

NOTES

Quoted passages of the five featured survivors are their own words, taken primarily from multiple personal interviews that I conducted in Japanese and translated with the help of a dedicated translation support team. I have edited the survivors' words for length, clarity, and to eliminate repetition and the off-topic threads of dialogue that naturally occurred in our conversations. These quotes are also drawn from their words in follow-up interviews, correspondence, and unpublished personal writings. To reconstruct the featured survivors' stories with accuracy, I also consulted hundreds of other sources related to their lives, including published and unpublished testimonies and biographies; newspaper and journal articles; transcripts of speeches; radio, television, and film interviews; photographs; and personal interviews and correspondence with their family members. Sources for quotations by the featured survivors other than my interviews are cited below, and a selected list of my primary and secondary sources, organized by featured survivor, is provided in the first section of the *Hibakusha* Sources.

As part of my research, I also read more than three hundred testimonies by other Nagasaki survivors that have been translated into English by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims, the Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace, and other survivor organizations. These testimonies provided extraordinarily valuable stories and images of the destruction and the physical and emotional pain survivors endured, expanding my understanding of atomic bomb survival beyond the experiences of Dō-oh, Nagano, Taniguchi, Wada, and Yoshida. Sources for these stories, including survivors' direct quotes, are cited below. A full list of the published, unpublished, and Internet sources for Nagasaki *hibakusha* testimonies in English is included in the second section of the *Hibakusha* Sources.

My primary source for the immediate and long-term medical, social, and psychological effects of the atomic bombings was *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and translated by Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain

(1981). I supplemented the information in this book with the most up-to-date findings in published studies of the Radiation Effects Research Foundation; interviews with medical providers, researchers, and atomic bomb specialists; and research provided by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum and the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute at Nagasaki University Graduate School of Biomedical Sciences.

For detailed information about the city of Nagasaki before, during, and after the nuclear attack, one of my most valuable resources was *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi* [Records of the Nagasaki Atomic Bombing and Wartime Damage], originally compiled by the city of Nagasaki in five volumes between 1973 and 1984. In 2011, the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims released on its Web site a tentative English translation of the first volume, covering prewar and wartime Nagasaki. The full five-volume record is also available in English in a condensed form in *Nagasaki Speaks: A Record of the Atomic Bombing*, published in 1993 by the Nagasaki International Culture Hall, translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney. Additional sources include the hundreds of individual *hibakusha* testimonies mentioned above, and the exhibits and publications of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum, the city of Nagasaki, and the Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace.

Numerous scholars and historians provided superbly researched information on Japanese history, the Pacific War, U.S. development of the first atomic bombs, the U.S. occupation of Japan, occupation censorship policies, U.S. denial of radiation effects, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, and the 1995 Smithsonian exhibit. In particular, I would like to acknowledge John Toland's *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936–1945*; John W. Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* and *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*; Richard Rhodes's *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*; Monica Braw's *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan*; M. Susan Lindee's *Suffering Made Real: American Science and the Survivors at Hiroshima*; and *Hiroshima's Shadow: Writings on the Denial of History and the Smithsonian Controversy*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz.

Below are notes and citations for each chapter. As in the narrative, Japanese names are listed with the surname first, except when they appear in Western order (surname last) in their original publications.

For *Nagasaki* updates, photos, links, and other information, please visit <http://www.susansouthard.com>.

PREFACE

Taniguchi provided an unpublished copy of his 1986 speech, which was translated into English for the author's use.

The number of *hibakusha* living around the world as of March 2014 was reported on the sixty-ninth anniversary of the atomic bombings. See, for example, "Atomic Bomb Victims Stand Alone" by Norihiro Kato, *New York Times*, August 14, 2014.

Oyama Takami's poem: *Hiroshima/Nagasaki: After the Atomic Bomb—Volume V: Elegy for Nagasaki: 124 Tankas of Takami Oyama*, translated by Kimmoku Makato.

PROLOGUE

In addition to the translation of *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi*, vol. 1, and *Nagasaki Speaks*, sources for Nagasaki history include *Nagasaki: The British Experience: 1854–1945* by Brian Burke-Gaffney; “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2; “Historical Momentums at Nagasaki’s Suwa Shrine” by John Nelson in *Crossroads* 2; *The Restoration of Urakami Cathedral: A Commemorative Album*, edited by Hisayuki Mizuura; “Religious Responses to the Atomic Bomb in Nagasaki” by Okuyama Michiaki in *Bulletin* 37; and numerous testimonies by Nagasaki *hibakusha*.

For wartime slogans and other personal remembrances of Japan during the war, see *Japan at War: An Oral History* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook.

Key sources for prewar and wartime Japanese history include *Inventing Japan: 1853–1964* by Ian Buruma; *Japan: The Story of a Nation* by Edwin O. Reischauer; *Japan: A Documentary History, Vol. II: The Late Tokugawa Period to the Present*, edited by David J. Lu; *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; *The Making of Modern Japan* by Marius Jansen; *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix; and *Japan’s Decision for War in 1941: Some Enduring Lessons* by Jeffrey Record.

The extent of Emperor Hirohito’s active role in the direction of the war continues to be debated among historians, particularly because many Japanese government wartime documents were destroyed between Japan’s surrender and the U.S. occupation a month later, and because of the likely pro-emperor bias in existing postwar Japanese sources, motivated by officials’ desire to safeguard the emperor from prosecution for war crimes. See, for example, “Introducing the Interpretive Problems of Japan’s 1945 Surrender” by Barton J. Bernstein in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*, edited by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa; and “Emperor Hirohito and Japan’s Decision to Go to War with the United States: Reexamined” by Noriko Kawamura, *Diplomatic History* 31:1.

CHAPTER 1: CONVERGENCE

WARTIME JAPAN

Japanese national proclamations: “The Way of Subjects” and “Imperial Rescript on Education” in *Japan: A Documentary History, Vol. II: The Late Tokugawa Period to the Present*, edited by David J. Lu. For Tōjō’s radio announcement following the attack on Pearl Harbor, nationalistic slogans, and Japanese citizens’ remembrances of life during the war, see *Japan at War: An Oral History* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook.

For an examination of the role of racism and nationalistic propaganda during the war, see *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* by John W. Dower. The *Time* magazine quotation is from “The Enemy: Perhaps He Is Human,” July 5, 1943, as quoted in “Hiroshima: Breaking the Silence” by Howard Zinn in *The Bomb*.

In addition to the sources listed in the prologue chapter notes, sources for wartime Japan include *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* by John W. Dower; and *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, USSBS report no. 2. For examples of Japanese resistance to the war, see "Evidences of Antimilitarism in Prewar and Wartime Japan" by Alvin D. Coox, *Pacific Affairs* 46:4; and *Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese*, edited by Samuel Hideo Yamashita.

WARTIME NAGASAKI

Wada's quotation about his hunger during the war appeared in his testimony "There Was No 'War-End' in Nagasaki," English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall.

Many Nagasaki *hibakusha* recalled mandated wartime service, neighborhood association activities, air raid preparations, rationing, militaristic indoctrination, and the drafting of family members into the armed forces. Their stories supported and expanded on the information about life during the war in the translations of *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi*, vol. 1. Mitsue Kubo, in *Hibaku: Recollections of A-Bomb Survivors*, remembered the wartime hunger that sparked her nickname, Senko (incense stick). See also *Nagasaki: The British Experience: 1854–1945* by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

Dō-oh's quotations about her father's strictness, the announcement of the attack on Pearl Harbor at her school, and her family's preparations in sending her brother off to war appeared in her essay "Ikasarete ikite" [Allowed to Live, I Live] in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author's use.

Additional details about Nagasaki's civil defense measures were recorded by U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Civilian Defense Division investigators. See *Field Report Covering Air-Raid Protection and Allied Subjects in Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 5.

The connection between Nagasaki's Mitsubishi Ōhashi weapons factory and the air-launched torpedoes used in the attack on Pearl Harbor is noted in *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi*, vol. 1. See also *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* by Gordon W. Prange, Donald M. Goldstein, and Katherine V. Dillon (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981); and *Shinjuwan sakusen kaikoroku* by Genda Minoru (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1972).

For information about Nagasaki's first air raid in August 1944 as one of the early "test" raids of the USAAF's nighttime firebombing campaign, see *The Army Air Forces in WWII*, vol. 5, edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate; and *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* by Michael S. Sherry. See also the "Air Target Analysis" for the Nagasaki Region (Objective no. 90.36), produced by the U.S. Joint Target Group in June 1944, which outlined industrial and other targets within the Nagasaki area, including two key zones vulnerable to incendiary attack: the Nakashima and Urakami valleys, with "densely grouped houses" and limited rivers, canals,

or streets to act as firebreaks. The Joint Target Group files are housed in the Records of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, Record Group 243, National Archives at College Park, MD, Online Public Access catalog identifier 561744; digital copy available at http://www.fold3.com/page/2848_japanese_air_target_analyses/.

SPRING AND SUMMER 1945

The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff's directive that the air campaign against Japan should aim to impact the Japanese people's morale as well as the country's military infrastructure is noted in *The Army Air Forces in WWII*, vol. 5, edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, chap. 23, p. 748. Due to the chaos of these air raids, evacuations of Japanese civilians before and after the attacks, and fires that destroyed city records, no one knows how many people died in these Allied air attacks. Some sources estimate 200,000 or more prior to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with hundreds of thousands more wounded and missing. For an analysis of the various estimates of air raid casualties, see *War Without Mercy* by John W. Dower; and *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon* by Michael S. Sherry, especially p. 413, fn. 43. For additional documents and testimonies related to the impact of the U.S. strategic bombing campaign against Japan, see <http://www.japanairraids.org>.

Air raid preparations at Nagasaki Medical College were noted by Takashi Nagai in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. Mori Sumi described the first-aid kits carried by mobilized students in *Footprints of Nagasaki*, edited by the Nagasaki Prefectural Girls' High School 42nd Alumnae. Hashimoto Yutaka remembered collecting pine sap for fuel in "Mom and Silver Rice" in *Crossroads* 4.

For the information Dr. Akizuki Tatsuichirō provided to USSBS medical team investigators about the city's wartime health conditions, including beriberi, see *Effects of the Atomic Bombs on Health and Medical Services in Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, USSBS report no. 13, pp. 74–75; and "Interrogation no. 417," November 8, 1945, Interrogations of Japanese Leaders and Responses to Questionnaires, 1945–1946 (Microfilm Publication M1654, roll 1, folder 42, 2.c.1–20), Records of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, Record Group 243, National Archives at College Park, MD.

Tsunenari Masatoshi remembered infestations of fleas and lice in *Our Parents Were in Nagasaki on August 9, 1945*.

Japanese war weariness by the summer of 1945: *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on Japanese Morale*, USSBS report no. 14. For Fukahori Satoru's understanding, even as a child, that Japan was losing the war, see his interview in Steven Okazaki's film *White Light/Black Rain*.

For the state of Japan's war resources in the summer of 1945 and Japan's preparations for an Allied invasion, see *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, USSBS report no. 2; *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; "Combined Chiefs of Staff: Estimate of the Enemy Situation" (document 28), in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr; and *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* by Richard B. Frank.

For Japanese citizens' preparations to sacrifice themselves as "shattered jewels," see *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower and personal accounts of home front and military service in *Japan at War* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook. Details about Nagasaki's civil defense activities and preparation for invasion, including first-aid training, volunteer brigades, land artillery stations, and suicide boats, are recounted in many survivors' testimonies as well as in *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi*, vol. 1.

TARGET SELECTION

- President Truman informed about the Manhattan Project: "Memorandum for the Secretary of War: Atomic Fission Bombs" by General Groves, April 23, 1945 (document 3a), and "Memorandum Discussed with the President" by Henry L. Stimson, April 25, 1945 (document 3b), in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr.
- For target selection criteria for the atomic bombs, see "Defining the Targets" (documents 4–16) in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr, especially "Summary of Target Committee Meetings on 10 and 11 May 1945" (document 6). For General Spaatz's question regarding Nagasaki's POW camp, see *A World Destroyed* by Martin J. Sherwin. Evidence that U.S. officials gave only limited consideration to any alternatives to dropping the atomic bomb, including the use of a demonstration or warning, is noted by Barton J. Bernstein in "Truman and the A-Bomb: Targeting Non-combatants, Using the Bomb, and His Defending the 'Decision,'" *Journal of Military History* 62.
- The report of the Trinity explosion as a "harmless accident" is described in *The Dragon's Tail: Radiation Safety in the Manhattan Project, 1942–1946* by Barton C. Hacker.
- For Japanese leaders' prebomb surrender communications, the war cabinet's *mokusatsu* response to the Potsdam Declaration, and Tokyo's reaction to the Hiroshima bombing, see *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, USSBS report no. 2; *The Rising Sun* by John Toland; *Downfall* by Richard B. Frank; *Japan's Decision to Surrender* by Robert J. C. Butow; *Hiroshima and Nagasaki* by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; "Why We Dropped the Bomb" by William Lanouette, *Civilization* 2:1; "Mokusatsu: One Word, Two Lessons," *National Security Agency Technical Journal* 13:4; and the various essays in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*, edited by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa.
- The Potsdam Declaration: "Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender, July 26, 1945" in *Japan: A Documentary History*, vol. 2, edited by David J. Lu. For the directive authorizing the use of the atomic bomb, see "Memo, Handy to Spaatz, 7-25-45" (document 41e), in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr.
- President Truman's reaction to the news of the Hiroshima bombing was noted by White House correspondent A. Merriman Smith in *Thank You, Mr. President: A White House Notebook* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 257. For

Truman's post-Hiroshima statement, see "Statement by the President Announcing the Use of the A-Bomb at Hiroshima, 8-6-45," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1945-1953*.

