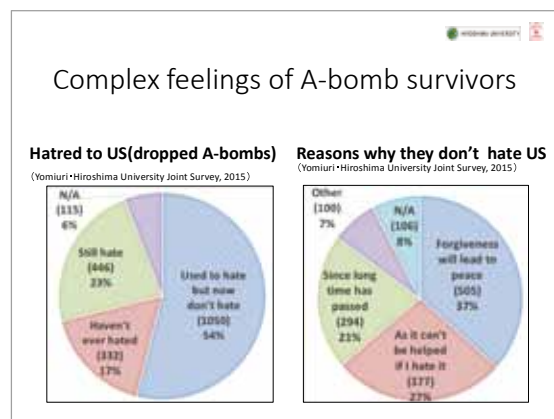


Briefly, the results showed that the contents of their testimonials can be classified into two main categories: the Atomic-Bomb experience and the concept of peace.

A careful analysis was conducted on the two peace concepts – the Hibakusha’s concept of peace and the peace concept of Hiroshima - by exploring what words the Atomic-Bomb survivors used most frequently. As expected, nuclear, nuclear-free and world were prominent, showing that these are dominant concepts in the survivors’ minds.



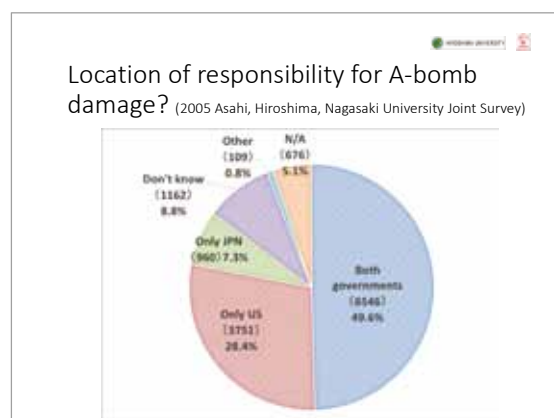
As mentioned earlier, the survivors harbor complex thoughts and emotions. Concerning resentment against the US, half the respondents said, “I used to hate the US, but not anymore”, seventeen per cent said, “I have never hated the US”, while twenty-three per cent said, “I hate the US”. The last one is still a natural response given that they were the ones bombed.



Living with all these emotions, or bypassing them, has shaped the mindscape of the Atomic-Bomb survivors over the years.

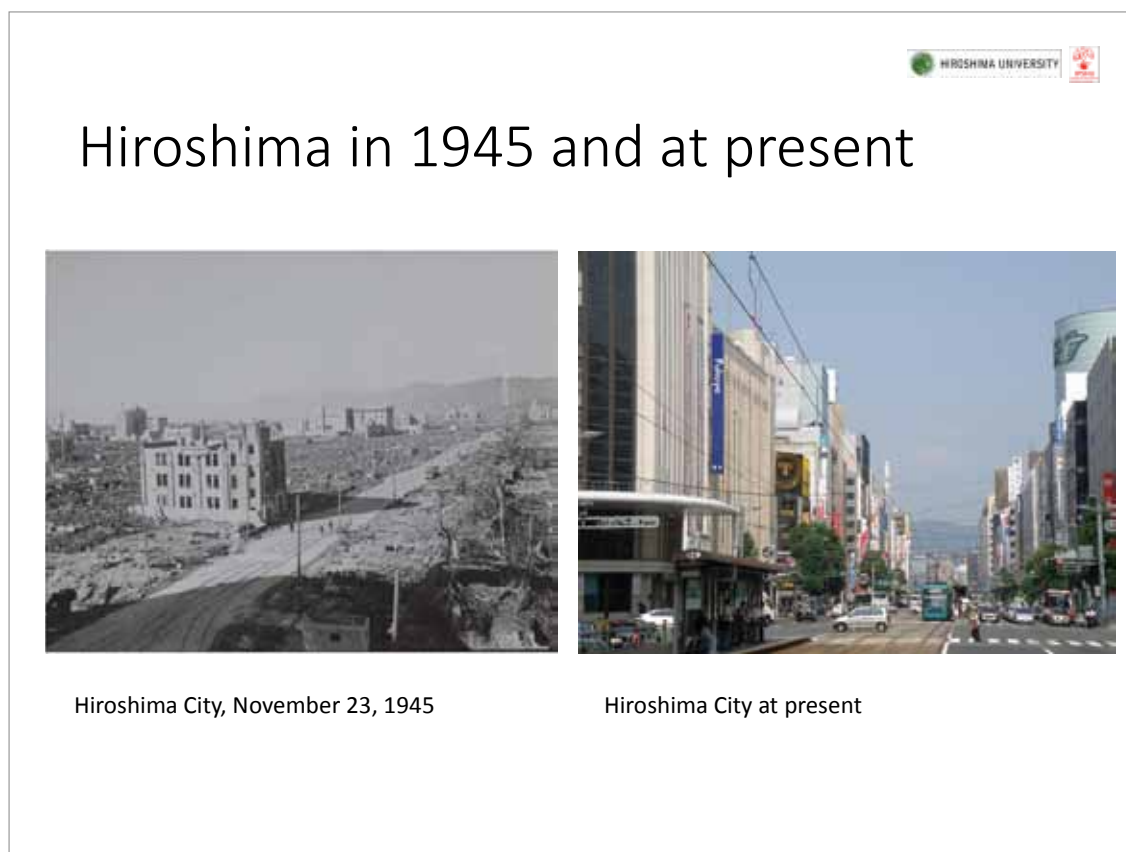
Results on the reasons for not having any resentment against the US are also analyzed here. Please examine them at your leisure.