CONVERGENCE (EVENING BEFORE AND MORNING OF THE NAGASAKI BOMBING)

The newspaper headline that told Nagasaki of "Considerable Damage" at Hiroshima appeared in the *Asahi Shimbun*, August 8, 1945. For reactions in Nagasaki to news of the Hiroshima bombing: Dr. Tsuno-o Susumu's report to the Nagasaki Medical College staff is quoted from *Nagasaki 1945* by Tatsuichirō Akizuki. Other responses: "Walking over Red-Hot Rubble" by Kazuo Nakagawa in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*; and Governor Nagano Wakamatsu's testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.

Sources for the Nagasaki bomb's preparation and delivery: *The 509th Remembered*, edited by Robert and Amelia Krauss, includes photographs of the signatures written on Fat Man and testimonies by *Bockscar* crew members. Other sources: *War's End: An Eyewitness Account of America's Last Atomic Mission* by Major General USAF (Ret.) Charles W. Sweeney with Marion K. and James A. Antonucci; "Memo, Commander F. L. Ashworth to Major General L. R. Groves, 2-24-45" (document 2) in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr; and *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* by Richard Rhodes. See also *We Dropped the A-Bomb* by Merle Miller and Abe Spitzer; and *Decision at Nagasaki: The Mission That Almost Failed* by Lt. Col. USAF (Ret.) Fred J. Olivi with William R. Watson Jr.

For the aiming point of the Nagasaki mission, see "Mission Planning Summary, Report No. 9, 509th Composite Group," GRO Entry (A1) 7530, Lt. General Leslie R. Groves Collection, General Correspondence, 1941-1970, National Archives at College Park, MD.

For the impact of the August 9 Soviet entry into the war on Japanese leaders, see the sources noted above for their early surrender debates. See also *The Soviet Strategic Offensive in Manchuria, 1945: "August Storm"* by David M. Glantz (London: Frank Cass, 2003); and "The Atomic Bombs and the Soviet Invasion: Which Was More Important in Japan's Decision to Surrender?" by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*.

Yoshida remembered the "Japanese way" of following the emperor in Steven Okazaki's film *White Light/Black Rain*.

Activities throughout Nagasaki on the morning of August 9 are noted in various survivor accounts. Tsukasa Kikuchi in *Silent Thunder* surmised that drills with bamboo spears had been taking place on the Mitsubishi athletic field when he passed by the field strewn with corpses later that afternoon. Hirata Kenshi's story of returning home from Hiroshima carrying his wife's remains, and the story of eight other "double" atomic bomb survivors, appeared in *Nine Who Survived Hiroshima and Nagasaki* by Robert Trumbull. Dr. Akizuki Tatsuichirō reflected, *Im Westen nichts neues* in *Nagasaki 1945*. See also Tatsue Urata in *We of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai; and the

Mount Kompira antiaircraft battalion's instrumentation chief, Yoshimitsu Nakamura, in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*.

Wada remembered sitting down with his friends to discuss that morning's derailment in his testimony "A Monument to 11:02 a.m.," at Nagasaki's "Peace and Atomic Bomb" Web site, <http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/peace/english/survivors/index.html>.

CHAPTER 2: FLASHPOINT

FIRST SIXTY SECONDS

For technical information about the Nagasaki atomic bomb, see *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* by Richard Rhodes; *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons*, 3rd ed., edited by Samuel Glasstone and Philip J. Dolan; *The Yields of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Nuclear Explosions* by John Malik; and the Radiation Effects Research Foundation reports available at http://www.nerf.jp/library/archives_e/scids.html, including *U.S.-Japan Joint Reassessment of Atomic Bomb Dosimetry in Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Dosimetry System 1986*, edited by William C. Roesch; and *Reassessment of the Atomic Bomb Radiation Dosimetry for Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Dosimetry System 2002*, edited by Robert W. Young and George D. Kerr.

Physical damages caused by the blast force and heat: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (especially chaps. 2–4); *Nagasaki Speaks*; "Medical Survey of Atomic Bomb Casualties" by Raisuke Shirabe, *The Military Surgeon* 113:4; *The Effects of Atomic Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, USSBS report no. 3; *Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 93; and *The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Manhattan District. See also "What the Atomic Bomb Really Did" by Robert DeVore, *Collier's*, March 2, 1946.

Taniguchi described clinging to the shaking ground during the explosion in an unpublished 1986 speech, translated into English for the author's use. His memory of seeing a child tossed "like a fleck of dust" is quoted from his testimony in *The Light of Morning*, translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

UNDER THE MUSHROOM CLOUD

Views of the atomic cloud from *Bockscar*: Lieutenant Frederick Olivi and Captain Kermit Beahan, as quoted in "Defending the Indefensible: A Meditation on the Life of Hiroshima Pilot Paul Tibbets, Jr." by Peter J. Kuznick, *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Peter_J_-Kuznick/2642; and "Atomic Bombing of Nagasaki Told by Flight Member" by William L. Laurence, *New York Times*, August 9, 1945.

Descriptions of the cloud from outside the city: Yasumasa Iyonaga in *Doctor at Nagasaki* by Masao Shiotsuki; and Shogoro Matsumoto, as quoted in *Nagasaki*

Speaks. See also testimonies by others who were in neighboring towns on August 9, at “Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Messages from *Hibakusha*,” <http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha>.

Hibakusha testimonies: Yoshie Yokoyama described how her sister jumped out of the third-story window at Shiroyama Elementary School in her testimony translated into English by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall. Michiko Hirata recalled the streetcar rails pulled like “taffy” in her testimony originally published in *Testimonies of Nagasaki*, vol. 5, edited by the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall. Other images of the first moments after the explosion came from the anonymous testimonies in *The Witness of Those Two Days*, vols. 1 and 2; and Setsuko Iwanaga in *Footprints of Nagasaki*, edited by the Nagasaki Prefectural Girls’ High School 42nd Alumnae.

Records of instantaneous deaths: *Nagasaki Speaks; Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and “Prompt and Utter Destruction: The Nagasaki Disaster and the Initial Medical Relief” by Nobuko Margaret Kosuge, *International Review of the Red Cross* 89:866. For deaths of Allied POWs in Japan, see the information compiled by the POW Research Network Japan at <http://www.powresearch.jp>. While only eight deaths of Nagasaki POWs from the atomic bombing have been confirmed, some researchers have estimated higher fatalities at Fukuoka Camp 14, based on eyewitness testimonies and assuming a mortality rate similar to that of other sites at the same distance from the explosion. See *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, pp. 478–80.

Survivors near Yoshida within the second concentric circle: Susumu Yamamura in *Hand Them Down to the Next Generations!*; and Sano Fujita in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society. Many *hibakusha* who had been trained as auxiliary police or volunteer aid workers reported being instructed not to give water to the injured—see, for example, Dr. Shigetsune Iikura’s testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, “Nagasaki and Peace,” <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.

Yoshida described bodies near the river “turned into charcoal” in an interview with Jerome McDonnell of Chicago Public Radio in 2005, translated by Geoff Neill.

Dō-oh recalled the silence in the destroyed factory immediately after the blast in her essay “Ikasarete ikite” [Allowed to Live, I Live], in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū inkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use.

Images of the Mitsubishi Ōhashi weapons plant: Masatoshi Tsunenari described being thrown across the factory in *Our Parents Were in Nagasaki on August 9, 1945*. Kazue Abe found herself surrounded by “gray” figures in *Bearing a Small Cross*. Other stories of the chaos near the Ōhashi factory came from Senji Yamaguchi in *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki, and Ichiko Owatari’s unpublished testimony, English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall.

Dō-oh's memory of being frightened by a B-29 flying overhead not long after the bomb exploded is supported by numerous survivor accounts, including several who vividly recall planes spraying the ground with machine-gun fire that afternoon or evening. However, due to the anticipated level of radioactivity in the area, U.S. aircraft were officially prohibited from entering the air space within fifty miles of Nagasaki for six hours following the attack; see "Mission Planning Summary, Report no. 9, 509th Composite Group," GRO Entry (A1) 7530, Lt. General Leslie R. Groves Collection, General Correspondence, 1941–1970, National Archives at College Park, MD. Photographic planes were given clearance after four hours, and General Spaatz reported that these planes attempted to photograph the city (hindered by heavy smoke cover) after three and a half hours; see "Blast Seen 250 Miles Away," *New York Times*, August 11, 1945. Although no additional raids on Nagasaki were officially conducted following the atomic bombing, reports of "general hell raising" tactics and the strafing of civilians during the Pacific campaign have been recorded—see, for example, *The Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 5, edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, p. 696—and further bombing raids and reconnaissance missions continued over Japan through August 15.

Taniguchi recalled that "there was not a single drop of blood," in his unpublished 1986 speech, translated into English for the author's use.

For Nagasaki's medical preparedness prior to the atomic bombing, see *Nagasaki genbaku sensaishi*, vol. 1; and *Field Report Covering Air-Raid Protection and Allied Subjects in Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 5. In addition, the recollections of Nagasaki doctors and other survivors provided details about emergency medical care at makeshift relief stations on the day of the bombing.

Governor Nagano Wakamatsu's testimony is quoted in *Nagasaki Speaks*. See also his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>. Translations of Governor Nagano's damage reports to the Air Defense General Headquarters in the days and weeks after the bombing, as well as other reports from various Nagasaki officials, can be found in *Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 93:3, pp. 196–265.

AUGUST 9, AFTERNOON AND EVENING

Wada remembered the little girl he carried to the relief station in *Genbaku jū roku nen no koe* [Sixty Years of Voices: Stories of the A-Bomb Survivors], edited by Imaishi Motohisa and translated by Christopher Cruz; and in an informal 2008 interview, copy provided by Imaishi Motohisa and translated by the author.

Masayuki Yoshida recalled the citizens' firefighting efforts in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society.

Nagano described encountering naked and injured people begging for water in her unpublished speech, "Watashi no hibaku taikenki" [My Atomic Bomb Memory], translated into English for the author's use. She remembered the "patches of torn clothing stuck to their wounds" in *The Light of Morning*, translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

- For *hibakusha* memories of the afternoon and evening of August 9, see the anonymous testimonies in *The Witness of Those Two Days*, vols. 1 and 2. Mikiko Tanaka in *The Pain in Our Hearts: Recollections of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Okinawa* described the corpses like “potatoes” in the river.
- Mieko Higuchi remembered how her mother was rebuked by military police for crying at her safe return, in *Footprints of Nagasaki*, edited by the Nagasaki Prefectural Girls’ High School 42nd Alumnae.
- Yoshida recalled the intense pain from the heat of the sun on his wounds in a History Channel interview (ca. 2009), copy provided by Yoshida Katsuji.
- Dō-oh described her desire for “even muddy water” to quench her thirst, and the scene that evening at Dr. Miyajima’s makeshift relief station, in her essay “Ikasarete ikite” [Allowed to Live, I Live], in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshō iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use.
- Leaflets warning Japan about the atomic bomb were printed after Hiroshima and scheduled to be dropped over Japanese cities of greater than 100,000 people beginning on August 9; see “Mission No: ‘Special’; Flown: 20 July–14 August ’45, 20th Air Force, 509th Composite Group Tactical Mission Report,” Records of the Army Air Forces, Record Group 18, National Archives at College Park, MD. For Governor Nagano reporting that leaflets had been dropped on Nagasaki on the day of the atomic bombing, see “Air-Raid Damage Report no. 6, 8-10-45,” in USSBS report no. 93:3, pp. 213–14. Nagasaki survivors’ accounts vary—some report seeing leaflets being dropped on the night of August 9, while others remember that they were dropped early the following morning. Richard Rhodes, in *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, cites a May 23, 1946, memo to General Groves that reported that, due to printing and distribution delays, leaflets were not dropped on Nagasaki until August 10; see pp. 736–37.
- Taniguchi’s memory of the fires “illuminating the sky like a midnight sun” appeared in *The Light of Morning*, translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

CHAPTER 3: EMBERS

SURRENDER NEGOTIATIONS, AUGUST 9–10

The evidence that the Nagasaki bombing had no impact on the surrender debate comes from the official history of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, Army Division (*Daihonei Rikugunbu*, vol. 10). As translated by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, this volume notes that the Supreme Council for the Direction of the War received word of the Nagasaki bombing at about 11:30 a.m. on August 9, but that “there is no record in other materials that treated the effect [of the Nagasaki bomb] seriously.” See “The Atomic Bombs and the Soviet Invasion: Which Was More Important in Japan’s Decision to Surrender?” by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*. In addition, decoded Japanese communications for August 9 include reports about Hiroshima and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria but make no mention of the Nagasaki bombing; see *Marching Orders: The Untold Story of World War II*

- by Bruce Lee (New York: Crown Publishers, 1995), p. 542; and *MacArthur's ULTRA: Codebreaking and the War Against Japan, 1942–1945* by Edward J. Drea (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1992), p. 224. The August 9 meeting included some debate about Japan's ability to defend itself against future atomic bomb attacks; see "'Hoshina Memorandum' on the Emperor's 'Sacred Decision [Go-seidan], 9–10 August, 1945" (document 62), in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr. Although some analysts contend that the second atomic bomb provided additional leverage for the peace faction and the emperor to push for surrender (see, for example, *Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* by Robert P. Newman [East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 1995], chap. 5), there is no specific evidence of the Nagasaki bomb's direct impact on the decision makers.
- Additional sources for Japanese leaders' surrender debates in Tokyo: *The Rising Sun* by John Toland; *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa; *Downfall* by Richard B. Frank; *Japan's Struggle to End the War*, USSBS report no. 2; "The Shock of the Atomic Bomb and Japan's Decision to Surrender: A Reconsideration" by Sadao Asada, *Pacific Historical Review* 67:4; and the various essays in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*, edited by Tsuyoshi Hasegawa.
- Truman's radio address on the evening of August 9: "Radio Report to the American People on the Potsdam Conference, 8-9-45," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1945–1953*.
- For U.S. leaders' responses to Japan's surrender communications, see *The Rising Sun* by John Toland; and "Diary Entries for August 10–11, Henry L. Stimson Diary" (document 66) and "Diary Entry, Friday, August 10, 1945, Henry Wallace Diary" (document 65) in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr.

NAGASAKI, AUGUST 10

- Mayor Okada's experience is described by Governor Nagano in his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.
- For photographer Yamahata Yōsuke, see the essays and interviews reprinted in *Nagasaki Journey: The Photographs of Yosuke Yamahata, August 10, 1945*, edited by Rupert Jenkins. Higashi Jun's recollections were quoted in *Nagasaki Speaks*; his memory of stepping on the corpse of a horse appeared in *Nagasaki Journey*.
- Hibakusha* memories of August 10: Shuzo Nishio remembered crying over his family's ashes in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai. Other images came from Fukahori Yoshitoshi's testimony originally published in *Testimonies of Nagasaki 1970*, edited by the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall; Matsu Moriuchi in *We of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai; the collection of testimonies at "Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Messages from *Hibakusha*," <http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha>; an anonymous survivor in *The Deaths of Hibakusha*, vol. 1; and Hisae Aoki in *Testimonies of the Atomic*

- Bomb Survivors*. Sakue Shimohira was able to identify her mother's body by her gold tooth; see her interview in the film *The Last Atomic Bomb*, directed by Robert Richter.
- Yoshida recalled the sun's brutal heat "like a slow execution" in his testimony "I Must Not Die," English translation provided by Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims.
- Governor Nagano's memory of the destruction in the Urakami Valley is quoted from his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.
- Medical and food relief: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; *Effects of the Atomic Bombs on Health and Medical Services in Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, USSBS report no. 13; "Prompt and Utter Destruction: The Nagasaki Disaster and the Initial Medical Relief" by Nobuko Margaret Kosuge in *International Review of the Red Cross* 89:866; and *Nagasaki Speaks*.
- For Dr. Akizuki Tatsuichirō's experiences at First Urakami Hospital, see "A Week of Horror and Human Love" in *The Light of Morning*. His memory of feeling "depressed in spirit" by the night of August 10 is quoted from his memoir *Nagasaki 1945*.
- Other *hibakusha* testimonies related to relief efforts: Tsuguyoshi Kitamura in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; Itonaga Yoshi in *Nagasaki August 9, 1945*, edited by Mary Wiesen and Elizabeth Cannon; and Fukahori Yoshitoshi, interview with the author in 2011.

NAGASAKI, AUGUST 11–14

- Memories of searching for lost family members in the ruins: Chie Tayoshi in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; Motoko Moriguchi in *The Unforgettable Day*, edited by Miyuki Kamezawa; Hitoshi Hamasaki at *My Unforgettable Memory* at the Nagasaki Shimbun Peace Site, <http://www.nagasaki-np.co.jp/peace/hibaku/english/07.html>; and the testimonies of Tadao Nakazawa and Sumiko Sakamoto in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*.
- Family reunifications: An anonymous survivor described how she was left for dead in a pile of corpses in *War and Atomic Holocaust on Trial* by Shigeyuki Kobayashi. Hisako Kyuma was reunited with her father at a relief station; see *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society.
- Wada's memory of cremating his friend Tanaka is quoted from *Genbaku jū roku nen no koe* [Sixty Years of Voices: Stories of the A-Bomb Survivors], edited by Imaishi Motohisa and translated by Christopher Cruz.
- Allied POWs in Nagasaki: Charles Barkie and J. H. C. deGroot in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; *Nagasaki Speaks*; and *The Jack Ford Story: Newfoundland's POW in Nagasaki* by Jack Fitzgerald.

- Living in the ruins: Kazue Abe's *Bearing a Small Cross*; Sano Fujita and Sachi Ogino in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; Matsu Moriuchi in *We of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai; and Wada Hisako, interview with the author. Ikuko Doira remembers how her family of eight slept in shifts on one *tatami* mat in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai.
- Fuji Urata Matsumoto remembered the "lonely funeral" she and her sister held for their mother in *We of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai.
- Dr. Kenji Miake recalled the smell of "scorched chicken meat" and the dismal conditions at the Shinkōzen relief station in *Nagasaki Speaks*.
- For relief personnel as of August 14, see Governor Nagano's "Report No. 8. Matters Concerning Air-Raid Damage and Emergency Counter Measures, 8-14-45" in *Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 93:3, p. 215.
- Dr. Akizuki described injured survivors comforting one another with Christian prayers in his testimony in *The Light of Morning*. His anger at the government and disbelief at the newspaper article claiming that protection against the "new-type bomb" was possible is quoted from *Nagasaki 1945*.

SURRENDER, AUGUST 15

- The United States' reply to Japan's surrender offer was reported by the Associated Press; see "Text of U.S. Reply on Issue of Emperor," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 11, 1945.
- The emperor's decision to surrender is quoted from *The Rising Sun* by John Toland. For the Japanese Cabinet's final debates, see also "'The Second Sacred Judgment' August 14, 1945" (document 74), in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr; and the sources listed above for the Tokyo meetings.
- The last U.S. bombing attacks on Japan: *U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II: Combat Chronology 1941-1945*, compiled by Kit C. Carter and Robert Mueller; *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* by Richard Rhodes; and *The Army Air Forces in WWII*, vol. 5, edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate.
- A translation of the emperor's "Imperial Rescript on Surrender, 1945" is in *Japan: A Documentary History*, vol. 2, edited by David J. Lu.
- Reactions to the surrender by military and civilians: *The Rising Sun* by John Toland; *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; and *Japan at War* by Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook. For the execution of POWs in Fukuoka, see "'To Dispose of the Prisoners': The Japanese Executions of American Air-Crew at Fukuoka, Japan, During 1945" by Timothy Lang Francis, *Pacific Historical Review* 66:4.
- Reactions to the surrender in Nagasaki: The emperor's radio address briefly interrupted Tsue Hayashi's search for her daughter; see *Hibaku: Recollections of A-Bomb Survivors*, edited by Mitsue Kubo. Atsuyuki Matsuo overheard the surrender announcement on the radio while cremating his wife's body; see *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. Other testimonies: Kazue Abe in *Bearing a Small Cross*; Raisuke Shirabe in *The Light of Morning*; Tatsuichirō Akizuki in *Nagasaki 1945*; and numerous individual *hibakusha* accounts.

CHAPTER 4: EXPOSED

RADIATION EXPOSURE AND EARLY MEDICAL CARE

The initial stages of radiation illness and subsequent deaths in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are documented in *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, particularly chap. 8, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Sources for doctors quoted in this chapter: Dr. Shiotsuki Masao remembered the “pinprick”-sized purple spots that appeared on his patients and detailed his efforts to autopsy the deceased in his book *Doctor at Nagasaki: “My First Assignment Was Mercy Killing.”* Dr. Akuzuki Tatsuichirō is quoted from his memoir, *Nagasaki 1945*. For Dr. Shirabe Raisuke, see “My Experience of the Atomic Bombing and an Outline of Atomic Bomb Disease” in *The Light of Morning*; “Medical Survey of Atomic Bomb Casualties,” *The Military Surgeon* 113:4; and *A Physician’s Diary of Atomic Bombing and Its Aftermath* by Raisuke Shirabe, M.D., edited by Fidelius R. Kuo. Dr. Shirabe’s original survey questionnaires and other materials are housed at the Division of Scientific Registry at the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute of Nagasaki University. See also *The Bells of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai for information on his Nagasaki Medical College relief team caring for victims who had fled to the countryside outside Nagasaki.

In *Death in Life*, Robert Jay Lifton traced the origins of the rumor that plants would not grow in the atomic-bombed cities for seventy years to a statement about the Hiroshima bombing by chemist Harold F. Jacobson, which was reported (and soon retracted) in U.S. newspapers on August 8, 1945.

Hibakusha testimonies: Hisae Aoki remembered walking with her sister through the ashes of her school’s playground in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. An anonymous male, in *The Witness of Those Two Days*, vol. 2, described quenching his thirst with water from a gravesite memorial. Miyuki Fukahori recalled that corpses still floated in the river; see *Nagasaki Under the Atomic Bomb: Experiences of Young College Girls*, edited by Michiko Nakano.

U.S. RADIATION KNOWLEDGE AND DENIAL

Evidence of U.S. prebomb radiation effects knowledge: Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer’s statement on the bomb’s lethal radiation is quoted from “Memorandum from J. R. Oppenheimer to Brigadier General Farrell, May 11, 1945” (document 5) in *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr. Dr. Stafford L. Warren noted the lack of scientific study on the potential radioactive aftereffects of the bombs in “The Role of Radiology in the Development of the Atomic Bomb” in *Radiology in World War II*, edited by Leonard D. Heaton et al. For other examples, see *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* by Richard Rhodes; *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr, especially documents 6 and 12; *Permissible Dose: A History of Radiation Protection in the Twentieth Century* by J. Samuel Walker; and *The Road to Trinity* by Kenneth D. Nichols.

- Several scholars have explored U.S. officials' postwar denial and minimization of radiation effects and the War Department's efforts to maintain control over the press reports related to the atomic bombs. See, for example, "Commemoration and Silence: Fifty Years of Remembering the Bomb in America and Japan" by Laura Hein and Mark Selden in their essay collection *Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age*; "Censorship and Reportage of Atomic Damage and Casualties in Hiroshima and Nagasaki" by Glenn D. Hook, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 23:1; "Covering the Bomb: Press and State in the Shadow of Nuclear War" by Robert Karl Manoff, in *War, Peace and the News Media, Proceedings, March 18 and 19, 1983*, edited by David M. Rubin and Marie Cunningham; and *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* by Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell.
- An excellent resource on the impact of occupation censorship on the world's understanding of the effects of the atomic bombs is *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan* by Monica Braw. For the press code, censorship instructions, and other Japanese media restrictions during the U.S. occupation, see *Conquered Press: The MacArthur Era in Japanese Journalism* by William J. Coughlin; *User's Guide to the Gordon W. Prange Collection: Part I: Microform Edition of Censored Periodicals, 1945–1949*, edited by Eizaburō Okuizumi; and "Revised Basic Plan for Civil Censorship in Japan, September 30, 1945," Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II, Record Group 331, SCAP GHQ, box 8552 folder 8, National Archives at College Park, MD.
- For General Groves's denials of radiation effects, see "Japanese Reports Doubted," *New York Times*, August 31, 1945, and "U.S. Atom Bomb Site Belies Tokyo Tales" by William L. Laurence, *New York Times*, September 12, 1945. *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II*, edited by William Burr, includes the transcript of Groves's conversation with Lt. Col. Rea at Oak Ridge (document 76) as well as General Farrell's September 1945 reports from Hiroshima and Nagasaki (documents 77a and 77b). Groves's belief that troops could enter an atomic-bombed area thirty minutes after an explosion is noted by Barton J. Bernstein in "An Analysis of 'Two Cultures': Writing About the Making and the Using of the Atomic Bombs," *Public Historian* 12:2. For Groves's characterization of radiation deaths as "pleasant," see his testimony before the U.S. Senate in "Atomic Energy, Part 1, Hearings Before the United States Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy, 79th Congress, 1st Session, Nov. 27–30, December 3, 1945" (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945). Despite postwar assurances by Groves and others that the first atomic test at Alamogordo, New Mexico, had no detrimental radioactive impact, high levels of radioactivity from fallout were recorded several miles east of the testing site, and cattle in the area lost hair and developed skin lesions. Recently, U.S. health officials acknowledged that ingestion of contaminated food and water near the site has not been sufficiently studied and may have contributed to the overall level of radiation exposure for area residents. In 2014, the National Cancer Institute launched a follow-up investigation of the possible connection between reports of unusually high cancer rates in the area and residents' radiation exposure following the Trinity test;

- see “Decades After Nuclear Test, U.S. Studies Cancer Fallout” by Dan Frosch, *Wall Street Journal*, September 15, 2014.
- U.S. correspondent George Weller’s reports from early postwar Nagasaki were rediscovered by his son, Anthony Weller, in 2002 and subsequently published in *First into Nagasaki: The Censored Eyewitness Dispatches on Post-Atomic Japan and Its Prisoners of War*.
- For a reprint of Australian reporter Wilfred Burchett’s first dispatch from Hiroshima and his confrontation with General Farrell, see his book *Shadows of Hiroshima*.
- Japanese officials’ concerns about the potential impact of residual radiation on those living in the hypocenter area, in contradiction to U.S. teams’ assessments, are noted in “Report on Damage in the City of Nagasaki Resulting from the Atomic Air Raid, 10-3-45, Commander in Chief, Sasebo Naval District” in *Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Nagasaki, Japan*, USSBS report no. 93:3.
- For the findings of the various U.S. military and scientific research teams in Nagasaki in the fall of 1945, see *The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Manhattan District; *Medical Effects of the Atomic Bomb in Japan*, edited by Ashley W. Oughterson and Shields Warren, a condensed version of the six-volume report of the Joint Commission for the Investigation of the Effects of the Atomic Bomb in Japan; and the reports of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (Pacific Survey).
- USSBS film crew director Daniel A. McGovern argued for the value of the Nippon Eiga-sha film in “Memo, Lt. Daniel A. McGovern to Lt. Commander William P. Woodward, December 29, 1945,” Production Materials from *The Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by Abé Mark Nornes, University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies Publications, accessed 2013, <https://www.cjpubs.lsa.umich.edu/electronic/facultyseries/list/series/production.php>. For other details on the appropriation of this film, see “Suddenly There Was Emptiness” in *Japanese Documentary Film* by Abé Mark Nornes; “Iwasaki and the Occupied Screen” by Erik Barnouw, *Film History* 2:4; and *Atomic Cover-up* by Greg Mitchell.