About half the respondents said both Japan and the US are responsible, while a quarter said it is the sole responsibility of the US. Some others say Japan is solely responsible.



Looking at these contrasting photos of the town of Hiroshima, seventy-two years ago and today, we are called on to understand what happened on that day and what has happened since then, including the various health issues caused by the after-effects of the Atomic-Bombings, as well as the subsequent psychological and emotional burdens. We should appreciate all these as comprising the

Atomic-Bomb experience. At the same time, we should also understand the long process that the survivors have gone through since that day, through peace campaigns and other activities, until they have finally arrived at a far-reaching thesis: a nuclear-free world. All these combined factors have shaped the Atomic-Bomb experience.



Lastly, I'll mention that we offer Peace Studies at Hiroshima University. The course includes twenty-nine individual modules of

peace subjects. Seventy per cent of them are related to the Atomic-Bombs.

One of the twenty-nine modules is Hiroshima Peace Studies, which I deliver. The central theme is the

Atomic Bombings. It includes: the events of that day, what has happened since then and the survivors' thoughts

and desires, that I have explained today.

List of Subject of Peace Studies

29 lesson subjects in FY2017 (6 subjects increased from the previous year)

With the introduction of quarter system, classes were divided into 2 groups in FY2016

Higashi-Hiroshima campus

Opening term	Day	Class Period	Subject Name
2nd Term	Mon	1-4	Thinking about Peace
			Peace and Human Beings A - Toward the future of Environment and Life
			Peace & Human Rights - Globalization & Gender Perspective
			Study of Hiroshima
			Environment and Peace
			Reflections on Peace - from the viewpoint of international politics and global environment.
			Peace and Art: how can we appreciate the peace through experience various arts?
			An Interdisciplinary Survey on War and Peace
			Science and Radiation
			Global Issues Towards Peace A
2nd Term	Mon	5-8	Peace from Hiroshima
			Peace and Human Beings B - Toward the Future of Human being and Culture
			Nuclear experience and representation/literature
			Global Partnership Study
			Starvation, destitution, and environmental affairs: the issues threatening world peace
			Science and Society in the Nuclear Age
			International conflicts from a perspective of human-centered approach
			Rethinking Violence from the Perspective of Comparative Religion
			Toward Construction of Safe Social Environment
			Introduction to Hiroshima Peace Initiative Leader Program
Global Issues Towards Peace B			
3rd Term	Thr	5-8	Historical Study on the War and Peace
4th Term	Fri	5-8	The history of Hiroshima and the international society
			International Relations

Kasumi campus

Opening Term	Day	Class Period	Subject Name
2nd Term	Thr	5-8	Peace and Human Beings C-Study in Hiroshima
			War and Peace from the Viewpoint of Medicine
			Peace Messages from "Kasumi Campus"

Higashi Senda campus

Opening Term	Day	Class Period	Subject Name
2nd Semester	Mon	11-12	Peace and Human Beings D-Toward the Future From Hiroshima
1st Semester	Mon	11-12	Hiroshima Peace Studies

These are essential for us to understand the atrocities and afflictions caused by the Atomic Bombings.

Peace Subject "Hiroshima Peace Studies"