OCCUPIED NAGASAKI, FALL AND WINTER 1945

- For Allied prisoner of war Syd Barber’s memory of his first view of the destruction in Nagasaki, see *Twilight Liberation* by Hugh V. Clarke. Other details about Allied POWs released through Nagasaki: *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; *The Jack Ford Story* by Jack Fitzgerald; *Surviving the Sword* by Brian MacArthur; *Prisoners of the Japanese* by Gavan Daws; and “Experiences at Nagasaki, Japan” by Benedict R. Harris and Marvin A. Stevens, *The Connecticut State Medical Journal* 9:12.
- Quotations by occupation troops: Rudi Bohlmann, interview with Curt Nickisch on *All Things Considered*, NPR, August 9, 2007; and Keith B. Lynch in *World War II Letters*, edited by Bill Adler. Lt. George L. Cooper recalled how “everybody and his brother” quickly made their way to the hypocenter area in “Securing the Surrender: Marines in the Occupation of Japan” by Charles R.

Smith, Marine Corps Historical Center. The film *Nagasaki Journey*, produced by Judy Irving and Chris Beaver, contains footage of occupation troops arriving by ship into Nagasaki harbor.

An excellent source for the overall Japanese experience during the occupation is *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of WWII* by John W. Dower. For additional information about the occupation of Nagasaki, see “Securing the Surrender” by Charles R. Smith, Marine Corps Historical Center; *Reports of General MacArthur*, vol. 1 supp., by the U.S. Department of the Army; and *Nagasaki: The British Experience: 1854–1945* by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

Key details for Nagasaki troop movements and activities can be found in reports created by the U.S. Nuclear Test Personnel Review (NTPR) program of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (formerly the Defense Nuclear Agency). In response to U.S. veterans’ concerns over potential health risks resulting from exposure to ionizing radiation, the NTPR was established in 1977 to provide estimates of radiation exposure for military personnel engaged in “radiation-risk activities,” including those who served in Hiroshima or Nagasaki during the occupation, prisoners of war held in or processed through the two cities, and personnel who participated in U.S. atmospheric nuclear testing through the early 1960s. For occupation veterans, these reports outline the movements, locations, and activities of personnel assigned to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, data that was then correlated with the measurements taken by U.S. scientists in the fall of 1945 to determine the “worst-case scenario” for their potential radiation exposure. While the NTPR’s analysis concludes that residual radiation levels were not high enough to cause adverse health effects, no follow-up studies on the veterans themselves have ever been conducted, and many continue to press for injury claims through the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. See “Fact Sheet: Hiroshima and Nagasaki Occupation Forces” by the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency; and *Radiation Dose Reconstruction: U.S. Occupation Forces in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, 1945–1946* by W. McRaney and J. McGahan. For the veterans’ perspectives, see *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America’s Experience with Atomic Radiation* by Harvey Wasserman et al. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1982); and *Invisible Enemies of Atomic Veterans* by John D. Bankston (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford Publishing, 2003).

Atom Bowl: “Atom Bowl Game Listed,” *New York Times*, December 29, 1945; “Omanski Tops Bertelli in 1st Atom Bowl,” *Washington Post*, January 3, 1946; and “Nagasaki, 1946: Football Amid the Ruins” by John D. Lukas, *New York Times*, December 25, 2005.

For Hayashi Shigeo’s experiences when photographing the city, see his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, “Nagasaki and Peace,” <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.

U.S. occupation medical support: “Impressions of Japanese Medicine at the End of World War II” by Richard B. Berlin, *Scientific Monthly* 64:1; “Radiation Effects of the Atomic Bomb Among the Natives of Nagasaki, Kyushu” by J. S. P. Beck and W. A. Meissner, *American Journal of Clinical Pathology* 6; *Effects of the Atomic Bombs on Health and Medical Services in Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, USSBS report no. 13; “Experiences at Nagasaki, Japan” by Benedict R. Harris and Marvin A. Stevens, *The Connecticut State Medical Journal* 9:12.

- Joe O'Donnell's photographs and personal narrative can be found in his book *Japan 1945: A U.S. Marine's Photographs from Ground Zero* and essay "A Straight Path Through Hell," *American Heritage Magazine* 56:3.
- Nagasaki survivors' memories of the early occupation: Hashimoto Yutaka in "Mom and Silver Rice," *Crossroads* 4, and Tsukasa Kikuchi in *Silent Thunder*, remembered the kindness of occupation soldiers; Michie Hattori Bernstein is quoted from "Eyewitness to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Blast," *WWII Magazine*; Uchida Tsukasa described the occupation bulldozers in *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw; and Chiyoko Egashira recalled schoolchildren "cheering one another up" in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. See also "Resurrecting Nagasaki" by Chad R. Diehl, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.
- For *hibakusha* commemorations, see Nagai Kayano in *We of Nagasaki* by Takashi Nagai; Takashi Nagai's *The Bells of Nagasaki*; Sakue Shimohira in *The Last Atomic Bomb*, directed by Robert Richter; and Itonaga Yoshi's "The Sun Dropped Out of the Sky" in *Nagasaki August 9, 1945*, edited by Mary Wiesen and Elizabeth Cannon. Itsuko Okubo is the mother who collected remnants of a school uniform in remembrance of her son, interviewed in the film *Nagasaki Journey*, produced by Judy Irving and Chris Beaver. According to Dr. Nagai Takashi and others, the November 1945 memorial at Urakami Church honored eight thousand Catholic deaths; other sources indicate the number of Catholics killed in Nagasaki may be closer to ten thousand. See "Religious Responses to the Atomic Bombing in Nagasaki" by Okuyama Michiaki, *Bulletin* (Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture) 37; and *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, p. 382.

CHAPTER 5: TIME SUSPENDED

NAGASAKI, EARLY 1946

- The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (USSBS) generated more than one hundred individual reports on their investigations of the impact of Allied air attacks against Japan during the war, including civilian defense, medical, economic, and military studies. The survey's aim to support "future development" of the U.S. military is quoted from *Summary Report: Pacific War*, USSBS report no. 1; additional reports specific to Nagasaki are listed in the Selected Bibliography.
- For background on the USSBS film crew in Nagasaki, including interviews with Army Air Forces 2nd Lt. Herbert Sussan and Army Air Forces 1st Lt. Daniel McGovern, see *Atomic Cover-up* by Greg Mitchell, which includes Sussan's quotations, "Nothing and no one had prepared me for the devastation" and "I shuddered when the lights were turned on to film him." Sussan's observation that Nagasaki seemed "like an enormous graveyard" is from "38 Years After Nagasaki, A Chronicler of the Horror Returns to an Unfaded Past" by Dave Yuzo Spector, *Chicago Tribune*, January 5, 1984.
- For the USSBS footage of Taniguchi at Ōmura National Hospital, see Video No. 342-USAF-11002, "Medical Aspect, 11/19/1945–02/04/1946," Records of

- U.S. Air Force Commands, Activities, and Organizations, Record Group 342, Moving Images Relating to Military Aviation Activities, National Archives at College Park, MD. Digital copy available through the Online Public Access catalog (identifier 64449) at www.archives.gov/research/search. Taniguchi appears at marker 18:30.
- Taniguchi reflected that “doctors were clueless” about his treatment in his interview in Steven Okazaki’s documentary film *White Light/Black Rain*.
- For details about postwar Japan’s struggling economy and food shortages and Nagasaki’s population changes and occupation troop movements, see the occupation-related sources listed in the notes for chapter 4, especially *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower.
- Uchida Tsukasa’s memory of the old woman who inadvertently carried in human bones when gathering firewood appears in his testimony “A Dark Spot on the Hill of the Atomic Bomb Hypocenter,” originally published in *Atomic Bomb Testimonials by Nagasaki City Employees*, edited by the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall.
- For stories of births following in utero radiation exposure, see Masahito Hirose’s “The Parents of Children with Microcephaly Due to Atomic Bomb Radiation” and *Nagasaki Shimbun*’s “Atomic Bomb Survivors Today” in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*; and *Children of the Atomic Bomb* by Dr. James N. Yamazaki.
- Stories of postwar hardships: Fukahori Yoshitoshi, interviewed by the author in 2011, remembered being treated for tuberculosis with only vitamins and bed rest; Miyazaki Midori, interviewed in 2009, recalled sharing one pair of shoes with her siblings. See also *The Deaths of Hibakusha*, vol. 1; and Mihoko Mukai’s “Recalling Hellish Memories of My Childhood” in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society.
- For the reopening of Nagasaki schools, see testimonies by teachers: Chiyoko Egashira’s “The Day Shiroyama Primary School Was Destroyed” and Hideo Arakawa’s “A Record of the Atomic Bombing” in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*; Teruko Araki’s “The Children and I” in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai; and Hideyuki Hayashi’s “From the Ruins of Yamazato Primary School” in *The Light of Morning*.

U.S. SILENCING

- Sources for Japan’s transformation during the occupation include *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; *Inventing Japan: 1853–1964* by Ian Buruma; *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa to the Present* by Andrew Gordon; *The Making of Modern Japan* by Marius Jansen; *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* by Herbert P. Bix; and *Japan: The Story of a Nation* by Edwin O. Reischauer.
- For Japan’s postwar constitution, see the Japanese National Diet Library’s online exhibition “The Birth of the Constitution of Japan,” <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/>.

For the rules and activities of the occupation's Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), see *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw. See also *Reports of General MacArthur*, vol. 1 supp., chap. 8. For film restrictions, see *Screening Enlightenment: Hollywood and the Cultural Reconstruction of Defeated Japan* by Hiroshi Kitamura.

Nagasaki's anniversary ceremony: Domei News Agency journalist Hideo Matsuno describes the naming of the anniversary ceremony as the "Memorial Day for the Restoration of Peace" and other occupation censorship restrictions in his video testimony at the Global Network of the National Peace Memorial Halls for the Atomic Bomb Victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at <http://www.global-peace.go.jp/>. Occupation authorities noted their opposition to atomic bomb commemoration ceremonies, "for the reason that they are being used as a means of propagandizing 'atonement,' which in turn has an adverse effect on the war-guilt program," in "Memo: 'Nagasaki Ceremony,' H.G.S. to SCAP-GHQ, August 2, 1948," Record Group 5, MacArthur Memorial Library and Archives, Norfolk, VA.

For the CCD censor's concern that Ishida Masako's memoir would "tear open war scars," see *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw.

Nagai Takashi's view of Nagasaki as chosen "to expiate the sins" of the war is quoted from *The Bells of Nagasaki*. For details about the "Sack of Manila" appendix of the 1949 publication of Nagai's *Nagasaki no kane*, see *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw; and "Nagasaki Writers: The Mission" by Kamata Sadao in *Literature Under the Nuclear Cloud*, compiled by Ito Narihiko et al.

Censorship of medical studies: "Medical Censorship in Occupied Japan, 1945–1948" by Sey Nishimura, *Pacific Historical Review* 58:1; "Promoting Health in American-Occupied Japan" by Sey Nishimura, *American Journal of Public Health* 99:8; and "The Repatriation of Atomic Bomb Victim Body Parts to Japan: Natural Objects and Diplomacy" by M. Susan Lindee, *Osiris* 13. Dr. Shiotsuki Masao described the warning he received at a presentation about his Nagasaki experience in his book *Doctor at Nagasaki*.

For the U.S. public's reactions to the atomic bombings, see "The American People and the Use of Atomic Bombs on Japan: The 1940s" by Michael J. Yavenditti, *Historian* 36:2; *Hiroshima in America* by Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell; and "Commemoration and Silence: Fifty Years of Remembering the Bomb in America and Japan" by Laura Hein and Mark Selden in their essay collection *Living with the Bomb*.

The postwar U.S. media's emphasis on American scientific achievement when reporting about the atomic bombs was exemplified by the writings of *New York Times* science reporter William L. Laurence, hired by the Manhattan Project, while still on the *Times* staff, to draft exclusive press releases about the bomb's development. Laurence won the Pulitzer Prize in 1946 for his glorified account of the Nagasaki atomic bombing (from his vantage point aboard the companion plane *The Great Artiste*) and his ten-part series on the atomic bomb. For Laurence's role as the War Department's mouthpiece, see *Hiroshima in America* by Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell; "Covering the Bomb: Press and State in the Shadow of Nuclear War" by Robert Karl Manoff,

in *War, Peace and the News Media, Proceedings, March 18 and 19, 1983*, edited by David M. Rubin and Marie Cunningham; and “Hiroshima Cover-up: How the War Department’s Timesman Won a Pulitzer Prize” by Amy and David Goodman at commondreams.org, August 10, 2004.

Quotations related to U.S. opposition to the bombs: “Has It Come to This” by A. J. Muste, and “The Literacy of Survival” by Norman Cousins, reprinted in *Hiroshima’s Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. Admiral Halsey’s doubts about the bombs’ necessity were reported in an Associated Press dispatch; see, for example, the “Atom Tests” editorial in the *Washington Post*, September 11, 1946. Other concerns about the use of atomic weapons voiced in the U.S. press include “Gentlemen: Are You Mad!” by Lewis Mumford in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, March 2, 1946; and “Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith” by the Federal Council of Churches. For reprints of these articles, and others, see *Hiroshima’s Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. See also “From Hiroshima: A Report and a Question” by Father John A. Siemes, *Time*, February 11, 1946; “What the Bomb Really Did” by Robert DeVore, *Collier’s*, March 2, 1946; and commentary by former Los Alamos scientists, including “Beyond Imagination” by physicist Phillip Morrison, *New Republic*, February 1946, and “Atomic Bomb Damage—Japan and USA” by R. E. Marshak et al., *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 1, 1946.

The USSBS summary reports released in June 1946 may have also contributed to the mounting concerns of U.S. leaders that public support for the bombs’ use was in jeopardy. Although the conclusion was later determined to be unsupported by the survey’s own data at the time, the USSBS claimed that, due to the depleted state of Japan’s military and economy by 1945, Japan would have likely surrendered prior to the end of the year “even if atomic bombs had not been dropped.” For analysis of this USSBS conclusion, see “Compelling Japan’s Surrender Without the A-Bomb, Soviet Entry, or Invasion: Reconsidering the US Bombing Survey’s Early-Surrender Conclusions” by Barton J. Bernstein, *Journal of Strategic Studies* 18:2.

John Hersey’s *Hiroshima* appeared in the *New Yorker* on August 31, 1946. Book-of-the-Month Club president Harry Scherman’s praise for Hersey’s work was quoted in “‘The Most Spectacular Explosion in the Time of Man’” by Charles Poore, *New York Times*, November 10, 1946; and Monica Braw describes the reaction of occupation censors to *Hiroshima* in *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed*. For more regarding the impact of Hersey’s *Hiroshima*, see “John Hersey and the American Conscience: The Reception of ‘Hiroshima’” by Michael J. Yavenditti, *Pacific Historical Review* 43:1 (February 1974).

For the official story of the atomic bomb decision, see “If the Atomic Bomb Had Not Been Used” by Karl T. Compton, *Atlantic Monthly* 178:6 (December 1946), and “The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb” by Henry L. Stimson, *Harper’s Magazine* 194:1161 (February 1947). President Truman approved Compton’s appraisal of the situation in a letter printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* 179:1 (February 1947).

The creation of the official U.S. narrative is thoroughly explored in “Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History” by Barton J. Bernstein in

Hiroshima's Shadow, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. For an excellent overview of scholars' attempts to reconstruct the bomb decision, see "Historiographical Essay: Recent Literature on Truman's Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground" by J. Samuel Walker, *Diplomatic History* 29:2. Bernstein offers expert analysis of U.S. leaders' misleading postwar claims of high casualty estimates for the planned invasion of Japan in "Reconsidering Truman's Claim of 'Half a Million American Lives' Saved by the Atomic Bomb: The Construction and Deconstruction of a Myth," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 22:1.

Quotations by U.S. leaders in defense of the bombing: Harvard president and Interim Committee member James B. Conant expressed his concern about bomb opponents causing a "distortion of history" in a letter to Harvey Bundy, September 23, 1946 (Records of President James B. Conant, Harvard University Archives). Additional quotations related to Stimson's 1947 article appear in the microfilm edition of the Henry L. Stimson Papers at the Yale University Library Manuscripts and Archives; see Felix Frankfurter to Stimson, 12-16-46 (reel 116); James Byrnes to Stimson, 1-28-47 (reel 116); and McGeorge Bundy to Stimson, 2-18-47 (reel 117). As noted by Barton J. Bernstein and others, McGeorge Bundy in *Danger and Survival* (New York: Random House, 1988) later regretted the purposeful half-truths and omissions in the "Decision" article that allowed the U.S. public to believe that the atomic bombs were given adequate forethought by Truman and his advisers.

NAGASAKI, LATE 1946–1948

Taniguchi's descriptions of his intense pain while lying facedown "on the verge of death" are quoted from his unpublished speeches from 1986 and 2010. Taniguchi provided copies of his speeches and his Ōmura National Hospital medical records.

Dr. Shiotsuki Masao recalled the "molten lava" of survivors' stubborn keloid scars in his book *Doctor at Nagasaki*.

For the psychological impact of the bombing, see *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 12; and *Death in Life* by Robert Jay Lifton. Numerous *hibakusha* testimonies provided personal perspectives on psychological trauma; the father who questioned his own survival daily while kneeling before his daughter's ashes described his experience anonymously in response to a 1985 Nihon Hidankyō survey; see *The Deaths of Hibakusha*, vol. 1, p. 130.

For Lt. Colonel Victor Delnore, see "Victor's Justice: Colonel Victor Delnore and the U.S. Occupation of Nagasaki" by Lane R. Earns, *Crossroads* 3. Delnore reflected on his aim to "wake the people up" in "Gentle Warrior Saw Beyond Bombs/Brought Compassion to Nagasaki Job" by Mary Frain, *Telegram and Gazette* (Worcester, MA), August 13, 1995. He described the Buddhist ceremony for unidentified survivors in a letter to his family; see *Victor's War: The World War II Letters of Lt. Col. Victor Delnore*, edited by his daughter, Patricia Delnore Magee. Delnore's memo to the Civil Censorship Detachment

in support of the publication of Ishida Masako's book is in *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw.

Winfield Niblo and square dancing: "Dancing People Are Happy People': Square Dancing and Democracy in Occupied Japan" by Lane R. Earns, *Crossroads 2*. See also "Yank Teaches Square Dance to 20,000 Japs in Nagasaki," *Reading Eagle* (Reading, PA), September 7, 1947; and "Japs Adopting Our Democratic Square Dances," *Milwaukee Journal*, April 14, 1949.

For *hibakusha* stories about suicides: Catholic *hibakusha* Fukahori Satoru described his resolve to "suck it up" in Steven Okazaki's film *White Light/Black Rain*. Toyomi Hashimoto remembered her husband's suicide attempt in "Hellish Years After Hellish Days" in *Cries for Peace*, edited by Soka Gakkai, Youth Division. Other sources include Senji Yamaguchi in *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki; Hisako Kyuma's "Engulfed in Light and Fire" and Kazuko Nagase's "The Twenty-nine Years I Have Lived Through" in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; Komine Hidetaka's "A Message to the World from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" exhibit panel at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, May 2010; multiple testimonies at "Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Messages from *Hibakusha*," <http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha>; and Shimohira Sakue in "In the Words of an Atomic Bomb Survivor" by Brian Burke-Gaffney in *Crossroads 3*.

Dō-oh's memories of her despair during the long days hidden inside her house are quoted from the title essay of her collection *Ikasarete ikite* [Allowed to Live, I Live], edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author's use.

Survivors' ways of remembering: School memorials are described in Chiyoko Egashira's "From Memories of Darkness and Hardship: Up Until the Day Shiroyama Primary School Was Closed" in *The Light of Morning*; and Itonaga Yoshi's "The Sun Dropped Out of the Sky" in *Nagasaki August 9, 1945*, edited by Mary Wiesen and Elizabeth Cannon. Tsue Hayashi planted cherry trees in honor of her daughter at Shiroyama Elementary School; see "Kayoko Zakura" in *Hibaku: Recollections of A-Bomb Survivors*, edited by Mitsue Kubo; and "Tsue Hayashi" in *At Work in the Fields of the Bomb* by Robert Del Tradici.

Tsujimoto Fujio and other student testimonies from Yamazato Elementary School appear in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud: Testimonies of the Children of Nagasaki*, edited by Takashi Nagai. A reprint of this collection is available from the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims. For an alternate translation of Tsujimoto's testimony, see also *The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by Kyoko and Mark Selden.

CHAPTER 6: EMERGENCE

NAGASAKI'S RECOVERY, 1948–1949

Quotations by Taniguchi Sumiteru: His joy when he was finally able to walk again is quoted from *Give Me Water: Testimonies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, translated by Rinjiro Sodei. His feeling of being “resurrected” appeared in “Bomb Victims’ Stories Reach into the Heart” by Imada Lee, *Maui News*, September 20, 1987, reprinted in *Beijin kisha no mita Hiroshima Nagasaki* [Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of American Reporters], Akiba Project 1987 (Hiroshima: Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation, 1988). Taniguchi’s fears upon being discharged from the hospital are quoted from *The Light of Morning*, translated by Brian Burke-Gaffney.

Signs of Nagasaki’s postwar recovery: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, especially chap. 11. See also *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; *A Modern History of Japan* by Andrew Gordon; and “Beyond the Black Market: Neighborhood Associations and Food Rationing in Postwar Japan” by Katarzyna Cwiertka in *Japan Since 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble*, edited by Christopher Gerteis and Timothy S. George.

Relaxation of occupation controls: *The Reports of General MacArthur*, vol. 1 supp.; “Japanese to Get Added Authority” by Lindesay Parrott, *New York Times*, August 16, 1949; and *The Atomic Bomb Suppressed* by Monica Braw.

For the four hundredth anniversary of St. Francis Xavier ceremonies: “A Monument Was Built at the Hypocenter of the Explosion” by Tomiomi Koda in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai; “Nagasaki Plans Fete,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1949; “Over 100,000 Japanese in Atom-Bombed City Honour Francis Xavier,” *Catholic Herald*, June 3, 1949; and “The Arm of St. Francis Xavier,” *Life*, June 27, 1949.

Nagasaki teacher Teruko Araki remembered the scent of “new wood” in the rebuilt classrooms and described her experiences teaching orphaned children in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai. This collection also includes the testimony of another Nagasaki teacher, Tatsuo Oi.

Quotations by Dr. Nagai Takashi: “as we walk in hunger . . .” is quoted from *The Bells of Nagasaki*; Nagai blamed the “rhythm of military marches” in his work *Hanasaku oka* [Hill in Bloom], translated excerpts of which were provided by the Nagai Takashi Memorial Museum; and he described the atomic bombs as “anti-war vaccinations” in *We of Nagasaki*. For additional information on Nagai’s impact as the “saint of Nagasaki,” see *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; *City of Silence: Listening to Hiroshima* by Rachelle Linner; “Resurrecting Nagasaki” by Chad R. Diehl, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University; and “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2. For the editing and censorship of the film version of *The Bells of Nagasaki*, see *Screening Enlightenment* by Hiroshi Kitamura.

- Survivors' reactions to Nagai's message: Masako Imamura defined the atomic bomb as God's "test of love and forgiveness" in *Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*, edited by Takashi Nagai; an unnamed survivor expressed that "people without faith . . . could not have borne the burden" in "Through Survivors' Tales, Nagasaki Joins Japan's Timeless Folklore" by Nicholas D. Kristof, *New York Times*, August 9, 1995; and Fr. Paul Glynn, in *A Song for Nagasaki*, described his encounter with a *hibakusha* who converted to Christianity due to Nagai's message.
- Dr. Akizuki Tatsuichirō's frustration with the Catholic sisters' beliefs and his anger at the governments who "willfully perpetuated this senseless war" are quoted from his memoir *Nagasaki 1945*. His decision to shed his "victim of war" mentality and his experiences in Yue are detailed in *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud] by Yamashita Akiko, translated into English for the author's use.
- Later-occurring medical conditions: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 9. See also *Radiation Effects Research Foundation: A Brief Description; Children of the Atomic Bomb* by Dr. James N. Yamazaki; and "Long-Term Radiation-Related Health Effects in a Unique Human Population: Lessons Learned from the Atomic Bomb Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" by Evan B. Douple et al., *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 5:51.
- An anonymous *hibakusha* recalled the results of her brother's autopsy following his death from leukemia in *The Deaths of Hibakusha*, vol. 2.
- Many survivors hold memories of taunts and discrimination; examples in this chapter include Komine Hidetaka's "A Message to the World from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" exhibit panel at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, May 2010; and Toyomi Hashimoto and Masako Okawa in *Cries for Peace*, edited by Soka Gakkai, Youth Division. See also *The Impact of the A-Bomb: Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945–85*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- For work discrimination and difficulties in employment, see *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 11; "The *Hibakusha*: The Atomic Bomb Survivors and Their Appeals" in *Appeals from Nagasaki: On the Occasion of SSD-II and Related Events*, edited by Shinji Takahashi; and "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence" by Monica Braw in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden.

THE ATOMIC BOMB CASUALTY COMMISSION (ABCC)

- Dō-oh recalled her experience at the ABCC in her essay "Ikasarete ikite" [Allowed to Live, I Live] in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author's use.

For an excellent study of the survivors' relationship with the ABCC and the agency's no-treatment policy, see the works of M. Susan Lindee: *Suffering Made Real: American Science and the Survivors at Hiroshima*; "Atonement: Understanding the No-Treatment Policy of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 68:3; and "The Repatriation of Atomic Bomb Victim Body Parts to Japan: Natural Objects and Diplomacy," *Osiris* 13. In *Suffering Made Real*, Lindee acknowledges that Dr. James V. Neel, head of the ABCC's genetics program, Dr. William J. Schull, and other ABCC personnel whom she interviewed did not agree with her characterization of the ABCC, saying that she, in her words, had "over-emphasized the impact of political and social concerns on the science of the ABCC." Lindee responded, "I do think that Neel and his colleagues struggled heroically to conduct their science in that neutral zone in which language, culture, and history do not exist, that is, in the realm of the idealized Science that they learned in the course of their formal education. My text operates from the assumption that such a neutral zone does not exist, for anyone, at any time." My effort here is to capture some of the Nagasaki survivors' most serious concerns related to their participation in the ABCC studies.