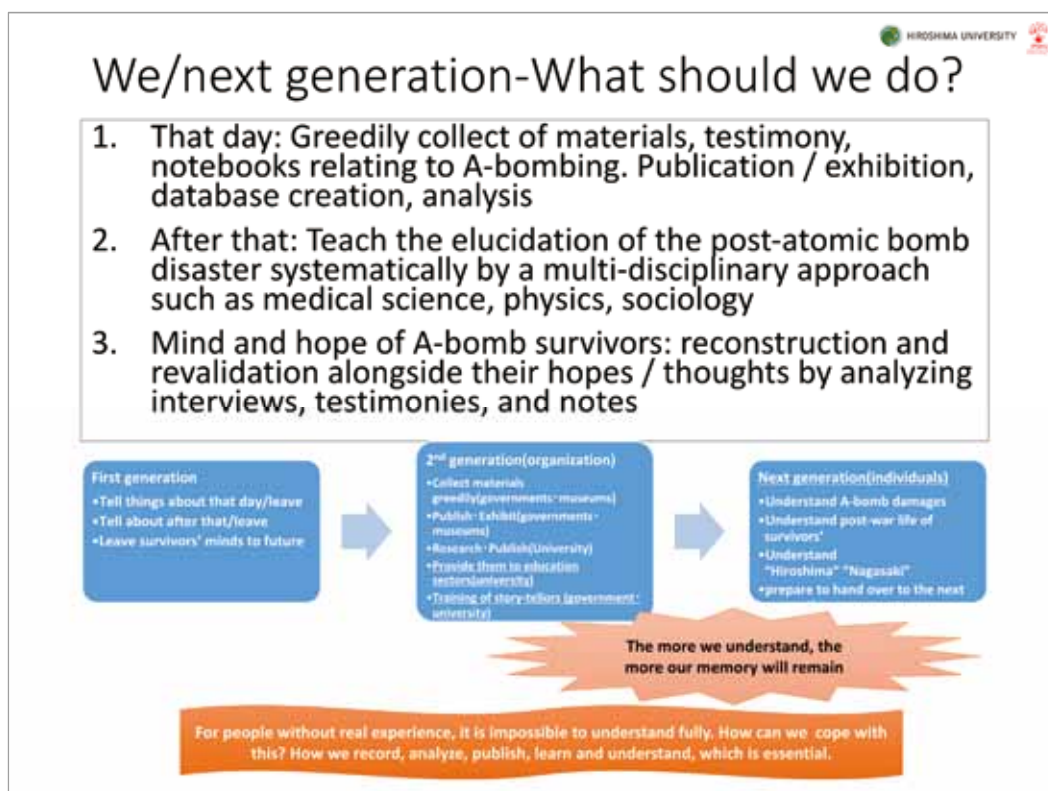
- Lesson1: Introduction
- Lesson2: Outline of Atomic-Bomb Affliction(1)
- Lesson3: Outline of Atomic-Bomb Affliction(2)
- Lesson4: Atomic-bomb experience of one A-bomb Survivor(Ueki)
- Lesson5: Hiroshima University and Atomic-bomb, and Reconstruction
- Lesson6: Atomic-bomb Survivors and leukemia/MDS
- Lesson7: Great Eastern Japan Earthquake and Fukushima
- Lesson8: About "Fukushima" in the future(1)
- Lesson9: About "Fukushima" in the future(2)
- Lesson10: Environment and Peace: environmental destruction of the Aral Sea
- Lesson11: Nuclear damages of the Semipalatinsk nuclear tests
- Lesson12: Discussion about reports of visiting Peace Monuments
- Lesson13: Chernobyl Disaster and Fukushima
- Lesson14: My "peace" studies
- Lesson15: Summary of this lecture: what is "Peace"?

The first generation's task is to pass on what happened that day and what has been experienced since. The communications of their thoughts, emotions and wishes can then be left for posterity.

The next generation, as a systematic body, should collect this information and disseminate it widely through exhibitions and publicity. This, in terms of research, means rigorous studies and publications. For educators it means teaching these memories and creating opportunities

to teach them. For the city of Hiroshima, it means supporting courses to train and nurture storytellers.

The next generation – is you. All the students here. Your task is to understand the damaging effects of the Atomic-Bombings, to understand the postwar lives of the survivors and to understand the philosophy and principles that Hiroshima and Nagasaki entail. Then, hand the baton of the memory to the generations after you.



Inevitably, we will lose many facets of the memory on the way, but even so, the deeper and wider your understanding,

the better it can withstand the loss through time and the more robust the memory will be that you can pass on.

Turning to the largest theme of this symposium, memory, I was reading through the past Peace Declarations yesterday, and was reminded of the importance of this theme.

I want to share with you an extract from the 1995 Peace Declaration by the Mayor of Hiroshima, Mr. Takashi Hiraoka. He said:

“Memory is where past and future meet. Respectfully learning the lessons of the past, we want to impress the misery of war and the Atomic-Bombing on the generations of young people who will be tomorrow's leaders. Similarly, we also need to emphasize the human aspects of education as the basis for peace. Only when life and human rights are accorded the highest priority can young people enjoy lives of boundless hope.”

This speaks of the mindset that we, as educators, should adopt and make the most of in our given educational settings.

I have tried to cover many topics in a somewhat discursive manner, but I hope it will be of use in introducing the next lecture by Mr. Shiga, followed by Professor Hook. I realize I have spoken for over thirty minutes already. I should like to conclude my lecture at

this point. Thank you once again for your attention.