For the establishment of the ABCC, see Colonel Ashley W. Oughterson's August 1945 memo in *Medical Effects of Atomic Bombs*, vol. I, app. 1 (1), by Oughterson et al. See also "The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Retrospect" by Frank W. Putnam, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA* 95:10, which includes a copy of Truman's presidential directive that established the agency in 1946; and the historical and scientific materials available from the Radiation Effects Research Foundation at <http://www.rerf.jp>.

Fears over the "free unrestrained use" of ABCC material by Japanese scientists: Memo from James K. Scott to Charles L. Dunham, October 14, 1954, Series 2, AEC Correspondence: 1951–1961, ABCC collection, National Academy of Sciences Archives, Washington, DC.

Nagasaki physician Nishimori Issei is quoted in "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence" by Monica Braw in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden.

Norman Cousins's critique: "Hiroshima Four Years Later," the *Saturday Review of Literature* 32.

For ABCC operations and studies in Nagasaki, see *Children of the Atomic Bomb* by Dr. James N. Yamazaki; and *Song Among the Ruins: A Lyrical Account of an American Scientist's Sojourn in Japan After the Atomic Bomb* by William J. Schull. The ABCC pamphlets and exam questions for new mothers are reprinted, along with the genetic program's original 1956 report, in *The Children of Atomic Bomb Survivors: A Genetic Study*, edited by James V. Neel and William J. Schull.

Further information about Dr. Yamazaki's experiences in Nagasaki and his lifelong contribution to the health of children, as well as photographs, survivors' paintings, testimonies, and lesson plans, can be found at the "Children of the Atomic Bomb" Web site, developed by Dr. Yamazaki in collaboration

with UCLA's Asian American Studies Center at <http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/cab>.

For Dō-oh's refusal to participate with the ABCC: With her family's permission, I was able to locate medical records completed by the ABCC at the Atomic Bomb Materials collection of the Otis Historical Archives, U.S. National Museum of Health and Medicine. These records indicate that Dō-oh visited the ABCC at least three times. However, Dō-oh consistently describes only one visit before her decision not to participate in any further ABCC studies, perhaps collapsing her multiple visits into one. The Atomic Bomb Materials collection also includes medical documentation on Taniguchi and Yoshida.

NAGASAKI, 1952–1955: END OF U.S. OCCUPATION AND THE FIRST DECADE OF POSTBOMB SURVIVAL

For Nagasaki's celebration of the end of the occupation, see "Two Atom-Bomb Cities Hail Peace Treaty," *New York Times*, September 10, 1951.

For the Tokyo War Crimes Trials and Japan at the end of the U.S. occupation: *Embracing Defeat* by John W. Dower; *Inventing Japan: 1853–1964* by Ian Buruma; and *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa to the Present* by Andrew Gordon.

Release of scientific studies and other atomic bomb publications in Japan: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 13; *Nagasaki Journey: The Photographs of Yosuke Yamabata, August 10, 1945*, edited by Rupert Jenkins; and *Japanese Documentary Film* by Abé Mark Nornes. The *Asahi Graph* reprinted the 1952 "atomic bomb" special edition in full on its thirtieth anniversary in 1982. See also "Nuclear Images and National Self-Portraits: Japanese Illustrated Magazine *Asahi Graph*, 1945–1965" by Utsumi Hirofumi, *Kansei gakuin daigaku sentan shakai kenkyūjo kiyō* [Annual Review of the Institute for Advanced Social Research, Kwansei Gakuin University] 5.

Hibakusha photographs in the U.S. press: "When Atom Bomb Struck—Uncensored," *Life*, September 29, 1952. See also Dr. Shiotsuki Masao's recollection of the popular U.S. magazine article in *Doctor at Nagasaki*.

For nuclear arsenals by the end of 1955, see "A History of the Atomic Energy Commission" by Alice L. Buck; "Global Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 1945–2002" by the National Resources Defense Council; "Fact Sheet: The Nuclear Testing Tally" by the Arms Control Association.

For President Truman's remarks about the use of nuclear weapons during the Korean War, see "The President's News Conference," November 30, 1950, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1945–1953*. For information about U.S. nuclear strategy during the Korean War, see "American Atomic Strategy and the Hydrogen Bomb Decision" by David Alan Rosenberg, *Journal of American History* 66:1 (1979): 62–87; and "American Airpower and Nuclear Strategy in Northeast Asia Since

1945” by Bruce Cumings in *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century*, edited by Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 63–90.

The passing of the first decade and the city’s tenth anniversary ceremony was remembered by Chie Setoguchi in “The Human Dam” in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. See also “Nagasaki Marks 1945 Atom Blast” by Robert Trumbull, *New York Times*, August 10, 1955.

Nagasaki in 1955: *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; *Nagasaki Speaks; Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki; and *Screening Enlightenment* by Hiroshi Kitamura. Photographs of the hypocenter marker, taken in 1954 by Dave Patrykus and other U.S. servicemen serving aboard the USS *Wisconsin*, can be found at <http://www.usswisconsin.org>.

Dō-oh’s reputation as the “girl with the triangle cloth” and her decision to move to Tokyo despite her parents’ objections are quoted from her essay “Ikasarete ikite” [Allowed to Live, I Live] in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use.

CHAPTER 7: AFTERLIFE

NAGASAKI, 1960s

Descriptions of Nagasaki: *Song Among the Ruins* by William J. Schull; *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki; *Nagasaki: The Forgotten Bomb* by Frank Chinnock; “Letter from Nagasaki” by E. J. Kahn Jr., *New Yorker*, July 29, 1961; and various survivor accounts.

For the clearing of the Urakami Church ruins and its reconstruction, see “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2; and *The Restoration of Urakami Cathedral: A Commemorative Album*, edited by Hisayuki Mizuura.

MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

Japanese marriage traditions and discrimination faced by *hibakusha*: “Marriage with the Proper Stranger: Arranged Marriage in Metropolitan Japan” by Kalman D. Applbaum, *Ethnology* 34:1; *Death in Life* by Robert Jay Lifton; and “Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence” by Monica Braw in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden.

Many *hibakusha* described fears regarding marriage and children, including Tsutae Takai in “A-Bomb Victim Moved to Talk About Past by Earthquake Disasters,” *Mainichi*, August 11, 2012; and the testimonies at “Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Messages from *Hibakusha*,” <http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha>.

- Wada remembered how his pregnant wife felt “stabbed” by their doctor’s warnings of potential birth defects in “There Was No ‘War-End’ in Nagasaki,” English translation provided by Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall.
- Taniguchi described how he was rejected by potential marriage partners who feared he could not “look forward to a long life” in *Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, translated by Gaynor Sekimori. His marriage and honeymoon with Eiko are detailed in *The Postman of Nagasaki: The Story of a Survivor* by Peter Townsend.
- Dō-oh reflected on her personal determination and her work life in the title essay of her collection *Ikasarete ikite* [Allowed to Live, I Live], edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use.

ANTINUCLEAR ACTIVISM

- Sources for the “Castle Bravo” hydrogen bomb test on March 1, 1954, include *Castle Series 1954* by Edwin J. Martin and Richard H. Rowland; *Radiation: What It Is and How It Affects You* by Jack Schubert and Ralph E. Lapp; and *The Struggle Against the Bomb, Vol. 2: Resisting the Bomb* by Lawrence S. Wittner.
- The Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) has deemed the 1954 test on Bikini Atoll the “worst radiological disaster in the United States’ testing history”; see <http://www.ctbto.org/nuclear-testing>.
- The Marshall Islanders’ radiation illnesses, including nausea, skin lesions, loss of hair, and hemorrhaging beneath the skin, were documented by U.S. researchers from Brookhaven National Laboratory; see, for example, *A Twenty-Year Review of Medical Findings in a Marshallese Population Accidentally Exposed to Radioactive Fallout* by Robert A. Conard et al. (Upton, NY: Brookhaven National Laboratory, 1975). The U.S. Department of Energy continues to monitor the atolls of the former Pacific Proving Grounds for radiological damage and provide medical screenings for residents who were exposed; see “Marshall Islands Dose Assessment and Radioecology Program,” Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, updated August 2014, <https://marshallislands.llnl.gov>; and “Nuclear Issues” at the Embassy of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, accessed August 2014, <http://www.rmiembassyus.org/NuclearIssues.htm>.
- The effect of the test’s fallout on the *Lucky Dragon* crew, and the U.S. response, is detailed in the sources above, as well as in *Suffering Made Real* by M. Susan Lindee; *The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon* by Ralph E. Lapp; *Elements of Controversy: The AEC and Radiation Safety in Nuclear Weapons Testing, 1947–1974* by Barton C. Hacker; and “Aide-Memoire Given to the U.S. Ambassador Allison by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Okumura, March 27, 1954” in *Castle Series 1954* by Edwin J. Martin and Richard H. Rowland, p. 465.

Eizo Tajima recalled the fishermen's description of the white ash that coated their boat and the ensuing panic in Japan over radioactive contamination in "The Dawn of Radiation Effects Research," *RERF Update* 5:3. For more on the outcomes and experiences of the *Lucky Dragon* crew, the Marshall Islanders, and others impacted by radiation around the world, see *Exposure: Victims of Radiation Speak Out*, available at the Hiroshima Peace Media Center, <http://www.hiroshimapeacemedia.jp>.

The Japanese public's opposition to nuclear testing was noted in "Resisting Nuclear Terror: Japanese and American Anti-Nuclear Movements Since 1945" by Lawrence S. Wittner in *War and State Terrorism*, edited by Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So. See also Wittner's three-volume history of the international nuclear disarmament movement, *The Struggle Against the Bomb*, which includes a discussion of earlier antinuclear activism, dampened by occupation policies, that had begun in postwar Japan prior to the Bikini test; *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 14; and reports by the Nuclear Coverage Team of the *Asahi Shimbun*, collected in *The Road to the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons*.

Hirose Masahito remembered the "powerful and determined" beginnings of the antinuclear movement in Nagasaki in his 2009 interview with the author.

Yamaguchi Senji's recollections of the White Rose Campaign, the first conferences against atomic and hydrogen bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and his own emerging activism are detailed in *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki. Yamaguchi and other *hibakusha* also became involved in protests against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty renewal in 1960, a precursor to the still-continuing national effort by activists to safeguard the principles of peace in Japan's constitution.

Watanabe Chieko's testimony appeared in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society.

For Nihon Hidankyō's founding declaration, see <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/hidankyo/nihon/about/about2-01.html>, translated by the author.

Taniguchi recalled his determination to "live on behalf of those who died unwillingly" during his interview on the PBS program *People's Century: Fallout (1945)*, broadcast June 15, 1999. His call to "bear witness" is quoted from his testimony in *Hibakusha: Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, translated by Gaynor Sekimori.

ACTIVISM FOR HIBAKUSHA MEDICAL CARE

Ongoing health effects for *hibakusha*, including "insufficient mental energy," were described in the first published guidelines for the medical treatment of atomic bomb illnesses by the A-Bomb Aftereffects Research Council in 1954, as quoted in *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 13. See also *Radiation Effects Research Foundation: A Brief Description*; and "Cancer Takes Many Forms Among the *Hibakusha*,"

Anniston Star (Alabama), September 13, 1981, reprinted in *Beijin kisha no mita Hiroshima Nagasaki* [Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of American Reporters], Akiba Project 1981 (Hiroshima: Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation, 1982).

Quotations by Yamaguchi Senji: For Nagasaki Hisaikyō as “an organization to voice our demands” and the health care law’s “little handbook,” see *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki. His call for the Japanese government to take responsibility for *hibakusha* care is quoted from his interview in Steven Okazaki’s film *White Light/Black Rain*. Yamaguchi’s 1980 speech appealing for “No More *Hibakusha*” is quoted in “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2.

The Atomic Bomb Victims Medical Care Law: Application requirements are quoted from *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 11. For the issue of “probability of causation,” see “Certification of Sufferers of Atomic Bomb-Related Diseases,” *Nuke Info Tokyo* 131, <http://cnic.jp/english/newsletter/nit131/nit131articles/abombdisease.html>. Additional sources for *hibakusha* medical care and health care activism include *Report on the Problem of the Hibakusha* by the Japan Federation of Bar Associations; “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2; and “The *Hibakusha*: The Atomic Bomb Survivors and Their Appeals” by Shinji Takahashi in *Appeals from Nagasaki: On the Occasion of SSD-II and Related Events*.

For the development of atomic bomb radiation dosimetry for Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors, see “Historical Review” by George D. Kerr, Tadashi Hashizume, and Charles W. Edington in *U.S.-Japan Joint Reassessment of Atomic Bomb Dosimetry in Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Dosimetry System 1986*, edited by William C. Roesch; and *Ichiban: The Dosimetry Program for Nuclear Bomb Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—A Status Report as of April 1, 1964* by J. A. Auxier. See also *Permissible Dose: A History of Radiation Protection in the Twentieth Century* by J. Samuel Walker.

For a recent study suggesting “significant exposure” for early entrants, see “Gamma-Ray Exposure from Neutron-Induced Radionuclides in Soil in Hiroshima and Nagasaki Based on DS02 Calculations” by Tetsuji Imanaka et al., in *Radiation and Environmental Biophysics* 47:3. For a review of current research on the impact of residual radiation, see “Workshop Report on Atomic Bomb Dosimetry—Residual Radiation Exposure: Recent Research and Suggestions for Future Studies” by George D. Kerr et al., *Health Physics* 105:2. doi: 10.1097/HP.0b013e31828ca73a.

Claims of injuries, deaths, and lingering medical conditions from residual radiation exposure appear in multiple survivor accounts. See especially “Memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Messages from *Hibakusha*,” <http://www.asahi.com/hibakusha> and the anonymous testimonies collected by a 1985 Nihon Hidakanyō survey, published in *The Deaths of Hibakusha*, vols. 1 and 2.

The city of Nagasaki has provided support for overseas *hibakusha*. See *Devotion of Nagasaki to the Cause of Peace* by the city of Nagasaki; and the Nagasaki

Association for Hibakushas' Medical Care (NASHIM), established in 1992 to offer travel assistance to survivors seeking to return to Japan for medical care, at <http://www.nashim.org/en/index.html>.

Hibakusha living in the United States have also struggled for recognition and health care. See "Medical Care for the Atomic Bomb Victims in the United States" by Stephen Salaff, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 12:1; *Were We the Enemy? American Survivors of Hiroshima* by Rinjiro Sodei; *City of Silence* by Rachelle Linner; and Steven Okazaki's documentary film *Survivors*.

Korean *hibakusha*: "Korea's Forgotten Atomic Bomb Victims" by Kurt W. Tong, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 23:1; and "Three-Fold Hardships of the Korean *Hibakusha*" by Korean Atomic Bomb Casualty Association president Choi Il Chul, available at <https://afsc.org/resource/hibakusha-h-bomb-survivors>. Quotations from Korean survivors: Masako Kim in *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society; and Pak Su Ryong in *Give Me Water: Testimonies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*.

Taniguchi remembered the hard scar on his back that "dulled the blade" of the surgical knife in his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>. The "terrible heaviness" he felt is quoted from *Voices of the A-Bomb Survivors: Nagasaki*, compiled by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Testimonial Society.

CHAPTER 8: AGAINST FORGETTING

RECLAIMING ATOMIC BOMB MATERIALS

The *Asahi Graph* published its commemorative issue about the twenty-fifth anniversary of the atomic bombings on July 10, 1970. A preview of the issue appeared in the *Asahi Shimbun* on June 21, 1970. Copies provided by Taniguchi Sumiteru and the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum library.

Nippon Eiga-sha film footage: "Iwasaki and the Occupied Screen" by Erik Barnouw, *Film History* 2:4; and "Suddenly There Was Emptiness" in *Japanese Documentary Film* by Abé Mark Nornes. For the edited film with sound track, "Effect of Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 9/21/45–10/45," and a descriptive shot list of all nineteen reels, see Video No. 342-USAF-17679, Records of U.S. Air Force Commands, Activities, and Organizations, 1900–2003, Record Group 342, Moving Images Relating to Military Aviation Activities, 1947–1984, National Archives at College Park, MD; digital copy available through the Online Public Access catalog (identifier 65518) at www.archives.gov/research/search.

Watanabe Chieko described her reaction to the silent film footage of postbomb Nagasaki in her testimony at "Nagasaki and Peace," <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.

Toshiro Ochiai described the "remember Pearl Harbor" reaction to the photo exhibition near the UN headquarters in "Participation in the First Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament: Recollections of a Student Representative," available at <http://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/en/00025548>.

- For the recovery of the USSBS film footage, see *Atomic Cover-up* by Greg Mitchell; and “38 Years After Nagasaki” by Dave Yuzo Spector, *Chicago Tribune*, January 5, 1984. Most of the films in the *Hibakusha* Sources feature either the early Nippon Eiga-sha or USSBS footage from Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- The return of scientific materials and autopsy specimens is detailed by M. Susan Lindee in “The Repatriation of Atomic Bomb Victim Body Parts to Japan: Natural Objects and Diplomacy,” *Osiris* 13, and in her book *Suffering Made Real*. See also the materials available through the Division of Scientific Data Registry at the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute of Nagasaki University at http://www-sdc.med.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/abcenter/index_e.html; and in the Atomic Bomb Material collection of the Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine.
- Uchida Tsukasa’s concern about the victims of the bombing disappearing “into the darkness of history” is quoted from his testimony originally published in *Atomic Bomb Testimonials by Nagasaki City Employees*, edited by the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, English translation provided by the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall. His vision of recording the “true extent” of their experiences appears in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. See also “Survivor Keeps Reminder of Destruction,” *Tri-City Herald* (Washington), August 6, 1995.
- The efforts by Uchida, Akizuki, and others to complete the mapping of the prebomb hypocenter area were detailed in the film *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Harvest of Nuclear War* by Iwanami Productions; and in materials provided by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum. Fukahori Yoshitoshi provided access to his photographic collection and described his contributions to the movement in multiple interviews.

NAGASAKI HIBAKUSHA SPEAKING OUT

- Akizuki Tatsuichirō’s motivations to write his first memoir, his establishment of the Nagasaki Testimonial Society, and his call to *hibakusha* to “speak out about the realities” appeared in *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud] by Yamashita Akiko, translated into English for the author’s use. Akizuki recalled seeing an overlaid “double image” of the atomic destruction outside his modernized hospital in his testimony at “Nagasaki and Peace,” <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>.
- Additional sources on the collection of Nagasaki survivor testimonies include “Nagasaki Writers: The Mission” by Kamata Sadao in *Literature Under the Nuclear Cloud*, edited by Ito Narihiko et al.; “The Atomic Bomb and the Citizens of Nagasaki” by Sadao Kamata and Stephen Salaff, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 14:2; and *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, chap. 14. Yamada Kan’s comment on Dr. Nagai was quoted in “Resurrecting Nagasaki” by Chad R. Diehl, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University.
- Ongoing medical and psychological issues for survivors were recorded in multiple *hibakusha* accounts, as well as in RERF-published studies and *Hiroshima*

- and Nagasaki*, edited by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For the experiences of elderly parents of in utero-exposed children, see “Atomic Bomb Survivors Today” in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*.
- Fukahori Yoshitoshi, in an interview with the author, described the foreign mayors’ shocked reactions to a Nagasaki photographic exhibit.
- For a discussion of U.S. civil defense programs that neglected the stories of the only survivors of nuclear war, see “‘There Are No Civilians; We Are All at War’: Nuclear War Shelter and Survival Narratives During the Early Cold War” by Robert A. Jacobs, *Journal of American Culture* 30:4.
- The Confederate Air Force’s “reenactment” of the Hiroshima bombing is described in *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* by Edward Linenthal. For Japan’s reaction, see “The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches: Japanese and American Perceptions of the Atomic Bomb Decision—A Reconsideration, 1945–2006” by Sadao Asada in his *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations: Historical Essays*. In 2013, CBS News reported a more recent protest that forced the cancellation of a similar show; see <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/world-war-ii-atomic-bomb-re-enactment-dropped-from-ohio-air-show-after-outcry>.
- For international efforts by *hibakusha*, see the 1977 declaration, working documents, and other materials in *A Call from Hibakusha of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Damage and Aftershocks of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, July 21–August 9, 1977: Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, compiled by the Japan National Preparatory Committee. Watanabe Chieko is quoted from her testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, “Nagasaki and Peace,” <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>. See also *The Struggle Against the Bomb, Vol. 3: Towards Nuclear Abolition—A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present* by Lawrence S. Wittner.
- Survivors’ stories also received limited international attention through the Hibakusha Travel Grant Program. Established in 1979 by Akiba Tadatoshi, a non-*hibakusha* teaching at Tufts University who would later become Hiroshima’s mayor, this program provided funds for three foreign journalists to travel to Nagasaki and Hiroshima each year for research and reporting, resulting in dozens of articles about *hibakusha* in local newspapers in the United States and elsewhere. These articles were reissued in a series of yearly compilations as *Beijin kisha no mita Hiroshima Nagasaki* [Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of American Reporters] and were provided to the author by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum library.
- Quotations by Taniguchi Sumiteru: Taniguchi’s complaint against modern science for creating “highly sophisticated missiles” instead of cures is quoted from his testimony in *Testimonies of the Atomic Bomb Survivors*. His warning that nuclear weapons and humans cannot coexist and his appeal to audiences not to turn away from his scars are quoted from his speeches provided to the author. Taniguchi expressed his desire to speak out on behalf of the thousands who died as a result of the bombing in the film *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Harvest of Nuclear War* by Iwanami Productions.

- For the worldwide proliferation of atomic weapons, see the chapter 5 notes for nuclear arsenals and testing.
- Akizuki admonished the “clever and foolish people” who still promote nuclear weapons development in *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud] by Yamashita Akiko, translated into English for the author’s use.
- Pope John Paul II’s peace appeal at Hiroshima on February 25, 1981, is available at http://atomicbombmuseum.org/6_5.shtml. For his activities while visiting Nagasaki, see “Pope Winds Up Japan Visit in Nagasaki” by Lewis B. Fleming, *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1981; and “Excerpt from Pope Commemorates Nagasaki Martyrs” by Donald Kirk, *Globe and Mail* (Canada), February 27, 1981.
- Yamaguchi Senji remembered his aim to “reproduce the horror” of the bombing in his 1982 speech before the United Nations in *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki; his speech is quoted from his testimony at the Nagasaki Broadcasting Company Web site, “Nagasaki and Peace,” <http://www2.nbc-nagasaki.co.jp/peace>. For additional information about the demonstrations at the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament, see “Throngs Fill Manhattan to Protest Nuclear Weapons” by Paul L. Montgomery, *New York Times*, June 13, 1982.
- For the Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace (NFPP): *Devotion of Nagasaki to the Cause of Peace* by the city of Nagasaki; *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud] by Yamashita Akiko; newsletters and other materials provided by the NFPP; and the author’s interview with Matsuo Ranko, assistant section chief, NFPP.
- Dō-oh reflected on her retirement, her return to Nagasaki following her mother’s death, and her cancer diagnosis and treatment in her essay “Ikasarete ikite” [Allowed to Live, I Live] in a collection by the same name, edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshū iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use. In his interview with the author, Matsuzoe Hiroshi described his reunion with Dō-oh and provided color photocopies of his paintings depicting her experience.
- For more information on Mayor Motoshima’s controversial comments about the emperor and the assassination attempt on the mayor, see *City of Silence* by Rachelle Linner; “Resurrecting Nagasaki” by Chad R. Diehl, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University; “Mayor Who Faulted Hirohito Is Shot” by David E. Sanger, *New York Times*, January 19, 1990; and “Japanese Responsibility for War Crimes” by Iwamatsu Shigetoshi, *Keiei to Keizai* 71:3.
- Protests against nuclear ships: “Japan Under the U.S. Nuclear Umbrella” by Hans M. Kristensen for the Nautilus Institute; and Yamaguchi Senji’s recollection of the *hibakusha* protest against the USS *Rodney M. Davis* in *Burnt Yet Undaunted*, compiled by Shinji Fujisaki; see also “Nuclear Foes Protest U.S. Ship in Nagasaki,” *Times Daily* (Alabama), September 17, 1989.
- Leukemia and other cancer incidences: *Children of the Atomic Bomb* by Dr. James N. Yamazaki; and the multiple reports on “Cancer Incidence in Atomic Bomb Survivors,” *Radiation Research* 137:2s. See also “Long-term Radiation-Related Health Effects in a Unique Human Population,” by Evan B. Douple et al., *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 5:S1.

COMMEMORATION AND CONTROVERSY

Historical scholarship and debate on the use of the atomic bomb are outlined in “The Struggle Over History: Defining the Hiroshima Narrative” by Barton J. Bernstein in *Judgment at the Smithsonian*, edited by Philip Nobile; and “Historiographical Essay: Recent Literature on Truman’s Atomic Bomb Decision: A Search for Middle Ground” by J. Samuel Walker, *Diplomatic History* 29:2. For John W. Dower’s comment on the complexities of telling atomic bomb history, see “Triumphal and Tragic Narratives for the War in Asia” in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden.

Limited U.S. public awareness of *hibakusha* experiences: See *Suffering Made Real* by M. Susan Lindee. See also, for example, “A Tale of Two Cities,” *Time*, May 18, 1962. For U.S. efforts to downplay radiation effects and atomic bomb survivor narratives in order to maintain public support for nuclear programs, especially during the Cold War, see *The Struggle Against the Bomb*, vols. 1–3, by Lawrence S. Wittner; and “Memory, Myth and History” by Martin J. Sherwin in *Hiroshima’s Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. The made-for-television movie *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer and starring Jason Robards, shocked viewers with graphic, fictional images of nuclear annihilation in the fall of 1983. Information on the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, founded in 1980, is at <http://www.ippnw.org>.

The *Enola Gay* exhibit at the Smithsonian’s National Air and Space Museum: *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of Enola Gay* by Martin Harwit; *Judgment at the Smithsonian*, edited by Philip Nobile; and “The Battle of the *Enola Gay*” by Mike Wallace, and other commentaries about the exhibit, in *Hiroshima’s Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. The initial and the final revised script drafts are available at <http://www.nuclearfiles.org>.

The disputes over the National Air and Space Museum exhibit occurred in the context of other controversies surrounding the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. For example, the U.S. Postal Service planned to issue a commemorative stamp with the image of a mushroom cloud. After Japanese protests, the stamp was canceled; in opposition to that decision, veterans’ groups printed their own version. See, for example, “The Legacy of Commemorative Disputes: What Our Children Won’t Learn” by Lane R. Earns, *Crossroads* 3; “Patriotic Orthodoxy and U.S. Decline” by Michael S. Sherry, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 27:2; and “Apologizing for Atrocities: Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of World War II’s End in the United States and Japan” by Kyoto Kishimoto, *American Studies International* 42:2/3.

The Smithsonian curators’ negotiations with Japan for exhibit materials were detailed in *An Exhibit Denied* by Martin Harwit. See also “Artifacts Requested from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Museums, September 30, 1993” and the letter from Motoshima to Harwit, December 7, 1993, in Correspondence with Japan, box 8, folder 7; and the letter from Ito to Crouch, April 26, 1994, in Unit 400-432, box 8, folder 5, all in accession number 96-140, NASM *Enola Gay* Exhibition Records, Smithsonian Institution Archives. The consideration of Yamahata Yōsuke photographs for the exhibit was noted in “Making Things

- Visible: Learning from the Censors” by George H. Roeder Jr. in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden; and “Notes on Nagasaki Journey” by Chris Beaver, *Positions: Asia Critique* 5:3. See also “Pictures eliminated, June Script, Unit 400,” box 3, folder 7, in accession number 96-140, NASM *Enola Gay* Exhibition Records, Smithsonian Institution Archives.
- For the Air Force Association’s critiques of the planned exhibit, see John T. Correll’s articles: “War Stories at Air & Space,” *Air Force Magazine*, April 1994; “‘The Last Act’ at Air and Space,” *Air Force Magazine*, September 1994; and *The Activists and the Enola Gay*, AFA Special Report, August 21, 1995, accessed 2012, <http://airforcemag.com>. For one historian’s analysis of the imbalances within the initial exhibit plan, see “History and the Culture Wars: The Case of the Smithsonian Institution’s *Enola Gay* Exhibition” by Richard H. Kohn, *Journal of American History* 82:3.
- Curator Tom Crouch was quoted in “War and Remembrance” by Hugh Sidey and Jerry Hannifin, *Time*, May 23, 1994.
- Controversies over war memory in Japan and Nagasaki: “Exhibiting World War II in Japan and the United States Since 1995” by Laura Hein and Akiko Takekawa, *Pacific Historical Review* 76:1; and “Commemoration Controversies: The War, the Peace, and Democracy in Japan” by Ellen H. Hammond in *Living with the Bomb*, edited by Laura Hein and Mark Selden. See also “Nagasaki Museum Exhibits Anger Japanese Extremists,” *Vancouver Sun*, March 26, 1996; and “Today’s History Lesson: What Rape of Nanjing?” by Nicholas D. Kristof, *New York Times*, July 4, 1996.
- The U.S. Senate’s September 19, 1994, resolution condemning the Smithsonian exhibit, and excerpts from the May 1995 hearings before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, including remarks by Senator Ted Stevens, are available in “History and the Public: What Can We Handle? A Round Table About History After the *Enola Gay* Controversy,” *Journal of American History* 82:3.
- Reactions to the NASM exhibit cancellation: The letter to the editor from veteran Dell Herndon was quoted in *An Exhibit Denied* by Martin Harwit, chap. 29. A copy of the protest letter sent by the Historians’ Committee for Open Debate on Hiroshima to Smithsonian secretary I. Michael Heyman is available at <http://www.doug-long.com/letter.htm>. For Prime Minister Murayama’s statement, see “Smithsonian Action Saddens Japanese: They Saw *Enola Gay* Display on A-Bomb as a Reminder,” *Seattle Times*, January 31, 1995. Mayor Motoshima’s comment on the exhibit’s cancellation was quoted in “Introduction,” *Crossroads* 3.
- For the results of the 1995 Gallup poll that revealed Americans’ overall ignorance about the atomic bombs, see a “Nation of Nitwits” by Bob Herbert, *New York Times*, March 1, 1995. The poll also found that over 20 percent of respondents “knew virtually nothing about an atomic bomb attack. They didn’t know where—or, in some cases, even if—such an attack had occurred.”
- Yoshida interviewed by Jon Krakauer: “The Forgotten Ground Zero—Nagasaki, Reduced to Ashes by an Atomic Bomb, Rises Again in Beauty, Grace and Good Will,” *Seattle Times*, March 5, 1995. Response to the article: “Japan—Forget the Sympathy for Hiroshima, Nagasaki,” letter to the editor, *Seattle Times*, March 26, 1995.

Smithsonian secretary I. Michael Heyman's preference to leave the human impact of the bombs "to the imagination" was quoted in "The Battle of the *Enola Gay*" by Mike Wallace in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz.

Akizuki Tatsuichirō: Dr. Akizuki's belief that the threat of nuclear weapons "transcended all other issues" is quoted from "Nagasaki: A Phoenix from the Holocaust" by Tony Wardle, *Catholic Herald*, December 17, 1982, reprinted in *Beijin kisha no mita Hiroshima Nagasaki* [Hiroshima and Nagasaki Through the Eyes of American Reporters], Akiba Project 1982 (Hiroshima: Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation, 1983). Akizuki expressed his sympathy for the victims of Japan's wartime atrocities in his speech "The Nagasaki Testimony Movement," printed in *Literature Under the Nuclear Cloud*, compiled by Ito Narihiko et al. He described his identity as "an atomic bomb doctor" and his wife, Sugako, recalled his 1992 asthma attack and hospitalization in *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud] by Yamashita Akiko, translated into English for the author's use.

CHAPTER 9: GAMAN

NAGASAKI AND THE *HIBAKUSHA* TODAY

For photographs and information about the memorials and atomic bomb sites throughout Nagasaki, see the city's "Peace & Atomic Bomb" site at <http://www.city.nagasaki.lg.jp/peace/english/map/>.

Estimates of the number of Koreans who died in the Nagasaki atomic bombing vary considerably due to incomplete wartime records of the Korean forced laborers in the city on August 9. The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki concluded that approximately fifteen hundred to two thousand Koreans were killed. See *Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, p. 474. In contrast, through its own thorough investigation, the Nagasaki Association for Protecting Human Rights of Korean Residents in Japan estimates ten thousand Korean victims; see "Hiroshima and Nagasaki at 65: A Reflection" by Satoko Norimatsu, *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Satoko-NORIMATSU/3463>.

Many survivors describe living with bouts of anxiety, stress, guilt, and fear related to their atomic bomb experiences. Miyazaki Midori revealed that she cannot forget the cries of children trapped beneath the rubble in "Nagasaki nōto [Nagasaki Notes]: Miyazaki Midori" by Itō Sei, *Asahi Shimbun*, February 23, 2010.

Dr. Kinoshita Hirohisa at the Department of Neuropsychiatry of Nagasaki University Hospital provided information about the lasting psychological impact of the bombing and the support services available for *hibakusha* today. For recent research on the psychological effects of the bombing, see "Psychological Effect of the Nagasaki Atomic Bombing on Survivors After Half a Century" by Yasuyuki Ohta et al., *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 54; "Mental Health Conditions Among Atomic Bomb Survivors in Nagasaki" by Sumihisa Honda et al., *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 56:5; "Resilience

Among Japanese Atomic Bomb Survivors” by A. Knowles, *International Nursing Review* 58; and “Persistent Distress After Psychological Exposure to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Explosion” by Yoshiharu Kim et al., *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 199.

- Information about Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace (NFPP) activities comes from NFPP newsletters and the author’s interview with Matsuo Ranko, assistant section chief, NFPP.
- Dō-oh’s description of how the bombing “capsized” her life is quoted from her title essay in *Ikasarete ikite* [Allowed to Live, I Live], edited by Keishō bukai (Dō-oh Mineko ikō shuu) henshō iinkai [Legacy Group (Dō-oh Mineko Posthumous Collection) Editorial Committee], translated into English for the author’s use. In the same volume, the young student’s response to Dō-oh’s presentation appears in “Reaction from Students and Teachers After a Presentation.” Dō-oh’s tanka poetry was provided by her sister Okada Ikuyo.
- For President Barack Obama’s remarks outlining his aims for a world without nuclear weapons in Prague on April 5, 2009, see the White House press release, “Remarks by President Barack Obama, Hradcany Square, Prague, Czech Republic, 4-5-09,” at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Barack-Obama-In-Prague-As-Delivered.
- Taniguchi expressed his optimism about President Obama’s nuclear stance in a letter to the author. His complaint about the Obama administration’s continued nuclear testing is quoted from “Looking Directly at the Truth of Nuclear Suffering,” *Mainichi*, October 30, 2012.
- For worldwide nuclear stockpiles as of December 1, 2014, see the Federation of American Scientists’ “Status of World Nuclear Forces,” at <http://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/>; and the more detailed report “Worldwide Deployments of Nuclear Weapons, 2014” by Hans M. Kristensen and Robert S. Norris, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 70:5.
- For Nagasaki’s protests against nuclear tests, see “Nagasaki Asks Communities to Protest India N-tests,” *Chugoku Shimbun*, May 19, 1998; and “Nuclear Free Local Authorities in Japan Protest a New Type of Nuclear Weapons Testing by the U.S.,” *Dispatches from Nagasaki*, no. 4, by the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA) at Nagasaki University, at <http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en-dispatches/no4/>.
- Information on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is available through the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs; see <http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/Nuclear/NPT.shtml>. For the 2010 NPT Review Conference conclusions, see “Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Adopts Outcome Document at Last Moment,” United Nations Press Release, May 28, 2010, at <http://www.un.org/press/en/2010/dc3243.doc.htm>.
- For a report on Fukahori Yoshitoshi’s retrieval of Nagasaki photographs from the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, see “Photos Found in U.S. Show Life, Activity in Nagasaki Soon After Atomic Bombing” by Shohei Okada, *Asahi Shimbun*, August 7, 2014, http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/social_affairs/AJ201408070003.

ENDURING EFFECTS

For an overview of the updated dosimetry system used to calculate radiation dose estimates for atomic bomb survivors, see *Radiation Effects Research Foundation: A Brief Description*. The full report, *Reassessment of the Atomic Bomb Radiation Dosimetry for Hiroshima and Nagasaki: Dosimetry System 2002*, edited by Robert W. Young and George D. Kerr, is available at http://www.rerf.jp/library/archives_e/scids.html.

Materials and information about the ongoing and anticipated medical concerns for aging atomic bomb survivors were provided by Dr. Akahoshi Masazumi, director of the Department of Clinical Studies at the Radiation Effects Research Foundation in Nagasaki, and Dr. Tomonaga Masao, director of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Hospital.

Recent studies on the long-term medical effects of the bombings: “Electron-Spin Resonance Measurements of Extracted Teeth Donated by Atomic-Bomb Survivors . . .” by Nakamura et al., at http://www.rerf.or.jp/library/update/rerfupda_e/dosbio/tooth.htm; “Radioactive Rays Photographed from Nagasaki Nuclear ‘Death Ash,’” *Japan Times*, August 8, 2009; “Long-Term Radiation-Related Health Effects in a Unique Human Population: Lessons Learned from the Atomic Bomb Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki” by Evan B. Douple et al., *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 5:S1; “Risk of Myelodysplastic Syndromes in People Exposed to Ionizing Radiation: A Retrospective Cohort Study of Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Survivors” by Masako Iwanaga et al., *Journal of Clinical Oncology* 29:4; “Longevity of Atomic-Bomb Survivors” by John B. Cologne and Dale L. Preston, *Lancet* 356; and “Genetic Effects of Radiation in Atomic-Bomb Survivors and Their Children: Past, Present and Future” by Nori Nakamura, *Journal of Radiation Research* 47:SB. For a 2014 study investigating fallout effects from the 1945 Trinity test, see the notes for chapter 4.

For ongoing research and activities at the Radiation Effects Research Foundation and the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute in Nagasaki, see the materials, overviews, and publications available at <http://www.rerf.jp> and <http://www-sdc.med.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/abdi/index.html>.

MEMORIALS AND LEGACIES

Journalist Yamashita Akiko described Dr. Akizuki’s funeral in her biography of the atomic bomb doctor, *Natsugumo no oka* [Hill Under the Summer Cloud], translated into English for the author’s use.

Dō-oh Mineko’s sister Okada Ikuyo provided a copy of Dō-oh’s final *shikishi*.

Yoshida Katsuji’s posthumous name, and its meaning, was provided by his son Yoshida Naoji.

For the Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims, see <http://www.peace-nagasaki.go.jp/>. The names of *hibakusha* who died in the previous year are dedicated each August 9, following the city’s annual commemoration at Peace Park.

Yoshida's *kamishibai* can be viewed at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum's "Kids *Heiwa* [Peace] Nagasaki" Web site, <http://www1.city.nagasaki.nagasaki.jp/peace/english/kids/digital/index.html>. The presentation of his *kamishibai* at the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum was described in the article series "Nagasaki nōto [Nagasaki Notes]: Yoshida Katsuji" by Ōkuma Takashi, *Asahi Shimbun*, August 5, 2010, through August 24, 2010. For Hayashida Mitsuhiro's presentation on behalf of Yoshida at the United Nations NPT Review Conference, see "High School Student to Recite A-Bomb Survivor's Story in New York" by Takashi Ōkuma, *Asahi Shimbun*, May 1, 2010, <http://www.asahi.com/english/TKY201004300415.html>; and "Sending Voices from Atomic-Bombed Areas to the World" (in Japanese), *Asahi Shimbun*, May 12, 2010.

Yoshida said that he borrowed the phrase "The basis of peace is for people to understand the pain of others" from a former Hiroshima Peace Memorial administrator. He felt the words captured the most important message he could convey out of his experience.

Information about the *hibakusha* legacy campaigns of the Nagasaki Foundation for the Promotion of Peace and the citywide peace education programs came from "All Elementary and Junior High School Students in Nagasaki Learn About Peace and the Atomic Bombing for Nine Years," *Dispatches from Nagasaki*, no. 2, RECNA, Nagasaki University, <http://www.recna.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/en-dispatches/no2/>; "New Generation of Youth Get Active in Campaign to Abolish Nukes" by Yosuke Watanabe, *Asahi Shimbun*, November 25, 2013; *Devotion of Nagasaki to the Cause of Peace*, printed by the city of Nagasaki; and materials provided by Sakata Toshihiro, vice principal, Shiroyama Elementary School.

Taniguchi described how his skin can't breathe during the summer in "My Back Won't Let Me Forget That Day," *Mainichi*, August 8, 2009.